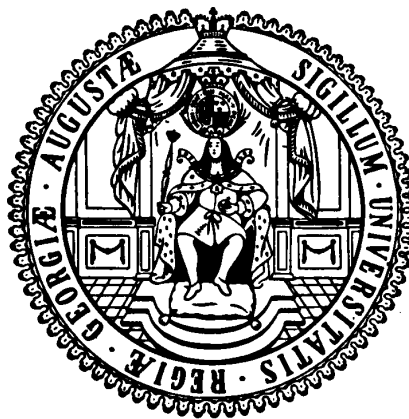


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**Subsidies to the History of the German-Speaking
Immigration to the Province / State of São Paulo, Brazil
(1840-1920)**

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Subsidies to the History of the German-Speaking Immigration to the Province / State of São Paulo, Brazil (1840-1920)

Subsídios à História da Imigração de Povos de Língua Alemã na Província / Estado de São Paulo, Brasil (1840-1920)

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Resumo

O presente artigo propõe uma cronologia para a imigração de povos de língua alemã em São Paulo, Brasil (1840-1920), identificando quatro tipos principais: (i) imigração individual espontânea; (ii) trabalhadores especializados contratados para obras públicas, principalmente para construção de estradas; (iii) trabalhadores endividados para as plantations, especialmente sob o sistema de parceria; (iv) imigrantes em colônias rurais oficiais e privadas. Na sequência, as ondas migratórias dos últimos dois tipos são estudadas em detalhe, demonstrando como se interconectaram ao longo do tempo, bem como quão similares foram seus processos de integração. Tal cronologia objetiva prover um referencial para estudos futuros sobre as ondas migratórias em São Paulo, de maneira geral, e de povos de língua alemã, em particular, complementando duas linhas da literatura. Primeiramente, fornece uma perspectiva mais dinâmica para a literatura clássica sobre a história dos contratos de trabalho, que é indiretamente relacionada à imigração de povos de língua alemã, sendo, contudo, estática ao listar eventos episódicos relacionados àquela. Em segundo lugar, o artigo emoldura, sob uma perspectiva mais geral, estudos especializados que se focam em impactos específicos dos imigrantes, como monografias atuais a respeito da história da educação e de escolas/instituições alemãs.

Palavras-chave: imigrantes de língua alemã, imigração, cafeicultura, parceria, colônias oficiais

Abstract

This paper proposes a chronology for the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo, Brazil (1840-1920) by identifying four main types: (i) spontaneous individual immigration; (ii) specialized laborers in public works, mainly road construction; (iii) indentured laborers in the plantations, mainly under the sharecropping system; (iv) settlers in official and private rural colonies. In the sequence, the immigration waves of the last two types are studied in detail, showing how they interconnected over time and how similar their processes of integration were. Such chronology aims to provide a framework for future studies about immigration waves to São Paulo, in general, and of German-speakers, in particular, complementing two strands in the literature. First, it provides a more dynamic perspective for the classical literature on the history of labor contracts, which is indirectly related to the immigration of German-speakers, but static in listing episodic events related to the latter. Second, it frames, under a more general perspective, specialized studies focused on specific impacts of the immigrants, such as current monographs about the history of education and German schools/institutions.

Palavras-chave: German-speaking immigrants, immigration, coffee plantations, sharecropping, official colonies

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1. Introduction

In the introduction of the first Portuguese translation of the book by Thomas Davatz, Rubens Borba de Moraes (1941, p. 1) critically stated that “the history of immigration to São Paulo is still completely to be written”. Much progress in describing different immigration waves and in analyzing their socio-economic impacts has been attained since then. Nevertheless, the chronology of different immigration waves, especially when separated by nationalities, still presents significant gaps. This limitation is particularly severe for the case of German-speaking immigrants. In this case, immigration processes are usually described only episodically, generally focusing on the Sharecropper’s Riot of 1856, the consular missions of Heusser and Tschudi, and the diplomatic consequences of the Heydt’s Rescript. Although certainly important, these episodic descriptions overlook a more dynamic interpretation necessary to comprehend the processes of immigration and integration.

In the current paper, we provide a review of classical and current studies related (usually indirectly) to the immigration of German-speakers to São Paulo. Two interconnected limitations in this literature are pointed out: (i) its usual static character, focused on episodic events; and (ii) the lack of a complete chronology of immigration processes of specific nationalities. Based on this recognition, the paper then aims at providing a more complete and dynamic chronology for the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo, covering the period 1840 to 1920. In this way, we identify four main types of German-speaking immigrants: individuals spontaneously immigrated, laborers in public works, indentured laborers in the plantations, and settlers in rural colonies. By focusing on the last two types, we argue that their mechanisms of integration were similar, especially in terms of the economic niches explored by them after leaving the rural areas. Despite these commonalities in their processes of integration, we nevertheless stress the need to differentiate the cultural and socio-economic statuses of different immigration waves.

The paper is organized as follows. After discussing the historiography of the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo in section 2, we introduce the categories used to classify those immigrants in section 3. In section 4, a chronology for the indentured laborers in coffee plantations (1840-1870) and for the settlers in official and private colonies (1870-1920) is presented. In this section, we focus on the interconnections among different immigration waves and how subsequent processes of immigration and integration were influenced by previous ones. Before concluding, section 5 reunites these waves, observing the similitude in their processes of integration, especially in economic terms.

2. A Review of the Literature

The most complete chronology of the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo was written in the 1950s by Friedrich Sommer. In a series of ten outreach articles entitled “S. Paulo und die Deutschen”, published in the Newspaper “Die Deutsche Zeitung”, in 1953, this author studies the presence of German-speakers in São Paulo from the foundation of the Captaincy of São Vicente until the beginning of World War II². The “Erstes Jahrbuch für die deutschsprechende Kolonie im Staate São Paulo”, published in 1905, provides, in addition, one of the most complete primary sources about the immigration of German-speakers. This is a publication in the format of an almanac edited by the German community of São Paulo. Beyond usual nominal lists found in almanacs, it includes a series of articles about the state and the German influence in diverse types of associations. Particularly relevant for our purposes are the texts of E. Heinke, A. Kuhlmann, and C. F. Scheler about the state of São Paulo in general, and T. Jahn, about Campinas.

Beyond these works, there is no academic study, to our knowledge, aiming to provide a general and systematic chronology of this particular immigration wave. Naturally, this does not mean that the history of German-speakers in São Paulo has not yet been properly studied: classical works by Sommer, Fouquet (1974), and a vast literature specialized on southern Brazil prove that this is not the case³. The point made here is that a unified and dynamic description of the German-speaking presence in São Paulo is still missing in the academic literature, especially when the objective is to link different immigration waves and episodic events associated with them. In this sense, academic studies either investigated the topic under a more static approach, by listing isolated events, or specialized in some ramifications of the immigration process, ignoring the more general context of the immigration processes.

Regarding the more static approach, particularly important are the classical works which link immigration to the formation of free-labor relations in the province. These include Dean (1977), Stolcke and Hall (1983), Lamounier (1986), and Viotti da Costa (1998). Although none of them is specifically focused on German-speaking immigrants, the processes overlap, given that Germans, Swiss, and Portuguese were the first main immigrants to whom sharecropping contracts were proposed at the period. Therefore, given the nature of their

² Source: Sommer (1953) - Instituto Martius-Staden. The Institute also preserves the index of a manuscript by Sommer, from 1945, in which three books with the complete history of German-speakers in São Paulo were planned. For details about it: Rothfuss (2014, pp. 124-130).

³ For a survey: Kupfer, Kutschat, Rothfuss, and Rüsche (2014).

research question, it is not surprising that such studies deal with the history of this immigration punctually, only as long as it was relevant for modifications in the labor contracts and in the working conditions in São Paulo. For this reason, some particular events have been studied in detail, such as the first hiring of Germans in 1847, the Sharecroppers' Riot in 1856, and the international inspections of 1857 and 1860.

The other limitation of the literature, namely the continuous specialization that tend to lose sight of the general characteristics of the immigration processes, can be separated into two strands: (i) studies focused on specific municipalities or farms and (ii) the more recent literature dealing with the history of educational associations founded by German-speaking immigrants.

In the first case, given the historical prominence of Senator Vergueiro and the farm Ibicaba, it is natural that the abundance of primary sources leads to studies concentrated on them (Witter, 1982; Heflinger Jr., 2007, 2009)⁴. In this direction, new archival research by José Eduardo Heflinger Jr. deserves attention, especially because it shows that even well known episodic events can be re-interpreted under the light of new primary sources⁵.

The second refers to pivotal studies, especially monographs, focused on specific educational institutions⁶. This specialization deepens our understanding of the dynamics associated with the integration of immigrants into local societies. Given their research question, however, these studies do not intend to provide a general view of the associated immigration processes, making it difficult, if not impossible, to compare the historical phases of immigration just by juxtaposing their case studies. More recently, a related literature focused on Brazilian states emerged in Economic History and Development Economics. This has made use of immigration processes as an external shock on the demand for education and on institutional quality, impacting, as a consequence, long run economic development. In this line, Carvalho Filho and Colistete (2010) and Rocha, Ferraz, and Soares (2010) find a strong association between immigration and the historical accumulation of human capital in São Paulo. Stolz,

⁴ In addition, the books by Davatz (1941) and Tschudi (1980) provide readily available primary sources that have been largely explored in the literature. A less known, but also readily available, is Perret-Gentil (1851).

⁵ Heflinger Jr. (2007, 2009) published, among others, the open letter of Samuel Kerst against immigration to Brazil, manuscripts of Dr. Heusser and Tschudi, as well as the manuscript of the latter to Senator Sinimbu. Those sources bridge the perspectives of public authorities in Brazil, German-States, and Switzerland, as well of immigrants. An academic re-evaluation of the Sharecropper's Riot and of the official inspections of Heusser and Tschudi is urgent under the light of these new sources.

⁶ These include the works of Bezerra (2001) for Bairro dos Pires (Limeira); Ribeiro (2005) for the proletarian and German school in Vila Carioba (Santa Bárbara); Gouvêa (2011) for Colégio Koelle (Rio Claro); Silva (2010) for Colonies Riograndense and Nova Riograndense (Maracá). Nobre (2004) and Bezerra (2007), in addition, concentrate in constructing a general panorama for the German schools and their histories.

Baten, and Botelho (2013) discuss a similar positive impact of immigration on numeracy, considering an extended dataset for the whole country. For Rio Grande do Sul, on the other hand, Carvalho Filho and Monasterio (2012) argue that lower inequality associated with immigrants, rather than human capital accumulation, is their primary contribution for long run development outcomes. The most dissonant perspective in this literature is Musacchio, Martínez-Fritscher, and Viarengo (2014), who defend that the political economy of financing education offsets the impact of immigration in terms of human capital formation.

Before advancing, a word of caution about the nature of our critique is necessary. The aforementioned studies have significantly advanced our understanding of the history of immigration to São Paulo. However, given their objectives and research agendas (more focused on labor relations and on specific associations, respectively), they did not provide a complete evaluation of the specific immigration of German-speakers to São Paulo. The novelty of our proposition, in this sense, is to frame the latter literature in a broader context and to provide the dynamic links for the episodic events well-studied in the first. Under this perspective, we now turn to the proposal of a chronological framework for the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo.

3. German-speakers: Individual Immigrants, Laborers in Public Works, Indentured Laborers, and Official Settlers

It is very problematic, if not completely incorrect, to define a “German-speaking immigration process” to São Paulo in general and indistinct terms. Rather, what occurred were waves of immigrants with different characteristics, who can be labeled as “German-speakers” because of their regions of origin, language, and, potentially, cultural traits (which, as will be discussed, also varied). Such distinctions are particularly important when analyzing the impacts of these immigrants on the receiving society of São Paulo⁷.

Two ways to categorize these different waves are to determine the motivations and possibilities to immigrate, as well as the immigrants’ mechanisms of integration. In the period 1840-1920, four main types of German-speaking immigrants in São Paulo can be identified, namely those who: (i) spontaneously immigrated, on an individual basis; (ii) were officially

⁷ Kreutz (2000), for instance, differentiates the demand for education among different waves of German-speaking immigrants, taking into account their regions of origin and religious bases.

contracted by the provincial government for specialized activities in public works⁸; (iii) were privately contracted as labor force for the plantations, mainly as sharecroppers in coffee harvesting; and (iv) entered the province/state for settlement in official or private rural colonies.

The first two were especially relevant at the beginning of the 19th century, but tended to decline in numerical importance after the second half of that century, supplanted by the third and fourth types, which were at the core of the political agenda related to immigration. This paper therefore focuses on the indentured laborers (1840-1870) and the official settlers (1870-1920). By explaining the mechanisms of their economic integration, we argue that both faced similar experiences after leaving the rural areas, despite strong socio-economic differences between them.

Although such categorization implies a series of abstractions in terms of the characteristics of the immigrants, we nonetheless consider it useful for three reasons. First, the timing of the predominance of indentured work (1840-1870) and official colonies (1870-1920) overlaps with the pre- and post-Unification of Germany⁹. This element can be used in future research to link the push and pull factors which determined international migration between German-speaking regions and São Paulo. Second, the classification by immigrants' types provides a dynamic thread that can be used to link them. This point can be illustrated in terms of the human capital accumulation process: although we separate indentured workers from official settlers, they showed a certain degree of continuity in the process of creating ethnic schools¹⁰. A similar argument could be made in terms of the regions where they settled and clustered, as well as in terms of the economic activities in which they engaged after leaving the farms or official colonies. Finally, the categorization provides the tools for a chronological framework to which new episodic events can be added and well established ones, re-evaluated.

⁸ See especially Lamounier (2000). Bezerra (2001, Appendix 10, pp. 239-242) brings a report written by the German engineer Hermann Guenther, responsible for road construction in Santa Bárbara (1856). Karastojanov (1998, p. 62, note 193) mentions the presence of German-speaking road constructors in Campinas. It is noteworthy the parallels that can be traced between these workers and the sharecroppers in the coffee farms, especially in terms of their complaints about the non-fulfillment of their contracts.

⁹ Some tension existed among Germans immigrated previously to the Unification, post-1871, and the first generation of German-Brazilians. Differences among them included: (i) use of standardized German, local dialects or Portuguese; (ii) feelings of nationalism vs. belonging to local communities; (iii) religious perspectives (Magalhães, 1993, pp. 27, 28, as cited in Karastojanov, 1998, p. 56).

¹⁰ Our evaluation is, at this point, dissonant from Rocha, Ferraz, and Soares (2010, p. 3), who argue that immigrants to official colonies in São Paulo self-selected as the most skilled, "much in contrast with the [...] mass of relatively lower skilled immigrants that went after the coffee frontiers". Even though the authors find robust empirical support for this claim, there is strong qualitative evidence in our historical setting that earlier immigrants (sharecroppers), not related to official colonies, were pivotal to the creation of the first associative schools. Whether this is a nationality-based feature remains unanswered.

It is also necessary, on the other hand, to recognize that the chronology based on this categorization is not exempt of shortcomings. First, by focusing on the last two types of immigrants, we deliberately do not deepen the history of German-speakers contracted by the government for certain specialized activities, a modality of immigration which seems particularly important in the 1850s¹¹. Second, our spatial cut focuses only on the countryside of São Paulo, excluding the capital. Therefore, other relevant historical events, such as the first official colonies in Santo Amaro and Itapecerica, are only mentioned insofar as they are related to immigration in the countryside. Third, the period coverage excludes immigration waves posterior to the critical years following World War I and starts with the sharecropping colonies, in 1847. The latter implies that autonomous immigration before the 1840s, as well as organized immigration waves, such as with the employees of the Iron Fabric Ipanema, in Sorocaba, are not taken into account. Such episodes are, nevertheless, all interconnected to some extent. Senator Vergueiro's public opposition to the colony in Santo Amaro, for instance, certainly influenced the political debate that led to the adoption of the sharecropping system in the 1840s. In addition, there is evidence that some immigrants to Santo Amaro and Itapecerica in the 1820s later migrated to sharecropping colonies in the countryside, in the 1850s.

4. From Indentured Laborers (1840-1870) to Official Settlers (1870-1920)

4.1. Slavery, Coffee Plantations, and German-speaking Sharecroppers in São Paulo

From the 1840s to the 1870s, between 5,000 and 8,000 immigrants arrived at the countryside of São Paulo to work as colonists¹² in the coffee plantations, the majority from German States and Switzerland (Heinke, 1905, p. 267; Buarque de Holanda, 1941, pp. 27, 28; Methner, 1962, p. 49)¹³. This initial rush toward new sources of labor can be understood under the light

¹¹ Sources: “Resumo da despesa feita pela caza Vergueiro & Cia. com o engajamento de colonos para o serviço das estradas dessa Província, em virtude do Acto do Governo de 27 de Dezembro de 1854”, Contadoria Provincial, 06.10.1857. Contrato para obtenção de 350 trabalhadores estrangeiros para as estradas de São Paulo, “O Presidente da Província de São Paulo considerando a falta extraordinária de trabalhadores para o serviço das estradas [...]”, Palácio do Governo de São Paulo, 27.12.1854 – APESP: Lata C07213 – Colônias.

¹² The term “colony” is somewhat imprecisely defined both in primary sources and in the historiography. It may refer to all immigration types previously listed: (i) to any community of immigrants, both in rural and urban centers; (ii) to official settlements of immigrants in rural areas; (iii) to areas in the farms which had the houses of immigrants. Unless otherwise specified, we use it to refer to free workers in the coffee plantations, hired under free labor systems, such as sharecropping, fixed payments, daily payments, mixed contracts etc.

¹³ Sommer (1953, V) provides smaller estimates: 2,930 Germans, 817 Swiss, and another 364 German-speakers for the period 1847-1862. Scheler (1905, p. 171) reports the immigration of 5,329 people to São Paulo in the period 1827-1855, of which 3,093 were German-speakers. For 1853-1857, Grininger (1991, p. 38, based on

of the increasing costs in the African slave trade and of the initial phase of expansion of the coffee plantation in the central plateau of São Paulo. International pressure, mainly from Britain, culminated in the official prohibition of the African slave trade in 1850. The prices of captive labor skyrocketed in the inter-provincial trade: not only had the demand for labor increased, but the international supply was threatened (Dean, 1977).

The original proposer of immigration based on indentured labor was the firm Vergueiro & Cia., from Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro. His first larger-scale experiment with free labor was carried out with Portuguese in 1840, but failed soon thereafter¹⁴. In 1847, with immigrants from Mainz, Rhenish Prussia, and Holstein, Senator Vergueiro initiated a new chapter in the history of immigration to São Paulo (Perret-Gentil, 1851; Heflinger Jr., 2007, 2009). The main type of contract at the period was based on the sharecropping system: immigrant families, once in the coffee plantations, used a percentage (usually half) of their annual revenues from the harvested coffee to amortize the initial debt (loans for the transatlantic travel) and further loans received throughout the year.

Although problems with the incentive structure in sharecropping contracts are theoretically well-established today, at the time, they worked to eliminate the barriers constraining the emigration of the poorest parcels of the population in the German States and Switzerland (Dean, 1977, p. 113; Heflinger Jr., 2007, p. 37). This allowed the system to drastically expand in the following years. In São Paulo, there was a significant increase in the number of farmers who proposed their own contracts directly in Europe, as well as others who started to hire workers who had already immigrated. As a result, around 1860, more than 100 agricultural producers employed workers under free labor contracts (Witzel-Souza, 2012, p. 85). Vergueiro & Cia. turned out to be the leading force in the immigration business, having signed and fulfilled two contracts with the provincial government of São Paulo to introduce about 4,500 workers into the countryside from 1852 to 1856. The chains of the immigration business were intricate and increased in complexity over time, transforming itself into an activity specialized in contracting, transporting, and establishing immigrants from Europe to Brazil. In this system of indentured work, the farmer, who usually held high ranked political positions, proposed contracts through an agent in Europe. This agent hired the families to

Ziegler, 1985, pp. 103-107) cites 1,823 Swiss immigrants. These numbers are in line with previous estimations, but underestimate the entries accordingly to official reports, such as the contracts of Vergueiro & Cia. with the Provincial Government of São Paulo (Witzel-Souza, 2012, p. 85).

¹⁴ The Senator attributed the failure of this experiment to the political hostilities caused by the Liberal Revolution, in 1842. More accurate accounts, however, point out problems in the contracts and management of the Portuguese (Tschudi, 1980, p. 137; Calógeras, 1998, pp. 353,354; Heflinger Jr., 2007, pp. 26-34).

work in the coffee plantations and provided them with a loan to cover the travel costs to Brazil. The agent also directed the families to the ship-owners who controlled the transatlantic transportation¹⁵. In Europe, the number of agents and ship-owners increased steadily at the period, which led to an early political opposition to the emigration rush (Heflinger Jr., 2007, pp. 60-65)

4.2. A Chronology Based on Contracts: Four Phases of Immigration in the Period 1847-1870

Although the objective of the current paper is not to track the history of labor relations in São Paulo, the evolution of indentured labor contracts (especially of sharecropping) provides a useful chronology for the immigration of German-speakers in the period 1840-1870¹⁶. This first wave can be sub-categorized into four phases¹⁷: (i) the initial experiments of Vergueiro & Cia. (1847-1852); (ii) the expansion period (1852-1856); (iii) the riots and international inspections (1856-1861); (iv) the fade out period of sharecropping (1861-1870).

From 1847 to 1852, Vergueiro & Cia. was the only to propose its own sharecropping contracts directly in Europe. It was followed thereafter by Senator Souza Queiroz, brother-in-law of Senator Vergueiro, in 1852. As a consequence, immigrants were concentrated around the farm Ibicaba (Limeira-Cordeirópolis), where the so-called Colony Senador Vergueiro was constituted¹⁸. This first experiment with a larger-scale and systematic immigration agenda was financially supported by the provincial government, allowing the firm to provide the loans for indentured laborers (Dean, 1977, pp. 95, 96).

Senator Vergueiro and his son José Vergueiro (member of the firm, who assumed the position of the father after his death)¹⁹ were involved with immigration policies since the 1820s. Senator Vergueiro was not only a staunch political opponent of the settlement colonies established in São Paulo in the 1820s, but was also the coordinator of the road construction

¹⁵ In Switzerland, the process involved one agent more. Municipalities offered loans and subsidies to those interested in emigrating. The farmer compromised to pay back the municipalities once the contributions of the immigrants were cashed in (Davatz, 1941, especially pp. 142-143).

¹⁶ This section expands the historical argument presented in Witzel-Souza (2012).

¹⁷ Haach (1999) proposes a similar chronology. Her analysis, however, is concentrated in just one municipality (Rio Claro), is extended until 1945, and is based more on local economic conditions.

¹⁸ Sources: “Rio de Janeiro, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 10.02.1855; Visconde de Abaeté a S. Exc. Presidente da Província de São Paulo” e “Cópia Anexa ao Aviso n. 1 dirigida pelo Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros [...]” – APESP: Lata C07755; Perret-Gentil (1851, pp. 32-33).

¹⁹ Anexo 13 – “Contrato Social” – in Witter (1982, pp. 107-116).

project that employed German-speaking immigrants in 1838-1839²⁰. In those years, about 270 Germans were contracted by Major Bloem to work in the reforms of the roads leading from Cubatão to the countryside²¹. This experience provided Senator Vergueiro with the political authority and management capacity to hire immigrants to work in road construction later, in the 1850s, when the government of the province contracted his firm to engage this specialized workforce in the German States, Switzerland, and Portugal²². Moreover, José Vergueiro assumed the responsibility of managing the police force that suppressed the strike of German-speaking road workers in 1839²³. This can be seen as an important precedent to his handling of the Sharecroppers' Riot of 1856, as discussed in the sequence²⁴.

Given his previous expertise in the 1820s and 1830s, it is therefore not surprising that Senator Vergueiro concentrated his efforts on hiring workers in the German States in the 1850s. It is reasonable to argue that he already had the know-how and the contacts to establish his own agents in Europe. This is a relevant historical proposition, because in the aftermath of the Sharecroppers' Riot, farmers accused the agents in Europe of being responsible for hiring people who were morally degenerated and unable to work in rural areas²⁵. Although a problem of economic agency is evident here, it is not reasonable to think that farmers would keep these agents if problems with the people they contracted continued to happen in a systematic way. This argument becomes even more implausible if we take into account the previous relations farmers such as Senator Vergueiro had with the policies and business of immigration.

Apart from the exacerbated pro-emigration propaganda released in a specialized European press, the sharecropping system seems to have indeed progressed in the period 1847-1852 (Perret-Gentil, 1851; Heflinger Jr., 2009, pp. 25-40). This allowed for the expansion period (1852-1856), with an increase in the international migration between the German States, Switzerland, and São Paulo. In Europe, agents enlarged their networks by covering broader

²⁰ Source: Sommer (1953 - IV).

²¹ Others were directed to the Iron Fabric Ipanema, in Sorocaba (Idem).

²² Sources: "O Presidente da Província de São Paulo considerando a falta extraordinária de trabalhadores para o serviço das estradas [...]", 27.12.1854 – APESP: Lata C07213: Colônias; Heinke (1905, p. 266).

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Sources: Davatz (1941, pp. 175-178); "Carta de José Vergueiro apresentando ao conselheiro Nabuco de Araújo [...]", appendix to Davatz (1941, pp. 261-263).

²⁵ Sources: Carta de Nicolau de Campos Vergueiro ao Presidente da Província de São Paulo em 6 de Janeiro de 1853 – APESP: Lata C07213 – Colônias. For a critical discussion about the type of immigrant and these arguments: Dean (1977, pp. 112-114).

regions and by involving themselves in deeper political relations²⁶. The consular activity was increasingly related to the business of immigration, with constant inquiries between Brazilian and German authorities²⁷. In São Paulo, in turn, the dynamic center of coffee production faced a completely new phenomenon in a society still based on slavery: farmers started to negotiate the best contractual terms with laborers, though with much resistance from both sides²⁸.

Given that it was the first systematic experiment with free labor to take place at the core of a slave-based economy, it is not hard to conceptualize what economic and institutional difficulties there were in designing the contracts and in effectively applying them – both by farmers and by colonists. Conflicts occurred throughout the whole decade of the 1850s²⁹. This is an example of how misleading the static approach of listing punctual events can be. If one considers just the events of 1847 (the first hiring of German-speakers by Vergueiro & Cia) and 1856 (the Sharecroppers' Riot), the false perspective is given that the indentured labor system progressed linearly up to that date and then declined steadily. From a more dynamic perspective, it is possible to observe that conflicts and the fulfillment of contracts occurred throughout the whole decade. For instance, official complaints from German-speakers in Constituição (Piracicaba) had occurred already in 1853. And the Sharecroppers' Riot was preceded by another strike, in Ubatuba, just some months beforehand (Witzel-Souza, 2011, p. 50).

The main divisor for this second phase occurred in 1856, with the Sharecroppers' Riot. The schoolmaster Thomas Davatz received instructions from the municipalities of Canton Graubünden asking him to write a report about the working and living conditions of the colonists. His critical view strongly opposed the propaganda maintained by the pro-emigration press in Europe, mainly sourced with letters which had been previously censored by the farmers. The riot started to mature in August 1856, initiated by an announcement from the director of Ibicaba, who had expected higher prices for the coffee in that season's harvest. A sequence of unpleasantness among colonists, the directors of the colony, and the farmers

²⁶ The expansion went from the Rhine region towards the south, moving in the direction of Switzerland especially, and from Schleswig-Holstein toward the south-eastern provinces of Prussia.

²⁷ For an early assessment on the potentiality of the German States as territory for hiring labor, including a discussion about the most suitable geographic regions, see Visconde de Abrantes (1846).

²⁸ For a detailed discussion, see Dean (1977), Lamounier (1986), and Viotti da Costa (1998).

²⁹ Sources: *Ofício do Juiz Municipal da Constituição*, Manoel de Moraes Barros, ao Presidente da Província de São Paulo - Constituição, 08.12.1853 – APESP: Lata C07212 – Colônias; APESP: Lata C07755 – Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros contains a series of documents about the strike in colony Nova Olinda (Ubatuba), among which “Rio de Janeiro. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 6 d e junho de 1856”, “N. 17, Idem, Palácio do governo de S. Paulo, 13.12.1856, Vasconcellos”; Portaria de Bernardo Correa Mosragão, Delegado de Polícia, 31.07.1856, Ubatuba.

instigated the riot in December, when Davatz announced to Senator Vergueiro that he had sent his report to Europe, without the consent of the farmer (Davatz, 1941, chapter 3)³⁰.

The event triggered three Brazilian inspections and the official Swiss consular missions of Dr. Heusser (1857) and Tschudi (1861)³¹, sent to São Paulo to evaluate the living conditions in Ibicaba and other farms employing Swiss immigrants, respectively. Although the situation in Ibicaba was temporally pacified after Dr. Heusser's mission, structural problems with the application of contracts were not resolved (Davatz, 1941, pp. 137, 204; Dean, 1977). Nonetheless, the riot had two long-lasting effects. First, it marked the transition from the sharecropping system to new types of contracts, especially fixed payments, gradually leading to labor relations more similar to a modern wage system. Second, it led to an intense diplomatic communication between Switzerland and the German States, especially Prussia and the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. This diplomatic communication culminated in the Heydt's Rescript in Prussia, which prohibited propaganda promoting immigration to São Paulo and was later extended to southern Brazil (Heflinger Jr., 2009, pp. 55-63). At the same time, the consular activity in the Campinas' region intensified, with the objective of defending German and Swiss immigrants in the aftermath of the riot (Heflinger Jr., 2013, p. 28, 29)³².

Heydt's Rescript did not prohibit emigration itself, but it had major impacts in diminishing the inflow of German-speakers to São Paulo. In the period 1881-1886, only 630 Germans (2% of total immigrants), 221 Austrians (0.7%), and 64 Swiss (0.2%) officially entered the province (Seckler, 1888, p. 101). In 1881, no officially registered Swiss immigrated to Brazil. And only 0.4% and 1.5% of Swiss emigrants went to Brazil in 1889 and 1909, respectively³³. Nevertheless, spontaneous individual immigration continued, especially from Switzerland.

³⁰ A growing mistrust between colonists and farmers was at the core of most conflicts at the period. As a response, the design of contracts tended to improve (Lamounier, 1986). Institutionally, however, the effective application of these improved clauses was harmed by a biased rule of law in favor of the farmers. Furthermore, colonists had exaggerated expectations, caused by the propaganda in Europe (Witzel-Souza, 2012, pp. 83, 104).

³¹ Two contradictory reports were written by Dr. Heusser. The uncertainty about the conditions in São Paulo finally led Swiss authorities to send Johann Jakob von Tschudi, in 1860 (Heflinger Jr., 2007, pp. 63-65). Tschudi's reports are among the most tempered, recognizing the role played by both farmers and immigrants in the existing conflicts. Back in Europe, he also interceded for the religious and educational assistance of the immigrants. Source: "Johann Jacob von Tschudi, ausserordentlicher [...]", Bundesarchiv Bern, E2#2103#101.

³² Another intense period of consular communications in the countryside of São Paulo took place at the end of the 1860s, during the dissolution of Colony Senador Vergueiro. In the minutes of the "Reading and School Association of Campinas", members of the immigrant community proposed to support the colonists of Ibicaba with articles in the Brazilian press and even to petition the German Kaiser (Minutes, 4 (or 7).03.1866, in Karastojanov, 1998, p. 193). The main leader of this plan was Vice-Consul Jorge Krug, whose family had prominent positions in the social and economic life of Campinas.

³³ In 1922, a second boom was observed, with 10.8% of all emigrated Swiss going to Brazil (only behind the United States and Argentina). In the period 1922-1928, however, the average reached only 6.16%, Calculations based on Liniger (1948, p. 18).

Schoolmaster N. Krähenbühl, for example, provided detailed instructions for members of his family who wished to migrate; in his reports, the regular operation of steamship and vessel lines between Hamburg and Santos is mentioned, showing that this channel of international migration was still active³⁴.

Immigration policies assumed new features in the period 1860-1870. Institutionally, the process became more complex, including the establishment of official contract agencies, such as the Sociedade Auxiliadora da Imigração (Witzel-Souza, 2011, p. 30). In later decades, these efforts culminated in official institutions held by the provincial and national governments to promote immigration, as discussed in the next section. The international political scenario received more attention, with the Brazilian consulates in Europe more aligned with the objectives of hiring labor force. At the same time, individual initiatives attempted to increase the immigration of German-speakers. Two are of particular interest. First, colony Campos Salles was conceptualized by the Swiss community of São Paulo as a place to settle their compatriots³⁵. Second, in the period 1881-1895, about 300 Swiss immigrated to the farm of Queiroz Telles' family, exact the same farm where sharecroppers had worked, back in 1854³⁶. These new immigrants later founded colony Helvetia, in Indaiatuba (Grininger, 1991, p. 18).

The influx of German-speakers, however, was kept low. At the beginning of the mass immigration period to São Paulo, 1877-1892, from a total of 373,930 immigrants who arrived in Santos, just 8,360 (2.24%) and 5,784 (1.55%) were Germans and Austrians, respectively (Sommer, 1953, V)³⁷. And even in 1905, the events and consequences of the riot from 1856 were still recurrently recovered in the German press, especially with respect to the working conditions in São Paulo. Scheler (1905, pp. 168-175) discusses whether immigration to Brazil still resembled slavery (already in the 20th century), an argument that seems to have been largely accepted in Germany. The general perception about São Paulo was very negative for decades. The same was true in Switzerland: in the 1880s, the ex-colonist von Zuben was sent back in the attempt to recruit new immigrants and to initiate a second phase of Swiss immigration (Grininger, 1991, pp. 52-55). In this depressed scenario, the stage was set for a type of immigration long abandoned in São Paulo: official settlement colonies.

³⁴ Source: Niklaus Krähenbühl, 21.11.1873 and 23.04.1875 in Krähenbühl (2006, p. 49).

³⁵ Sources: Scheler (1905, pp. 171, 176); Deutsche Zeitung São Paulo, 23.02.1935 – Instituto Martius-Staden.

³⁶ The practice of Swiss municipalities of providing loans to people who wished to emigrate, as a policy to alleviate local poverty, prevailed until the 1880s, despite previous problems (Grininger, 1991, p. 41).

³⁷ In line, while Germans represented 50% of immigrants in Rio Claro in 1872, they were only 1.3% and 8% of the foreigners who entered the city in the periods 1886-1900 and 1901-1920 (Gouvêa, 2011, pp. 27, 44, 49).

4.3. Official Settlement Colonies (1870-1920)

In the 1870s, a new wave of immigration was fostered with official settlements launched by the Brazilian Empire and by the province of São Paulo (Kreutz, 2000, p. 349; Rocha, Ferraz, and Soares, 2010). This type of immigration was no novelty, though. Already in the 1820s, an economically disastrous experiment had been carried out with official settlements of German-speakers in Santo Amaro and Itapecerica³⁸, as well as in Rio Negro (this municipality is currently in the state Paraná)³⁹ (Scheler, 1905, p. 171; Sommer, 1953, IV). Economic isolation and institutional problems in creating and implementing the property rights to landownership in the colony led to their dispersion and fueled critics. To argue that the debate in the 1840s was won by the proposals of establishing workers in the plantations, rather than in settlement colonies, partially due to this experience would not be an exaggeration (Siriani, 2003, pp. 45-56).

During the 1850s and 1860s, the municipality Cananeia also had a colony with direct links to the German-speaking community of the province. Although Kuhlmann (1905, p. 90) reports that this colony was mostly inhabited by Englishmen, its board of directors was continuously under German administration, with Julio Grothe as its commissioner, in 1862, and Godofredo Augusto Schmidt as its president, in 1864. The presence of foreigners in its administration was kept over time: in 1873, the vice-director was Luiz Donker Wander Heoff⁴⁰. Of particular interest are the ties between this official colony and the sharecroppers. In 1862, Swiss colonists faced an acute crisis with the farmers Dr. Pacheco Jordão and Elias Silveira, in Rio Claro and Piracicaba. To solve it, the Brazilian Empire offered their settlement in Cananeia in September 1862, with subsidies from the Brazilian government and the Swiss Consulate. Among the transferred colonists was Samuel Krähenbühl, brother of the schoolmaster of

³⁸ Heinke (1905, p. 253) brings precise numbers for this immigration process: 926 Rheinländer, Schlesier, and Ostpreussen, of whom 336 went to the colony in Itapecerica, under direction of Dr. Justiniano de Mello Franco. This director studied medicine at the University of Göttingen, in Germany, and was the first professional doctor to live in Campinas. His daughter, Ms. Elisa Justina de Melo Oliveira, became the Baroness of Rio Claro and Countess of Araraquara (Sommer, 1953 - IV; Begliomini, without date; Karastojanov, 1998, p. 118, note 388).

³⁹ Karastojanov (1998, p. 29, note 78) argues that the Baron von Langsdorff, in Rio de Janeiro, intended to send German-speaking immigrants to São Paulo already at the beginning of the 1820s. However, given that the attempt failed, immigrants settled on his own farm, in Rio de Janeiro, but dispersed soon after.

⁴⁰ Sources: "Lista, O Encarregado do Núcleo Colonial Cananéia", 07.09.1862; "Ofício Directoria da Imperial Colônia de Cananéia", em 12.05.1864, APESP: lata C07212: Colônias; "Lista, O Encarregado do Núcleo Colonial Cananéia, 07.09.1862".

Friedburg, N. Krähenbühl⁴¹. This simple solution triggered, however, a problem of moral hazard, with some sharecroppers absurdly expecting that the government would provide free land for all of them as consequence of the riot of 1856⁴². Cananeia kept attracting German-speaking immigrants who had previously worked in the plantations. In 1864, other Swiss colonists requested financial support from the government to cover transportation and settlement costs. Aware of previous problems, the government allowed for the provision of funds only after receiving proof that all immigrants had fulfilled their contracts' obligations with the farmers⁴³.

The private initiative also established settlement colonies. Perhaps the most curious case occurred with Colony Superagüi, in the region of Guaraqueçaba (currently in Paraná). This settlement was created by Charles Perret-Gentil, Vice-Consul of Switzerland in São Paulo and one of the strongest defenders of the sharecropping system in the coffee plantations, not least because of his personal association with Vergueiro & Cia. Founded in the 1850s, it sold land to immigrants, who, in turn, provided the administration with the preferential sale of their products⁴⁴.

Given the problems with settlements in the 1820s, in the new attempts to create official colonies, from the 1870s onwards, the government favored their foundation closer to transportation facilities, with better soil quality, and consolidated property rights. Rocha, Ferraz, and Soares (2010, pp. 7-9) identified 30 official colonies that were established by both national and provincial/state governments in the period 1870-1920. Most of them were constituted with immigrants from diverse nationalities.

Colonies Campos Salles (Cosmópolis) and Nova Europa (Ibitinga) were the most relevant for the immigration of German-speakers. The first was established in 1897 as an initiative of the Swiss community, whose members asked the Brazilian government to sell land to

⁴¹ Krähenbühl mentions an attempt to create a new colony in Itamburé, along the stream of River Piracicaba: "A municipality was expected to be founded there, but there was an epidemic of [yellow] fever. For a long time, no one has mentioned it; I even think it has been abandoned" (N. Krähenbühl, Campinas, 25.12.1862, in Krähenbühl, 2006, p. 29). No further information was found on this attempt. Kuhlmann (1905, p. 90) cites, in addition, a colony named "Pariquerá-Assú", in the region of Ribeira Valley.

⁴² In official communication with the General Consul of Switzerland in Rio de Janeiro, the German Vice-Consul in Campinas, Jorge Krug, also reproached the behavior and morality of some colonists transferred to Cananeia. Sources: "Lista, O Encarregado do Núcleo Colonial Cananéa", 07.09.1862 – APESP: lata C07212: Colônias"; Heflinger Jr. (2013, p. 27).

⁴³ Sources: "O Delegado da Diretoria das Terras Públicas, José Joaquim Machado de Oliveira, 07.06.1864"; "Ofício Diretoria da Imperial Colônia de Cananéa", em 12.05.1864, APESP: lata C07212: Colônias.

⁴⁴ Sources: "Cópia. Opinião de C. Perret Gentil sobre as queixas apresentadas pelos Colonos da Colônia Senador Vergueiro" – Ibicaba, 01.05.1857 – APESP: Lata C07214 – Colônias; Heflinger Jr. (2009, p. 40; 2013, p. 19).

economically disfavored Swiss. Schoolmaster J. Keller, who later became a prominent figure in educational questions of the state, led the establishment of the first 11 Swiss families. Many left the colony in the coming years and were mostly substituted by Germans, Austrians, and Brazilians⁴⁵. Nova Europa, in turn, was among the biggest settlement centers of São Paulo, with Spaniards and Germans as the most prominent nationalities; the latter counted at least 140 families in that colony⁴⁶.

Other official and private settlements with a large influx of German-speakers were created during the Republican period, in the further out western parcels of the state reached by the agricultural frontier in the first decades of the 20th century. In the municipality Presidente Venceslau, about 70 German families settled in different colonies, including Quellentau, Thanenberg, and Aimoré⁴⁷. In the nearby municipality of Assis, colonies Riograndense and Nova Riograndense were created by private land sellers, with the settlement of native Germans and German-Brazilians (Silva, 2010, p. 53). In the same decade, colony Paulista was established close to Araçatuba, with approximately 300 Germans. Finally, about 20 Austrian families settled in Itararé and 80 Germans in colony Costa Machado (Dreier, 1996, pp. 9-12, 18-19; Bezerra, 2007, pp. 74-77).

Propaganda in favor of immigration to São Paulo recovered ground after the abrogation of the Heydt's Rescript, in 1893. We found a series of public and private advertisements for the sale of land in the first decades of the 20th century. The parallels between these renewed propaganda efforts and the old pro-emigration propaganda from the 1850s and 1860s are remarkable, especially due to their structure and potentiality to create exaggerated expectations. One of them was officially published in German and Portuguese by the Companhia Geral de Imigração e Colonização do Brasil, aimed at selling land in Ribeirão Preto for the German community in the 1920s⁴⁸. Especially problematic, however, were the private advertisements by Carlos Steinberg and Carlos Lehmann, who were selling land in the Paraíba Valley and São José dos Campos, as well as the selling of properties in Colony Riograndense by the Colonizer Enterprise of Isernhagen and Malve⁴⁹. The announcements of the latter included false promises to the immigrants, since property rights were not initially set in this colony (Silva, 2010, pp. 54-58).

⁴⁵ Sources: Keller (1919, p. 14); Deutsche Zeitung S.P., 23.02.1935; HWF, Deutsche Zeitung (01.07.1994, p. 3) – Instituto Martius-Staden.

⁴⁶ Source: Keller (1919, pp. 10, 11).

⁴⁷ Bezerra (2007, pp. 76, 77) mentions 170 families with German origins in the region of Presidente Venceslau.

⁴⁸ Source: "Landwirte!" - Doc. GIVh, n. 72/2 - Instituto Martius-Staden.

⁴⁹ Source: Deutsche Zeitung S.P., 28.10.1924 und 08.10.1925 – Doc. GIVn, n. 198 - Instituto Martius-Staden.

These initiatives allowed the German-speaking immigration to recover some pace, although it never reassumed the relatively large representativeness it had in the period 1840-1860. The conditions for German-speaking immigration had undergone deep modifications in those decades: influxes were more associated with official colonies, private land selling, and spontaneous immigration to the economically most dynamic urban centers, such as Campinas, Santos, and the capital. In 1905, about 25,000 people with German-speaking origins lived in the state (Kuhlmann, 1905, p. 33; Scheler, 1905, p. 167). Right before World War I, the number had augmented to about 30,000 German-speakers, and further grew to about 35,000 Germans and 15,000 Austrians in the years following the war – without taking into account German-Brazilians. Including German-speakers of the Baltic States, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia, the number of German-speaking immigrants right before World War II peaked at 100,000 in São Paulo (Sommer, 1953, VIII)⁵⁰.

5. The Process of Economic Integration of German-Speaking Immigrants

To indentured laborers who fulfilled their contracts' obligations and paid back their loans, there were four main alternatives that could be pursued to get integrated into the economic and social life of the countryside of São Paulo: (i) to sign a new contract with farmers, in order to better learn the Brazilian production conditions and to accumulate capital with credits on earnings (rather than re-paying loans with interest); (ii) to further migrate, either in direction of the coffee frontier, or to other regions with immigrant clusters, especially to southern Brazil; (iii) to buy their own land; (iv) to move to urban centers, where they could apply their on-the-job skills learned in Europe (which were only sporadically used on the farms). The integration of immigrants from official settlement colonies was different just initially. For this type, settlement would have already taken place in rural areas. However, official colonies worked as an “entrance door” to the economy of São Paulo, and most left their own land in search of better economic opportunities, including in urban centers (Haach, 1999; Rocha, Ferraz, and Soares, 2010, pp. 15, 18). Therefore, most immigrants faced similar processes of integration. As a consequence, it is frequent to find surnames of both indentured laborers and official settlers in the same associations founded by immigrants. Some of the most prominent examples include the membership of ex-sharecroppers and spontaneous immigrants in the “Reading and School Association of Campinas” and in the singing

⁵⁰ Kreutz (2000, p. 350) brings some dissonant statistics: from 1824 to 1947, around 253,000 Germans and 95,000 Austrians entered Brazil as a whole, going mostly to the southern provinces/states.

association “Sängerbund 1880”, from Rio Claro⁵¹. This also points out the fact that new immigration waves tended to cluster around areas already settled by older immigrants, benefiting and contributing to associations that were already established.

The cases in which colonists decided to stay on the farms as sharecroppers were highlighted by the landowners as evidence of how satisfied their workers were and of the benefits of sharecropping. Although the mobility of free labor among different farms was a fundamental novelty in economic and social terms, the emphasis put on these cases by the reports written by farmers, as well as comparisons of lists accounting for the mobility of immigrants who finished their contracts, allow us to classify the permanence as sharecroppers as an exception. The mobility of free labor among different farms was, however, an important novelty in the period⁵². Moreover, it is hardly arguable that a colonist would permanently stay as a sharecropper by his own choice: it should be remembered that immigration at the time was family-based and that each member was jointly responsible for the debts of the whole family. Under this structure, marriages and deaths would imply the dissolution of the old core families and the spreading of households over time⁵³. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that the new families that originated from the core ones would have an incentive to jointly sign new contracts.

As a second alternative, foreigners could internally migrate and there is strong evidence of high mobility of immigrants within Brazil. Although no systematic study has yet been carried out in terms of the inter-provincial mobility of immigrants from the same nationality, there is much anecdotal evidence confirming that it was an important phenomenon (Bezerra, 2001, p. 41, citing Seyferth, 1994, p. 12). For example, the German-speakers who led a strike on the Saltinho farm in 1873 had been contracted not in Germany, but in Santa Catarina⁵⁴. Many of the German-speakers settled in colonies Riograndense and Nova Riograndense were actually born in Rio Grande do Sul and Espírito Santo (Silva, 2010, pp. 53, 66). Additionally, in the southern states, there were common references to the “Coffee Pickers” [Kaffeepflücker], and

⁵¹ Sources: “Statuten des deutschen Sängerbundes. Deutscher Sängerbund 1880. Rio-Claro am 10. Mai” - Instituto Martius-Staden; von Simson (without date, pp. 7-9); Karastojanov (1998, pp. 66, 67).

⁵² For a discussion of this phenomenon and primary sources regarding the perceptions of farmers, please refer to Witzel-Souza (2011, pp. 15-16).

⁵³ This so-called “solidarity clause” was introduced in the 1850s. It also implied that individuals who wanted to immigrate alone were forcefully allocated to a family. It is very hard to see any reason as to why this family would keep this structure after finishing the initial contract.

⁵⁴ Source: “Abaixo assinado de doze colonos alemães presos, provenientes de Santa Catarina para a Colônia Saltinho, do Barão de Indaiatuba”, Campinas, 25.08.1877 – APESP: Lata C07214 – Colônias.

local songs reminded them of the life in the countryside of São Paulo (Krähenbühl, without date, pp. 139, 140; Witzel-Souza, 2011, pp. 44, 45).

In general, given older and larger clusters of German-speaking immigrants in southern Brazil, especially in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, it would be theoretically reasonable to hypothesize that German-speaking immigrants in São Paulo had socio-economic and cultural incentives to migrate to those provinces/states⁵⁵. However, historical evidence suggests that São Paulo was actually a net receiver of German-speakers. That is exactly the argument by Scheler (1905, pp. 167, 172), who observes that São Paulo had a strong pull effect due to its economic dynamism. He reports two episodes of interest. The first is the migration of Germans from Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná toward the coffee zones, which even fostered the creation of a German-Paranaense association in São Paulo. The second is the immigration of foreigners (especially Italians, but also Germans) from Argentina to São Paulo, especially to the capital of the state, from 1890 to 1892. The attractiveness of the state can also be grasped by the number of German teachers from southern Brazil who applied for the vacancies of the Associative School of Campinas (Karastojanov, 1998, p. 100). Heinke (1905, p. 264) notices, in addition, the high mobility of German immigrants within São Paulo. Such decisions to migrate across different municipalities created the spatial patterns of immigrants' agglomerations that influenced the later foundation of schools and other associative groups by them (Witzel-Souza, 2014, pp. 23-29).

The third integration mechanism refers to the acquisition of rural properties. Access to land was limited, at least in the coffee plantations around Campinas (Dean, 1977, p. 122). High costs, poor financial conditions (initial indebtedness for sharecroppers), poorly working financial markets, and high inequality⁵⁶ were economic impediments that kept immigrants from realizing their most common aspiration at the time, namely to become landowners. In addition, it is not exaggerated to say that access to land had a socio-political status granted just to a minority of immigrants. As shown in Table 1 (Appendix), in 1873, the share of German surnames represented about 2% of total economic activities in the province, but less than 1% of farmers⁵⁷. Fifteen years later, their share in total activities was estimated to be 2.36%, but only 1.28% of the farmers. Even in regions where their ratio to native Brazilians

⁵⁵ For a survey of theoretical discussions about agglomeration centers and clusters of immigrants: Haas (2008).

⁵⁶ In terms of land inequality and immigration, please refer to Summerhill, 2010; Colistete and Lamounier, 2014.

⁵⁷ This compilation is based on the almanacs by Luné and Fonseca (1873) and Seckler (1888), which bring nominal lists of professions for each municipality. "Total activities", therefore, refers to the total number of individuals listed in those sources. Naturally, it covers only the names cited, having, for that reason, some bias toward urban activities.

was the highest, access to land was minor, as shown with the disaggregated data for a sample of municipalities⁵⁸.

The averages for the province and the variation at the municipal level show that access to land was not impossible; in addition, the variation of shares over time seems to point out some dynamism in the process of land acquisition (discounting the issues of comparability between the two sources). Nevertheless, the general picture of a minor access to land among German-speaking immigrants is strongly supported by the statistical evidence. In a report on the situation of immigrants around 1856, the administration of farm Ibicaba noticed that, from 65 German-speaking families who had fulfilled their contracts, 16 had become landowners⁵⁹. In addition, Grininger (1991, pp. 76-83) cites 46 rural properties owned by Swiss families from different immigration waves. There were also notorious individual examples of landowners with German-speaking origins. Colonel Francisco Schmidt, also called the “Emperor of Coffee”, owned, in 1905, 15 farms employing 5,500 people in a total area of 22,461 hectares (Erstes Jahrbuch, 1905, p. 394). He was a son of Franz Schmidt, an ex-sharecropper in Ibicaba. Farm Ibicaba, in turn, was bought by the Levy family, who had previously worked there as colonists (Heflinger Jr., 2007, p. 97). These, however, were exceptions. A more common strategy among immigrants was to buy land jointly: a group of families divided the purchased area according to their individual contributions, solving a problem of collective action to cope with financial constraints. This occurred in Pires (Limeira), Helvetia (Campinas), Ferraz, and Corumbataí⁶⁰. Heinke (1905, p. 267) notices that land was acquired mostly by immigrants from Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, who had been involved with agricultural activities already in Europe⁶¹.

The main insertion channel of German-speakers, however, was to migrate to the economically dynamic urban centers around the farms and original settlement areas, in order to explore economic niches of specialized activities, mainly in craftsmanship. As Table 1 suggests,

⁵⁸ With the exception of Santo Amaro (1873). This can be explained by the fact that German surnames were already associated with Brazilian descendants of second (and maybe even of third) generation from the original German-speaking settlers of the 1820s.

⁵⁹ Source: “Annexo I”, in Heflinger Jr. (2009, p. 62).

⁶⁰ Sources: Scheler (1905, pp. 180-192); Keller (1919, pp. 6-10); “Resumo Histórico do Município de Rio Claro” in O Estado de S.P., 06.10.1939; Sommer (1953) – Instituto Martius-Staden; Krähenbühl (without date, p. 14). The case of colony Helvetia is illustrative as a solution to the collective action problem: the first four families who decided to buy a farm had joint savings summing 5:000\$000 rs, but the aimed farm cost 23:000\$000 rs. The difference was covered with a loan obtained with a Swiss family in Campinas and a mortgage, showing the importance of intra-group networks (Grininger, 1991, pp. 67-76).

⁶¹ Notice how this remark by Heinke also casts doubt on the argument, usually propagated at the time of the riots, that European agents contracted an excessively large number of individuals who were unable to properly work in agricultural activities. For this topic, please also refer to section 4.2.

German-speaking immigrants were overrepresented in manufactures and services in some municipalities, controlling a local share of those sectors much above their average in the total economic activity. This phenomenon is particularly strong in Rio Claro and Constituição, where about half of those two sectors were controlled by individuals with a German surname, in 1873. Such proportion tended to diminish over time, as becomes clear when comparing municipal data from 1873 and 1888. Nevertheless, the overrepresentation of German-speakers in those sectors seems to have endured: for the mean share of the province, the proportion of German-speakers in manufacturing even increased (from 4.79% to 5.38%) between 1873 and 1888, although the proportion in total activities also increased (from 1.93% to 2.36%), leaving the ratio $(\% \text{Manufactures}_t) / (\% \text{Total activities}_t)$ practically unaltered.

This relative easiness of German-speaking immigrants in integrating into urban activities can be explained in terms of the scarcity of specialized labor in the context of a booming rural economy, which still showed an excessively high concentration of assets, but which had potential spillovers in terms of income for the neighboring urban centers. This allowed an increased demand of specialized trades and services from the local society, which was then met by the supply of those immigrants. It should also be recovered that a potentially high share of German-speakers were incentivized to emigrate from Europe due to their losses in economic and social positions caused by the early phases of industrialization, which progressively made traditional craftsmanship obsolete (Petrone, 1984, p. 11, as cited in Bezerra, 2007). Heinke (1905, p. 267) can be cited again as a testimony of this fact: when describing the sharecroppers, he mentions the presence of weavers from Silesia, knitters from Saxony, and miners from Rhineland and Bohemia, who migrated to urban centers in order to exercise their old professions⁶². In addition, as argued by Buarque de Holanda (1941, p. 23), German-speaking immigrants in São Paulo had different features than in southern Brazil, especially because of the smoother process of integration caused by non-isolationism. This fact made their newly brought skills readily available in a prosperous economic scenario⁶³.

⁶² Becker and Woessmann (2007, Table 1) show that, in 1871, the mean shares of Prussian male workers in manufacturing and services were 32.74% and 7.31%, respectively. However, these values varied significantly by Prussian counties: the minimum and maximum shares for these sectors were [7.20% ; 80.89%] and [2.04% ; 33.24%], respectively.

⁶³ This does not imply that integration occurred without setbacks. Social conflicts (such as those related to contracts), cultural shocks (especially religious), lack of public goods (applied to the Brazilian population in general), and homesickness were always present (Perret-Gentil, 1851, p. 55; Heflinger Jr., 2009, pp. 90-105). Furthermore, although European immigrants were socially welcomed, xenophobia also occurred. Schoolmaster Krähenbühl complained about the debauchery sometimes faced by immigrants (N. Krähenbühl, Campinas, 02.06.1871 and Friburgo, 30.12.1891, in Krähenbühl, 2006, p. 40). These problems had persisted since the

6. Concluding Remarks

The main objective of this paper was to provide a chronology for the German-speaking immigration to the countryside of São Paulo in the period 1840-1920. We focused on different immigration waves in an attempt to frame them in a more dynamic perspective, especially by connecting events and episodes which are well-established in the literature, but which tend to be studied in a more isolated manner. One of the core elements in connecting these different immigration waves was to study their integration processes, which were shown to be rather similar, despite the differentiation in the immigration waves.

Under this framework, we identified four main types of German-speaking immigrants and tracked the history of two of them, namely, indentured laborers in coffee plantations (1840-1870) and settlers in official and private rural colonies (1870-1920).

The history of the first type is closely linked to the emergence of free labor relations in São Paulo. Therefore, we linked the chronology for this first period to the history of labor contracts and showed how they were related to other immigration waves. In particular, it was discussed how the previous experience with settlements in Santo Amaro and Itapecerica influenced the political scenario in favor of the sharecropping system. Moreover, some ties among the German-speakers in the coffee plantations and official colonies in the 1850s were pointed out, with the official colony in Cananeia as an illustrative case. The second type of immigrant, *i.e.*, settlers in official and private rural colonies, is a result of the decline of the first wave and of the adoption of new strategies to attract immigrants at the end of the 19th century. They were mainly fostered by land selling by different layers of the Brazilian government, as well as by private companies and individuals, being associated with the expansion of the agricultural frontier toward the western parcels of the state. It is also noteworthy to observe how the pro-immigration propaganda in this period resembled the exaggerated optimism of the 1850s (including false promises to immigrants) and how the negative experiences with the sharecropping continued to influence German and Swiss perceptions of immigration to São Paulo, even at the beginning of the 20th century.

1820s, when German-speakers in Santo Amaro were observed just as a costly experiment, and lasted until World War I, when some violent episodes occurred among Brazilians, Germans, and German-Brazilians in the countryside (Keller, 1919; Sommer, 1953 – V).

Three contributions can be derived from the chronology proposed here and they also point out different research possibilities regarding the immigration of German-speakers. First, the proposed classification of four types of immigrants allows for comparisons over time of different immigration waves. In this way, it was possible to observe whether and how early experiences with official colonies were associated with the adoption of the sharecropping system and how this one, in turn, influenced later policies associated with settlement colonies. Second, a general chronological framework makes it possible to compare this specific immigration wave to those of other nationalities and toward other regions in Brazil. This line of research is particularly interesting for studies in comparative development across different Brazilian regions, since it allows to either keep constant the unit of analysis and its institutional characteristics (such as the province or state), while varying the cultural element associated with different immigration waves, or to focus on a specific type of immigrant (holding constant the associated cultural element), while studying their performance across different provinces/states. Finally, the chronology provides a backbone to which extensions can be easily incorporated. In this sense, the paper briefly mentions other important episodes which deserve further research, such as immigration waves previous to 1840 and posterior to 1920, the spontaneous individual immigration to urban centers throughout the period, and the German-speakers officially contracted to specialized public works.

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Table 1 - Share of German-speakers per sector (% of individuals employed)

	1873				1888			
	All Activities	Farmers	Manufactures	Services	All Activities	Farmers	Manufactures	Services
Campinas	4.74	3.56	12.45	6.72	6.2	0	9.29	11.39
Constituição	6.42	0	39.29	12	12.25	0	23.17	14.75
Jundiá	0.27	0	0	5	-	6.19	5.56	0
Limeira	7.25	0	28.95	4.76	13.53	8.4	22.39	12.5
Pirassununga	5.98	0	11.11	20	6.67	-	12.9	9.09
Rio Claro	15.56	5.22	19.07	32.35	11.08	2.41	28.95	13.43
Santa Bárbara	2.3	1.33	0	9.38	0	-	-	-
Santo Amaro	11.73	20	7.27	0	25.19	-	27.91	25
Sorocaba	11.93	0	10	1.11	7.19	-	18.91	5.88
Mean Province	1.93	0.72	4.79	3.54	2.36	1.28	5.38	3.09

Sources: Compilation based on Luné and Fonseca (1873); Seckler (1888).

Notes:

- For the share of total activities, political positions are double-counted by including and excluding ecclesiastic positions associated with administrative tasks. Since immigrants were a minority in those professions, the result probably underestimates their participation in the total economic activity.
- Reported data make use of the most conservative estimates in classifying an individual as “German-speaker”; nevertheless, the original sources do not allow to distinguish among immigrants themselves and descendants born in Brazil.
- The percentage of services do not include the category “trade and commerce”.
- The computation for the category “Farmers” was made directly with the original sources, given that, in the dataset used for the other columns, this category is mixed with rental activities. All other values are computed accordingly to the classification in Witzel-Souza (2014).
- The values for “Mean Province” exclude the capital.