

A PEARL IN A WORLD ON THE MOVE:
ITALIANS AND BRAZILIANS IN CAXIAS, BRAZIL (1870 –1910)

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ABSTRACT

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During the late nineteenth century, while many Italians migrated to North American cities like New York and Chicago, they also headed to South America. While my research fits within this global context, it does not emphasize the popular images of Italian day-laborers and seamstresses in North American urban centers, or industrial workers and owners in Buenos Aires, or transient agricultural laborers in São Paulo's coffee fields. Instead, my study focuses on families of Italian settlers recruited to southern Brazil, not with paid ocean passage like their migratory counterparts in São Paulo, but with promises of land ownership. Within Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul, one of the most popular destinations for these migrant families was the mountainous area of Caxias do Sul, which was designated by the state in 1875 as one of its intentionally Italian migrant colonies.

By examining this late nineteenth century migrant community through a nested series of increasingly broad lenses, I highlight the critical, yet underappreciated, roles of the state, non-Italians, and non-local trends within early Caxias history. The academic scholarship regarding this period, from 1870 to 1910, currently deemphasizes, and often neglects, the importance of these factors. The Brazilian state—at both the provincial and national scale—possessed considerable influence during the establishment of Caxias as the economically successful city it is today. Also, although Italians dominated the population of Caxias, the minority non-Italians who lived and worked there contributed

significantly to the community's subsequent success. In addition, the broad trends and changes of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century at all scales—regional, national, diasporic, and global—also influenced local Caxias. Therefore, despite the current Italo-centric scholarship of Caxias's early history, these other forces provided major contributions to the social, political, and economic development of this Italian “pearl of the colonies.”

More than just a case study of an Italian migrant community, my work provides a model for the examination of microstudies at the meso and macroscales by adopting a global paradigm through which to view and analyze local histories. Scholars often use broad scale findings to simply provide context for their local work, not necessarily to deepen its analysis. In contrast, a “nested lenses” approach attempts to contribute more than just a wider context, instead offering—and this is of utmost importance—the opportunity for deeper analysis, broader perspective, and better explanations of the many interconnected processes involved, from the local to the global scale.

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Now on to the next adventure ...

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CHAPTER 1

A Migrant Community in a Shifting World

Southern Brazil's Little Italy

Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul recently produced a tourism brochure titled *Um Brasil Diferente* ("A Different Brazil"). Its glossy cover features a glass of red wine that glints in the sunlight against a rich blue sky, and its pages are packed with iconography that appears distinctly European, such as a gothic cathedral, a well-dressed white gentleman inspecting grapes, and an Oktoberfest band.¹ Far from the stereotypical beaches and *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, this is a state known for its uniquely European heritage, its relative economic prosperity, its *gaúcho* or cowboy culture, and its proud separatist history.² Although a high percentage of European migrants to the state were Germans, the second largest city in Rio Grande do Sul, behind only the state capital of Porto Alegre, is a historically Italian migrant community, the city of Caxias do Sul.³

¹ Informações Turísticas, "Rio Grande Do Sul: Um Brasil Diferente" (Rio Grande do Sul - Ministerio do Turismo, n.d.). This undated brochure was in active circulation in 2011.

² In popular culture, the state is also well-known for its historic Jesuit missions, its supermodels (including Gisele Bündchen), and its *chimmarão* (a green tea). As an American, I find the *gaúcho* culture of cowboy separatism in Rio Grande do Sul to be similar to the Lone Star culture of Texas in the United States. In fact, as of March 2014, the official travel website of the state of Texas broadcasts the slogan "It's like a WHOLE OTHER COUNTRY," so the two states even employ similar marketing language. "Texas.gov," *The Official Website of the State of Texas*, accessed March 12, 2014, <http://www.texas.gov>. Additionally, Texas promotes its "Hill Country" region as both "cowboy and cosmopolitan" with "30-plus wineries" and "a heavy influence of German and cowboy culture." "Travel Texas," *The Official Tourism Website of the State of Texas*, accessed March 12, 2014, <http://www.traveltexas.com>. Fredericksburg, one of the region's historic migrant communities, incorporates many German phrases into its marketing and boasts the slogan "German Heritage. Texas Hospitality." "Visit Fredericksburg, TX," *Fredericksburg - The Texas Hill Country*, accessed March 12, 2014, <http://www.visitfredericksburgtx.com>.

³ The pronunciation of Caxias is (kâ-SHE-is). The numerous changes to the early naming of this area are discussed further in chapter 2. Although the formal name is "Caxias do Sul," the more common name of "Caxias" is used in this study. Caxias's population in 2010 was 435,564, while Porto Alegre's was 1,409,351. *Estatística Brasileira - 2010* (IBGE - Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2010).

Somewhat prematurely labeled the “pearl of the colonies” by the state governor in 1897, Caxias grew to fully embody this designation over the course of the twentieth century.⁴

Today, the economically successful city of Caxias revels in its distinctively Italian image, while still proudly adhering to the *gaúcho* culture it shares with the rest of the state. This dichotomy gives Caxias a fascinating conglomeration of complementary features, such as rolling vineyards and a bustling downtown, a reliably modern infrastructure and the occasional family commuting by horseback or mule-cart, prestigious wineries and informal weekly *churrascos* (barbeques) of succulent meats, and streets named after famous Italians as well as Brazilians. These streets are lined with pizzerias and grocery stores that offer a magnificent variety of olive oils, pastas, and *chimarrão* (a traditional *gaúcho* tea). If not for the many *gaúcho* reminders, it might easily be mistaken for Italy.

Of all the migrant colonies established in Rio Grande do Sul, including those comprised of largely German or Italian—or even Polish and Ukrainian— migrants, Caxias holds the honor of being considered the standard-bearer for migrant colonies. Local narratives attribute the success of Caxias to the ingenuity and tenacity of its Italian migrants, whose entrepreneurial spirit built economic growth for the city in the twentieth century. However, that version of history accounts for merely a portion of the factors behind its success—a success founded in the late nineteenth century and built with the significant support of its province and its non-Italian residents. Although this collaboration of cultures is evident in the Italian-*gaúcho* spirit of Caxias today, it deserves to be included in Caxias’s early history as well.

⁴ This term was originally used in 1897 by the governor of Rio Grande do Sul, Júlio de Castilhos, and continues to be used today to describe Caxias. An early reference to it can be seen in: Vittorio Buccelli, “Un viaggio a Río Grande del Sud” (Milano: L. F. Pallestrini & C., 1906), 229, AHRS.

Nested Lenses: A Global Paradigm for a Local Case Study

The world in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century was a world on the move. This included *social movements* involving issues of class hierarchy, ethnicity, citizenship, and women's rights; *political movements*, such as empires becoming nation-states, centralized power deferring to provincial rights, and passive subjects becoming active citizens; as well as *economic movements* that privatized wealth, increased international trading markets, and ultimately tipped the scales from a largely rural and agrarian global economy to a more urban and industrial one. However, these social, political, and economic transformations prompted another equally significant movement: the most massive era of human migration in history.⁵

The mobility of humans is a constant variable throughout history, but the sheer magnitude of migrants during this era, as well as their lower social standing and the large distances they traveled, make this period of migration a major historical departure. In fact, while only slightly more than two million European migrants and seven million African slaves arrived in the Americas during the entire three-hundred-year colonial period, over 50 million Europeans migrated to the Americas in the one century before World War I.⁶ Of the over 36 million Europeans migrants to the Americas during 1871 to

⁵ André Armengaud called this migration in the century before World War I, "the greatest transfer of populations in the history of mankind." André Armengaud, "Population in Europe, 1700-1914," in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, ed. Carlo M Cipolla, vol. 3, The Industrial Revolution, 1700-1914 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976), 70; Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 147.

⁶ The periodization that historians typically use for the colonial period in the Americas is 1500 to 1800. For Africans, the best estimates are that 7,331,830 African slaves arrived to the Americas between 1500 and 1800. "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," *The Slave Voyages Project, Sponsored by Emory University and the W.E.B Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Research at Harvard University*, accessed January 15, 2014, <http://www.slavevoyages.org/>. Although overall figures for the Atlantic slave trade often range from 8 to 12 million, these figures include the nineteenth century and sometimes instead refer to the

1915, almost 22 percent departed from Italy, famously sojourning between home and (less frequently, settling in) cities like New York, Chicago, São Paulo, and Buenos Aires.⁷

However, my study does not focus on these more numerous and well-researched unsettled Italian sojourners, who migrated between the urban hubs of North America, the industrial center of Buenos Aires, and the coffee plantations around São Paulo.⁸ My research instead highlights Italian settlers recruited with offers of land by Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul.⁹ Within this state, the most numerous European

amount of people who departed from Africa or crossed the Atlantic, rather than arrived in the Americas. For example, historian Patrick Manning states that, "some ten to twelve million crossed the Atlantic in captivity." Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 135. Regarding Europeans, historian David Eltis compiles data to estimate that the amount of Europeans who arrived to the Americas before 1820 "cannot have been much above two million," while nearly three million Europeans arrived to the Americas between 1820 and 1859. David Eltis, "Free and Coerced Transatlantic Migrations: Some Comparisons," *The American Historical Review* 88, no. 2 (April 1, 1983): 255–256. For the next period, historian Leslie Page Moch's figures show that 48 million arrived between 1860 and 1914. Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 147.

⁷ Of the 36,712,000 European migrants between 1871 and 1915, 7,915,000 (21.6 percent) left from Italy. Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 12. As a note, there was also extensive migration of Italians to other European countries: "Of the 15 million Italians who emigrated between 1876 and 1920, nearly half (6.8 million) went to other European countries." Stephen Castles and Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York: Guilford Press, 2009), 87.

⁸ Between 1876 and 1914, only 24 percent of Italian migrants arrived in South America, while most migrated within Europe (44 percent) and to North America (31 percent). Donna R Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 68. Classic studies on Italian migrants to São Paulo include: Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976); Thomas H Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

⁹ Within Brazil, the majority of Italians did arrive to São Paulo as agricultural workers, while fewer Italians arrived to the southern Brazilian states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, often with the intention of land ownership. Walter Nugent states, "A small number – tens of thousands among millions – of Italian and German settlers in state-sponsored nuclear colonies in southern Brazil or parts of the Argentine pampas achieved it [land ownership]." Walter Nugent, "Demographic Aspects of European Migration Worldwide," in *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*, ed. Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 75. See also: Herbert Klein, "European and Asian Migration to Brazil," in *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed. Robin Cohen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 208–14. Regarding the amount of Europeans who migrated to Brazil, "a recent estimate of total arrivals in the four major receivers alone – Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and the United States – puts them at 42 million for 1871 to 1914. Of that number, 70 percent went to the United States, 11 percent to Canada, just under 11 percent to Argentina, and 8 percent to Brazil." Nugent, "Demographic Aspects of European Migration Worldwide," 78. In B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: The Americas and Australasia* (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1983), series B7,

migrants were Italians.¹⁰ One of the most popular destinations for these Italian families was the migrant colony of Caxias, whose history is largely unknown outside of southern Brazil.¹¹ In fact, this historical study of Caxias is the first to be written in English, which alone makes it a significant addition to the diasporic historiography, yet its aim goes beyond that of a typical case study.

While thematically analyzing the social, political, and economic transformations that shaped Caxias, this study first narrows in on three individuals whose personal stories illustrate these changes, then widens to separately explore broad perspectives that add depth to our understanding of the local history of Caxias. Frequently, historians use wider lenses to offer some context to their work not to deepen its analysis, but this study uses the “nested lenses” of regional, national, diasporic, and global trends to analyze connections and to better explain local processes. Therefore, aside from being a case study of an Italian migrant community, this work demonstrates the importance of adopting a global paradigm through which to view local histories.

138-142. Nugent then suggests that, of the entire period of massive European migration, Brazil received about 7 to 10 percent of the European migrants. Ibid., 79. Of the massive European migration, approximately two million Europeans settled in Brazil. Ibid., 80.

¹⁰ For example, in 1886 Rio Grande do Sul received 7,600 Italian migrants and 336 migrants from all other European countries and regions combined. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). *Mappa Dos Immigrantes Entrados a Barra D'esta Provincia Durante O Anno de 1886* (Porto Alegre, RS: Secretaria da Policia em Porto Alegre, February 12, 1886).

¹¹ Within Rio Grande do Sul, most Italians either settled around Silveira Martins, an Italian community 175 miles west of Porto Alegre, or in the Italian region north of this port and state capital, which centered on three main colonies, one of which was Caxias. Although Caxiense scholars have produced an impressive quantity of literature on Caxias's history, nearly all of the current literature is written in Portuguese and therefore has found limited readership outside of Caxias, even among Italian migration scholars, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

One Migrant Community: Caxias, Brazil

Today, with over 435,000 people, Caxias is the second largest city in Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul, a far cry from its humble beginnings in 1875.¹² Starting with just three Italian families, its population quickly grew to almost 4,000 in three years, then approximately 10,000 by 1890.¹³ In 1913, Caxias had approximately 30,000 people.¹⁴ As Figure 1.1 illustrates, Caxias is located about eighty miles north of what was (and still is) the state's largest city, the capital, and major port of Porto Alegre. As the center of provincial authority and the state's link to the Brazilian national government, Porto Alegre and its ongoing relationship with Caxias were critical throughout the history of Caxias. It was also the port through which nearly all the Italian migrants passed en route to Caxias.

In 1875, the state government established Caxias as one of four main centers of purposefully "Italian" migrant colonies in the state.¹⁵ Modeled on successful German colonies that were previously established in the region during the early and mid-nineteenth century, Caxias was part of a provincial campaign to recruit Italian immigrants to Rio Grande do Sul. Interestingly, it did so without offering paid ocean passage like the recruitment of Italians laborers to São Paulo but instead promised plots of land that attracted whole families of Italians to Rio Grande do Sul as settlers, not sojourning

¹² The population of Caxias in 2010 was 435,564. *Estatística Brasileira - 2010*.

¹³ Maria Abel Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade: História de Caxias Do Sul, 1875-1950* (Caxias do Sul, RS, Brasil: Maneco Livraria & Editora, 2001), 81; Loraine Slomp Giron and Heloisa Eberle Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil* (Caxias do Sul: EDUCS - Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 2004), 198.

¹⁴ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 198.

¹⁵ Loraine Slomp Giron and Vania Beatriz Merlotti Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 1st ed. (Porto Alegre, RS: EST Edições, 2007), 45–59. Caxias was located about 22 miles east of the other two local centers of Conde D'Eu (later renamed Garibaldi) and Dona Isabel (later renamed Bento Gonçalves), and the fourth Italian colony of Silveira Martins was established about 135 miles further west of this northeastern center of Italian colonies.

laborers.¹⁶ Less than four decades later, Caxias was well on its way to constructing an image that would fulfill the declaration of the governor of Rio Grande do Sul in 1897—that Caxias was the “pearl of the colonies.”¹⁷

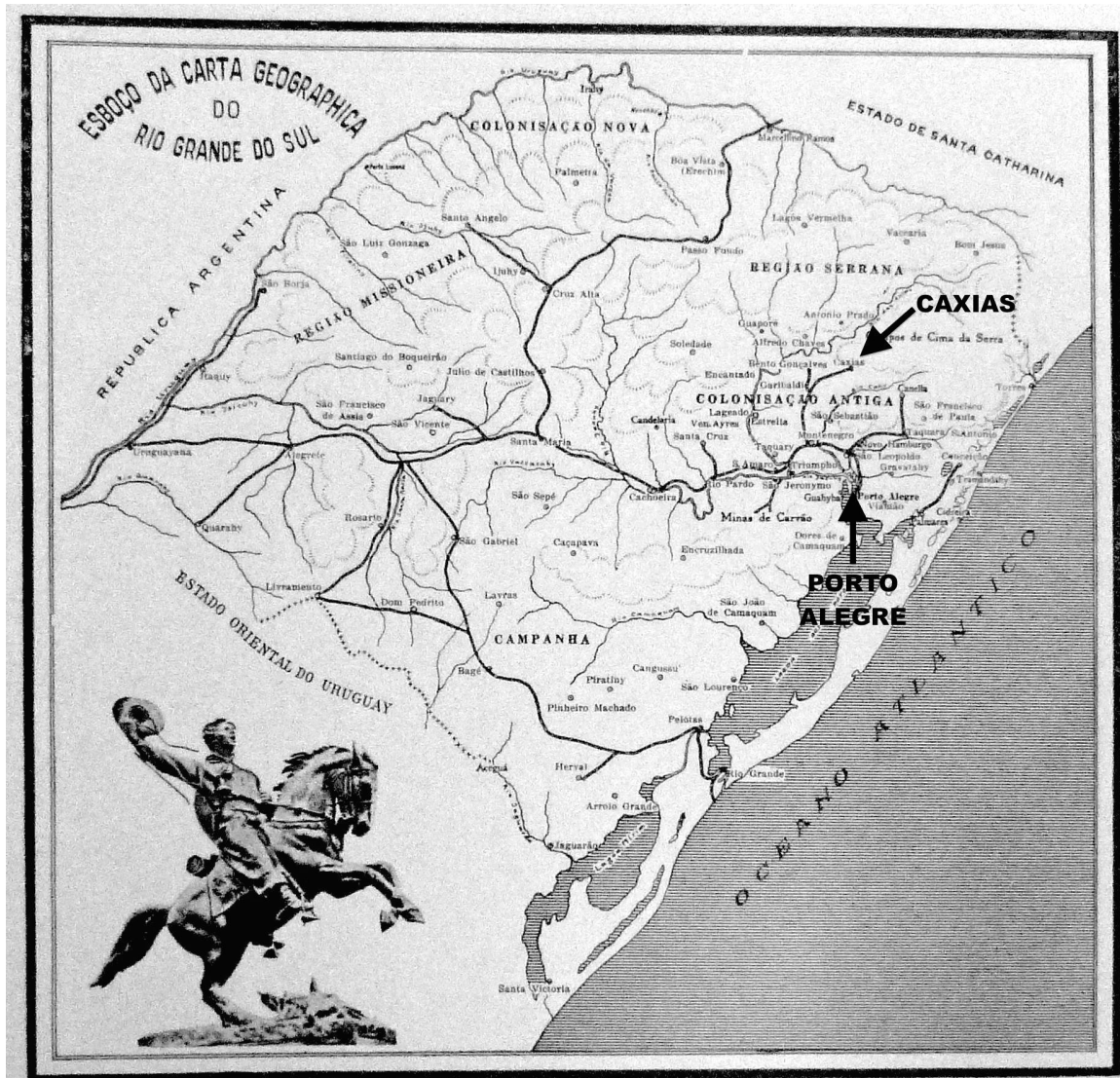


Figure 1.1 — Map of Rio Grande do Sul (1906).¹⁸

¹⁶ For a discussion of how the Brazilian state paid for the ocean passage of Italian migrants to São Paulo, see: Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 39. For a discussion of the Brazilian national government giving this land to the provincial government in 1870, and its subsequent demarcation of the land into plots, see: Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 47.

¹⁷ Buccelli, “Un viaggio a Río Grande del Sud,” 229.

¹⁸ Buccelli, “Un viaggio a Río Grande del Sud.”

The establishment and sustained success of Caxias is still a matter of great pride to the Italo-Brazilians of the region, which is why I was able to draw from such a wide variety of local scholarship. However, by widening my net and approaching this study from a global perspective, I hope to add nuance, outside perspective, and deeper understanding to this local historiography. With this in mind, I will introduce the necessary background with wider lenses before narrowing in on Caxias.

The Americas: A Region on the Move

Migrants are central to the *longue durée* history (a history that attempts to understand long-term historical structures) of the Americas.¹⁹ From the Arctic northern reaches, through the North American plains, within the Caribbean basin, and along the South American coastal shores to the Argentine pampas, migration is at the forefront of common narratives of the modern era.²⁰ Across the board, a similar storyline often emerges: indigenous peoples (themselves descended from ancient migrants) encountered European colonizers who soon brought African slaves, and then in the nineteenth century massive numbers of lower-class Europeans immigrated to the area.²¹ After the sharp indigenous population decline of the Great Dying, intercontinental migrants have uniquely and almost uniformly peopled the Americas over the past five hundred years.²² The same could not be said for Asia, the Middle East, Africa, or Europe.²³

¹⁹ This approach was coined by the Annales School and can be seen in the work of scholars such as Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

²⁰ Most historians agree that the modern era began around the late fifteenth century, which is the periodization I use here.

²¹ Donna Gabaccia, *Immigration and American Diversity: A Concise Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001); Magnus Mörner and Harold Sims, *Adventurers and Proletarians: The Story of Migrants in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press: Unesco, 1985).

²² The Great Dying refers to the massive and rapid population decline of indigenous people after Europeans brought new diseases with them to the Americas beginning in the late fifteenth century. In 2002, historian Dirk Hoerder, writing of the Great Dying in Latin America, summarized that “historians agree that

In the mid-nineteenth century, during the staggered abolition of slavery in the Americas that concluded with Brazil in 1888, European migration outpaced African forced migration to the Americas for the first time. Brazil was a primary destination of both migrations, meaning this study illustrates not only national, but also diasporic and global trends. It also means that Brazil can serve as a microcosm for the diasporic and global migration transitions that were taking place at this time. This transition found impetus in late-nineteenth-century Atlantic world ideologies of progress and civilization, which often included at their core theories of Social Darwinism that were the foundation of a “whitening” process, which some nations, such as Brazil, openly embraced.²⁴

All across the Americas, social dynamics shifted with the direct replacement of indigenous and afro-descendent populations by “white” European migrants. This broader social context sets the scene for interethnic social interactions in Brazil. As a whole, Latin America was an important destination for Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese, and within Latin America, Brazil was the primary destination for these migrants during the last two

population decline amounted to about 90 percent on average.” Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium*, Reprint (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2002), 189–190. This assessment is based on findings from: Alfred Worcester Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975); William Hardy McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York; Toronto: Doubleday, 1989).

²³ Although scholars such as historian Adam McKeown have made persuasive arguments for the inclusion of non-European migrants—such as Asian migrants—in this global process, many such migrants were intracontinental, rather than intercontinental, migrants. While my focus in this discussion is on intercontinental migrants, I discuss his arguments further in chapter 5. McKeown, Adam. “Global Migration, 1846-1940” in *Journal of World History*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Jun., 2004): 155-189.

²⁴ Regarding the whitening process in Brazil, see: Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945* (Duke University Press Books, 2003); Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Edward Eric Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2006).

decades of the nineteenth century.²⁵ This study broadens the analytical scope of migration studies to position southern Brazil within these global migration processes.²⁶

Just as northern Brazil was a major receiving area for the African diasporas during the colonial era, central Brazil was a major receiving area for the European diasporas of the late nineteenth century. In the central state of São Paulo, this transition was a result of direct recruitment at the national scale, which favored whitening the population. Italian migrants, more than any other European migrant group, arrived here during this period. The strongest migration chain linked northern Italy and the coffee fields of São Paulo, yet other migration systems were present as well.²⁷

Although the chains linking the European regions of Veneto and Trentino to the southern regions of Brazil were less numerous and have been studied less frequently, they were significant—partly because they differ from these other national and diasporic trends.²⁸ Nevertheless, these migrants are relatively absent from migration scholarship

²⁵ Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 147–148. The migration to South America constituted roughly 23 percent of the massive migration of Europeans to the Americas. Between 1854 and 1924 over 75 percent of the immigrants to Latin America were Italians (38 percent), Spaniards (28 percent), and Portuguese (11 percent). Robin Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 203. Classic works on Italian migrants to Latin America include: Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 2004); Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*. A classic study on Spanish migrants to Latin America is: Jose C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

²⁶ José Moya makes a persuasive argument for the importance of these migrations to Latin America in his article, “A Continent of Immigrants: Postcolonial Shifts in the Western Hemisphere” in *Hispanic American Historical Review* (Feb. 2006) vol. 86, no. 1. This process also involved Asian migrants to the Americas, although in smaller numbers. Adam McKeown, “Global Migration, 1846-1940,” *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (June 1, 2004): 155–89; Walton L. Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1993).

²⁷ For example, in a discussion that centers on São Paulo, historian Thomas Holloway states, “In the 1888–1897 decade more Italians emigrated to Brazil than to any other country.” Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 42. I use the term migration chains here, rather than the concept of networks that is currently more common in migration scholarship, to indicate that these particular chains were not as connected to one another as the concept of networks would imply.

²⁸ Of the migrants from Veneto between 1876 and 1914, 81 percent migrated within Europe, while only 19 percent migrated to the Americas. Of this 19 percent, only 3 percent migrated to the United States, meaning

due also to chronology and geography. Within South America, Caxias was neither part of the more numerous Italian migrations to São Paulo in the late nineteenth century nor to Buenos Aires in the early twentieth century.²⁹ Instead, it stands chronologically and geographically between the two dominant migration chains from Italy to Latin America and, therefore, often gets overlooked.

Migration to Caxias challenges several migration trends in a variety of ways. As a whole, Europeans typically arrived to the Americas as settlers, but Italian migrants are uniquely described as sojourners, so these Italian settlers of Caxias defy the Italian diasporic trend of sojourning while aligning with global migration trends.³⁰ In another departure from the norm, the vast majority of migrants to Caxias arrived as families, not just as single, young males.³¹ Between 1876 and 1915, only 19 percent of the 14 million Italian migrants to the Americas were female, but due to Caxias' settler families, the figures for female migrants there skew much higher, at approximately 40 percent (1057 men versus 816 women) between 1875 and 1886.³²

that a significant percentage of this remaining 16 percent likely migrated to the top two South American destinations: Brazil before 1900 and Argentina after 1900. The percentages are from: Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 70.

²⁹ Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 47. At the global scale in the early twentieth century, Buenos Aires and New York City had the two largest single concentrations of Italians outside of Italy.

³⁰ As covered in chapter 5, Italian migrants—particularly during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century—are often considered uniquely unsettled migrants. In fact, historian Donna Gabaccia introduces her book on Italian diasporas with this sentence: “Since 1800 over 27 million Italians have left home, but over half have returned to Italy.” Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, preface. Historian Linda Reeder discusses how this sojourning influenced migrant households in Italy in: Linda Reeder, *Widows in White Migration and the Transformation of Rural Italian Women, Sicily, 1880-1920* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

³¹ For example, the block-by-block list of residents from 1881 to 1884 shows that the majority of households were families: *Assessoria para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração e Colonização*, vol. 10 (Caxias do Sul: Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 1993), 68–98.

³² In this way, it also adds to studies, especially of the last two decades, that focus on Italian female migrants and families, such as: Donna R Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, *Women, Gender and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Donna R Gabaccia, *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S., 1820-1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Kathie Friedman-Kasaba, *Memories of Migration Gender, Ethnicity, and Work in the Lives of Jewish and Italian Women in New York, 1870-1924* (Albany, N.Y.:

Although Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul is currently renowned as a region heavily influenced by Europeans in both population and culture, this was not always the case. In the early nineteenth century, the state hosted the third largest proportion of Afro-Brazilians per capita in the country, at 39 percent of the provincial population, while indigenous peoples comprised almost 13 percent of the provincial population.³³ This meant that over 50 percent of the population of Rio Grande do Sul were considered non-white in 1824, when the state established the first German colonies. When the state began to recruit German colonists, it also forced many indigenous Brazilians onto reservations in the far northern regions of the state.³⁴

Meanwhile, Afro-Brazilians across Brazil experienced forced relocations as well, which stemmed from two converging factors. First, during the nineteenth century an economic shift occurred that moved wealth from northeastern Brazil to southeastern and southern Brazil.³⁵ Because wealth at that time was measured by including slaves (at a quantifiable value), slave-holdings similarly shifted from a northern colonial center to

State University of New York Press, 1996). The figures for Caxias were calculated from "Table 13: Age of Immigrants, Colônia Caxia, 1875-1886" in Loraine Slomp Giron, *Caxias Do Sul - Evolução Histórica* (Porto Alegre; Caxias do Sul: Escola Superior de Teologia São Lourenço de Brindes; Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 1977), 35.

³³ Regarding the proportion of Afro-Brazilians in Rio Grande do Sul: Conversation with Karl Monsma, 2010. Regarding indigenous population statistics: Between 1814 and 1830, the percentage diminished from 12.9 percent to 11.7 percent. Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 23–24. The percentages listed in the text were calculated from historians Loraine Slomp Giron and Heliosa Eberle Bergamaschi who summarized that the state population in 1820 was "composed of 32,000 whites, 5,399 men of color (free), 20,611 men of color (slaves) and 8,655 indigenous." Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 181.

³⁴ The first Germans arrived in Rio Grande do Sul in 1824, which was two years after Brazil's independence from Portugal. Nelson Boeira Faedrich and Tau Golin, eds., *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas* (Passo Fundo, RS: Méritos Editora, 2009), 110–111. For more information on the forced relocation of the indigenous see: *O Índio No Rio Grande Do Sul - Perspectivas* (Comissão Executiva de Homenagem ao Índio, 1975).

³⁵ Emilia Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 125–171.

further down the coast of Brazil.³⁶ In fact, by the late nineteenth century, Porto Alegre—the capital of this southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul—was the third wealthiest city in Brazil.³⁷ The second important factor was the abolition of the slave trade, which was enforced in Brazil in 1850. Suddenly lacking an external source of slaves, the wealthy southern states of Brazil sought an internal source of labor, often Afro-Brazilian slaves from further north. In subsequent histories, Brazil and the state of Rio Grande do Sul attempted to downplay these forced migrations; however, it is within this context that the state recruitment of new white European migrants to Rio Grande do Sul took place.³⁸ Hence, the state is now known for the European influence of its German and Italian migrants, not indigenous or Afro-Brazilians, who did in fact have, within the past century and a half, a significant presence in the region.

Primary Arguments

The scholarship regarding early Caxias history, from 1870 to 1910, currently under-acknowledges the important role played by the state, non-Italians, and global trends. First, the state—at both the provincial and national scales—played a significant role in helping Caxias establish itself as the economically successful city it is today. Second, although Caxias was founded as an “Italian” migrant community, the minority of non-Italians who lived and worked there contributed considerably to the colony’s establishment and subsequent success. Third, the broad trends and changes of the late

³⁶ For an explanation of how and why the slave population of Brazil increased in southeastern Brazil as it declined in northeastern Brazil see: Ibid., 159–166.

³⁷ Additional information can be found in: Buccelli, “Un viaggio a Río Grande del Sud,” 229. Other major cities in Rio Grande do Sul, such as Pelotas and Rio Grande, may have also gained significant wealth during this period.

³⁸ Costa, *The Brazilian Empire*.

nineteenth to early twentieth century at all scales—global, diasporic, national, and provincial—influenced local Caxias. In sum, despite the current Italo-centric scholarship of Caxias's early history, these other forces provided major contributions during the foundational shaping of this Italian pearl of the colonies.

Role of the State

The considerable influence of Rio Grande do Sul's provincial government, as well as Brazilian's national government, is not ignored in early Caxias scholarship, but it is certainly downplayed to a disproportionate degree. Local scholarship typically mentions the importance of the state in its recruitment of Italian migrants with offers of plots of land, yet it rarely recognizes the state's assistance to these migrants beyond their recruitment and initial arrival. However, my research clearly demonstrates that the Brazilian state—both provincial and national—provided far more than this initial assistance by directly supporting and administering many aspects of this migrant community's social, political, and economic life for nearly two decades until its emancipation from state control. Yet even then, the state continued to influence these aspects of Caxias life, albeit less overtly, for two additional decades.

These first four decades of Caxias's history, 1870–1910, saw a slow transition that eventually shifted control from the state to the local community of mostly Italian migrants; however, the state's role during these years was critical in setting Caxias up for the successes it obtained thereafter. The initial and final years of this period—1870 and 1910—bookend this argument solidly. In 1870, the state set aside the land to allow for the arrival of Italian migrants five years later; then, in 1910, the state solidified the successful establishment of Caxias by raising Caxias's official status from a town to a

city and by finishing the construction of a railroad connection between it and Porto Alegre.

The role of the Brazilian state in the historiography of Caxias often begins with the migrant recruitment and provision of land lots in 1875; it typically ends with the formal emancipation from provincial authority in 1890.³⁹ Instead of the state, focus is placed on the rather autonomous advancement of Caxias, built on the shoulders of its Italian migrants in a typical bootstrap narrative.⁴⁰ The story begins with three pioneer families—the Radaelli family, the Crippa family, and the Sperafigo family—who, in 1875, were led by an indigenous man, Luíz Antônio, to the land promised by the state. Through the ingenuity and hard work of these three families, the disappointingly mountainous and rocky terrain became impressively productive agricultural land. Soon, a flood of Italian migrants followed these three families and repeated this bootstrap story, eventually building Caxias into a wealthy, economically successful city known for its metallurgy and vineyards. In Rio Grande do Sul, which is a state with many migrant

³⁹ The significance of the 1890 and 1910 events in Caxias are frequently discussed in local historiography. Two examples include: Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*; Eliana Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul* (Caxias do Sul: EDUCS - Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 2004).

⁴⁰ The books produced in 1925, 1950, and 1975 for the celebrations of Caxias's founding provide good examples of the consistency of this narrative over the twentieth century: Mário Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, vol. 1 (Caxias do Sul: Universidade de Caxias do Sul, n.d.), 18; "Cinquantenario Della Colonizzazione Italiana nel Rio Grande del Sul: 1875-1925, La cooperazione degli Italiani al progresso civile ed economico del Rio Grande del Sud" (Comitato Coloniale Italiano, 1925), AHRS; "Exposição Municipal de Caxias - Commemorativa Do Primeiro Cincoentenario Da Imigração Italiana No RGS," 1925; Antonio Pieruccini, Toucredo Appia Feijó, and João Paternoster, "A Municipalidade de Caxias em Memoria aos seus Pioneiros no Premeiro Cincoentenario de sua Fundação (1875-1925)," 1925, AHMJSA; Celeste Gobatto, "Correspondencia Expedida Pelo Intendente Municipal de Caxias Pelo Cinquentenário Da Colonização Italiana Ao RS" (Caxias do Sul, 1925), AHMJSA; Duminiense Paranhos Antunes, "Documentário Histórico Do Município De Caxias Do Sul - 1875-1950," 1950; José Bacchieri Duarte, ed., *Centenário Da Imigração Italiana, Centenario Della Immigrazione Italiana: 1875-1975: Rio Grande Do Sul, Brasil* (Porto Alegre, RS: Editora Edel Ltda., 1975); Henrique D'Avila Bertaso and Mario De Almeida Lima, eds., "Álbum Comemorativo do 75 Aniversário da Colonização Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul: Orgão Oficial da Festa da Uva e Exposição Agro-Industrial: 1950" (Porto Alegre: Revista do Globo S. A., 1950), AHMJSA. As a note, I found no similar source or discussion in the primary sources of a twenty-fifth-year celebration in 1900.

colonies of varying success, Caxias grew from a colony, into a town, and then a city that became the standard-bearer for all the provincial migrant communities.⁴¹ However, this bootstrap narrative often omits—or at least downplays—the ongoing role the state played in early Caxias history, which includes its contribution to the influence of non-Italians in this “Italian” migrant community.

Contributions of Non-Italians

Because the local historiography often downplays the influence of non-Italians in Caxias, it is important to prove that non-Italians were present in Caxias and that they indeed interacted with Italians. Despite Caxias’s designation as an “Italian” migrant community, complex interethnic interactions did exist there between Italians and non-Italians, particularly Brazilians hired by the state. While some of these Brazilians were not fully integrated into the community, others were assimilated. In fact, many established themselves in significant positions socially, politically, and economically. Integrated or not, these Brazilians were always the numeric minority in Caxias, so their influence was not in terms of population, but instead was due to the unique positions that they held and the resulting interethnic dynamic this created.

Many of the Brazilians in Caxias before its emancipation in 1890 were paid by the state to serve in one of two types of roles in Caxias: administrators or laborers. For example, from 1875 to 1890, while Caxias was under the direct authority of Porto Alegre as a colony of the state, nearly all Caxias’s administrators were Brazilians. This trend did not end in 1890 but instead continued as a gradual transition from Brazilian to Italian

⁴¹ Starting in 1824, Rio Grande do Sul established numerous German colonies in the area north of Porto Alegre and south of where Caxias would later be established. Of the German colonies, São Leopoldo and its accompanying Novo Hamburgo were two of the most economically successful. Between 1875 and 1877, the province established four main Italian migrant colonies, one of them being Caxias.

administrators until the early twentieth century.⁴² While some Brazilian administrators appear to have resided in Porto Alegre or elsewhere, many made a home for themselves in Caxias. Also, the laborers initially hired by the state were typically Brazilians—although, unsurprisingly, the transition from Brazilian to Italian laborers shifted earlier and more rapidly than did the same transition within administrative positions. Therefore, although an Italian majority always existed in early Caxias, their power was trumped by those in political and economic positions of leadership who, for the first two decades, were almost exclusively Brazilians. This population and power dynamic caused tensions between the Brazilians and the ever-rising numbers of Italian migrants, and eventually resulted in the failed political revolutions of the 1890s.

In these complex interethnic interactions, two distinct ethnic camps originally existed: one, a relatively small pool of Brazilian administrators and laborers, and the other, a rising tide of Italian migrants. However, as the political leadership of Caxias transitioned from state to local authority, social, political, and economic allegiances sometimes outweighed these ethnic associations. Eventually, by the early twentieth century the lines between “Brazilian” and “Italian” in Caxias became blurred.⁴³ Yet, in an ironic twist, the developing image of Caxias in the twentieth century erased these lines almost completely, instead promoting a purely Italian success story—the economically

⁴² Lists of these administrators can be found in several local secondary sources, but most of these refer back to the various lists included in: João Spadari Adami, *História De Caxias Do Sul (1864-1970)*, 1970. Brazilians remained in leadership for the majority of the years between 1890 until the mayorship of Celeste Gobatto from 1924 to 1928. The two exceptions to these were the three Italian men in the Junta Governativa from 1890 to 1892, and Vicente Rovea’s mayorship from 1907 to 1910.

⁴³ For example, because any person born in Brazil during this time was considered by the Brazilian state to be a Brazilian citizen, there was, by the twentieth century, an increasingly large population in “Italian” Caxias who were—at least legally—Brazilian citizens. I discuss the resulting complexities of these terms later in this chapter.

flourishing pearl of the colonies—built by proud migrants who raised themselves up by their own bootstraps.

Therefore, although the early history of Caxias is exemplified by Italians like Abramo Eberle, who founded an internationally successful company from his home there, non-Italians are equally representative, especially people like Luíz Antônio, the indigenous man who led the first migrants to Caxias, and José Cândido de Campos Junior, the Afro-Brazilian who was its first elected mayor.⁴⁴ While these three individuals go under the microscope in this study, a broader lens is required to see the wide expanse of influences at work in this local history.

Local to Global through Nested Lenses

Scholars frequently use broader lenses to merely provide context but fail to use these lenses to deepen their analysis. However, the importance of analyzing microlevel studies at the meso and macrolevels should not be understated.⁴⁵ This all-inclusive approach not only provides context but also allows for the adoption of a global paradigm through which to view local processes. The early history of Caxias exemplifies the significance of such broader analysis by demonstrating how regional, national, diasporic, and global trends of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century influenced this one local migrant community.

Conversely, Caxias's history also raises questions that contribute to and deepen our current understanding of these broader histories. In other words, why does this one community matter at the regional, national, diasporic, and global levels? Provincially, the

⁴⁴ Luíz Antônio is most often referred to as Luíz Bugre in the local scholarship. In the introduction of chapter 2, a footnote explains my choice to use the former name as opposed to the latter.

⁴⁵ A recurring theme at the 2013 World History Association conference was the need for more studies that shift lenses between the micro, meso, and macrolevels. Hoerder provides a particular emphasis on the mesolevel in: Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*.

story of Italian Caxias, while becoming the quintessential model of a successful migrant community, neglects the role of the state and non-Italians who were critical to its success. Nationally, Caxias's early history challenges the image of Italian immigrants as agricultural workers but not landowners. Within the Italian diaspora, Caxias stands out due to its settlement by migrant families instead of single male sojourners. And globally, the early history of Caxias illustrates that interactions between the state and migrants were often vital in the development of migrant communities.

Therefore, this study concludes with a discussion of the congruency and divergence between micro, meso, and macrotrends in the early history of Caxias. This provides far more than a wider context, but instead—and this is of crucial importance—offers the opportunity for deeper analysis, broader perspective, and better explanations of the processes at work, from the local to the global.

Historiographies

This study contributes to the scholarship of two historiographies: the microhistory of Caxias, Brazil, and the macrohistory of world migration. At the local scale, it complicates the generally accepted Italo-centric narrative, while also expanding the potential influence of Caxias history by introducing it into the predominately English language literature of world migration. Within world migration scholarship, this study answers the call for an increased emphasis on the role of the state in migration studies and also utilizes a nested lenses approach to view Caxias history through increasingly broad perspectives that provide a model for world history as a research field. Although rooted in archival sources, this study incorporates and advances these bodies of

secondary literature throughout to paint a fuller picture of early Caxias history and its many connections to the world at large.

Caxias Scholarship

The quantity of literature regarding Caxias history is impressive, beginning with some earlier works that are valuable as both secondary and primary sources. For example, for the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Caxias in 1925—and at every quarter century since—celebratory albums were produced that focus on Caxias’s history since 1875. These albums provide windows into how the popular narrative of Caxias’s early history developed over time, but they also give some helpful historical details.⁴⁶ Informal and formal historians alike have recorded Caxias’s history, most notably starting with João Spadari Adami, whose work to preserve this local history earned him a permanent place within it.⁴⁷ Although trained as a barber, Adami created numerous works that popularized the historical study of Caxias, frequently interspersing secondary text with typed transcriptions of historic documents often not available elsewhere.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Unfortunately, I have found no records or albums from a significant celebration in 1900 but have found some records for the 1925 celebration, such as: Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 1:18; Loraine Slomp Giron and Heloisa Eberle Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio: 125 Anos de Imigração Italiana E O Comércio Regional* (Caxias do Sul, RS, Brasil: EDUCS - Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 2001), 124. Examples of albums published for these celebratory events include: “Cinquantenario Della Colonizzazione Italiana nel Rio Grande del Sul: 1875-1925, La cooperazione degli Italiani al progresso civile ed economico del Rio Grande del Sud”; “Exposição Municipal de Caxias - Commemorativa Do Primeiro Cincoentenário Da Imigração Italiana No RGS”; Pieruccini, Appia Feijó, and Paternoster, “A Municipalidade de Caxias em Memoria aos seus Pioneiros no Premeiro Cincoentenário de sua Fundação (1875-1925)”; Gobatto, “Correspondencia Expedida Pelo Intendente Municipal de Caxias Pelo Cinquentenário Da Colonização Italiana Ao RS.” Subsequent celebration albums include: Antunes, “Documentário Histórico Do Município De Caxias Do Sul - 1875-1950”; Bacchieri Duarte, *Centenário Da Imigração Italiana, Centenario Della Immigrazione Italiana: 1875-1975: Rio Grande Do Sul, Brasil*; Bertaso and Lima, “Álbun Comemorativo do 75 Aniversário da Colonização Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul: Orgão Oficial da Festa da Uva e Exposição Agro-Industrial: 1950.”

⁴⁷ For example, the municipal archive of Caxias is named after him: Arquivo Histórico Municipal João Spadari Adami.

⁴⁸ Unfortunately, Adami rarely provides citations for these transcribed primary sources. Because many of his sources are not available elsewhere, I have instead favored primary sources currently available in

Following his lead, many contemporary scholars have written general histories of Caxias, of the Italian migrant colonies, and of Italian migration to Rio Grande do Sul.⁴⁹ These works are typically written by Caxiense (residents of Caxias), or at least feature Caxias prominently throughout, and feature topical discussions such as social customs, daily life, religion, and economics. More recently, academically trained scholars have produced the few non-Italo-centric scholarly works on Caxias's early history.

Much of the existing historiography omits the discussion of non-Italians in Caxias. One of the most direct and persuasive correctives to this exclusionary image is the article which translates to, "Non-Italian Immigrants in Caxias" published in 1993 in *Colônia Caxias* and subsequently republished by the Universidade de Caxias do Sul in "Works on Matters of Settlement, Immigration and Colonization."⁵⁰ Although presented as an article by Mário Gardelin, all but three introductory paragraphs are actually select transcriptions of the non-Italian entries from a very rich primary source that lists all the residents recorded from 1875 to 1879.⁵¹ While many of the ethnicities listed by Gardelin still remain relatively unexplored in the literature, scholars have more recently begun to research the presence and influence of indigenous groups and Afro-Brazilians in the

archives. I have only infrequently utilized his uncited primary source transcriptions after finding no other available sources. His general history of Caxias that is most frequently used as a reference for historians is: Adami, *História De Caxias Do Sul (1864-1970)*. Another source that was unlikely written by a formally trained historian, but which I did rely on more heavily because there is such scant scholarship regarding Luiz Antônio was: Fidélis Dalcin Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Indígena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães* (Porto Alegre: Escola Superior de Teologia São Lourenço de Brindes, 1977).

⁴⁹ An example of a general history of Caxias is: Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*. Most contemporary general histories of Caxias are contained within regional studies, such as: Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*; Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*.

⁵⁰ Unfortunately, this collection does not list its publication date.

⁵¹ This "Registry of Immigrants of the Colonial Area of Nova Palmira" states that it covers the years 1876 to 1879 but, as Gardelin explains, it also includes many immigrants who arrived in 1875. Nova Palmira was one of the many early names given to Caxias. An early footnote in chapter 2 provides a chronology and brief explanation of the various names for Caxias in this early period. Mário Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, vol. 2 (Caxias do Sul: Universidade de Caxias do Sul, n.d.).

region.⁵² For example, Luiz Antônio Alves is a leading researcher on indigenous groups in the Caxias area, but also more broadly within the state of Rio Grande do Sul.⁵³

Typically, the vast majority of this scholarship establishes indigenous presence in the area by the early nineteenth century, analyzes indigenous and German migrant relations in the German colonies, and concludes before Caxias was established in the 1870s because indigenous groups were largely resettled at this point.⁵⁴ In contrast, the scholarship regarding Afro-Brazilians in Caxias typically begins its analysis after 1910, often in the 1920s and 1930s. Loraine Slomp Giron, along with a few of her current and former graduate students, produced the bulk of this scholarship within the last decade, which demonstrates a growing scholarly interest in the history of non-Italians in Caxias, although neither it nor the indigenous scholarship includes the 1870 to 1910 era of this study.⁵⁵

Additionally, none of this non-Italian scholarship focuses on interethnic interactions, or on Brazilians in particular, so my findings on these topics further enhance

⁵² *Ibid.* His groupings that were most helpful for this study were: indigenous, Austrian, and Milanese. The other ethnicities he listed that, unfortunately, seem to be relatively unexplored still in the scholarship include: Spanish, German, Polish, French, English, Swiss, Belgian, and German Russians. The number of these immigrants varies from just one Belgian man to extensive lists of Germans and German Russians, who were primarily family members.

⁵³ He should not be confused with the nineteenth century indigenous man named Luiz Antônio who figured prominently in Caxias's early history. Luiz Antônio Alves, *O Povo Serrano: Tema de Palestras* (Porto Alegre: EST Edições, 2002); Loraine Slomp Giron et al., *Palestras Semana de Caxias 2008*, transcribed audio recording, 2008, AHMJSA.

⁵⁴ Other examples of this scholarship and relevant sources include: Bernardin D'Apremont and Bruno de Gillonnay, *Comunidades Indígenas, Brasileiras, Polonesas E Italianas No Rio Grande Do Sul (1896-1915)* (Porto Alegre; Caxias do Sul: Escola Superior de Teologia São Lourenço de Brindes; Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 1976); Santor Fernando Bringmann, "Fronteiras Da Inclusão E Da Exclusão: Reflexos Do Contato Entre Os Kaingangues E as Frentes de Expansão (Séc. XIX)," in *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas* (Passo Fundo, RS, Brasil: Méritos Editora, 2009); Os Kaingangs: An Interview with Paulo Nazereno, transcribed audio recording, June 17, 2010, AHMJSA.

⁵⁵ Giron has published a work which covers the northern region of Rio Grande do Sul, while historian Lucas Caregnato's work focuses specifically on Caxias. Loraine Slomp Giron, *Presença Africana na Serra Gaúcha: Subsídios* (Caxias do Sul: Lei de Incentivo à Cultura da Prefeitura Municipal de Caxias do Sul, 2009); Lucas Caregnato, *A Outra Face: A Presença de Afro-descendentes em Caixas do Sul, 1900 a 1950* (Caxias do Sul, RS: Maneco, 2010). Although Caregnato's work states a 1900 start date, the majority of the content begins in the 1920s.

the available literature. Although recent local Caxias scholarship has begun to acknowledge non-Italians in the history of Caxias, it typically discusses only one non-Italian group in isolation, such as Afro-Brazilians, while little to none of the literature on Caxias's early history analyzes the interethnic interactions between Italians and non-Italians. Therefore, my analysis of the interactions between two different ethnic groups is unique to Caxias scholarship; however, it follows in the footsteps of other Brazilian scholars, such as Karl Monsma and George Reid Andrews, whose works detail conflicts between Italians and Afro-Brazilians in São Paulo.⁵⁶ The tendency to focus on one ethnic group of migrants is also quite common within current migration scholarship as a whole, like the excellent works of Samuel Baily on Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City and José Moya on Spaniards in Buenos Aires.⁵⁷ However, these types of studies also lack substantial analysis of interactions between the migrants they are researching with other ethnic groups. By arguing that Brazilians played a significant role in the Italian migrants' successful establishment of early Caxias, my study advances the local scholarship by beginning the discussion of interethnic interactions between Italians and Brazilians in Caxias during the formative decades of its early history. Also, I not only analyze interethnic conflict—the typical focus of such studies—but also cooperation, which provides a more nuanced view of a wider range of social interactions and demonstrates that interethnic interactions sometimes benefit both parties.

⁵⁶ Two works that focus on either cooperation or conflict, but briefly include both ranges of the continuum, include: Karl Monsma, "Symbolic Conflict, Deadly Consequences: Fights between Italians and Blacks in Western São Paulo, 1888-1914," *Journal of Social History* 4, no. 4 (2006): 1123–52; George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*, 1st ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).

⁵⁷ Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*; Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*.

While I am indebted to the work of these previous and current Caxiense scholars who have recorded and preserved its history, my study also challenges the Italo-centric bootstrap narrative that predominates in this local literature. This relatively consistent narrative, found in everything from Caxias's celebratory anniversary albums to recent academic scholarship, glorifies the accomplishments of the Italian migrants and emphasizes the *Italianità* or Italianness of Caxias. While most of this bias seems due to local partiality, Adami—celebrated as the current namesake of the local archive for being the first to write a comprehensive history of Caxias—occasionally goes so far over the top that he seems to be satirizing the very bias that his work encourages. For example, more than 500 pages into his epic 1970 volume, *História De Caxias Do Sul*, he concludes by recounting the biblical story of creation in which, following the biblical description of the third day of creation, Adami continues “And, on this day, the third after God created the sea and the land ... a part was also created [that was] predestined by His Creator, to be grandiose and that would be called a first love of his heart: ... Caxias.”⁵⁸

Although Adami's work goes furthest in overexalting Italian successes, Caxias scholarship as a whole often neglects the influences of the state and non-Italians. Because the majority of this local scholarship favors local primary sources from Caxias, rather than those in the state archives in the capitol of Porto Alegre, I chose to augment local sources and secondary literature with primary sources found in these provincial archives. These provincial sources illustrate the state's significant involvement in the success of the

⁵⁸ Adami, *História De Caxias Do Sul (1864-1970)*, 533.

early Italian settlers to Caxias and the economic success of Caxias in the decades that followed.⁵⁹

The vast majority—if not all—of Caxias scholarship is written in Portuguese by local scholars.⁶⁰ Therefore, Caxias remains largely unknown to scholars of migration history outside of Brazil, and sometimes unknown even to those outside the state of Rio Grande do Sul. The historian Donna Gabaccia, an esteemed scholar of the Italian diaspora, accurately states, “We know much about immigrants from Italy in ... Brazil,” but the vast majority of this knowledge centers first on those arriving to São Paulo and second on the combined knowledge of those arriving to southern Brazil.⁶¹ Consequently, my study not only increases the reach of Caxias scholarship to include English-speaking scholars beyond Rio Grande do Sul, but also expands the current understanding of Italian migrants to Brazil within world migration scholarship.

World Migration Scholarship

Among world migration histories, this study answers the call for a renewed importance of analyzing the role of the state, while also establishing a model for the utilization of broader paradigms with which to view local histories. By demonstrating the state’s foundational influence on the social, political, and economic spheres in early

⁵⁹ The majority of the scholarship produced on Caxias focuses on local documents contained in the municipal archive (AHMJSA), as well as private collections available to scholars. An example that demonstrates this is: Heloisa Eberle Bergamaschi, *Abramo e Seus Filhos: Cartas familiares 1920-1945* (Caxias do Sul, RS, Brasil: EDUCS - Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 2005). As an Eberle herself, Bergamaschi had access to the family letters (*cartas familiares*) of Abramo Eberle and his children (*Abramo e Seus Filhos*) that formed the basis of her work. Examples of other Caxias scholars whose work, similar to mine, makes heavy use of provincial documents from Porto Alegre archives include: Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*; Roberto R. F. do Nascimento, *A Formação Urbana de Caxias Do Sul*, 1st ed. (Caxias do Sul, RS, Brasil: EDUCS - Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 2009).

⁶⁰ Although some publications regarding Caxias’s early history include abstracts in both Portuguese and English, I have found little other relevant English language scholarship on the topic.

⁶¹ Gabaccia, *Italy’s Many Diasporas*, 9. Southern Brazil includes the states of Santa Catarina and Paraná, as well as Rio Grande do Sul.

Caxias history, my study aligns with the current trend within migration studies and other historical scholarship to bring the state back into the analysis.⁶² An emphasis on the role of the state is the next logical progression within the long trajectory of the historiography. Before the 1970s, in the social sciences generally and in history specifically, the power of the elites and political entities was emphasized in the shaping of the narrative, but these literatures have since moved away from elite political history and toward social history that embraces daily life and the agency of ordinary people. Presently, the prominence of social history is critiqued as an overcompensation that often neglected or downplayed the agency of political actors like the state. Historians Nancy Green and François Weil summarize it well in *Citizenship and Those Who Leave*: “They [States] too are actors in the migration drama ... [;] immigration needs to be understood at the intersection of structural and individual agency.”⁶³

The current literature discusses the importance of further scholarship on the agency of the state.⁶⁴ In the preface to this same monograph by Green and Weil within their “Studies in World Migrations” series, editors Donna Gabaccia and Leslie Page Moch emphasize the contribution that the study makes in balancing a global view without losing sight of the continued importance of the role of the state in migration

⁶² Although my focus is on the field of migration studies, it is important to note that this renewed importance on the state can be seen generally in the field, as well as in other relevant fields such as those of Latin American and Brazilian historiographies, such as: Peter B Evans et al., *Bringing the State Back in* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, eds., *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2000); Peter M. Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2001).

⁶³ Nancy L Green and François Weil, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 8.

⁶⁴ Migration scholars often use the phrase, “bringing the state back in,” such as the works previously listed and: Leo Lucassen, David Feldman, and Jochen Oltmer, *Paths of Integration: Migrants in Western Europe (1880–2004)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

experiences.⁶⁵ Also, historians Jan and Leo Lucassen claim that one of the three conclusions of their work *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* is the “importance of the emergence of the nation state” within migration.⁶⁶

Fortunately, emerging migration research has heeded these scholarly calls for a movement toward bringing the state back into the analysis. For example, migration historian Adam McKeown argues that governmental attempts to regulate national borders play an important role in globalization.⁶⁷ Also, a collaborative work titled *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium* encourages such approaches by stating: “The State and its policies are thus central to explaining contemporary migration for theoretical as well as practical reasons. Nothing invalidates traditional approaches to migration as effectively as border control policies.”⁶⁸

In the case of Caxias, I have highlighted the underacknowledged role of the state, while simultaneously recognizing the agency of the actors that social history brought to the fore. By featuring a prominent local figure in each chapter, my study acknowledges the agency of individuals of Caxias, but my choice of individuals—an indigenous guide, an Afro-Brazilian politician, and an Italian entrepreneur—intentionally demonstrates interethnic contributions to the narrative. I also focus on state recruitment policies, administrative decisions, and political ideologies that helped establish the long-term success of Caxias. My acknowledgement of both individual and political agency attempts

⁶⁵ Green and Weil, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave*.

⁶⁶ Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern; New York: P. Lang, 2005), 32.

⁶⁷ Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders*, Reprint (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

⁶⁸ Douglas S Massey, *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 2005), 14.

to rebalance the prevailing Italo-centric narrative of Caxias history, but in order to establish an even better understanding of the history, a broader approach is necessary.

Although this work is anchored to the historic migrant community of Caxias, it is more than a local case study. Instead, it is a world history study that analyzes the connections between micro, meso, and macrotrends through an approach of nested lenses. This approach provides more than just a contextual framework by focusing on the many kinds of connections between local processes in Caxias and regional, national, diasporic, and global trends. Through these nested perspectives, my study builds on a substantial body of world and global history literature that demonstrates how these micro, meso, and macrotrends influence one another.

Migration scholars are now looking to world and global scholarship for models that take a broader view in framing the geographic and temporal parameters of a study. Extensive works, such as those by migrationists Robin Cohen and Dirk Hoerder, demonstrate part of this trend, but also show that such works need not be merely encyclopedic but can effectively advance the field by globalizing migration history.⁶⁹ Both works incorporate the entire geographical range of the globe, with Cohen's spanning the past five hundred years, while Hoerder's includes the start of human history to the present.⁷⁰ World historian Patrick Manning's *Migration in World History* also covers the entire globe from the earliest human migrations to the present.⁷¹ These works illustrate the usefulness of comprehensive, wide-scope global histories of human

⁶⁹ Examples of classic works that take the continents relevant to this study as the parameters for their studies of migrants are: Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*; Mörner and Sims, *Adventurers and Proletarians*.

⁷⁰ Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*; Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*. The breadth covered by these works results in an unsurprisingly lengthy text of nearly six hundred and eight hundred pages, respectively, but Manning's *Migration in World History* does so in less than two hundred pages.

⁷¹ Manning, *Migration in World History*.

migration contained within single volumes, but they do so without utilizing much primary source material.

For studies focused on primary sources, the field of migration studies often utilizes a comparative approach to adopt a more global perspective. In fact, the field is currently moving away from single-community models and embracing studies that analyze more than one community, nation, and/or migrant group simultaneously. Initially, scholars implemented this comparative approach to analyze the migrations of either two different ethnic groups to the same receiving city during the same period or of one ethnic group who migrated to two different receiving cities.⁷² More recently, however, scholars have expanded the use of this comparative approach. Adam McKeown's well-received work, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change*, for example, is a comparative study of early-nineteenth-century migrants from China to Peru, Chicago, and Hawaii.⁷³ Another example is sociologist Irene Bloemraad's *Becoming a Citizen*, which compares migrants from the same two sending countries, Vietnam and Portugal, to the same two North American receiving cities of Toronto and Boston.⁷⁴ These twenty-first-century works demonstrate expanded uses of the comparative method in migration studies, a field that is currently led by the disciplines of sociology and anthropology before history.

⁷² Important examples of these approaches within the historiography of the Italian diaspora include: Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*; Friedman-Kasaba, *Memories of Migration Gender, Ethnicity, and Work in the Lives of Jewish and Italian Women in New York, 1870-1924*.

⁷³ Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, and Hawaii 1900-1936*, 1st ed. (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2001). Instead of considering this as chains linked to China, he emphasizes the connections between these places. This shifts focus away from the sending nation-state as the center to a more noncentered study that emphasizes the network connections between the multiple locations involved in the system.

⁷⁴ Irene Bloemraad, *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). This unique approach allows her to compare in multiple directions beyond the typical comparison between one migrant group in two receiving countries.

While broad scope and comparative works have become more common in the interdisciplinary field of migration studies, historians have been more wary of them. As a field, history values depth and complexity over breadth and simplicity, so a wider geographic and/or temporal scope is seen by many as impossible to cover with an adequately thorough analysis. I, however, believe that broader analysis can, in fact, deepen and complicate our understanding of history without the oversimplifications that some historians believe to be inherent in this approach.

Part of the hesitation of historians to accept these broad approaches is due to tension between the foundational role that primary source research holds in the discipline of history. The corresponding challenge of maintaining this defining characteristic of the discipline, at present, can cause a foundational challenge—if not impasse—when “historians of migration have themselves engaged in comparison, [and] it is largely based on secondary sources used to complement primary research.”⁷⁵ Since primary research is commonly in the form of written sources, “historians have tended to avoid comparisons mostly because they pose methodological challenges in terms of time and the skills necessary to command archival sources in different countries and distinct languages.”⁷⁶ Yet, it is historians who have produced the majority of the aforementioned scholarship in this review of world migration, which indicates that a shift in the discipline is indeed underway. Yet, the disciplinary training received by historians still often comes into direct conflict with the practicality of actually conducting historical research for the broad scale studies currently being encouraged in migration studies.

⁷⁵ Caroline Brettell and James Frank Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 14.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

These conflicts reveal the need for new models that can continue the legitimization of world and global migration history as research fields. World history, originally seen as only a teaching field, continues to seek methods that incorporate primary source findings into its global analysis.⁷⁷ My study takes a step in this direction by utilizing and further developing the concept of widening nested perspectives or lenses through which to view and analyze local processes. By building on world history and global migration scholarship, this study is, on one level, a microhistory of early Caxias, but is also a history that includes meso and macroperspectives in order to more deeply understand the local situation, as well as these broader trends. This approach, although borrowing heavily from world and global migration history, is unique within the interdisciplinary field of migration studies, and certainly within the local historiography of Caxias as well.

Structure of Study

This study covers the four decades between 1870 and 1910. Globally, this encompasses the height of the massive transatlantic movement of Europeans to the Americas. These global migrations were in full swing by 1870, but by 1910 they were on the verge of an abrupt slowdown with the onset of World War I. These same years also effectively frame the local Caxias history because 1870 precludes the state's survey of the land before the 1875 arrival of Italian migrants, while 1910 marks the symbolic and practical end of early Caxias history when the railroad finally linked Caxias to the world through Porto Alegre and the state raised Caxias's status from town to city.

⁷⁷ Further discussion of incorporating primary sources in world history can be found in: Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: A Guide for Researchers and Teachers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Sources

The extensive local secondary scholarship on Caxias history is based on the archival sources that I have used as the foundation of this study. Although additional archives were consulted, the majority of my research for this study was collected in three archives: the municipal archive in the city of Caxias and two provincial archives located in the state capital of Porto Alegre. The central repository of local historical documents for Caxias is the Arquivo Histórico Municipal João Spadari Adami (AHMJSA).⁷⁸ This archive provided substantial local archival sources drawing from numerous public and private collections, including photographs, administrative documents of the directors (*diretores*) and subsequent mayors (*intendentes*), and an impressive collection of nearly 13,000 interviews conducted with residents over the past three decades. Also, the state's largely centralized collection of judicial records in the Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul (APERS) proved to be most useful for its estate records that provided details of family histories. A select few of its many judicial cases were also particularly valuable, especially that of José Cândido de Campos Junior, the central character of chapter 3. Finally, the Arquivo Histórico do Rio Grande do Sul (AHRG), also located in Porto Alegre, provided the state's collection of immigrant arrival logs, including the recorded arrivals for both the port in Porto Alegre and the final destination of Caxias. This archive also supplied numerous documents produced by the Commission of Lands and Colonization (*Comissão das Terras e Colonização*) that include correspondence, financial records, and inventories of state aid given to migrants, as well as

⁷⁸ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, João Spadari Adami was a Caxiense who wrote extensively on Caxias history. Adami, *História De Caxias Do Sul (1864-1970)*. Although 1970 is the most recent publication date of this general history of Caxias, it is still used by many Caxiense historians because it contains some information, such as transcriptions of primary source documents, which has not been preserved elsewhere.

correspondence between the state government in Porto Alegre and the local government in Caxias. Especially useful Commission logs provided detailed lists of workers hired to work on state infrastructure projects, such as road construction in Caxias.

Since most governmental business of Caxias was run by the Brazilian state until 1890, the majority of early administrative documents that are still preserved today were written in Portuguese. In fact, the majority of the available primary sources and nearly all the secondary sources are in Portuguese, but there are a few notable exceptions.⁷⁹

Unsurprisingly, Italian was used in some primary documents, but perhaps less frequently than one might suppose. Examples include: correspondence involving the Italian government's local consuls, a few documents relevant to specific organizations or events, and, most notably, several local administrative records from the early 1890s when Italians were temporarily appointed to the top political positions in Caxias.⁸⁰ Interestingly, one document very important to this work was written in French: a two-page petition to remove the indigenous guide Luíz Antônio from the community, addressed to the local director and signed by over forty Italian Caxiense.⁸¹ Despite Caxias's geographic proximity to many previously established German colonies, and despite Rio Grande do Sul being nearly surrounded by Spanish-speaking countries, I found almost no German or Spanish usage in the relevant documents.⁸²

⁷⁹ While all the Portuguese and the few Italian translations are my own, Leslie Page Moch translated a critical French letter that I reference in chapter 2.

⁸⁰ There was also Italian correspondence written between the Italian migrants and their families and friends back in Italy, although significantly less of this than one might expect to find in a historic migrant community archive. The correspondence regarding Caxias from the Italian Consulate in Rome was addressed to the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

⁸¹ "Colônia Caxias: Orçamentos Prováveis, Pagamentos, Etc. (1877-1881)," 1881, Maço 53, Caixa 29, AHRs. In a folder named: "1880 Colônia Caxias 'Diversas.'" The contents and significance of this letter will be discussed in chapter 2.

⁸² I found no relevant documents written in German. The only Spanish language use I found were stand-alone words in documents that were otherwise written in Portuguese or Italian. Due to the linguistic

Although there are many secondary sources about Caxias history, most are considerably difficult to obtain. Often, these studies were published in limited numbers through the local university press, Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul (EDUCS), without an ISBN identification number. In order to locate these published sources, I scoured the secondary source collections of all three archives, searched bibliographies for leads, and frequented the local new and used bookstores. Although the municipal library was inaccessible due to substantial renovations while I was conducting my research, searching bibliographies of relevant works left me confident that there were no major gaps in my knowledge of the local literature.⁸³ Through various means, I found a surprisingly extensive variety of published works about Caxias's early history. However, none of the authors focus on the roles of the state or global trends within early Caxias, while only a few explore the role of non-Italians in Caxias. Therefore, while these studies have been extremely helpful in establishing the necessary background research, my study attempts to fill critical gaps in the current literature.

Terminology

To avoid confusion, it is important for me to explain my usage of several terms throughout this work. For example, I chose to use the term "Caxias" to represent what is officially known as Caxias do Sul today, although the official name for this area changed multiple times between 1870 and 1910.⁸⁴ Other terms that refer to this community are "local" and "municipal," but any of these references to Caxias include not only the urban

similarity of these three Romance languages and the lower literacy rates at the time, these few "Spanish" words seem to instead be misspellings or alternate spellings of Portuguese or Italian words, or potentially the linguistic mixes such as the "Portuñol" sometimes spoken in the area.

⁸³ During 2011 to 2012, there was only one small room of books available to the public, but these books were unfortunately not relevant to my study.

⁸⁴ I provide a detailed list of these name changes in a footnote early in chapter 2.

center but also the surrounding rural area that was designated as part of the municipality. Caxias was one of three major Italian migrant settlements in the northeastern area of Rio Grande do Sul, which is known locally as the Serra Gaúcha or the Italian colonial area.⁸⁵ The terms “regional” and “provincial” both refer to states or provinces, typically Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil or the northeast provinces of Italy that border Austria. In Europe, the political frontier between northeastern Italy and southern Austria was in flux during this time, so the changing national designations are less valuable to this study than the consistent regional affiliations of Veneto, Trentino, and Tyrol.⁸⁶ The term “state” is used to represent either the regional or national government, but in this study most often refers to the provincial state. When necessary, the text will clarify the reference. Additionally, in my discussion of nested perspectives, the term “micro” aligns with local, “meso” designates regional, national, and/or diasporic, while “macro” refers to global and/or world scope.

Although I will explain the intricacies of the following problematic terms in chapter 5, a brief introduction is required here. Throughout this study, it is helpful to categorize people as Italians or Brazilians, but by the time of the formal founding of Caxias in 1875, any person born in Brazil was officially considered a Brazilian citizen; so, many residents of this Italian migrant community could legitimately claim both nationalities. The early census records illustrate this most clearly by listing many families that include parents and older children of Italian nationality and younger children of Brazilian nationality. A further complication occurred in 1891 when all these Italian

⁸⁵ The regional scholarship sometimes refers to this area as the Italian colonial “region,” but in order to avoid confusion regarding the term “regional” (provincial), I have chosen not to use this term.

⁸⁶ Infrequently, I will refer to all of southern Brazil or to this area of Europe collectively as a “*região*” or “region,” but these few times I directly clarify in the text that I am doing so.

migrants living in Brazil were considered by the Brazilian state to be Brazilian citizens.

As Giron and Herédia note, “In this way, many Italians changed their nationality without knowing it, but a law that changes cultural identity does not exist.”⁸⁷

Therefore, although the residents of Caxias were increasingly considered Brazilian under the law, most second- and third-generation Italian migrants in late nineteenth to early twentieth century Caxias still identified as Italians. Language use provides some evidence of this because, in the early 1890s when Italians were at the political helm for a short season, they produced some administrative documents written in Italian.⁸⁸ This identification as Italian continued into at least the mid-twentieth century, over half a century after the end of this study, as anthropologist Thales de Azevedo wrote of the Italian colonial area in 1961, “The descendent of Italian immigrants, either in town or in the rural area ... calls himself ‘Italian.’”⁸⁹ So, although the line between Brazilian and Italian nationals was blurred substantially by the first decade of the twentieth century so that many people with Italian surnames were legally Brazilian, I have followed the local scholarship by considering people with Italian surnames in Caxias during this early period to be Italians.⁹⁰ Although far from being a perfect system, this identification system is fairly reliable, not only because the names use different linguistic structures, but also because there are different naming conventions for Brazilians and Italians. Typically, Brazilians at this time had three or four names (one or two given names, plus a surname from each side of the family), while Italians typically had only two names (one

⁸⁷ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 111.

⁸⁸ Intendencia Municipal, “Serviços Em Estradas E Pontes - Colonos E Trabalhos (1892-1894): Relações de Trabalhadores de Estradas,” 1894, AHRIS. The Junta Governativa, composed of three Italians, was the administrative leadership body of Caxias from 1890 to 1892. See chapter 3 for further details.

⁸⁹ Thales de Azevedo, “Italian Colonization in Southern Brazil,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (April 1, 1961): 65. Through informal conversations while living in Caxias, I frequently observed this same identification as Italians a half-century later.

⁹⁰ I am not aware of any study of Caxias that follows a different rationale.

given name and one surname). Therefore, unless the document indicated otherwise or a reasonable question caused me to research further, I followed this locally accepted convention for identifying the Brazilian or Italian ancestry of the many locals that figured into my study.⁹¹

Chapter Organization

While this introductory chapter serves to frame my study, the next three chapters explore its main arguments thematically through social, political, and economic perspectives. Coverage of these themes progresses fairly chronologically, though, to best demonstrate the Italians gradually gaining control from the state, coverage progresses first socially, then politically, and finally economically. Then, in the final chapter, the analysis of the previous three chapters is deepened by widening the perspective through a nested lenses approach that views Caxias through the viewpoints of regional, national, diasporic, and global scope.

The social history addressed in chapter 2 focuses on the establishment of Caxias, particularly between 1870 and 1890, and asks if these early years of this Italian colony included more than only Italians. This chapter establishes that not only the Brazilian state, but also Brazilians as the hands of the state, were directly and critically involved in the establishment of Caxias, and, therefore, were directly interacting with Italian migrants in this process. Chapter 3 focuses on politics, particularly after the “emancipation” of

⁹¹ For example, there were “Preto” and “Pretto” families in late nineteenth century Caxias. Since this word in Brazil signified a black or Afro-Brazilian person, I confirmed through census records that these families in Caxias were, in fact, of Italian origin and did not represent a more numerous early Afro-Brazilian population. “Processo de Francisco Preto,” 1890, AHMJSa; Carlos Eduardo de Almeida Barata and Antônio Henrique da Cunha Bueno, *Dicionário Das Famílias Brasileiras* (São Paulo, SP: Ibero America Comunicação e Cultura S. C. Ltda., 1999). Similarly, since Abramo Eberle—the central character of chapter 4—has a name that appears more German than Italian, I confirmed that his family did indeed migrate from Italy.

Caxias in 1890, and argues that the state remained heavily involved in political affairs despite granting this independence.⁹² However, this chapter also argues that within politics a true shift in power can be seen around the turn of the century—a major (yet still limited) shift from Brazilian state to Italian local authority. This political stabilization allowed for the economy to blossom, so chapter 4 discusses economic connections within Caxias, but also nationally and globally, and how these economic achievements helped establish Caxias’s reputation as a successful community. The main focus is placed on the first decade of the twentieth century and on the primary industries that helped establish Caxias’s reputation as the economic pearl within the state and helped it to gain recognition nationally and even internationally.

Each of these three thematic chapters uses the story of one local figure to illustrate the main points of the chapter. Chapter 2 centers on Luíz Antônio, an indigenous Brazilian who is well known in local histories for leading the first three Italian pioneer families to Caxias. Less well known are the growing tensions between him and the Italian community, as well as the details of his suspicious death a few years later. Chapter 3 highlights the first elected mayor of Caxias, José Cândido de Campos Junior, who—beyond notably being an Afro-Brazilian mayor in a country that had abolished slavery less than one decade earlier—was powerful enough to run the Italian priest out of town. However, several years later, after a turn of the tide, he was forced to resign from office by the Italian community that had elected him twice. Finally, chapter 4 focuses on Abramo Eberle, an Italian who developed the Metalúrgica Abramo Eberle (MAE), which

⁹² The Brazilian state used the term “*emancipação*” to describe a changed political status in which the municipality was no longer considered a colony under direct state control (and financial support). Despite this immediate changed political status, the reality was often an incomplete and transitional process toward self-administration. In Caxias, this disconnect between ideology and reality can be seen in the 1890s political leadership, which is a central topic of chapter 3.

was a local company that specialized in metallurgy, one of Caxias's leading industries that soon became one of the largest companies in Brazil. His life and his company embody much of the bootstrap myth that became a common narrative in the telling of early Caxias history, but yet again, there is more to his story than is commonly retold.

Together these three chapters touch on the place of Caxias within the broad scope, a topic that is taken up exclusively and conclusively in chapter 5. By examining the migrant community of Caxias as a character within a world on the move, this chapter shifts perspective through widening regional, national, diasporic, and global lenses in order to gain a deeper understanding of the local history. Importantly, this chapter provides much more than a broader context, but instead uses these meso and macrotrends to provide deeper analysis, clearer understanding, and better explanations of historical change across the board, from local to global.

CHAPTER 2

More than Italians: An Interethnic Narrative of Early Caxias

Campo dos Bugres: Three Italian Families and Their Indigenous Guide

As is typical with many local histories, the enduring story of the founding of Caxias is oversimplified and celebratory. This narrative of early Caxias pervades the local literature and slants the agency driving its history in favor of the Italians. The story often begins in 1875 with an indigenous Brazilian guide, a man referred to as Luíz Bugre (“Luíz [the] Indian”) who led three pioneer Italian families to the empty, unsettled land of Campo dos Bugres, or “Indian Field,” which the Brazilian state had promised them.¹ Upon their arrival, the families of Tommaso Radaelli, Stefano Crippa, and Luigi Sperafico worked diligently to turn the disappointingly mountainous and rocky terrain into impressively productive agricultural land.² Over the next few years and then decades, these three families were joined by many other Italian immigrants who followed the same formula of hard work and determination to establish the foundation for what would become the wealthy, economically successful Italian colony of Caxias.³

¹ According to the historian Mário Gardelin, this was a name Luíz hated: Mário Gardelin and Rovílio Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 2nd ed. (Porto Alegre: EST Edições, 2002), 71. Although his first name is sometimes spelled “Luis,” the spelling “Luíz” is most common in Brazil. Since his full name, Luíz Antônio da Silva Lima, is rarely used and would be unfamiliar to most Caxiense, I have chosen not to use his full name. Instead, I follow Gardelin by adopting the modified and less ethnically pejorative name, “Luíz Antônio,” consistently throughout this work. While the literal translation of Campo dos Bugres is “Field of Indians,” the translation of “Indian Field” captures the meaning in a format more familiar to an English-speaking audience.

² Manoel Barata Góes, “Imigração, Terras E Colonização: Província Do Rio Do Sul - Colônia Caxias (1876-1883),” 1883, AHRs. This is a typed copy of the arrival log that includes these three Italian families. These families are also mentioned in the numerous celebratory albums cited in chapters 1 and 5.

³ The name of this area changed multiple times between 1870 and 1890. On February 9, 1870, when it was originally created, the area was named “Fundos de Nova Palmira.” Palmira was the name of a city in the province of Potenza in southern Italy, but the Italians who soon populated this area of Brazil came from regions in northern Italy. The Caxias area was then called “Campo dos Bugres” until February 11, 1877 when it was officially renamed “Colônia Caxias” until 1890. (Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 47. of Adami, 1972, 93) Although many primary sources reflect these

The problem with this simple account is not that it is inaccurate, but that it is incomplete and misrepresentative. The references to the indigenous guide and to Campo dos Bugres both imply a significant presence of indigenous people in the area, but the guide's personal background and the history behind the name of the area paint a much more complex picture. Similarly, the implication that these three families were the first to tame the wild and empty frontier of Caxias is far too simple. Not only were they not the first settlers but there were other well-established German migrant communities, as well as other nascent Italian communities in the vicinity. Finally, this colloquial description of the community's history fails to recognize the Brazilian state's significant role in the successful establishment of Caxias, beyond the granting of "disappointing" land to the migrants. In short, the story not only emphasizes the accomplishments of the migrants in the face of difficulties but also downplays the involvement of other important players in the success of these early settlers. This chapter aims to complicate the simplified bootstrap narrative by challenging the perception that Italians alone crafted the early success of Caxias.

shifts, secondary sources most commonly use either the name "Campo dos Bugres" or "Caxias" to refer to this area during the initial two decades after its settlement. In 1890, the name formally changed to "Caxias do Sul," a name it has retained to the present, although this name is frequently shortened to simply "Caxias" (sometimes spelled "Cascias" in primary sources). Further complicating the issue of naming, many primary and secondary works relate only to specific areas of Caxias, whose names change with time. A few important and representative examples include the urban center of Caxias, called Sede Dante, and later named Santa Teresa de Caxias, and another frequently cited area, Décima Quinta Léguas, later named Nova Trento. (see: *Ibid.*, 51.) The name Trento refers to the capital city of Trentino, Italy, which was a primary sending region of Caxias migrants. There are other examples, such as when the first three families are said to arrive in "Nova Milano, the cradle of Italian colonization in Rio Grande do Sul." by: Barbosa, *Luis Bugre - O Indigena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12. In this case, Nova Milão was the first specific area settled within the area. To avoid confusion, I have chosen to follow the majority of local scholars who consistently refer to the area simply as "Caxias," unless there is sufficient reason to do otherwise.

The Land of No One: Italians Resettle a Previously Settled Frontier

The first problem with the pioneer story of Caxias is the generally accepted idea that the area was an unsettled frontier. On the contrary, there were people living there, both previous and concurrent to the arrival of the first three Italian families in 1875. Even the name Campo dos Bugres alludes to this human presence, but the name gives a false impression. Although it accurately suggests a long-standing history of indigenous people in the area, it does not reflect the situation upon the Italian migrants' arrival there. The name referred to groups of indigenous people who once inhabited the Serra Gaúcha but did so decades earlier.⁴ In fact, two different records agree that indigenous people comprised approximately 11 to 13 percent of the province's population in the early nineteenth century. During the 1830s and 1840s, the Brazilian state moved many of these indigenous people to reservations in the northern part of the state of Rio Grande do Sul.⁵

This expropriation process was directly linked to the German and Italian colonization of northern Rio Grande do Sul.⁶ In fact, scholars Adriana Fraga da Silva and Artur Henrique Franco Barcelos explain that this land was considered the "land of no one" because it was "a space without white inhabitants or [meaning essentially the same] without human inhabitants" and was, therefore, actually available to be a "land for

⁴ In 1867 Carlos von Koseritz discovered an indigenous cemetery in the area after Antônio Macado de Souza's earlier expeditions in the "Campos de Cima da Serra" in 1864. Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 2:64–65; Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 74.

⁵ Regarding indigenous population statistics: Between 1814 and 1830, the percentage diminished from 12.9 percent to 11.7 percent. Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 23–24. My percentage of almost 13 percent was calculated from the findings of historians Loraine Slomp Giron and Heliosa Eberle Bergamaschi, who summarized that the state population in 1820 was "composed of 32,000 whites, 5,399 men of color (free), 20,611 men of color (slaves) and 8,655 indigenous." Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 181. See also: *O Índio No Rio Grande Do Sul - Perspectivas*. Regarding naming, the province or state of Rio Grande do Sul was named São Pedro do Rio Grande in 1822 before its permanent renaming to the current nomenclature in 1890. To avoid confusion, I chose to use the name Rio Grande do Sul throughout this work unless it is critical to do otherwise.

⁶ Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas*, 122.

many.”⁷ This perspective of empty and available land allowed for the indigenous relocation that created a land that was indeed fairly empty of humans and therefore available for settlement—or more accurately, resettlement—by German and Italian migrants.

Hearing the story of an indigenous man guiding the Italians to a place called Indian Field, one would assume that these Italians would be encountering and interacting with many indigenous people. Similarly, inspecting a late-nineteenth-century map of the area north of Porto Alegre would lead one to assume the Italians of Caxias would also be interacting with the many German and Italian colonies that dot the map during this time period. Neither assumption would be accurate.

A Field without Indians: Only One Acculturated Indigenous Man Remains

Just as the name “Indian Field” is misleading, so the mention of the indigenous Luíz “Bugre” Antônio in almost all narratives of early Caxias suggests a greater potential for indigenous Brazilian and Italian migrant interactions than actually existed in Caxias.⁸ In reality, there were few indigenous Brazilians living in the area by 1875 when the first Italian migrants arrived, so interactions with indigenous people, such as Luíz Antônio, would have been the exception rather than the rule.

Population statistics suggest that relationships between Italians and indigenous Brazilians were very limited. Caxias’s population registry from 1876 to 1879 listed indigenous Brazilians as 0.06 percent of the population, with only two such families

⁷ *Ibid.*, 64. The section containing this information is titled: *A “terra de ninguém”: A terra para muitos* (“A land of no one: A land for many”).

⁸ Caxias historian calls Luíz Antônio an “acculturated indigenous [man].” Mário Gardelin, “Imigrantes Não-Italianos Em Caxias,” in *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização* 2, vol. 2 (Caxias do Sul: Universidade de Caxias do Sul, n.d.). in Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 1:11.

listed.⁹ One of the families is that of 60-year-old Luíz Antônio, his 45-year-old wife, Sebastiana, and their four children: “Carlos, 17. José, 13. Júlio, 7 and Maria, 15.”¹⁰ This section of the register is noteworthy because of its patriarchal misplacement of Maria’s name in the list, but also because it establishes this family’s presence in the area prior to the arrival of the Italian migrants. While approximately 4,000 people recorded are listed with a foreign nationality and a date of arrival, the eight people in two indigenous families were simply recorded in the original document as, “Arrival: Residing for many years in this area.”¹¹

The register’s other indigenous family was a young couple, Antônio and Anna Lourenço, who were 18 and 16 years old respectively and were listed without children.¹² Although a relationship to Luíz Antônio is not directly stated in their arrival information, Antônio (but not Anna) is listed as living there for “many years,” and his shared name indicates a strong possibility that Antônio was an elder son of Luíz Antônio.¹³ If this is true, then all the indigenous Brazilians living in Caxias during the first few years were from the same family, which further narrows the diversity of relationships that Italians in Caxias would have had with indigenous Brazilians. Additionally, until 1879, while the

⁹ In the transcription from this primary source, the two indigenous families are uniquely listed under the category of “Índios Colonos.” Gardelin, “Imigrantes Não-Italianos Em Caxias.” in Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d.

¹⁰ Different sources provide different ages for Luíz Antônio, which could place him between 40 and 60 years old at this time, as discussed in: Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 71.

¹¹ Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 2:157. While I do not have the specific population statistic for the year 1879, the population the previous year is recorded as 3,849 with the population in 1883 recorded as 7,359. Combining these statistics makes a population of 4,000 in 1879 a reasonable approximation. Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 81.

¹² Gardelin, “Imigrantes Não-Italianos Em Caxias.” in Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d.

¹³ Anna was listed with an arrival date of November 6, 1875. Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 2:157.

indigenous population of Caxias remained limited to these initial eight family members, the number of Italian migrants to the colony rose rapidly.¹⁴

Not only were indigenous interactions in Caxias limited to a single extended family, but the interactions were not likely typical of indigenous interactions elsewhere due to Luíz Antônio's particular personal history. Raised by a Portuguese man from the age of eleven in a German colony, Luíz Antônio had a distinctive upbringing apart from his indigenous culture.¹⁵ The way that Luíz Antônio is described in the literature indicates that although he was not perceived as a typical indigenous Brazilian, he was still considered inferior. Unsurprisingly, he is frequently described as a helper and a guide, in which case his character is sometimes praised as an "acculturated indigenous [man]."¹⁶ Yet, even in a rather romanticized source, he was also described in his youth as, "a free son of the forest, who did not submit to obey his boss. He didn't like to work. He preferred to run in the woods, to hunt."¹⁷

His name also indicates that Caxiense did and do view him differently, and further indicates a lesser respect afforded to him than to other people mentioned in the records of Caxias. While most people in Caxias are usually referenced by their full name or simply their last names, Luíz Antônio is nearly always referred to in both historical documents and the current local scholarship as only "Luíz Bugre," which translates to "Luíz [the] Indian." His full name of Luíz Antônio da Silva Lima is rarely used.¹⁸ There is additional evidence to suggest that he clearly understood the implications of this nomenclature. In

¹⁴ Caxias's population was 10,591 in 1885 and 30,500 by 1900. See Figure 2.1 for additional population statistics. Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 163, 148.

¹⁵ Ibid., 65; Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Indígena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12.

¹⁶ Gardelin, "Imigrantes Não-Italianos Em Caxias." in Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 1:11.

¹⁷ Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Indígena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12.

¹⁸ Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 2:11.

fact, local historian Mário Gardelin asserts that “Luíz Bugre” was a name that he “hated and which enraged him.”¹⁹

The name was offensive for these personal reasons but also for reasons that point to the regional social context. The Portuguese word *Bugre* does indeed translate simply as “Indian,” but there are deeper derogatory implications of its usage. It is highly likely, considering his upbringing, that he understood these implications, especially since he spoke Portuguese and German in addition to his first language of the Kaingangue.²⁰ Gardelin argues that *bugre* is a pejorative term that signifies “uncivilized, false, deceitful.”²¹ The distinction arises from the fact that there were other indigenous groups living in Rio Grande do Sul at the time, but only some were given the name of *bugre*. For example, the *guarani civilizado* or “civilized Guarani” located to the west of Caxias were not given the *bugre* label, but the Kainganges from the northeastern area of the state where Caxias was located were called the *bugre selvagem*, or “wild Indian.” Therefore, use of the term *bugre* implied a lower class of indigenous people.²² So, it is significant that the derogatory Portuguese term *bugre* is used for both the original name of the Caxias area of Campo dos Bugres, as well as for the one family of indigenous Brazilians who remained in the area during and after the Italian resettlement.

Other than the documented and implied connections with Luíz Antônio’s family, there is little evidence that Italians in Caxias had significant interactions with indigenous

¹⁹ Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 72.

²⁰ Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Índigena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12; Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 66–67; Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 1:14.

²¹ Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 20.

²² The Kainganges, sometimes spelled Cainganges, were the most numerous indigenous group in northern Rio Grande do Sul. Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas*, 296. Regarding indigenous terminology, see: Ibid., 64–67. For more information on the Kainganges, see: Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas; O Índio No Rio Grande Do Sul - Perspectivas*.

Brazilians. Since there is evidence, however, of a more numerically significant indigenous presence in the area before 1870, several possibilities for interactions require consideration. One such possibility is that indigenous Brazilians may have worked as transporters to and from early Caxias; although, if this were the case, they were likely soon replaced by non-indigenous Brazilians and Italians.²³ However, the many Brazilians hired by the state as laborers in Caxias were well-documented, and nearly all are listed by full names, with no mention of *Bugre* or other such terminology that might indicate an indigenous laborer.²⁴

Another possibility of indigenous interaction arises from the fact that some of the newly arriving Italians borrowed from typical indigenous agricultural techniques. This could point to more significant contact between the groups, but given the above, this knowledge was more likely passed between Italian migrants after originating from earlier migrant interactions with indigenous Brazilians. In fact, one source states that Luíz Antônio himself helped the immigrants to “build some small houses, fell trees, hunt, [and] bake *pinhão*.”²⁵ If other indigenous Brazilians interacted with Caxiense in any of these situations more than the documentation proves, it is likely that these interactions were soon minimized, if not completely replaced, by the non-indigenous Brazilians the state hired as laborers in Caxias and by the large numbers of Italians arriving to Caxias.

²³ Transporters included guides (such as Luíz Antônio), *tropeiros*, and *carreteiros*. *Tropeiros* moved people and goods on foot using animals, often horses, mules and/or donkeys; while *carreteiros* performed the same function, but did so using an animal-pulled cart.

²⁴ Osorio Santana Figueiredo, *Carreteadas Heróicas*, 2nd ed. (São Gabriel, RS: Osorio Santana Figueiredo, 2000). Indigenous Brazilians often worked as transporters in southern Brazil, which is similar to the role Luíz Antônio held in Caxias. Yet, I have found little clear evidence of indigenous Brazilians holding these positions in Caxias. These transporters and the transition from Brazilian to Italian laborers will be discussed further in chapter 4.

²⁵ Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Índigena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12.

Although the role of indigenous Brazilians in Caxias was less than its early name and its popular history might suggest, the role of Luíz Antônio and his family was important. Despite the failure of nearly all the secondary scholarship to further mention Luíz Antônio after 1875, his interactions with the Italian migrants certainly continued. Only a few secondary sources, such as a reproduction of a registry from later that decade that includes his family record, mention Luíz Antônio's presence in Caxias beyond 1875, but only primary source documentation shows the growing tension between his family and the Italian migrants, who eventually signed a petition to remove him from the Caxias area. Interestingly, their petition was likely unsuccessful since Luíz Antônio's (suspicious) death is recorded in Caxias over a decade later.

While that part of the story will be covered at the end of this chapter, for now it is sufficient to understand that Luíz Antônio's family remained living near Caxias and, at least minimally, interacting with Italian migrants for at least five—and more likely over fifteen—years after the first Italians arrived with the purpose of settling the “empty land.” This leads to the question of why Luíz Antônio was still living in the area in 1875 despite the state's forced relocation of indigenous Brazilians to reservations decades before. The answer to this question, as well as a deeper understanding of other interethnic interactions the Italians faced on their arrival, are both found within the history of German migrants to northeastern Rio Grande do Sul in the decades that preceded the arrival of the Italian migrants to the area in the 1870s.

Earlier Colonists: German Settlements Predate Italian Arrival

In 1824, two years after Brazil gained independence from Portugal, German migrants arrived in Rio Grande do Sul and established colonies that would serve as state

models for the later European migrant colonies, such as Caxias.²⁶ Like the Italians who later followed, the Germans “were promised easy access to the fertile lands of the colonies” by the Brazilian state.²⁷ These German colonists arrived to a Brazil that was in the midst of cultural flux due to a national whitening project that literally displaced one group of people for another.²⁸ By recruiting European migrants, Brazil generated an intermediate middle class to create a buffer between the upper-class Brazilian elites and the lowest class of free Afro-Brazilians and soon-to-be-freed slaves.²⁹ To attract and create space for these white migrants, the Brazilian government intended to transform “primitive lands” into agriculturally and industrially productive areas. As more Europeans arrived in the area, violent clashes between European settlers and indigenous Brazilian increased in frequency, thus further involving the Brazilian state.³⁰ During this process, the state forced indigenous Brazilians from the less populated regions of the country, such as southern Brazil, onto reservations and transformed vast areas of previously settled land into relatively unpopulated spaces in order to recruit white Europeans as settlers.³¹ The recruitment was successful enough that between 1845 and

²⁶ São Leopoldo was located 21 miles north of Porto Alegre and was the first German colony established in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in 1824. Other important German colonies included: São Sebastião de Caí, Montenegro, Taquara, and São Francisco de Paula. Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas*, 110–111. For an introduction on various ethnic communities in the state see: D’Apremont and de Gillonnay, *Comunidades Indígenas, Brasileiras, Polonesas E Italianas No Rio Grande Do Sul (1896-1915)*.

²⁷ Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas*, 111.

²⁸ Historiography on the whitening process in Brazil is covered in chapter 1. Specific to the recruitment of Italians in Rio Grande do Sul, see: Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 30–32.

²⁹ Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas*, 111.

³⁰ In northern Rio Grande do Sul, this primarily involved German settlers and indigenous Brazilians, as discussed in: D’Apremont and de Gillonnay, *Comunidades Indígenas, Brasileiras, Polonesas E Italianas No Rio Grande Do Sul (1896-1915)*. In other southern states, such as Santa Catarina, this process primarily involved Italian settlers and indigenous Brazilians. Piero Brunello, *Pionieri: gli italiani in Brasile e il mito della frontiera* (Roma: Donzelli, 1994).

³¹ The writings of President Manoel Antônio Galvão in 1847 reflects the ideology of the time: “The general opinion is that colonization is considered necessary, but more laborious for the Empire: an expanse of the

1863, a total of 13,167 Germans migrated to the colonial area centered in São Leopoldo.³² Since the population of Porto Alegre was only slightly more than double this figure, the German migrant population was a significant presence in the region.³³ Naturally, the state's driving role in both migrations caused tension and even direct conflict between indigenous Brazilians and German migrants.³⁴ In fact, one known confrontation occurred in the area that would later become Caxias when Kaingangues assaulted the house of the German Lamberto Versteg in 1868 and kidnapped three of his children.³⁵ The many German conflicts with indigenous people indicate why Luíz Antônio was considered such an atypical indigenous man.

In 1847, after a conflict between indigenous people and Germans in northern Rio Grande do Sul, a young indigenous boy of about eleven years old was taken captive.³⁶ A man "of Portuguese origin" named Matias Rodrigues da Fonseca, who resided in a German colony, then cared for the boy who also worked as his servant.³⁷ In 1849, the indigenous boy was baptized Catholic and given the name Luíz Antônio. He learned to speak German and Portuguese, and appears to have remained in the German colony until leaving the house of Fonseca when he was twenty years old.³⁸ A few months later, he

deserted lands, that without a doubt [we] don't want populated by blacks." Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas*, 111.

³² Piero Brunello, *Pionieri: gli italiani in Brasile e il mito della frontiera* (Roma: Donzelli, 1994).

³³ In 1858, Porto Alegre's population was 29,723. *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁴ The conflict between indigenous and Germans is discussed in Bringmann, "Fronteiras Da Inclusão E Da Exclusão: Reflexos Do Contato Entre Os Kaingangues E as Frentes de Expansão (Séc. XIX)." in Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas*.

³⁵ Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Indígena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 33–34, 72.

³⁶ Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 65.

³⁷ Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Indígena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12. This distinction between Portuguese and Brazilian is significant because it indicates that Fonseca was likely a first or second generation migrant, which is further supported by his residence in a European, albeit German, migrant colony.

³⁸ *Ibid.*; Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 66–67.

returned to the area (but not to Fonseca's house) with a young indigenous woman.³⁹

Although he continued living in the area, he lived "isolated from the whites," yet at least intermittently interacted with them to "conduct some business, offer service, or earn some money."⁴⁰

The complexity of the social interactions between Luíz Antônio and German migrants early in his life parallel his interactions with the Italian migrants in Caxias later in his life. These interactions were simultaneously contentious and cooperative. With both Germans and Italians, he acted as an intermediary.⁴¹ During his early life, he was an intermediary by trading *cachaça* and domestic items from Germans for animal pelts from indigenous Brazilians.⁴² Later in his life, he acted as an intermediary in Caxias between Italians, German colonists, and indigenous Brazilians by helping transfer indigenous knowledge to Italians.⁴³ Scholar Sandor Fernando Bringmann describes these sorts of intermediary interactions as "ethnic frontiers of exclusion and inclusion (spontaneous or forced) between the indigenous (Kaingangues) and the national society's fronts of expansion in the middle of the nineteenth century," in this case, German and Italian settlers.⁴⁴ Bringmann further demonstrates that these "ethnic frontiers" within which

³⁹ Barbosa mentions that although Luíz Antônio lived with her, they were "never married," which implies theirs was likely a romantic relationship, and she could have been his wife, who in later documents is named as Sebastiana. Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Indígena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12. Gardelin states that she was indigenous or "*cabocla*" (a mixed indigenous person). Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 66–67.

⁴⁰ Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Indígena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12.

⁴¹ The literature on borderlands as sites of interethnic exchange facilitated by intermediaries includes the classic study: Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Studies in North American Indian History*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). A recent study regarding Brazil is: Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil: 1500-1600*, annotated edition (University of Texas Press, 2013).

⁴² Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Indígena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12. *Cachaça* is an alcoholic beverage similar to rum but made from sugar cane.

⁴³ Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 71–72.

⁴⁴ Bringmann, "Fronteiras Da Inclusão E Da Exclusão: Reflexos Do Contato Entre Os Kaingangues E as Frentes de Expansão (Séc. XIX)." in Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas*, 109.

Luíz Antônio acted as an intermediary were not only created as a result of local or regional contestations, but were also driven by similar national processes.⁴⁵

The Italians encountered an uncharacteristically acculturated indigenous man in Luíz Antônio, but contrary to the popular “empty frontier” narrative, they also encountered other people already living in the Serra Gaúcha. For example, a man named Generoso Mainardo Cardoso moved to the area in 1871 and was followed by Pedro Pinto Guerreiro soon after, although we know little about where these Brazilians came from or whether they still lived there when the Italians began arriving four years later.⁴⁶ However, there is conclusive evidence that reveals a local German presence on their arrival. With both German and Italian colonies being established north of Porto Alegre during this time period, these interactions are not surprising, but even this becomes more complex on deeper inspection.

Prominent historian of Caxias, Loraine Slomp Giron, states that between 1872 and 1875 there were already a few German families living in the area that would become Caxias, all of whom are rarely mentioned in the settlement story of Caxias.⁴⁷ Further, a population registry from 1876 to 1879, published by Gardelin, lists all of the non-Italian households in Caxias and includes 102 German households—the vast majority composed of families—in a colony of approximately 4,000 people.⁴⁸ Together, these demonstrate at least a notable presence of Germans in Caxias, even if Italian migrants overshadowed

⁴⁵ Faedrich and Golin, *História Geral Do Rio Grande Do Sul: Povos Indígenas*, 109.

⁴⁶ Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 2:65.

⁴⁷ Loraine Slomp Giron et al., *Imigração Italiana*, transcribed audio recording, 1987, AHMJSA; Giron et al., *Palestras Semana de Caxias 2008*.

⁴⁸ Gardelin, “Imigrantes Não-Italianos Em Caxias.” in Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d. I do not have the specific population statistic for the year 1879, but the population the previous year is recorded as 3,849 and four years later in 1883 as 7,359. Therefore, a reasonable estimate is a population of approximately 4,000 in 1879. Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 81.

them numerically. Yet, if these multiple German families lived in the area when the first Italian migrants arrived, it is likely that they, together with Luíz Antônio, also acted as intermediaries for the Italian migrants during their adjustment to living in the area. Although the archival records are limited regarding these earliest Germans in Caxias, it is reasonable to assume that the Italians developed at least minimal social and economic interactions with these German settlers for practical purposes.

It is also likely that these new Italian migrants found good reason to develop (at least superficial) relationships with their German neighbors *within* Caxias because of the numerous, well-established German migrant colonies that were strategically located in the seventy miles between Caxias and the state capitol of Porto Alegre. Since these German colonies were established half a century earlier, they were clearly more populous and often economically stable. In fact, during the mid-1870s, the German colony of São Leopoldo, located about 21 miles north of Porto Alegre, was emancipated from state authority and was connected directly to the port city by the construction of a railroad line.⁴⁹ Months after this railroad construction, the first year-round railroad line in the state was opened on January 1, 1876, connecting Porto Alegre through São Leopoldo and north to Novo Hamburgo, another German colony, which was 45 miles south of Caxias.⁵⁰ The significance of this railroad for Caxias, aside from the obvious economic and commercial benefits, is increased by the fact that Caxias was, until 1890, under the direct authority of the state, through its representatives in the capitol of Porto Alegre.

⁴⁹ Buccelli, “Un viaggio a Río Grande del Sud,” 215. This source mentions May 1, 1875, as the emancipation date, but other sources suggest earlier.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 392. Novo Hamburgo was formally a part of São Leopoldo until the 1920s, but given their geographic separation and their frequently independent listing in the literature, they can be considered individually significant in this case.

Yet despite the apparent presence and precedence of these German colonies in northern Rio Grande do Sul, their significance is rarely mentioned in the history of Caxias. It seems unlikely, however, that no contact would have existed between these well-established German colonies and this newly established Italian colony nearby, especially considering the number of German families living among the Italians in those early years.

One of Many: Caxias and Other Italian Colonies

Germans were not the only migrants sharing this supposedly “empty land” when the first Italian families arrived to establish Caxias in the Serra Gaúcha area of northeastern Rio Grande do Sul.⁵¹ Although rarely emphasized in the modern retelling of its history, Caxias was just one of many colonies in the region to attract large numbers of Italian migrants during the 1870s. In fact, between 1875 and 1914, about 74,000 Italians arrived to northeastern Rio Grande do Sul.⁵²

This destination of massive Italian migration within the state was located twenty miles north of Nova Petrópolis, the northernmost German settlement in a string of German colonies that stretched north from Porto Alegre. Between 1875 and 1877, it was here, within an area that stretched slightly over twenty miles to the west of Campo dos Bugres, that Brazil established three of its four centers of Italian migration in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. The three in this Serra Gaúcha microregion were Caxias, Conde D’Eu (later known as Garibaldi), and Dona Isabel (later known as Bento Gonçalves). The

⁵¹ Although *gaúcho* translates to “cowboy,” it is also a term used to refer to the state of Rio Grande do Sul, as well as the people of Rio Grande do Sul.

⁵² Azevedo, “Italian Colonization in Southern Brazil,” 61–62.

fourth Italian colony of Silveira Martins was established about 135 miles west of this northern center of Italian colonies.⁵³

Year	Population
1878	3,849 residents ⁵⁴
1883	7,359 residents ⁵⁵
1885	10,591 residents ⁵⁶
1890	16,000 residents ⁵⁷
1900	30,500 residents ⁵⁸
1913	28,770 residents ⁵⁹

Figure 2.1 — Population Statistics of Caxias

Of the three colonies in the Serra Gaúcha region, Caxias would clearly become dominant in the twentieth century, but in terms of population, during the late nineteenth century the settlements were fairly similar. For example, Dona Isabel (Bento Gonçalves) had a population of 5,400 in 1883 and around 20,000 in 1885, while Caxias's population was 10,591 in 1885 and 30,500 by 1900.⁶⁰ (Figure 2.1) In other words, Caxias was originally just one of the three primary centers of Italian migration in the area, rather than the one demographically dominant one. Eventually, by the early twentieth century, the population and economic development of Caxias far surpassed the other colonies, but why? Was it merely through the model of hard work and determination that was set by

⁵³ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 45–59. Caxias was located about 22 miles east of the other two local centers of Conde D'Eu and Dona Isabel.

⁵⁴ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 81.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 163.

⁵⁷ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 84. A different source lists the population in 1890 as “approximately 10,000.” Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 198.

⁵⁸ Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 148. Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*.

⁵⁹ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 61–62. A different source lists the population in 1890 as “approximately 30,000.” Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 198.

⁶⁰ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 199–203; Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 163, 148; Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*. Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 163, 148.

those pioneering families? Surely the Italians that settled in Garibaldi and Bento Gonçalves possessed that same pioneering spirit, yet somehow Caxias, not these others, became so successful that it is still considered *the* shining example of Italian migrant communities in Rio Grande do Sul.

An obvious advantage that Caxias held over its peer colonies was its geographic proximity to Nova Petrópolis, the northern terminus in the string of German colonies that linked the Italian region to Porto Alegre. But, as I will further explain in chapter 4, it was not until 1910—decades past its establishment—that Caxias was awarded the ultimate economic advantage over the other Italian colonies: a direct railroad connection that solidified its status as the premiere Italian colony in the state. Although its proximity to the string of major German colonies benefited Caxias after the construction of the railroad, it might be assumed that this proximity also benefited Caxias earlier due to the migration route the Italians traveled. However, their actual migration story proves otherwise.

The majority of the Italians in Caxias migrated from the region of Veneto, in the northern part of the newly-unified Italian state, which had actually been part of Austria until 1866.⁶¹ A substantial number also came from Trentino, which shared a border with Veneto but had recently politically merged into the nation of Austria. In other words, many of these migrants left their homelands as Venetians and Trentinos, which is why Italians are sometimes said to have represented 70 percent and other times 93 percent of the Caxias population.⁶²

⁶¹ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 31.

⁶² From 1872 to 1886, Caxias's population by ethnicity was composed of 70 percent Italian immigrants, 23 percent Austrian immigrants, 2.1 percent Brazilians and less than 5 percent outside of these categories. It is often stated that Caxias was over 90 percent Italians because most of its Italian and Austrian migrants were

They became Italian on arrival to Brazil not because of a shared national identity but because Brazil desired to recruit Italian migrants. Like many other groups of migrants in history, these regional migrants identified themselves with their sending nation to fit within an assigned designation of their receiving nation.⁶³

As to why they chose to migrate, most of immigrants state that their decision was, at least, an economic one. For example, Petrolina Ciochetta De Boni, who was born in the Serra Gaúcha region in 1902, stated that her family migrated there from Italy “because they thought that the life here would be easier than the life there ... [since, in Italy] they lacked food and survival was difficult.”⁶⁴ According to Albino Formolo, who was born in Caxias in 1914, his grandparents focused on what they would gain economically in Brazil: “Since in Brazil they needed workers and made promises, my grandparents came seeking better life conditions and their own little piece of land.”⁶⁵ Land ownership was critical to these migrants. Similar to the Italian laborers who would soon arrive en masse to São Paulo, these southern migrants often arrived as families, including multiple generations of men, women, and children. However, in Rio Grande do Sul, land ownership made a critical difference in their decision upon arriving to Brazil to become settlers.

The Italian migrant’s route from Veneto to Rio Grande do Sul involved a complex itinerary before reaching their destination. After a brief stopover in Rio de Janeiro, they

actually from the same regions that had recently been split between Italy and Austria, a point which I discuss further in chapter 5. Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 35. Eliana Rela Alves and Loraine Slomp Giron, *Caxias Do Sul - Homem, Tempo E Espaço* (Caxias do Sul, RS: Secretaria Municipal da Educação e Cultura, 1992), 70.

⁶³ Gabaccia, *Italy’s Many Diasporas*.

⁶⁴ Luis A. De Boni and Nelci R. Gomes, *Entre o Passado e o Desencanto: Entrevistas com Imigrantes Italianos e seus Descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul* (Caxias do Sul: EDUCS - Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 1983), 9, 15.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 10, 15.

bypassed São Paulo, which was the destination port of the majority of Italians arriving as laborers on coffee plantations, and instead arrived in a Porto Alegre that included a large and growing population of non-Italians. In fact, just a few years before the first arrival of Italians to Caxias, in 1872, the provincial capital had approximately 43 percent afro-descendants and approximately 55 percent “white” Brazilians, Germans, Portuguese, and Italians.⁶⁶ Therefore, these two Brazilian ports of Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre provided Italian migrants the opportunity for interethnic contact. However, few accounts mention these interims, even though some families did lodge in Porto Alegre between their ocean and river journeys. Instead, most of the migrants emphasize the water travel portions of their migration stories.⁶⁷

From Porto Alegre, the Italian migrants traveled northward on the Caí River aboard either the *Barão do Caí* or the *Garibaldi*, small boats that provided upriver access to the port of Guimarães, a German colony also known as São Sebastião do Caí.⁶⁸ On reaching this inland port, they finished their journey by land, traveling to Caxias, Garibaldi, or Bento Gonçalves on foot and horseback, like the first three families to

⁶⁶ Kittleson, *The Practice of Politics in Postcolonial Brazil*, 20–21. The specific statistics from Porto Alegre in the first Brazilian census in 1872 were: 54.8 percent white, 2.35 percent *caboclo* (people who are an indigenous mix), and 42.8 percent afro-descendent (which is a combination of the category of *pardo* or Afro-Brazilian at 25.9 percent and *preto* or black, which usually implied a slave or ex-slave status, at 16.9 percent).

⁶⁷ Pieruccini, Appia Feijó, and Paternoster, “A Municipalidade de Caxias em Memória aos seus Pioneiros no Premeiro Cincoentenário de sua Fundação (1875-1925).” This account of the first three families mentions that they left from the Harmonia plaza in Porto Alegre.

⁶⁸ Caí is also spelled Cahy in some accounts, and the town today is part of the municipality of Caí. *Ibid.* Although this account states that the first three families traveled on the *Barão do Cahy*, the *Garibaldi* is more frequently mentioned in most sources, such as: Duminiense Paranhos Antunes, *Caxias Do Sul: A Metrópole Do Vinho: Orgão Oficial da Festa da Uva e Feira Agro-Industrial de Caxias do Sul* (Caxias do Sul, RS, Brasil: Livraria Mendes, 1957), 27; Buccelli, “Un viaggio a Río Grande del Sud,” 210–212; De Boni and Gomes, *Entre o Passado e o Desencanto: Entrevistas com Imigrantes Italianos e seus Descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul*, 23.

Caxias had done before them.⁶⁹ The entire water and land journey from Porto Alegre to Caxias appears to have taken approximately three weeks or less.⁷⁰ This water and land route, financed by the state of Brazil, largely bypassed the many German colonies between Porto Alegre and the Serra Gaúcha, with only one brief stop in São Sebastião do Caí. Therefore, despite geographic proximity and a shared position as European migrants, the Italian migrants likely had limited contact with the German colonists of northeastern Rio Grande do Sul due to the migration route established by the state.

In conclusion, despite the historic precedence and geographic location of the German colonies in northern Rio Grande do Sul, there appears to have been little interethnic interaction between these colonists and the newly arriving Italian migrants who settled in Caxias, Garibaldi, and Bento Gonçalves. Therefore, it seems that Caxias's proximity to these German colonies was not, at least initially, much of an advantage over the other two Italian communities until the construction of the railroad in Caxias decades later. Further, an understanding of the regional context that includes the existence of these other Italian colonies adds a broader and more realistic perspective than that of

⁶⁹ De Boni and Gomes, *Entre o Passado e o Desencanto: Entrevistas com Imigrantes Italianos e seus Descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul*; Pieruccini, Appia Feijó, and Paternoster, "A Municipalidade de Caxias em Memória aos seus Pioneiros no Premeiro Cincoentenário de sua Fundação (1875-1925)." This land journey would have typically taken less than ten hours. Lilian Brambila in: Giron et al., *Palestras Semana de Caxias 2008*, 12.

⁷⁰ Regarding length of travel, the first three families are noted to have arrived to Porto Alegre in either April or May before they arrived to Caxias on May 20, 1875. This could point to the likelihood of a late April or early May departure date. Further, although few interviewees discuss in detail the trip from Porto Alegre to Caxias in their arrival stories, they do talk in detail about the ocean trip; this increases the likelihood of a shorter travel time. Therefore, lacking other primary or secondary sources that provide this information, it is reasonable to assume the trip was around three weeks long and possibly even shorter. The April date is provided in: Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 1:11. The May date is provided in: Pieruccini, Appia Feijó, and Paternoster, "A Municipalidade de Caxias em Memória aos seus Pioneiros no Premeiro Cincoentenário de sua Fundação (1875-1925)." A typed copy of the arrival log that includes these three Italian migrant families, which also indicates a short travel time from Porto Alegre to Caxias, is: Góes, "Imigração, Terras E Colonização: Província Do Rio Do Sul - Colônia Caxias (1876-1883)." A collection of interviewee arrival stories can be found in: De Boni and Gomes, *Entre o Passado e o Desencanto: Entrevistas com Imigrantes Italianos e seus Descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul*.

three pioneer families single-handedly conquering “empty lands.” When these families settled Caxias in 1875, it was not an unsettled frontier but rather a land where indigenous Brazilians and non-Italian migrants, specifically Germans, had both paved the way for (and were still a significant presence in) what would soon become the “Italian” colony of Caxias.

The Bootstrap Myth: State Support for Italians in Caxias

If the presence of these other groups alters the generally accepted popular history of Caxias, then the actions of the Brazilian state completely rewrite it. Although most accounts rightly give the state credit for providing the land promised, this too is an oversimplification of the support provided to the Italian migrants by the state. My findings suggest that not only did the state offer land that was more valuable than its historiographical reputation suggests, but it also gave direct aid to the residents of early Caxias and showed favoritism toward the Italians regarding land allotment. In other words, the bootstrap narrative of Italian Caxias fails to recognize the considerable support of the state in the establishment of this model immigrant community.

The Value of Disappointing Land: Provincial Recruitment of the Italians

As previously mentioned, one of the first ways that the Brazilian state played a direct role in the history of early Caxias was by removing the majority of the indigenous people from the area of Campos dos Bugres (or “Indian Field”) to prepare the land for resettlement. Then, in 1870, the Brazilian national government gave the area to the state of Rio Grande do Sul, which began physically transforming the area by surveying and dividing the land into plots that would soon be provided to the newly arriving Italian

migrants.⁷¹ One source states that Luíz Antônio, who knew the land well, “guided the colonizing agents in the demarcation of land plots.”⁷² In the first few months of 1875, the first migrants arrived to the Primeira Léguas, which was the first area demarcated.⁷³

Nearly all the lots that were eventually created were rectangular, taking little account of the geography, which was particularly problematic since this area was so mountainous.⁷⁴

One undated photo, likely taken between 1875 and 1877, titled “The Demarcation of Campo dos Bugres,” includes ten men and one boy, providing further evidence that there was a specific process of demarcation involving provincially employed workers.⁷⁵

These plots of land were central to the motivation of these Italians to travel for often two to three months across the Atlantic Ocean to Brazil.⁷⁶ This land encouraged the Italians not only to migrate but also to settle abroad with an unlikely prospect of returning to their homeland. The local historiography often emphasizes the fact that, although these plots of land were critical in the successful recruitment of Italian migrants, the mountainous and rocky land was poorly suited to agricultural production. Yet the

⁷¹ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 47.

⁷² Barbosa, *Luís Bugre - O Índigena Diante Dos Imigrantes Alemães*, 12.

⁷³ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 47. Today this area is Nova Milão within the district of Farroupilha. Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 104.; Roberto Nascimento also argues that the state was behind the establishment of Caxias, although his work focuses on the physical construction of the colony. The demarcation of plots of land is one of the most direct examples he discusses in: Nascimento, *A Formação Urbana de Caxias Do Sul*.

⁷⁴ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 48–49.

⁷⁵ This is a photograph of ten men and one boy who are dressed similarly, which could potentially denote relatively equal status and does not clearly indicate Afro-Brazilian or indigenous Brazilians as part of the group. I arrived at the year range based on the first demarcation, which occurred in 1875, and based on the name of the area, which formally changed from “Campo dos Bugres” in 1877. Although the area was informally referred to as Campo dos Bugres after 1877, given the cost to produce such a photograph, it was likely taken by the Brazilian state, which would have considered the area as “Colônia Caxias” after 1877. Caxias “Demarcação Do Campo Dos Bugres,” Photograph, n.d., 35, AHMJSA.

⁷⁶ De Boni and Gomes, *Entre o Passado e o Desencanto: Entrevistas com Imigrantes Italianos e seus Descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul*, 21–23. Most interviewees stated the journey took around 40 days to three months, with the shortest trip mentioned as 19 days and a particularly disastrous one that took six months.

numbers of migrants continued to increase, so the ownership of land—even of disappointing quality—was still important enough to attract many migrants from abroad.

Unfulfilled promises are not uncommon for migrants, but this particular disappointment may have been tempered in this case by these migrants' prior experience with mountain agriculture. These Tyrolean, Venetian, and Trentino farmers were familiar with similar agricultural challenges in the foothills of the Dolomites in the Italian Alps, which increased the likelihood of their success in Caxias. Despite its supposedly limited agricultural potential, the land held value to the migrants and was still central to their successful establishment of Caxias. It was effectively utilized—even agriculturally—to anchor this new settlement, which would become prosperous in its first few decades of existence. Although individual farmers initially grew a variety of crops for subsistence, soon Caxias farms specialized in vineyards and, by the early twentieth century, began to gain a solid reputation for their quality wines.⁷⁷

Therefore, the groundwork for Caxias's success was laid by the Brazilian state long before the settlement acquired this reputation and the economic prosperity that would accompany it. By clearing the area of indigenous people, surveying and demarcating plots of land, offering these plots to Italian migrants, financing their inland transportation, and then supporting their early survival needs (discussed below), the state initiated the chain migration to Caxias from Veneto and the surrounding regions. While this chain was also prompted by economic and political conditions in Veneto and Italy at large, the promise of land ownership was a primary factor in recruiting these migrants to southern Brazil specifically.

⁷⁷ The role of agriculture, and particularly of vineyards, in Caxias's economic development will be analyzed in chapter 4.

Not Alone: Early State Aid to the Italians

However, the granting of land plots was neither the beginning nor the end of the state's support, because Brazil's investment into ensuring the success of these Italian migrants began before they arrived and continued thereafter. Although the state typically did not provide for their ocean passage—a practice used to recruit Italians to São Paulo—it did in fact provide a substantial amount of direct economic and logistical aid during their stateside journey, which greatly eased their arrival to and settlement in Caxias.

In order to manage the distribution of land and aid to the colonists, the Brazilian state formed the Comissão de Terras e Colonização or the Commission of Lands and Colonization, which was an active body in early Caxias history.⁷⁸ Administered from the regional level in Porto Alegre, it replaced the Repartição das Terras Públicas (Allotment of Public Lands) in February 1876 and continued functioning until 1906.⁷⁹ Through this body, the state directly assisted many early Italians during their settlement, from their arrival in Porto Alegre and throughout their seventy-mile journey north to Caxias.

For example, a major task of the Commission of Lands and Colonization was funding the daily needs of newly arrived Italians in Porto Alegre. The Commission paid for the transportation of the migrants and their belongings from the port of Porto Alegre inland to Caxias. Sometimes it even paid for their lodging in Porto Alegre and in Caxias. The first three Italian families, for example, were “hosted in the barracks at Harmonia plaza” in Porto Alegre for a few weeks before leaving for Caxias.⁸⁰ One account from 1925, describing the first few years after 1875, states that “at times, the Government

⁷⁸ Luiz Manoel da Azevedo, “Directoria: Registro Da Correspondência Recibida, Protocollo (1879-1880),” 1880, 8–28, AHMJSA. This correspondence reveals significant communication and power sharing between the Inspeção Geral and the Ministro de Agricultura.

⁷⁹ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 40–42.

⁸⁰ Pieruccini, Appia Feijó, and Paternoster, “A Municipalidade de Caxias em Memoria aos seus Pioneiros no Premeiro Cincoentenario de sua Fundação (1875-1925).”

supplied the immigrants with corn and wheat flour, lard, and other provisions until the first harvest.”⁸¹

It is also evident that once the Italian migrants settled, after receiving this practical assistance provided by Brazil, they often felt comfortable asking the state for further assistance. They had good reason to ask, not only because the state had provided direct support since their arrival but also because many of these additional requests were actually granted. In fact, the majority of the requests recorded by Luis Manoel de Azevedo, the interim director of Caxias during 1879, were granted.⁸²

Ranging from requests intended to benefit the entire community to specific requests benefiting a particular individual, these petitions illuminate the Italians migrants’ perception of the Brazilian state as a benefactor, or at least as an interested party in their success, both communally and personally. One such personal petition from Antonio Sassi, in August 1879, “requested of the [regional] Presidencia that his wife be transported from the colony to the Hospital of Santa Casa de Misericordia in the Capital of the Province [Porto Alegre].” Although the source does not indicate why his wife needed this medical care, it does state that his request was granted.⁸³

Some migrants even requested that the Brazilian state pay for the ocean passage of other family members from Italy to Caxias. One such colonist, Calisso Gandolfo, requested “providences for various family members” in 1879; whereas another, Giovanni Marchiero, requested “the transport of five young children from Italy to the colony.”⁸⁴ In

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Azevedo, “Directoria: Registro Da Correspondência Recibida, Protocollo (1879-1880).”

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 5. The date of the petition was January 22, 1879.: *Ibid.*, 12. Marchiero’s October 1879 request does not mention whether any adult would accompany these children. The log does not state whether or not either request was granted.

another petition, Luigi Portello requested a “subsidy with which it would be possible to take care of his family until he can work.”⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the log does not indicate whether these petitions were granted, but the requests themselves indicate a perception of state benevolence among the migrants, or at least a perception that the state was interested in their success, not only as migrant males, but as entire migrant families. The sheer volume of recorded petitions, as well as their ongoing frequency, demonstrates a strong perception among the Italian colonists that there was at least some hope of them being granted. Yet, some personal requests were denied. For example, multiple colonists petitioned the director on behalf of a settler named Lourenco Menegazzi, requesting that he either be provided free passage back to Italy or that “extraordinary assistance” would be able to provide sustenance for him, although the log does not record the basis of their request. Both options in the request were denied without further explanation.⁸⁶

The majority of these requests were made by individuals, but there are a few general requests, such as one recorded on January 13, 1879, submitted by “various settlers” in which they “asked the [regional] Presidencia to pay for temporary houses.”⁸⁷ In another document from 1880, the individual Francesco Lorenzoni requested a postal delivery building for Caxias, Dona Isabel (later renamed Bento Gonçalves), and Conde d’Eu (later renamed Garibaldi), although it is not recorded whether this request was granted.⁸⁸ Earlier in the same year, following the bishop’s nomination of Father Agostinho Magon as the chaplain for Caxias, the director of the Commission received a

⁸⁵ Azevedo, “Directoria: Registro Da Correspondência Recibida, Protocollo (1879-1880),” 17. February 1, 1879. The log does not state the reason for his disablement or whether his request was granted.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 28. The date of the petition was April 1880.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 26. The log does not state whether or not this request was granted.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 11. The date of the petition was October 1880. The log does not state whether or not this request was granted.

request to build, likely with the state's finances, a house for the chaplain.⁸⁹ While this request was denied, it may have had less to do with a lack of state support for Caxias and more to do the growing tensions between the political realm and the Catholic Church. This tension would soon explode in the next decade, which I will explain and further analyze in the next chapter.

These types of requests demonstrate the willingness of the people of Caxias to petition the local and regional governments to provide not only personal needs but also community needs. This contrasts with many contemporary findings on migrant communities that emphasize the use of networks and associations—both informal and formal—by migrants.⁹⁰ While these might have been present in Caxias, the evidence suggests that Italians at the local level relied heavily on state assistance provided by the regional authorities.⁹¹

In a final telling example, nearly one and a half decades after their arrival and only a year before Caxias's emancipation from state authorities, the Italian colonists of Caxias asked the state for further assistance in improving the land.⁹² In 1889, Manoel

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, 28. The date of the petition was May 1880. This citation refers to the bishop's nomination.

⁹⁰ For a start on this literature specific to Italian immigrants in Latin America, see: Jose C. Moya, "Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 5 (2005): 833–64.

⁹¹ Although I did not complete an extensive search for mutual aid societies or other similar support organizations or networks in Caxias, for a nascent migrant community, there was a surprising lack of mention of these societies in the literature and archival materials. The organizations that did begin to form seemed to do so in the late 1890s and early 1900s, such as the *Sociedade Italiana Principe di Napoli*, which formed in 1896, and the economic cooperatives that formed in the first years of the 1900s. These examples are discussed further in chapters 4 and 5. Yet, the migrants at least made minimal use of informal networks, as the arrival of migrants from the same sending locales indicates. Therefore, these categories of aid were not mutual exclusive, but the evidence does indicate a heavy reliance on Brazilian state aid, while making little mention of networks and associations until the early twentieth century.

⁹² The Brazilian state used the term "*emancipação*" to describe a changed political status in which the municipality was no longer considered a colony under direct state control (and financial support). Despite this immediate changed political status, the reality was often an incomplete and transitional process toward self-administration. In Caxias, this disconnect between ideology and reality can be seen in the 1890s political leadership, which is a central topic of the next chapter.

Barata Goés, the director of the Commission of Lands and Colonization, wrote in his log that November and December rains had ruined the road to the land on which “one or more” migrants were established, so the Commission paid two million *reis* daily, “including the food” and wages to reconstruct this route to their land.⁹³ This sort of request, especially at such an advanced stage in the history of the community, speaks volumes to the colonists’ perception of the state being invested in their success; however, the fact that this request is granted, despite the community being on the brink of emancipation, suggests that their perception of the state’s interest in their success was indeed accurate.

In all, the quantity and variety of personal and communal requests made to the Brazilian state by Italian migrants between 1875 and 1890, while Caxias was under formal state control, demonstrates that the state played a crucial (and, in the local historiography, often underacknowledged) role in early Caxias history that far surpasses its more recognized function in the allocation of land. After distributing this property, the state maintained a continuing presence by directly administering Caxias, from its establishment as Campo dos Bugres in 1875 until its emancipation from state authority in 1890.⁹⁴ It is often within this context of state assistance that we find direct contact between Brazilians and Italians, another aspect of Caxias’s history that is frequently deemphasized in its historiography. I will further discuss both of these topics—the administration of Caxias by the state and the interactions between Brazilians and Italians—in the following chapter. However, one final (uncelebrated) means by which the Brazilian state influenced the success of Caxias was by showing favoritism to the Italians.

⁹³ Manoel Barata Goés, “Comissão Em Caxias, 1889: Comissão de Terras E Colonização,” 1889, 1, AHRs.

⁹⁴ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*.

Unequal Opportunity: Favoritism to Italians in the State's Allotment of Land

Although the parcels of land granted to the Italian migrants were less than ideal for agriculture, they were valuable enough that Brazilians petitioned their own government for equal access to them. These petitions to the Brazilian state are recorded throughout this early period and until the 1890 emancipation of Caxias, when the Brazilian government's allotment of land in Caxias ended.⁹⁵ But since the majority of Italian migrants to Rio Grande do Sul arrived during this same period, between 1875 and 1893, the land subsidies benefited most of these new arrivals.⁹⁶ That did not stop local Brazilians from petitioning the state, however. The consistency of these requests demonstrates not only the power held by the Brazilian state in early Caxias but, further, the central influence of the state in controlling access to a significant resource. Ironically, their power denied property to members of their own state, while granting access to foreigners from across the Atlantic. This favoritism caused tension between the state, Brazilian authorities carrying out these policies in Caxias, and the Brazilian petitioners whose requests were frequently denied. It was also a catalyst for conflict between these same Brazilians and the Italian beneficiaries of this favoritism.

Consistently, Brazilians and other non-Italians interested in acquiring land received confirmation that state policies regarding Caxias favored Italians. In his 1879 to 1880 yearly ledger of petitions and requests, Luiz Manoel de Azevedo, the state-appointed interim director of Caxias, recorded numerous non-Italians who petitioned

⁹⁵ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 21. When Brazil became a Republic in 1890, it discontinued subsidizing the migrants with land plots. This policy was more formally instituted by 1892, although there were still exceptions when the government did provide direct aid after this date. *Ibid.*, 28.

⁹⁶ Starting in 1893, the beginning of the two-year Federalist Revolution (Revolução Federalista) in Rio Grande do Sul, the number of annual arrivals decreased from thousands to hundreds. Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 39. This revolution will be covered in the next chapter.

either to be recognized as the “*colono*” status given to Italians or, more often, for ownership of land parcels that accompanied this status within the colony.⁹⁷ These requests for *colono* status were made to him as the director of Caxias, which he then sent to the state governor in Porto Alegre for a decision. If Brazilians were awarded *colono* status, they would be able to receive grants of local land; however, of the decisions that were recorded, the majority were denied. Yet there were exceptions, such as the request by the Brazilian men Antônio Romualdo Soares, José Francisco da Silva, and Elisbão Alves Rodrigues who, in April 1880, were all granted their request for land.⁹⁸

Unfortunately, since the typical log entry contains only a formulaic phrase to represent a request of *colono* status, further details about most of these petitions are unavailable for study, including any reasonable explanations for these special exceptions.

While the majority of requests for “consideration as *colonos*” originate from Brazilians, others who appear to be neither Brazilian nor Italian did infrequently request either settler status or a parcel of land. For example, separate requests were made by João Carlos Gerardt and his son, as well as Fredrichs Gaspar, and also João and Luiz Glerter, all of whom appear to be of German heritage.⁹⁹ Each of their requests was denied. These state decisions, not only during the Italian recruitment of the 1870s but also continuing into the 1880s, display a consistency with the original policy of favoring Italians over both Brazilians and other non-Italians in the granting of land plots.

⁹⁷ Azevedo, “Directoria: Registro Da Correspondência Recibida, Protocollo (1879-1880).” *Colono* translates as settler or colonist.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28. A similar request in which three Brazilian men together each asked for a land lot was recorded a few months later in October 1880, but no decision was recorded.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5–6. Gerardt and his son petitioned in April 1879. Gaspar requested the status in August 1879, while João and Luiz Glerter did the same in January 1879.

The Brazilian state's clear favoritism toward Italian settlers contributed to an impression of social discord. For example, a Brazilian man named João Manoel de Sant'Anna made quite an ambitious request of the mayor, saying that he "required a colonial plot and the favors granted to settlers." His petition demonstrates his perception that this favoritism extended beyond the simple act of receiving land, which was verified by the state's denial of his request.¹⁰⁰

If the state's favoritism toward Italians caused tension between non-Italians and the state, it also created confusion and frustration for the Brazilian state officials who attempted to carry out these policies in Caxias. In a series of about ten letters between 1886 and 1890, Caxias officials discussed these favoritism policies and their responses to them. In 1886, Manoel Barata Goés suggested that since they "always have to distribute the plots of land to immigrants, [they should] let some of the interspersed plots preferably be given to families of Brazilian settlers."¹⁰¹ Two years later, the director of the Commission of Lands in Caxias stated that some Brazilians "want to establish themselves in the colonies."¹⁰² Specifically, these Brazilian authorities asked if plots of land could be allotted to Brazilian petitioners as well as Italian migrants, and if not, what to do with the Brazilians who continued to petition for land. These letters, written more than a decade after the formal establishment of Caxias in 1875, indicate ongoing tensions over the policies that favored Italians in the allotment of land. Unfortunately, I did not find responses to these letters from the provincial level. However, the continuing nature of the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 10. August 1879.

¹⁰¹ "Inspeção Geral das Terras e Colonização, 10 June 1886," DIR 1837. The term "*nacionais*" is used in this letter to refer to Brazilians.

¹⁰² "Inspeção Geral das Terras e Colonização, 29 August 1888," DIR 1841.

correspondence indicates that the issue was not resolved to the satisfaction of these local state officials in Caxias.

While these policies illustrate that state procedures regarding land clearly prioritized Italian recipients, they also demonstrate that the Brazilians who distributed this property held significant power. Since the local and regional body of the Commission of Lands and Colonization was responsible for distributing the parcels of land, the director of this Commission, along with the mayor of Caxias, held the most powerful positions in early Caxias.¹⁰³ For most of early Caxias history, both of these positions were held almost exclusively by Brazilians, a discussion which will be central to the next chapter. The Commission was formed in 1876 and acted directly as a hand of the regional government at the local level in Caxias.¹⁰⁴ The Commission of Lands was an organization that symbolically “expressed the power relations that existed in the society and represented the strength of the social group that was forming.”¹⁰⁵ Historians of Caxias, Loraine Slomp Giron and Vania Beatriz Merlotti Herédia, claim that physical relocation of the Commission to the geographical center of Caxais in 1877 also symbolized this power: “The administrative centralization had a strategic motive and made it easier to control the immigrants: it facilitated their transportation and the settlement of the land parcels.”¹⁰⁶ Therefore, the Brazilians held power over the Italians, who received favoritism in exchange.

¹⁰³ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*.

¹⁰⁴ The creation of the General Inspector of the Public Lands and Colonization occurred on February 23, 1876. Nascimento, *A Formação Urbana de Caxias Do Sul*, 63.

¹⁰⁵ Geraldo Serra of Castells in Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 46.

¹⁰⁶ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 47, 51.

Not Only Italians: A More Complete Picture of Early Caxias

Therefore, in summary, favoritism of Italians is just one of the many ways by which the Brazilian state played a greater and more direct role in the establishment of Caxias than the local scholarship typically acknowledges. Although the allotment of land parcels was central to this state-migrant relationship, the level of state support and surveillance went far beyond the granting of land. This included the forced displacement of indigenous Brazilians from the area, the surveying and demarcation of the land plots before Italians arrived, the direct financial and logistical support on their arrival, and the consistent priority given to Italian migrants over native Brazilians in the granting of land ownership in the community. Such a high level of state involvement points to the existence of extensive contact between the Italian migrants and the Brazilians who were directly serving as the hands of the state in these various situations.

The Brazilian state also maintained this direct role in the establishment of Caxias for a longer time period than is typically recognized by the local historiography. While Caxias remained under state authority until 1890, this was not a hands-off relationship, but was instead one in which the regional government played an active and direct role. The consistent quantity of state documentation until the emancipation of Caxias from state control in 1890 demonstrates deep and consistent involvement by the Brazilian state in early Caxias. Additionally, the next chapter shows that even after its emancipation, Caxias was still heavily influenced by the state.

The local historiography and personal accounts of Caxias often mention the role of the state in Caxias as two-fold: as the allocator of its disappointing agricultural land, and as its formal provincial authority until 1890. In these stories, the state is confined to these reduced roles, while the initiative of the Italian migrants is heavily emphasized.

Most often these narratives focus on the rather autonomous advancement of Caxias, built on the shoulders and with the labor of pioneering Italian migrants. Yet, when the omissions from this narrative of early Caxias are included, a complex and more accurate story of Caxias begins to emerge. It is still a pioneer story worthy of celebration, a story of strong Italian migrants overcoming many obstacles to establish a successful colony in the Americas, but it is also a local story of interethnic cooperation, a regional story of interconnectedness, and a national story of Brazil's intentional preparation, creation, and support of this colony's success.

The inclusion of these local, regional, and national aspects of the history is crucial because state power within the governance of Caxias began to gradually shift over time, first politically and then economically, as described in chapters 3 and 4 respectively. Meanwhile, understanding the interconnectedness of the region's communities and migrant groups dispels any notion of an "empty frontier" waiting to be conquered by the settlers. And finally, the local interethnic interactions provide some needed texture to the exclusively Italian version of the story. A final example of the complexity of these interethnic interactions appears in the conclusion to the story of the indigenous Brazilian Luíz Antônio in Caxias.

An Unhappy Ending: Luíz Antônio's Pioneer Story Postscript

In a section titled "No Friction with the Indigenous," prominent historian of Caxias, Mário Gardelin writes: "To conclude this topic, it is necessary to be very clear that the Italian immigrants of 1875 did not have any friction with the indigenous. They had already left the region a long time ago. The one who convinced the first three families to follow him to the plateau and to settle, starting at his house, in Nova Milão,

was an acculturated Indian, Luíz Antônio Silva Lima, a curious figure who spoke Caingangue, German and Portuguese.”¹⁰⁷

Yet, Luíz Antônio’s story in Caxias did not end here, contrary to what much of the local historiography implies. Instead, his relationship with the growing community became increasingly tense. Although his family of six to eight was recorded in the log of residents between 1876 and 1879, the Italian population in Caxias was quickly growing, making his family an even smaller percentage of the population and reducing their perceived importance.¹⁰⁸ Although the relationship between Luíz Antônio and the early Italians began with cooperation and at least physical coexistence in Caxias for a few years, in November 1880, forty-one men signed a formal request to the director of Caxias that stated, “We beg you to do whatever you find possible to see that this family is expelled very far from the colony and that in its place you will put a good family of Europeans so that people of this category will not come and take over.” This demonstrates some level of geographic proximity and continued familiarity (albeit increasingly strained) between the indigenous family and the Italian community. It is also particularly noteworthy that three of the petitioners were Radaelli’s (including Tommaso Radaelli, the patriarch), one of the original families that Luíz Antônio led to Campo dos Bugres five years earlier.¹⁰⁹

This two-page letter details multiple reasons for the request of removal of this indigenous Brazilian man and his family, but it also states that his family was “expelled

¹⁰⁷ Kaingangue is sometimes spelled Caingangue. Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 1:14.

¹⁰⁸ The total population of Caxias a few years later, in 1885, was 10,591. Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 163.

¹⁰⁹ “Colônia Caxias: Orçamentos Prováveis, Pagamentos, Etc. (1877-1881).” The petition was in a folder named: 1880 Colônia Caxias “Diversas.” The letter is unique in that it is written in French. Almost no other Caxias documents use French, so I have little understanding as to why this letter in particular did so.

from the colony five years ago” due to an “outrage or violation” committed by Luíz Antônio in which a “child of ten years was terrified to death.” After “several colonists request[ed] pardon for him out of charity,” Luíz Antônio’s family lived on a plot of land (assumedly from the state) in the forest, geographically separated from the community, and “since that time almost all disputes originat[ed] from this family.”

The letter describes five specific conflicts that arose involving Luíz Antônio and/or his son(s) during these years.¹¹⁰ It accused them of two thefts: a horse on one occasion, and then a pig (taken “in order to feed his family”) on another. When the pig’s owner and others tried to reclaim it, they were “greeted with insults.”¹¹¹ The colonists’ other accusations were more serious, including Luíz Antônio pursuing a woman of eighteen to twenty years old down a deserted road for thirty minutes until she found refuge in a colonist’s house. It also claims that one of his sons found a ten-year old girl alone in her family’s cabin and attempted to steal a gun from the house and carry her into the woods, but was stopped by her screaming. The letter’s final accusation claims that “about a year ago a woman was assassinated by one of these individuals,” which, in a paternalistic society such as Brazil, would have struck a particular chord. Whether true or not, these accusations of threats and violence to not only colonists, but specifically female colonists, capitalized upon fears common among pioneering settlers regarding indigenous people. In this case, the men of the colony were requesting a paternalistic

¹¹⁰ The letter does not name which of his sons were involved.

¹¹¹ Another less serious accusation was that “almost all the *matas* and palm trees were cut by this family, despite the express forbidding by the colonists.”

protection of the female colonists by the state, because the men were “all afraid that it [Luíz Antônio’s family] will again cause another calamity.”¹¹²

The petitioners were concerned about more than just Luíz Antônio’s immediate family. Their request to replace his family with a European one concludes, “so that people of this category will not come and take over.” Earlier, the letter claims that Luíz Antônio’s family, “receive in their home people—we don’t know how many or their names—[who] are armed to the teeth and take to the roads at night, yelling vociferously and insulting and threatening the colonists that are peaceably at home and treat them like *filos de putas* (sons of whores), gringos, etc etc.” Together, these quotes show a fear of, not only this family, but of the potential for other indigenous Brazilians moving within close proximity of their predominantly Italian community. Caxias had a developing urban center, as well as a significant rural population, so the petitioners clarified the scope of their concerns by stating, “It’s the terror of the colony, as well as the sake of the people who live in the forest.”¹¹³

Yet, Luíz Antônio’s family apparently did not leave Caxias (or leave for long) because, over a decade later, Luíz Antônio’s suspicious death took place in the area. The three Brazilian men who were with him at the time claimed that they all went hunting together and Luíz Antônio accidentally drowned. However, soon after, Luíz Antônio’s son Júlio found entrails that he claimed were his father’s and confronted one of the men, Albino Rodrigues de Freitas.¹¹⁴ After Júlio accused him of killing his father, Freitas

¹¹² “Colônia Caxias: Orçamentos Prováveis, Pagamentos, Etc. (1877-1881).” The petition was in a folder named: 1880 Colônia Caxias “Diversas.”

¹¹³ Ibid. The petition was in a folder named: 1880 Colônia Caxias “Diversas.”

¹¹⁴ One of the other two men in the group was Felizardo da Costa Leite. Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 72.

ended the confrontation by shooting and killing Júlio.¹¹⁵ Although the Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul (APERS) houses extensive judicial records from late nineteenth century Caxias, I have found no evidence that any of these men were ever put on trial in conjunction with the deaths of either Luíz Antônio or his son Júlio. In fact, the deaths of these two men are where the known historical record and the local historiography currently end in regards to this contentious indigenous family.

The complexities of the social interactions involving Luíz Antônio are demonstrated in his portrayal since the early twentieth century. While much of the literature since then and up to the present portrays Luíz Antônio as acculturated, sometimes praiseworthy, and clearly emphasizes his guiding role to the first Italian families, his image is also negative. While some of the literature mentions this, a further example makes this most clear. Gardelin states that in Caxias, “when a mother wants to teach discipline and to silence her children, she threatens, “Here comes Luís Bugre!”¹¹⁶

This conclusion to Luíz Antônio’s story illustrates some primary arguments about early Caxias history. First, while he held a historically important role and now holds a reglorified role in early Caxias history, this early moment in the narrative provides a very incomplete picture of his relationship with the Italian migrants in Caxias. Yet, his story as a whole illustrates the complex interethnic interactions involving negotiations that frequently bred simultaneous cooperation and conflict. Luíz Antônio, the “acculturated indigenous” man, was given a land plot in the same Caxias that a few years later rallied together to try to remove him from the colony. Finally, Luíz Antônio’s life trajectory parallels a larger power shift in Caxias—that of power away from Brazilian authority

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 71–73.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

(even while Caxias remained under formal Brazilian authority) and toward Italian authority.

The story of this power shift from Brazilian to Italian authority further developed after 1890, almost two decades after the establishment of the colony. Although in 1890 the colony of Caxias was elevated to town status and emancipated from direct state control, Rio Grande do Sul remained directly and indirectly involved in Caxias affairs, particularly through the politics of Porto Alegre. These changing relationships involving the Brazilian state and interethnic interactions in Caxias are represented more formally in the political control of the town as seen in the story of José Cândido de Campos Junior, the central figure of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

State Control and Ethnicity in Local Politics

The Politics of Change: Before, During, and After the Federalist Revolution

The echoes of global trends, such as the emancipation of slaves and the transition from empires to nation-states, can be heard at the national level in Brazil and even at the local level in Caxias. In 1888, Brazil finally completed its gradual abolition of slavery, becoming the last country in the Americas to do so, then one year later, cut the last of its ties to the Portuguese imperial monarchy when it became a republic. Locally, the political history of early Caxias demonstrated a similar shift in power that mirrors its transition from a Brazilian provincial colony to a locally governed Italian community. Although this local transition officially took place with the political emancipation of Caxias in 1890, the regional and national state retained a substantial enough influence upon local politics to argue that the actual emancipation of Caxias was a transitional process that endured for decades.¹

At the center of this transition was a politician named José Cândido de Campos Junior, hereafter referred to as Campos Junior, the Afro-Brazilian mayor (*intendente*) who governed Caxias from 1895 to 1902.² Just as the establishment of Caxias was intertwined with the story of an indigenous man, Luíz Antônio (described in the previous

¹ The Brazilian state used the term *emancipação* to describe a changed *political* status in which the municipality was no longer considered a colony under direct state control (and financial support). Despite this immediate changed political status, the reality was often an incomplete and transitional process to self-administration. In Caxias, this disconnect between ideology and reality can be seen in the 1890s political leadership, which is a central topic of this chapter.

² I have translated *intendente*, meaning the elected political leader, to the similar political position of “mayor.” Since the majority of the historiography does not mention that Campos Junior was Afro-Brazilian, I will provide support for this assertion later in this chapter. As a further note, “Junior” was added to the end of a name when a man took his father’s name, while “Netto” (grandson) was added to his own son’s name. Therefore, José Cândido de Campos Junior’s father’s name was José Cândido de Campos, while one of Campos Juniors’ sons was José Cândido de Campos Netto.

chapter), so the gradual emancipation of Caxias cannot be explained without the story of Campos Junior, an Afro-Brazilian. In fact, his story shows that, while the 1890 emancipation of Caxias was only a first step toward political autonomy, the end of his mayorship in 1902 was a second significant signpost of this transition, both politically (from state to local authority) and also ethnically (from Brazilian to Italian dominance).

The mere facts of his story are fascinating: Less than one decade after Brazil abolished slavery, Campos Junior, an Afro-Brazilian, was appointed and then twice elected to lead this predominantly Italian migrant community following the political instability of its emancipation and the subsequent period of unrest.³ He was also a member of the Masons, an elite society known internationally for its conflicts with religion, and known locally for its ongoing conflicts with the local Catholic Church, including an alleged mob assault on the town priest. Furthermore, Campos Junior's mayoral career ended prematurely in embezzlement accusations that occurred under his administration, but he vehemently denied any involvement in such criminal acts until his death decades later. Nevertheless, he held the mayoral position in Caxias longer than any other mayor for the next few decades and his legacy is still debated by historians today, over one century later.

Beyond these interesting highlights, the twists and turns of Campos Junior's mayoral tenure demonstrates a complex political tug-of-war during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. As an Afro-Brazilian, who was a member of the ruling Republican party, and a Mason, his career also well illustrates how political and social affiliations often usurped ethnic lines in 1890s Caxias. Further exploration of his career

³ Brazil abolished slavery in 1888, although the state of Rio Grande do Sul claims to have abolished it in 1884.

also demonstrates the Brazilian state's ongoing role in Caxias politics throughout this decade. However, the removal of Campos Junior in 1902 represents more than just a mayoral change. It illustrates the local Italian community's increased control over Caxias affairs, both politically and ethnically.

The Politics of Emancipation: Political Milieu and Competing Affiliations

The complex political milieu from 1890 to 1895 demonstrates that ethnic boundaries in Caxias were challenged by competing affiliations. This contentious period locally was complicated by regional and national political factors that resulted in the federal and provincial state limiting the independence of this supposedly emancipated migrant colony. Ethnicity further complicated the political life of Caxias because opposing sides did not organize along tidy ethnic lines. There were fissures in these categories, as well as coexisting political, social, religious, and ideological affinities, that frequently superseded ethnic affiliations in local matters. For example, some Italian elites favored the ruling Republicans who held the political upper hand, but most Italians in Caxias sided with the Federalists who violently opposed the ruling party with multiple revolts. Meanwhile, some of the elite Brazilians and Italians joined forces and influenced local politics by forming an upper-class social club at the recently established Masonic Lodge in Caxias.⁴ Finally, in a town with where the Roman Catholic Church held significant power, many Republicans and Masons held agnostic views.

All of these competing alliances positioned the majority of Caxias's Italian migrants in direct opposition to their Republican political leaders by siding with the

⁴ The Masons are also known as Freemasons.

Federalists and the Catholic Church. The complexities of this political situation, including the rapid changes and messy upheaval of the early 1890s, eventually led to the state-appointment of Campos Junior as the mayor of Caxias. However, the seeds of these political complexities were sewn years earlier when the colony was first established.

Before Emancipation: The Politics of Provincial Rule, 1875–1890

As discussed in the previous chapter, Italian migrants arrived to Rio Grande do Sul in southern Brazil pursuing the promise of land, and transitioned to life on this land with the help of significant state aid. However, as part of a state-established Italian colony, they were also formally under provincial authority. From its foundation, first as Campo dos Bugres from 1875 to 1877 and then as the renamed Colônia Caxias from 1877 to 1890, the colony of Caxias was one of many formally recognized local colonies that were administered by the provincial state.⁵

While this provincial rule allowed for the flow of state aid from national and regional authorities, it also resulted in significant political ramifications. First and foremost, the administrators of Caxias were always appointed by the state's bureaucrats in Porto Alegre, the capitol of Rio Grande do Sul.⁶ Perhaps unsurprisingly, nearly all the administrators appointed to Caxias during these early years after settlement were Brazilians, not the Italians who represented 70 to 93 percent of its population.⁷ In fact,

⁵ There was another shift in the middle of this second period, although Caxias still remained under state administrative control. From 1884 to 1890, the “Colônia Caxias” was linked to the municipality of São Sebastião do Caí, during which it was sometimes referred to as the “ex-Colônia Caxia.”

⁶ Porto Alegre was and is the center of provincial state authority and, as the capitol, was an important local contact point for Brazilian national affairs. It was also the port city through which nearly all the Italian migrants to Caxias passed en route to Caxias. So, when the migrant colony of Caxias was established, much national and provincial authority originated from the state capitol of Porto Alegre.

⁷ From 1872 to 1886, Caxias's population by ethnicity was composed of 70 percent Italian immigrants, 23 percent Austrian immigrants, 2.1 percent Brazilians and less than 5 percent outside of these categories. It is often stated that Caxias was over 90 percent Italians because most of its Italian and Austrian migrants were actually from the same regions that had recently been split between Italy and Austria, a point which I

state-appointed Brazilians fairly consistently held the two most powerful administrative positions in Caxias.⁸ Every director of the Commission of Lands and Colonization (the powerful body discussed in chapter 2) from 1875 to the official emancipation of Caxias in 1890 (and even after) was a Brazilian man.⁹ This position was crucial due to the importance of land allotment, but the foremost political position prior to 1890 was that of the director (*diretor*) of Caxias who was appointed by the regional government to oversee the entirety of Caxias's affairs. Likewise, every director of Caxias was a Brazilian man until 1890, when this appointed position was dissolved and soon replaced by an *intendente*, a position similar to a mayor.¹⁰

So, for the first fifteen years after their original settlement, the Italian migrants of Caxias were directly under state authority, which was enacted by men of Brazilian, not Italian, descent. This does not mean that the atmosphere was necessarily belligerent or that it was one of incessant conflict. In the celebratory album titled, *A Municipalidade de Caxias em Memoria aos Seus: Pioneiros no Premeiro Cincocentenario de sua Fundação: 1875–1925*, published in 1925, the authors claim that during the first few years “the [state] always reined in this new collectivity [of Caxias], but never were there injustices or lamentable violences [sic] on the part of the Brazilian authorities during this time.”¹¹ This outlook is not particularly surprising when one considers the favorable treatment that the Italian migrants received from the state; however, its complimentary sentiment

discuss further in chapter 5. Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 35. Rela Alves and Giron, *Caxias Do Sul - Homem, Tempo E Espaço*, 70.

⁸ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 52–53.

⁹ Ibid., 53.

¹⁰ Ibid., 52–53. This list of directors covers the fourteen directors of Caxias from 1875–1884, and concludes with Manoel Barata Goés who then shifts roles as director of the Commission of Lands.

¹¹ Pieruccini, Appia Feijó, and Paternoster, “A Municipalidade de Caxias em Memoria aos seus Pioneiros no Premeiro Cincocentenario de sua Fundação (1875–1925).”

was most likely not universally believed. In fact, the winds of emancipation were blowing at the global, national, and local levels; massive changes were looming.

Three Emancipations in Three Years, 1888–1890

Within the broad global trend of emancipations, it is important to briefly highlight two emancipations that immediately preceded and influenced the one in Caxias: the final emancipation of Brazil from Portugal and the emancipation of Brazil's slaves. In the two years prior to Caxias's formal liberation from provincial state authority, Brazil not only more conclusively cut its ties to Portugal by shifting from a monarchical system to a republic in 1889, but it also abolished slavery in 1888 (it was the last country in the Americas to do so). It is important to remember that Caxias, which had a population of 16,000 in 1890, had been established as a direct result of the monarchy's active recruitment of new European migrants to whiten the slave-heavy national population.¹² Therefore, it is significant that the abolition of its formal system of race-based inequality occurred only a year before the official end of Brazil's monarchy.¹³

As a nation, Brazil had declared its colonial independence from Portugal more than sixty years earlier in 1822; however, a member of the Portuguese royal family remained on Brazil's throne and, unlike most former colonies in the Americas during the nineteenth century, the country preserved much of its colonial relationship with Portugal. Therefore, Brazil's conversion to a republic in 1889 can be considered, although not formally, the end of its gradual emancipation from colonial Portuguese control.¹⁴

¹² Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 84.

¹³ For a good introduction to the end of slavery in Brazil and Latin America, see: Costa, *The Brazilian Empire*.; Rebecca J Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba After Slavery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005); Pamela Scully and Diana Paton, eds., *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2005).

¹⁴ The Republic was declared on November 15, 1889.

Similarly, Brazilian slave emancipation was actually a gradual process over the entire nineteenth century. After international slave trade was banned throughout much of the Atlantic World in the early nineteenth century, Brazil followed suit in 1831, but did not enforce this ban until 1850.¹⁵ This did not criminalize the act of slave ownership however, so (as discussed in chapter 2) the internal trading of slaves increased during the mid-nineteenth century, shifting slavery away from its center in the colonial north toward central and southern Brazil. Further incremental progress was made with the “Law of the Free Womb” in 1871, which essentially freed children of slaves on their twenty-first birthday, although restrictions made this an incomplete emancipation.¹⁶ Finally, on May 13, 1888, Princess Isabel signed full emancipation into law, just one year before her family was ousted in a relatively bloodless coup that ended Brazil’s ties to imperial Portugal. Therefore, as slavery came to an end and the Brazilian Empire became a Republic, significant social, political, and economic national changes were underway in the two years before Caxias’s own local emancipation from regional authority.¹⁷

As a newly formed republic inundated with recently freed former slaves and newly arrived European migrants, Brazil was ripe for change, especially within its own migrant colonial regions. In fact, Caxias historians Loraine Slomp Giron and Vania Beatriz Merlotti Herédia claim that in the Italian colonial region, “with the arrival of the Republic, the social and political tensions that had been silenced by the Empire were now

¹⁵ Although the 1831 Brazilian national law that intended to free all international slaves arriving to Brazil was not enforced, the September 4, 1850, national law was and effectively ended legal international slave trade into Brazil. Costa, *The Brazilian Empire*, 130–132.

¹⁶ Although the law stated that children of slaves were born free, these same children were required to serve their mother’s master until age twenty-one. Thomas E. Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2009), 75.

¹⁷ The slave emancipation law is known as the “Golden Law,” and Princess Isabel signed it while her father, the emperor Dom Pedro II, was in Europe. Ibid., 75, 79–80.

evident.”¹⁸ The emancipation of its migrant colonies, including Caxias, signified the next step in Brazil’s broader national shifts.¹⁹ The migrant colonies represented a substantial expenditure of political and economic resources, including surveillance and management, so the state likely perceived this deprovincialization process as emancipating *itself* from the responsibility for the migrant colonies, not the other way around. Yet, the evidence shows that the state continued to retain a robust role, albeit less officially, even after it formally emancipated Caxias on June 20, 1890.

This end of provincial rule does, however, remain a watershed moment in Caxias history, even though the accompanying emancipation was less an immediate change than a transitional process.²⁰ The elevation of its status from colony to town was far more than a just a symbolic shift and did indeed reflect a real transfer of power. But Caxias soon discovered that the state would be slow to relinquish some of its control. For example, one might assume that the state would allow the newly freed colony to control its own Commission of Land and Distribution of Land, but this remained under state control and instead began to steadily decline in influence after 1890.²¹ It would also be natural to suppose that administrators were no longer appointed from Porto Alegre after Caxias’s formal liberation from regional state authority. However, as with slavery and imperial rule, Brazil was a nation accustomed to gradual emancipations that were more a process than a moment in history, so Porto Alegre’s continued influence in the administration of Caxias affairs is hardly surprising.

¹⁸ During this time, Caxias was formally known as “Freguesia de Santa Teresa,” although many administrative documents simply use “ex-colônia Caxias.” Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 103.

¹⁹ In October 1890, the other Italian colonies of Bento Gonçalves (previously Dona Isabel) and Garibaldi (previously Conde D’Eu) were not “emancipated” but were together dismembered from the municipality of São João de Montenegro. Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 202.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 198.

²¹ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 43.

In fact, the conversion of title from *diretor* to *intendente* (director to mayor) was neither as immediate nor as transformational as it may seem on the surface. After years of appointed directors that were men of Brazilian descent, emancipation in 1890 did indeed allow the community of predominantly Italians to be governed by three Italian men, Ângelo Chittolina, Ernesto Marsiaj, and Salvador Sartori, who were collectively referred to as the Junta Governativa.²² However, until its dissolution just two years later in 1892, this group was still appointed by the Governor of Rio Grande do Sul, General Cândido José da Costa, who at the same time appointed non-local non-Italians to the other local administrative positions.²³

With emancipation, Caxias was given significant administrative authority over issues such as road construction, transportation, maintenance of public space and services such as water and electricity, control of economic activities, and “regulations on the use and occupation of the land.”²⁴ The significance of these roles gave considerable responsibilities to the local government, yet their independence in these matters was restricted. Historian Maria Abel Machado say that since “a large part of the investments depended on financial support from the state and federal governments, the municipal

²² Antunes, *Caxias Do Sul: A Metrópole Do Vinho: Orgão Oficial da Festa da Uva e Feira Agro-Industrial de Caxias do Sul*, 28. Machado states that all were Italians in Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 149. Ernesto Marsiaj would later become the Delegate of Police (Delegado de Polícia) under Campos Junior, at least during March 1898. *Ibid.*, 159, footnote 36.

²³ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 84. Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 35. Rela also makes the point that both the Brazilian José Domingos de Almeida and the Uruguayan (who was a naturalized Brazilian) Benjamin Cortes Rodrigues were part of this government. Rodrigues was also a founding member of the Masons. *Ibid.*, 36–37. A further note: The position of Governor (of Rio Grande do Sul) is also sometimes referred to as State Governor or as President in both primary and secondary documents.

²⁴ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 85.

leaders were obliged to maintain a good relationship with these authorities.”²⁵ This situation, therefore, was one of devolution with strings attached.

This relationship between local and regional political leaders, including both Italians and Brazilians, was strengthened through their common membership as Masons. In fact, the first Masonic organization in the Serra Gaúcha was organized in Caxias in 1886, while the next Lodge formed was in neighboring Bento Gonçalves, which did not form until 1894.²⁶ Caxias historians Giron and Herédia state that “a large number of immigrants [in Caxias] were part of this society” and provide evidence that between 1877 and 1903, the Masonic organization in Caxias had 152 members.²⁷ They further state that the Masons were an “important association for regional politics.”²⁸ In fact, the first Italian Junta Governativa leaders appointed by the provincial authorities were connected to those same authorities through the Masons, including Ângelo Chittolina who was a founder of the coethnic Masons.²⁹ Despite being new to Caxias, this was an international organization familiar with playing a role in politics, even influencing the recent unification of Italy in the decades before the establishment of Caxias.³⁰ This Masonic political involvement carried over to Caxias where, “in their lodges, the political and regional actions were defined. The lodges also acted in the municipal emancipations,

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 103. The *Loja Maçônica Força e Fraternidade* was formed in Caxias January 28, 1886.

²⁷ *Ibid.* The quotation is from Eliane Lucia Colussi, *A maçonaria gaúcha no século XIX* (Passo Fundo, RS, Brasil: EdiUEP, Universidade de Passo Fundo, 1998), 570. The statistic is from the *Livros de Atas 1 a 8*, which includes the Mason’s meeting minutes, likely from 1886-1903.

²⁸ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 103.

²⁹ Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 36.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21–24.

because the organization had its members in the [regional] state government, especially in Caxias ... in 1890.”³¹

Taking Sides: Political Tensions Build Toward a Revolution

Unsurprisingly, following the national changes of 1888 to 1889, Brazil experienced a particularly tumultuous decade in regional politics. This was definitely true of the southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul, which became entangled in a power struggle between two leading political groups: the Republicans (or PRR, nicknamed the *pica-paus*) and the Federalists (also known as *maragatos*).³² The Republicans controlled the new national government, as well as the provincial government of Rio Grande do Sul, but the Federalists vigorously opposed the Republicans and mounted a regional revolution against the state government. Although the Republicans ultimately won the power struggle, the revolt lasted for two years and required the intervention of national troops. Regardless of the eventual outcome, the early 1890s was a time of ideological and physical conflict in Caxias, so it is important to understand the roots of this divisiveness.

The ideological divisions within Caxias began as class differences that resulted in a political split. Of the two political parties in Caxias, “many of the Italian immigrants were *maragatos* [Federalists], a few were *pica-paus* [Republicans], and even fewer were neutral.”³³ Although these divisions were typically class-based, they cut across ethnic lines. In fact, the majority of the population of Caxias was aligned with the Federalists, but the minority were those in political power: the Republican elites, who were both Brazilians and Italians.

³¹ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 103.

³² *Ibid.*, 104–108. The full name for the Republicans was the *Partido Republicano Riograndense* which translates to the Republican Party of Rio Grande do Sul.

³³ *Ibid.*, 108.

The Republicans, who successfully maintained their control of the state in the 1890s, were strongly influenced by Júlio de Castilhos. As the ideological champion of Republican positivism in the region, Castilhos became the Governor of Rio Grande do Sul twice, first in 1891 and again from 1893 to 1898. Subsequently, the provincial branch of the Republican Party, the PRR of Rio Grande do Sul, was often characterized by his *castilhismo* in the 1890s. Castilhos's legacy remained important to the PRR even beyond his early (natural) death in 1903 at age forty-three. In fact, at the National Exposition in 1908, his portrait was placed centrally on the map of Rio Grande do Sul, above that of the current governor at the time, Borges de Medeiros.³⁴ The implication of this imagery is not a denigration of Medeiros but is a tribute to Castilhos. It displays recognition by the provincial PRR that, despite their loss of Castilhos, he remained their philosophical leader.³⁵

In line with the Republican motto of "Order and Progress," Castilhos's positivism advocated societal harmony within a hierarchical and rigid society, imposed by an authoritarian and bureaucratic state that emphasized modernization.³⁶ In speaking of Brazil as a whole, Brazilian historian Thomas Skidmore explains, "Positivism's appeal was strong in late nineteenth-century Brazil because it was the only doctrine offering a strong and coherent structure to pose against a dissolving Catholic ethos."³⁷ To further

³⁴ Castilhos died of throat cancer. His portrait at the Exposition can be seen in: "O Estado Do Rio Grande Do Sul Na Exposição Nacional," 1908, 2, AHRS.

³⁵ This reverence for one central political leader or political strongman (sometimes termed a *caudillo*) with a loyal local following is a common theme in Latin America historiography of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. For an excellent example that discusses southern Brazil, see: John Charles Chasteen, *Heroes on Horseback: A Life and Times of the Last Gaucho Caudillos* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

³⁶ Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 53–54. Historian Roger Kittleson utilizes Positivism and PRR rather interchangeably in his work: Kittleson, *The Practice of Politics in Postcolonial Brazil*.

³⁷ Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 72.

explain this ideology, Brazilian historian Roger Kittleson states that the Positivists “did not seek to overturn social hierarchies; rather, the PRR aimed at the creation of a more centralized, authoritarian government, albeit one that would mobilize plebeians to combat partisan rivals and, more grandly, to realize the very [Auguste] Comtean combination of ‘order and progress.’”³⁸

In contrast, the Federalists, Kittleson explains, promoted “respect for individual liberties that they saw as inherent in the people and history of their state,” yet not necessarily respect for political rights nor equality for members of the state.³⁹ In fact, Silveira Martins, an influential Federalist leader in Rio Grande do Sul during the 1870s, is noted for saying, “A million ignorant men do not make one sage.”⁴⁰ Because Brazil’s transition from empire to republic had stripped parliamentary representation from the political structure, the proposed Federalist system actually “resembled the imperial system in which they had flourished: a nominally democratic parliamentary regime in which only a small fraction of the population participated officially in politics.”⁴¹ In other words, the Federalists did not advocate imperialism itself, but instead desired the parliamentary powers they had enjoyed under imperial rule.

The early 1890s were an unsettled and tumultuous time in Caxias, so the political divide was not always clearly drawn along class lines either. Even amongst the Republican elites, who often belonged to the interethnic Masons, there was a loss of cohesion that was evident when the Caxias branch of the Masonic Lodge closed from 1890 to 1894. Although the minutes of Mason meetings state the closure of the

³⁸ Kittleson, *The Practice of Politics in Postcolonial Brazil*, 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

organization without revealing a reason for it, Giron and Herédia contend that “it seems evident that even these brothers did not manage to remain neutral in the midst of the explosive state situation.”⁴²

One would expect to find these Mason brothers siding only with the Republicans, but that was not always the case. In fact, there are signs of ideological fissures within the Masons. For example, three Masons at the forefront of the push for the emancipation of Caxias in 1890 actively opposed each other in the revolts only four years later.⁴³ Of these three men, only Felice Laner sided with his fellow Masons by supporting the Republicans, while Belisário Batista Soares and Francisco Salerno became involved in the leadership of a Federalist group that invaded Caxias in 1894. During this attack, which will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter, the office of Mason Felice Laner was ransacked and set on fire by the Federalists.⁴⁴ This demonstrates that even the Masons, a group known for its cohesive loyalty, became fractured amidst the political transformations and upheavals of the early 1890s.

Escalating Tension: Failed Rebellions Result in Local Leadership Changes

Before the statewide Federalist Revolution began in 1893, there were two preliminary revolts in Caxias, which illustrate the increasing complexity of political allegiances at work in the years leading up to the revolution. The first local revolt occurred in late 1891 and was successful in displacing the state-appointed Junta

⁴² Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 106.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴⁴ Although the sources do not state the reason for these splits, it appears that the political tensions and revolts of the period played a potentially strong role in these fissures. *Ibid.*, 106–107.

Governativa for eighteen days.⁴⁵ The provincial government sent a police force that successfully restored power to their appointed administrators, but the political situation remained in constant flux. Soon after, the state created a group of Brazilians called the Conselho Municipal to advise the Junta Governativa, but when the second rebellion occurred on July 25, 1892, over three hundred armed men deposed the recently instated Conselho Municipal.⁴⁶ Both of these conflicts, occurring less than a year apart, “were started by the Federalists” under the leadership of two Italians, Affonso Amábile and Francisco Januário Salerno.⁴⁷ Although these conflicts involved Federalists versus Republicans, the lines were really drawn between Masons and non-Masons (usually Catholics); however, the fight did not concern religious differences.⁴⁸ Instead, the conflicting political entities fought over class differences, which superseded ethnic boundaries.

In the immediate aftermath of the second revolt, three Republican Masons who were Italians temporarily took power for several days until a new system could be

⁴⁵ This occupation by the Junta Revolucionária took place from November 26 to December 14, 1891. Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 151–154; Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 35.

⁴⁶ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 153; Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 105. *Conselho Municipal* translates to Municipal Advisory.

⁴⁷ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 104–105. As Machado describes, both men continued their armed resistance against the Republican-dominated government in Caxias. Salerno, who had previously been the Delegate of Police (*Delegado de Polícia*), remained a persistent annoyance to the Mayor. Amábile was called “the most fearsome disorderly in this colony” by the Director of Lands and during the 1894 invasion of Caxias by Federalists, during which Amábile was killed in an ambush by local police. Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 151–154; Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 108. As a note, I have followed Giron and Herédia’s spelling of “Salerno,” rather than Macado’s of “Salerno,” *Ibid.*, 150. Rela states that the Junta Revolucionaria Municipal that took control in the November to December 1891 revolt was “led by Italian Francisco Salerno, who was said to be faithful to the deposed Júlio de Castilhos.” Yet, this would seem to politically position Salerno as a Republican, not a Federalist as the other sources state. Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 35. Since in 1911, Salerno is also listed with Campos Netto as an honorary member of the Club Juvenil, which was a local Republican club, he was likely Republican by this time. José Candido de Campos Netto, “Verdades Incontestáveis” (Montenegro: R. Engel, 1918), 30, AHRS.

⁴⁸ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 104–105.

established. One week after the second rebellion, the state replaced the system of the Junta Governativa and the Conselho Municipal again with a single leader again now named as mayor (*intendente*), a position that would remain the top political administrative position in Caxias for decades.⁴⁹ With this revamped power structure in place, the provincial state selected the first mayor of Caxias, Antônio Xavier da Luz, a Brazilian who was nominated by none other than Júlio de Castilhos, one of the primary leaders of the Republican Party.⁵⁰ In 1893, the new mayor promptly confirmed his Republican loyalties by renaming one of Caxias's main streets the Rua Júlio de Castilhos, which remains its name today.⁵¹ Obviously, in terms of provincial authority, the gradual emancipation of this politically tumultuous town was still far from complete.

In fact, after the mayoral position of *intendente* was established to replace the Junta Governativa, the first four people to hold the position were, again, Brazilian men appointed by the state.⁵² The last of these four state-appointed mayors was José Cândido de Campos Junior, this chapter's featured character, who would then be re-elected to second and third terms, despite his Republican affiliation, by the same Italian community that would later oust him from office. Machado emphasizes the state's role by claiming that this series of Brazilian mayors appointed to Caxias were "men foreign to the Caxiense community, of Luso-Brazilian origin, nominated by the State Governor and

⁴⁹ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 153–155.

⁵⁰ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 106. The three Republican Masons who facilitated this transition were Luiz Pieruccini, Domingos Maineri, and Vicente Rovea. Rovea would become Caxias's mayor soon after Campos Junior.

⁵¹ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 73.

⁵² Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 39. Following Antonio Xavier da Luz from 1892-1894, José Domingos de Almeida held the office from 1894 to 1895, and Alorino Machado de Lucena during 1895.

belonging to the political party in power.”⁵³ This became significant on the eve of the statewide revolution because “a majority of the population of the (old) colonies were sympathetic to the *maragatos* (*assisstas*) [Federalists], but their authorities were, for the majority, followers of the *pica-paus* (*borgistas*) [Republicans or PRR].”⁵⁴ This not only reaffirmed the state’s preference for Brazilian leadership in the predominantly Italian community, but also reestablished its authority during a politically contentious period that exploded into statewide revolution in 1893.

The Unsuccessful Federalist Revolution, 1893–1895

Although Brazil declared itself a Republic on November 15, 1889, the Republican motto of “Order and Progress” inscribed on the national flag was soon challenged by the bloody Federalist Revolution from 1893 to 1895 in southern Brazil.⁵⁵ This political conflict placed the Republicans or PRR, who were loyal to the new Brazilian government, against the regional Federalists, who were opposed to Republican control of the regional and national government. While the regional Federalists sought to gain control of Rio Grande do Sul from the PRR, the battle soon spilled over into the neighboring states of Santa Catarina and Paraná. The struggle eventually subsided when Republican national troops under the authority of the Duke of Caxias (for whom the town of Caxias had previously been named) ultimately put down the Federalist Revolution. In announcing the victory, the Republican newspaper *A Federação* published a telegram on August 27, 1895, that ended with, “Long live the Republic! Long live Júlio de

⁵³ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 28. The term Luso-Brazilian is another term used to refer to a Brazilian person generally or more specifically to a person of Portuguese-Brazilian descent. In this case, the term is used in the general sense.

⁵⁴ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 112.

⁵⁵ This motto was written across the newly designed Brazilian flag only days after the 1889 national shift from monarchy to republic and remains there to this day.

Castilhos!”⁵⁶ Regarding this ending to the Revolution, Campos Junior’s son Campos Netto later wrote that the Republicans “resolved to dissolve these groups through converging the government forces, stationed in Taquary, Caxias, and the village of Montenegro.”⁵⁷

The geographic location of Caxias and the surrounding Serra Gaúcha played a significant role throughout the Federalist Revolution. By the 1890s, the Italian colonies had replaced the German colonies as the northernmost frontier between the core communities surrounding Porto Alegre and the peripheral, less-populous northern reaches of the province.⁵⁸ In fact, the area became a “point of passage” for both the Republicans and Federalists, who would pass through for supplies, including agricultural products and livestock.⁵⁹ In the midst of this revolutionary time, it is also notable that there was at least some communication at the national level regarding the local issues of Italians in Caxias. For example, in 1893 numerous letters were sent from the Italian consul directly to the Governor of Rio Grande do Sul regarding concerns for the welfare of Italian migrants living in the state. Some letters mention the regional instability, such as one letter writer that expressed anxiety about military forces in the area and mentioned a business owned by an Italian living near Caxias that was robbed.⁶⁰ These records prove at least some direct conflict in and around Caxias that was attributed to the regional Federalist

⁵⁶ José Candido de Campos Netto, *Montenegro* (Montenegro, 1924), 260.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 259. This implies that Caxias may have been an even more strategic location at this point in the Federalist Revolution than the surviving documents demonstrate.

⁵⁸ Immanuel Wallerstein argued for the concepts of core and periphery in his world-systems approach beginning in the 1970s with works such as: Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Immanuel Wallerstein, Project Muse, and Project Muse, *The Modern World-System II Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*, 2014.

⁵⁹ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 106.

⁶⁰ “Consulados E Legações Da Itália (1886-1893),” 1893, AHRG. These letters were written in Italian.

Revolution, but also indicate the likelihood that Caxiense experienced more connections to the regional and national conflicts than the limited sources allow us to know.

Although there is scant documentation or scholarship on the specific influence of the region during the revolution, we do know the outlines of one particularly dramatic event.⁶¹ In the middle of the regional conflict, on June 30, 1894, Caxias was attacked by a Federalist group of over four hundred men, which caused enough concern that many Caxiense fled.⁶² During the attack, the office of Felice Laner (Republican leader and cofounder of the Masonic Lodge in Caxias) was “invaded, looted and burned” by the Federalists, who were led by two of Laner’s former Mason brothers.⁶³ Although little else was recorded, the attack did result in deaths, injuries, and an increased sense of fear among the Caxiense.⁶⁴ The Brazilian National Guard quickly responded and, after receiving further reinforcements, was able to “reestablish order and tranquility and guarantee the return of the population to their homes” by July 3rd.⁶⁵

The use of national forces demonstrates the willingness of Brazil to provide resources to Caxias, but more importantly it implies that the state believed that maintaining peace in Caxias was a high priority, even in the midst of a bloody regional conflict. Caxias historian Mário Maestri explains that by mid-June, two weeks before this event in Caxias, the regional Federalist Revolution was in “clear agony.” The revolt, which had challenged some important ports and spilled across state borders to other southern Brazilian states, was finally being reined in by the national Republican Brazilian

⁶¹ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 106.

⁶² Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 156–157.

⁶³ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 105–107; Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 36.

⁶⁴ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 107. The authors’ sources report at least nine (and as many as twenty) casualties during these few days and conclude with, “These events caused fear and memories that were transmitted from generation to generation.”

⁶⁵ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 156–157.

state.⁶⁶ Therefore, this prompt and forceful national response to Caxias's local revolt during this time could also imply more political upheaval in Caxias during the 1890s than we have records to confirm. Some possible support for this idea can be found in the minutes of a meeting of the recently reopened Masonic Lodge, held less than two weeks after this 1894 attack. In the meeting, members mentioned knowing that Francisco Salerno—a former (and possibly current) member of the Masons—“hid many ‘irreverent [Federalists] threatened with death’ in his house, [thus] saving their lives.”⁶⁷ Since Salerno is later mentioned as a prominent Republican, his harboring of Federalist revolutionaries—as well as the Masons' knowledge of the situation—illustrates the complexity of the politically tense climate in Caxias during the Federalist Revolution.

Because the statewide conflict brought violence and fear into the local context, the politically polarized community of Caxias was perhaps more open to making concessions in order to maintain peace and stability, particularly once the Republican party gained control over the Federalist revolutionaries at the state level. Perhaps, after years of turmoil and fighting, the majority (non-Republican) population of Caxias became more willing to accept Republican leaders who emphasized “order and progress,” even if these administrators were obviously influenced by the decision-makers in Porto Alegre. Therefore, when the Republicans gained the upper hand in 1895, after a decade of national and regional instability, they established calm by maintaining stable and nonbelligerent Republican leadership in Caxias. To accomplish this, they drew on a

⁶⁶ Mário José Maestri Filho, *Breve História do Rio Grande do Sul: da Pré-História aos dias atuais* (Passo Fundo, RS, Brasil: UPF Editora, Editora da Universidade de Passo Fundo, 2010), 246, 240–247. By this point, the Revolution had crossed into the neighboring states of Santa Catarina and Paraná, and involved the port city of Rio Grande in Rio Grande do Sul, and even a blockade on Rio de Janeiro.

⁶⁷ The quotation is from the *Livro da Atas*, no. 3, 15 from July 14, 1894 in Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 104, 107.

familiar resource—the Masons—who not only had a strong history in Caxias, but who also possessed a reputation for “recommending prudence and moderation.”⁶⁸ According to one newspaper in Porto Alegre, Caxias had an “enormous population, nearly all foreigners, controlled for some time by troubling agitations that to a certain point shook the prestige of the authority. To put an end to this state [of affairs], the mayor Campos Junior was nominated.”⁶⁹ Thus, the mayoral appointment of José Candido de Campos Junior came at a critical juncture in Caxias history, while his subsequent tenure as the mayor would provide further evidence of its gradual emancipation from provincial control.

Gradual Emancipation: Less State Control and Untidy Ethnic Allegiances

After the 1890 emancipation of Caxias and the subsequent years of political upheaval, the mayoral tenure of José Candido de Campos Junior from 1895 to 1902 moved the colony one step closer toward the political autonomy and Italian governance that this liberation implied. Although progress continued to occur incrementally, his term as mayor serves as a valuable lens through which to view the political shift from state to local authority and the ethnic shift from Brazilian to Italian control. His appointment, reelection, and forced resignation also serve to elucidate the overlapping complexities and general messiness of the political and ethnic allegiances during this period. However, the controversial and premature conclusion of Campos Junior’s final term in 1902 is a

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁶⁹ Here, Campos Junior quoted from an article published by a Magistrate from the *Magistratura Rio Grandense* in the “Jornal do Commercio,” a Porto Alegre newspaper: “1913 José Candido de Campos Jr. versus a Intendente Municipal de Caxias, seu Intendente e Conselheiros Municipais” (Caxias do Sul: Municipio de Caxias, 1913), 9, APERS.

significant signpost that marks an important, yet still incremental, power shift toward local political authority and Italian self-governance in Caxias.

Appointed / Elected: José Cândido de Campos Junior, Afro-Brazilian Mayor

In 1895, after changing administrators four times in five years, the Republican-controlled state finally handed the authority over to José Cândido de Campos Junior, a Republican and a Mason, who retained this position for the next seven years.⁷⁰ According to a Porto Alegre newspaper, Campos Junior came from an “obscure and very poor family” in Santo Antônio de Patrulha, and took on a “paternal inheritance, the burden of supporting his old mother and siblings” during his adolescence. He engaged in various professions, including musician, lawyer, and public functionary, then was eventually appointed by the Republican party to a public post in Vaccaria, located about sixty miles north of Caxias, before being appointed mayor of Caxias at the age of forty-one.⁷¹ During his lifetime, he and his wife, Clarice Selistre de Campos, had five children, and at least one—José Candido de Campos Netto—would follow in his father’s footsteps as a lawyer and an active member of the Republican party.⁷²

⁷⁰ As discussed in the previous section, the 1890 to 1892 Junta Governativa was followed from 1892 to 1895 by a sequence of three Brazilian mayors before Campos Junior took office in 1895. “Apuroções Responsabilidades Disciplinares - José Candido de Campos Jr. 1902-1933,” 1933, AHMJSA. In a letter from December 1930 (but labeled in the archive document as from 1916), Campos Junior states that his mayorship began on October 12, 1895.

⁷¹ His portrait photograph also states that he was from Santo Antônio da Patrulha. Studio Geremia, *Intendente: José Cândido de Campos Jr. (1895 – 1902) - Caxias Do Sul, RS*, Photograph, 1902, GER (AUT) 004, AHMJSA. This record states that he was eighty-five years old when he died in 1939: “1960 Archimimo Selistre de Campos vs. José Candido de Campos Jr.” (Porto Alegre: Juiz de Direito da Vara Cível, 1960), 2, APERS.

⁷² “1960 Archimimo Selistre de Campos vs. José Candido de Campos Jr.,” 2, 8. His children were: Archimimo Selistre de Campos, Julieta Selistre de Campos, Natália Selistre de Campos, José Candido de Campos Netto, and Antonio Selistre de Campos. It appears that Antonio may have died before 1940, or at least 1960, since he is not listed as a benefactor in Campos Junior’s estate. Support for Campos Netto’s assertion that he was a “faithful member of my [Republican] party” is confirmed in his strong and overtly Republican support throughout his book: Campos Netto, “Verdades Incontestáveis,” 108.

An important point that is frequently omitted from the scholarship is the strong case for Campos Junior being not only a Brazilian, but an Afro-Brazilian. Despite the frequent omission of this discussion in the secondary scholarship, I argue there is strong evidence that (at the least) many Caxiense would have perceived him as Afro-Brazilian. In a 2008 lecture, Loraine Slomp Giron, a historian of Caxias who has researched the Afro-Brazilian presence in Rio Grande do Sul, stated, “We [the people of Caxias] had problems between the black mayor that we had here in Caxias, a mulatto, and the inhabitants of Caxias, of Campos Junior, right? ... The first [elected] mayor of Caxias was black. The people don’t know this.”⁷³ In print, Giron and Herédia also mention that Campos Junior was “mulato,” yet this is currently the extent of this discussion in the scholarship.⁷⁴

However, there is further evidence to support these scholars’ claims of Campos Junior’s Afro-Brazilian heritage. First, he was born in Santo Antônio de Patrulha in 1854 to parents with Brazilian surnames. In the mid-nineteenth century, the nonindigenous inhabitants of the area of northern Rio Grande do Sul were primarily Afro-Brazilian.⁷⁵ Further, given his darker skin (which can be seen in his portrait), it is likely that Caxiense would have perceived him to be Afro-Brazilian.⁷⁶ Yet, discussions of race are relatively absent from primary or secondary sources related to Campos Junior. Only the later

⁷³ Giron et al., *Palestras Semana de Caxias 2008*, 9 transcription. From my informal conversations with Caxiense, I would agree with Giron’s assertion that many Caxiense are unaware that Campos Junior was an afro-descendent. Almost uniformly, the people I spoke to who knew of Campos Junior as a historic mayor denied the possibility that he was Afro-Brazilian. The quote from one man was typical: “It would have been impossible for him to be mayor if he was Afro-Brazilian.”

⁷⁴ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 103.

⁷⁵ “1960 Archimimo Selistre de Campos vs. José Candido de Campos Jr.,” 2, 8. It also states that his parents were José Cândido de Campos and Honorata Campos, although we know nothing else about his parents.

⁷⁶ Studio Geremia, *Intendente: José Cândido de Campos Jr. (1895 – 1902) - Caxias Do Sul, RS*. His portrait is also reproduced in several secondary sources, including: Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*; Luis A. De Boni and Rovílio Costa, *Far la Mérica: A Presença Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, vol. Volume III, 3 of 3 vols. (Porto Alegre: Riocell, 1991).

writings of his son, Campos Netto, give us some further insight. In introducing the character of the people in the nearby town of Montenegro, where he moved in 1913, he states, “The people of this land, [are] generous and good,” and later says, “They did not think of irritating and counterproductive questions like that of nationalities, etc.”⁷⁷ While it would have been helpful for our purposes if he had further explained his list of “irritating and counterproductive questions” rather than trailing off with an “etcetera,” another statement (one of the only sentences in his 108-page book that is set in bold) may give some indication. In this highlighted phrase, he praises a formal society in Montenegro that existed “without distinction of races and beliefs” and then concludes his work by reprinting his own words from a 1916 newspaper, where he wrote: “Montenegro, a beautiful colonial city, where Luso-Brazilian and German-Brazilian *brothers* live.”⁷⁸ Together, this evidence supports the Afro-Brazilian heritage of Campos Junior, which makes his ascent to leadership in Caxias, less than a decade after the abolition of slavery, even more noteworthy.

As mayor, the majority of Campos Junior’s day-to-day job was fairly mundane, dominated by typical mayoral responsibilities and formalities. His signature on numerous documents indicates his involvement in various aspects of Caxias life including: the buying, selling, and dividing of land plots; requesting money for projects and work completed; and even confirming the good quality of purchased meat.⁷⁹ He also signed provisionary titles to land lots, such as the urban lot number five on Rua Sinimbú, which

⁷⁷ Emphasis added. The term Luso-Brazilian is another term used to refer to a Brazilian person generally or more specifically to a person of Portuguese-Brazilian descent. In this case, since Campos Netto is referring to the community as a whole, he is likely using the term in the former sense. Campos Netto, “Verdades Incontestáveis,” 40–41.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 44–45, 105.

⁷⁹ Adami, *História De Caxias Do Sul (1864-1970)*.

he signed for the same (Rodolpho) Felice Laner previously mentioned, and he also participated in community social activities. For example, in 1896, following the inaugural day of events for the formation of the Italian society, Principe di Napoli, Campos Junior invited club members to dinner to celebrate the start of their society.⁸⁰

Campos Junior's more notable legacy is bringing political and social stability to the community following two decades of local leadership turnover and five years of political revolts. After such turmoil, his seven years of uninterrupted leadership is significant. Whether for these reasons or others lost to history, evidence suggests that he was a well-respected mayor. In fact, not long before his involuntary resignation, Campos Junior himself quoted an article from a Porto Alegre newspaper which stated that "Campos Junior is today one of the most beloved mayors in Rio Grande."⁸¹ Confirmation of his popularity can also be found in contemporary literature, including Giron and Herédia's work, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, in which they consistently refer to him as the "venerable Campos Júnior."⁸²

However, Campos Junior did have a considerable number of detractors. Because his appointment came from the Republican leadership in Porto Alegre only weeks after the conclusion of the Federalist Revolution, opposition to his selection was practically a

⁸⁰ Giuseppe Chiaradia, "Programma de Sociedade Italiana Principe Di Napoli" (Sociedade Italiana Principe di Napoli, 1896), AHMJSA. There is also a letter from this same society, dated November 18, 1897. The founding members listed on the program for this Italian society were: Giuseppe Chiaradia (President), Giovanni De Boni, Rodolpho Braghiroli, Giovanni Montanari, Guzi Angelo, and Antonio Mengatto (Secretary).

⁸¹ Campos Junior quoted from an article published by a Magistrate from the *Magistratura Rio Grandense* in the Porto Alegre newspaper: "Jornal Do Commercio," *Jornal Do Commercio*, n.d., Arquivo Histórico de Porto Alegre Moysés Vellinho. Campos Junior provides no further locating information, but the content of the article that he does provide indicates that it was published between 1900 and 1902: "1913 José Candido de Campos Jr. versus a Intendente Municipal de Caxias, seu Intendente e Conselheiros Municipais," 9–10.

⁸² Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 108–110.

foregone conclusion within this largely Federalist population.⁸³ Although the Republicans had emerged victorious from the Federalist Revolution, their power was still tenuous and limited in scope. For example, in 1896, the year after the Federalist Revolution formally ended, Governor Castilhos wrote to his friend and likely secretary, Aurélio Viríssimo de Bittencourt, referring to the “many Federalist bandits on the border,” and in other letters he mention the Brigades.⁸⁴ So, although Campos Junior was favored by the Republican provincial legislators in Porto Alegre and seemingly accepted by the Caxiense elite, he still had to establish his authority in a town where Federalists were the majority.

Within Caxias, his opposition came not only from rival political parties, but also from the Catholic Church, with which many Federalists identified. Furthermore, the Catholic Church in Caxias tapped into the historic tension between its institution and the Masonic organization. Caxias historian Eliana Rela states that when the “Mason” Campos Junior was appointed, this “generated vehement discontent among the Italian Catholics.”⁸⁵ This discontent in Caxias soon centered around the local priest Pedro Nosadini.

Campos Junior versus Nosadini: Political and Social Ties Trump Ethnicity

In a small, majority-Catholic town of Italian migrants, tension between the Brazilian mayor and the Italian priest was a weighty matter. In the case of 1890s Caxias, it was more than just a religious or ethnic conflict but was primarily a political and social

⁸³ As mentioned in a previous footnote, Campos Junior was appointed on October 12, 1895, which was only seven weeks after the Federalist Revolution ended on August 23 of the same year.

⁸⁴ “Aurélio Viríssimo de Bittencourt - (Correspondência Recebida de Júlio de Castilhos, 1894-1896),” 1896, AHRS. The quote is from a letter dated September 9, 1896, while the Brigades are mentioned in a series of three letters from September 23 to 24, 1896, which discuss São Leopoldo, Figueira, and (the city of) Rio Grande.

⁸⁵ Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 36.

matter. The conflict between José Cândido de Campos Junior and Father Pedro Nosadini started soon after Campos Junior's first mayoral term began. Nosadini, a young Italian who had migrated to Brazil from Italy a few years prior, became the priest in Caxias just eight months after Campos Junior became mayor.⁸⁶ Of his arrival, historian Machado begins, "The Father Nosadini, on assuming the Santa Teresa Parish of Caxias on June 15, 1896, began a campaign against the Masons...."⁸⁷

The relationship between the newly reinstated Masonic Lodge and the Catholic Church was strained long before Nosadini's arrival. According to Giron and Herédia, "The creation and existence of Masonic Lodges, in the colonies considered [to be] exclusively Catholic strongholds, revealed that the hegemony of the church had opponents."⁸⁸ Although Masons were not openly anticlerical, the society had a long history of tension with the Catholic Church. Historian Eliana Rela states that, for Catholic migrants to Caxias, the term "Masons" "points to [one of the] secret societies that had fought against the pope on the Italian peninsula, and usurped the Papal States in the name of unification."⁸⁹ Machado adds that in Caxias "the local authorities ... were majority Masons and, as such, at this time, viewed as enemies of the Catholic Church."⁹⁰ These local authorities, typically Masons and Republicans, were also typically agnostic. Although they too were not overtly opposed to religion, they often found themselves at odds with the Catholic Church. Thus, the majority of Caxiense, namely Catholic Italians,

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 13, 45. Nosadini had been in Rio Grande do Sul at least since 1893.

⁸⁷ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 158.

⁸⁸ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 103.

⁸⁹ Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 36. The unification of Italy ended in 1870 with the incorporation of Rome and the annexation of the Papal States into the new Italian nation.

⁹⁰ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 158.

opposed the ruling Republican Masons, who were typically elites of either Brazilian or Italian heritage.

Within eight months of his arrival, Father Nosadini had already caused enough of a stir in Caxias that he was attacked and forced to flee town. The night of February 7, 1897, there was a “confrontation of grand proportions” when Nosadini was attacked by over twenty men who physically injured him and possibly intended to kill him.⁹¹

Although the Masons denied coordinating the ambush, they admitted that two of the men involved were Masons.⁹² But another author states, “Thanks to the intervention of some Italian Masons, like Ângelo Chitolina and Guido Livi, he [Nosadini] was freed,” so the role of these two Masons makes the group’s admission less significant.⁹³ Yet, Giron and Herédia claim, “Guilty or not, the Masons were blamed for the incident.”⁹⁴ Nosadini escaped to the neighboring town of Nova Pádua, where he remained for almost five months, until July of the same year.⁹⁵ Although Caxias eventually allowed him to return, Father Nosadini adjusted his tactics, apparently understanding that his former exuberance and initial ignorance of the territory contributed to the earlier conflicts. However, his enthusiasm for the cause remained strong.

A few months after his return to Caxias, the conflict reignited in the press, but shifted from the Catholic priest and the Masons to a more general tiff between Catholics and Republicans, who each established their own newspaper to champion their respective

⁹¹ *Ibid.* There were twenty-two to twenty-four men involved: Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 109.

⁹² Loraine Slomp Giron and Roberto Radünz, eds., *Imigração E Cultura* (Caxias do Sul, RS, Brasil: EDUCS - Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 2007), 109.

⁹³ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 158. This was the same Chitolina who had been one of the three members of the Junta Governativa from 1890 to 1892, meaning that he likely still retained at least informal leadership clout in Caxias.

⁹⁴ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 109.

⁹⁵ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 158. He returned to Caxias on July 14, 1897.

causes. The first newspaper established in the region was *O Caxiense* on October 15, 1897, which claimed to be “The Defender of the Italian Colonies and the Republican Party.” Before founding his own paper, Nosadini resorted to using this Mason-friendly venue to levy several accusations against the Masons for allegedly attacking Catholics.⁹⁶ Yet, on January 1, 1898, Nosadini founded the Italian-language newspaper *Il Colono Italiano*, which “had as the objective to defend the interests and causes of Italian Catholics, immigrants of the region.”⁹⁷ Given Father Nosadini’s history in Caxias, it is clear that he saw these interests as not only religious, but also political and social. In one article, he was particularly critical of the Masons, when he directly asked, “Why do you need to be secret? Why not expose in clear light your objectives?”⁹⁸

In this conflict, Nosadini gained powerful supporters, including two of the Italians who had served in the Junta Governativa from 1890 to 1892. Salvador Sartori joined Nosadini’s Comitês Católicos, organizations that were considered fanatical and anarchist by the Italian government.⁹⁹ Historian Rela states that these groups “congregated people, also, around the anti-Mason fight” and, by 1898, had successfully recruited 800 Italians to the Federação Católica Caxias.¹⁰⁰ In addition, Ângelo Chittolina’s intervention, which possibly saved Nosadini’s life, suggests that during his tumultuous time in Caxias, Nosadini did have the support—or at least the sympathy—of these two political leaders

⁹⁶ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 108. Although in footnote 36 on page 159, Machado mentions that the newspaper *O Caxiense* started April 28, 1898, the earlier start date is more likely. Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 159.

⁹⁷ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 158. The start date is provided by Machado.

⁹⁸ *Il Colono Italiano*, October 9, 1913 in Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 59.

⁹⁹ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 108–109. Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 158–159.

¹⁰⁰ Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 55.

in town.¹⁰¹ Since the short-lived Junta Governativa was the only Italian-led governing body to date in the history of Caxias, the support of Sartori and Chittolina implies that Nosadini's faction extended beyond the non-elites and included at least these two former high-level Republican Masons. This demonstrates the political complexity of the conflict, because the majority of Italian Catholics found themselves at odds with the elite Republican and Mason administrative authorities, yet (again) the lines between the factions were not simple and tidy. Unsurprisingly, the situation proved too contentious not to explode.

Only a few months after founding his opposing newspaper, Father Nosadini made inflammatory statements from the pulpit that drew the attention of the local authorities. Some local reports claim that, during a sermon on March 24, 1898, Nosadini condoned the idea of a physical attack on Campos Junior. Over the next month, the police compiled a report containing over one hundred pages of testimonies and relevant information.¹⁰² Of the event, Campos Junior later claimed that Nosadini “arrived with his acrimonious revenge to the point of trying to send [an attack] on my life.”¹⁰³ Although Father Nosadini continued to deny the charges (even contesting it with the Republican Governor of Rio Grande do Sul, Borges de Medeiros), the fallout was sufficient enough to get him

¹⁰¹ Chittolina, who intervened on his behalf in the 1897 confrontation, was also a member of the Junta Governativa from 1890 to 1892.

¹⁰² “1898 Nosadini e Bonalume” (Porto Alegre: Juiz de Direito da Vara Cível, 1898), Maço 70, APERS. Although we do not know if Campos Junior was responsible for ordering the investigation, it seems reasonable, given the previous history of tension between these two important local figures, that the local police found considerable reason to order the rather extensive investigation into the event, with or without orders from the mayor.

¹⁰³ “1913 José Candido de Campos Jr. versus a Intendente Municipal de Caxias, seu Intendente e Conselheiros Municipais,” 7.

transferred to another parish in the state of Paraná, which, although still in southern Brazil, was far enough away to ensure an end to Nosadini's rabbleroising in Caxias.¹⁰⁴

Later that same year, Campos Junior was reelected—in a landslide. Together, these events seem to imply that the state, in the form of its Republican and Masonic leadership, was strengthening its power in Caxias. However, the more long-term tide was still directed away from state and Masonic leadership and toward local Italian leadership, even if this major shift occurred in stops and starts.

An Unhappy Ending: Campos Junior's Controversial Final Term

Although Campos Junior was appointed from Porto Alegre for his first term, he was elected twice thereafter, making him the first elected mayor of Caxias. Campos Junior recognized this duality by crediting his multiple terms in office to “the eminent statesmen Drs. Julio de Castilhos and Borges de Medeiros and the magnanimous generosity of the Caxiense electorate.”¹⁰⁵ Although the electoral process showed an apparent progression away from state control, the hand of the state was still quite evident in both his 1898 election and his reelection in 1900. Regarding this reelection, Campos Junior later quoted a Porto Alegre newspaper to explain his remarkably lopsided victory: “The head of the Republican party, Dr. Julio de Castilhos, in agreement with a local exclusive committee, supported his candidacy anew. Soon Campos Junior was reelected

¹⁰⁴ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 159. He was transferred to the neighboring state of Paraná and then later back to Italy where, according to Brandalise, he “changed his name and did not tell his relatives what he did in Brazil, for fear of the Masons.” *Ibid.* Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 110. One month later, the police completed a report of over one hundred pages of accusations. “1898 Nosadini e Bonalume.”

¹⁰⁵ “1913 José Candido de Campos Jr. versus a Intendente Municipal de Caxias, seu Intendente e Conselheiros Municipais,” 3.

almost unanimously by the suffrage of the electorate of the town, without party distinction.”¹⁰⁶

This final phrase brings about questions regarding the legitimacy of these elections, since Caxias was a particularly partisan community. It seems rather unlikely that his support would be almost unanimous, when he represented a party that had been fighting off multiple revolts for nearly a decade and had recently removed the town’s politically antagonist priest. Additionally, if these elections were not doctored in his favor, where were all these supporters a few years later when Campos Junior was forced to resign? These factors cast a shadow of doubt on his landslide victories and his supposedly undisputed backing within the community. Therefore, instead of proving a shift toward local governance, Campos Junior’s dubious elections might instead suggest the Republican Party forcefully asserted its control.

Either way, Campos Junior had significant support within and beyond Caxias—if not in numbers, at least in terms of power. Likewise, his support extended beyond the ethnic allegiances of Brazilians and Italians but was more accurately delineated by politics and social standing. Unsurprisingly, as a member of the Masons and the Republican ruling elite, Campos Junior benefited from the support of the upper-class Italians in Caxias despite his Brazilian—even Afro-Brazilian—heritage. He also had significant support from beyond Caxias, particularly from the Republican-controlled state government in Porto Alegre. This support was likely strengthened early in Campos Junior’s term when, in March 1897, Caxias hosted an extensive reception for Governor Júlio de Castilhos, an event that involved lengthy planning and significant expense from

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 9–10.

Campos Junior's office.¹⁰⁷ It was during this visit that Castilhos first called Caxias the "pearl of the colonies," a somewhat premature designation that would eventually become more fitting. However, despite backing Campos Junior's election and reelection, the Governor, for unclear reasons, did not intervene a few years later when Campos Junior was forced into resignation.

Despite the questions surrounding Campos Junior's tenure, it was during his administration that Caxias began to show signs of its future economic strength. In fact, during July 1901, while Campos Junior was in his third term, the Association of Businessmen (*Associação dos Comerciantes*) was formed in Caxias with forty-seven members.¹⁰⁸ Yet this group, which will be discussed further in chapter 4, would soon have a direct conflict with the administration of Caxias and challenge Campos Junior's administrative power. When Caxias's administration raised taxes on rural and colonial products in December 1901, some of the group's members—who were, unsurprisingly, many of the local leading businessmen—responded by refusing to pay the taxes.¹⁰⁹ Caxias historians Loraine Slomp Giron and Heloisa Eberle Bergamaschi comment on the political strategy and results of this action by stating that the Association "had a leading role in the mayor's dismissal. Being poorly received by the mayor, their delegates, who sought the reduction of taxes, revolted against the municipal government. The businessmen proposed to promote the forfeiture of offices of the municipal leaders of

¹⁰⁷ Receipts for the festivities demonstrate this. For example, there is a receipt from the business of Mario Marsiay dated May 20, 1897, to the mayor's office, which is handwritten and says, "for the reception festival for Dr. Julio de Castilhos." There are many other receipts grouped with this receipt dated between March and May 1897, which are likely all for this same event starting with: *Ibid.*, 102. Buccelli, "Un viaggio a Río Grande del Sud," 229.

¹⁰⁸ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 23. Porto Alegre: EST, 1995.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 24–25.

Caxias.”¹¹⁰ Giron and Bergamaschi add, “In the struggle for municipal succession, the businessmen demonstrated *the strength of an internal plebiscite* and decided not to support the reelection of Campos Junior.”¹¹¹ This illustrates the increasing power of the local Italian populace to influence the Brazilian state so despite the impossibility of determining the extent of state interference in Campos Junior’s reelection, it is obvious that a shift in power was indeed underway. The contentious ending to Campos Junior’s tenure as mayor further exemplifies this shift.

Years later, in a letter written on Campos Junior’s behalf, the following events are described this way: “At the end of 1901, a ruthless, cruel, unjust and brutal campaign against the suppliant [Campos Junior] unexpectedly popped up.”¹¹² This “campaign” at the end of 1901 involved several prominent businessmen’s refusal to pay their taxes, which promptly slowed town building and infrastructure projects. Over the next few months, the noticeable strain this caused the administration as a whole shifted the focus of the attack directly to the mayor Campos Junior. By early 1902, Ângelo Ricardo Costamilan notes that the “Association of Businessmen [was] in a war in this moment against the mayor, Mr. Campos Jr.”¹¹³ A few months later, the next stage of this war exploded.

In early April 1902, a flurry of accusations of financial embezzlement emerged that involved Justino de Aranjó, a local Caxiense who had served on the administrative

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 25. Here, “municipal leaders” is translated from “Conselheiros Municipais.”

¹¹¹ Emphasis added. *Ibid.*, 25–26.

¹¹² “Apuroções Responsabilidades Disciplinares - José Candido de Campos Jr. 1902-1933,” Letter dated April 19, 1933.

¹¹³ Ângelo Ricardo Costamilan, *Homens e Mitos na História de Caxias* (Porto Alegre, RS: Posenato Arte & Cultura, 1989), 459.

payroll as a *porteiro* for the town government for years.¹¹⁴ The accusations resulted from an investigation, begun a few months earlier, when financial inconsistencies in the municipal administration's records were investigated.¹¹⁵ Campos Junior states that he welcomed a state auditor from Porto Alegre to conduct an in-depth review of his administration's financial records. He notes that the auditor "arrived unfortunately, at the following results" and then provides a year-by-year summary of revenue and expenses which concludes with the difference of an amount which was written as "48:430\$020" or, more simply, 48 *contos de reis*, which Campos Junior labeled "embezzlement verified."¹¹⁶ If the Association of Businessmen was involved in uncovering Aranjó's financial mismanagement, Campos Junior's letters on this situation over the next few decades never mentioned the Association, but they did consistently mention Aranjó.¹¹⁷ Yet, this may have less to do with a reflection of reality and more to do with a reflection of the changing power dynamics in favor of the primarily Italian Association members. If Campos Junior did suspect this group, which became a strong force in early-twentieth-century Caxias, implicating them potentially could have sabotaged his efforts to gain favor from the political leaders of Caxias over the next few decades.

¹¹⁴ *Porteiro* can be translated as "transporter" or "doorkeeper." Since *carreteiro* is most commonly used in Caxias documents for "transporter" and since Aranjó was on the administrative payroll and, by his embezzlement charges, appeared to have physical access to Caxias's finances, it is more likely that he served the less transitory role of a doorkeeper. There are multiple payment logs and receipts that show Aranjó being paid by the Caxias government: "1913 José Candido de Campos Jr. versus a Intendente Municipal de Caxias, seu Intendente e Conselheiros Municipais."

¹¹⁵ Although the timing roughly corresponds to the Association of Businessmen's December to January protest, and secondary sources mention the significance of this organization in Campos Junior's removal, neither primary nor secondary sources currently link the Aranjó embezzlement investigation to the Association.

¹¹⁶ "1913 José Candido de Campos Jr. versus a Intendente Municipal de Caxias, seu Intendente e Conselheiros Municipais," 2. A *conto* was a unit of money equal to 1,000 *reis* (the money denomination in Brazil). Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 60.

¹¹⁷ "Apuroções Responsabilidades Disciplinares - José Candido de Campos Jr. 1902-1933."

Since these charges were serious and the implications could be politically career-ending for Campos Junior, he petitioned the very top of the Republican political structure in Rio Grande do Sul—the former governor and still informal leader of the Republican Party—his “personal friend,” Júlio de Castilhos.¹¹⁸ In a note dated May 30, 1902, Castilhos asked Aurélio Viríssimo de Bittencourt regarding any other meetings, “such as that of Dr. Verissimo Dias de Castro and Campos Junior, to advise them that I will be there today.”¹¹⁹ While the context and minutes of this meeting are unrecorded, its timing and the resignation of Campos Junior one month later suggests that the Republican state government may have been limited in its ability to aid Campos Junior. Unfortunately, it is impossible to ascertain whether these provincial officials were unable or unwilling to help, but either way, the Italians were obviously gaining more clout in the governance of their town.¹²⁰

On June 30, 1902—exactly eight years to the day since the Federalists invaded Caxias—Campos Junior submitted his resignation letter.¹²¹ The symbolism was clear. Although this time it was not Federalists physically invading Caxias, those opposing the control of the Republicans and Masons had, in this moment, gained the upper-hand. However, it was a Republican investigation that substantiated the accusations and the “situation of local political instability was maintained until 1902, when the state PRR

¹¹⁸ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 25.

¹¹⁹ “Aurélio Viríssimo de Bittencourt - (Correspondência Recebida de Júlio de Castilhos, 1902),” 1902, AHRN. May 30, 1902. Since the name Dr. Verissimo Dias de Castro does not appear in any other relevant documents, their meetings appear to be unrelated.

¹²⁰ While they may have been unwilling to help Campos Junior, their investigation’s confirmation of financial mismanagement would have made it difficult for them to support him. Besides, other circumstantial evidence suggests the provincial government may have had its hands tied: Their willingness to call a meeting with him implies a willingness to help, as does the continuous and public loyalty of Campos Junior and his son Campos Netto to the Republican party over the subsequent decades, which is discussed later in this chapter.

¹²¹ “1913 José Candido de Campos Jr. versus a Intendente Municipal de Caxias, seu Intendente e Conselheiros Municipais.” Costamilan also notes the significance of this date: Costamilan, *Homens e Mitos na História de Caxias*, 463.

positioned itself, removing the mayor Campos Junior.”¹²² The majority of the Caxiense no longer identified with the now-deflated Federalist party, nor with the political involvement of the Catholic Church which had quieted since Nosadini’s removal, but instead rallied behind the recently formed Association of Businessmen. The change was a shift from grouping under political and religious banners to economic banners. Although the names were different, the trend remained unchanged: away from Brazilian and provincial state control and toward local, Italian control. In this transition, June 30, 1902, was a particularly significant moment.

Campos Junior’s impressive resignation letter illustrates the significance of this moment. His sixteen-page letter was accompanied by almost two hundred pages of his administration’s financial records.¹²³ After quantifying the amount embezzled, Campos Junior followed with the question of the investigator: “Who was responsible for this?” which he then answered: “The theft was practiced by ex-porteiro Justino Cesar de Araujo ... over four years.”¹²⁴ While the guilt fell on Aranjó, others laid the responsibility on Campos Junior, who accepted it in his letter by stating, “The fault falls in total on me,” not because he was guilty of the crime but because, as mayor, he held the responsibility for the public office.¹²⁵ While accepting this responsibility, Campos Junior argued for the honesty of his character by quoting a particularly interesting and persuasive reference:

¹²² *Rela, Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*, 41.

¹²³ “1913 José Candido de Campos Jr. versus a Intendente Municipal de Caxias, seu Intendente e Conselheiros Municipais.”

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2. In this resignation packet, Campos Junior also included a few receipts specifically to Justino de Aranjó, such as this one snippet of paper which lists only: “Justino 7:000 [reis] Em 30-6-99.” Ironically this receipt is from exactly three years before Campos Junior submitted his resignation. It is attached to page 73, which is an August 1899 record of payment salaries to town workers, where he is listed as *porteiro*. *Ibid.*, pg labeled 68.

¹²⁵ “1913 José Candido de Campos Jr. versus a Intendente Municipal de Caxias, seu Intendente e Conselheiros Municipais,” 5.

Father Pedro Nosadini! Of the priest, he stated, “As you know, the Father was one of my fiercest enemies,” and quotes from a Porto Alegre newspaper where Nosadini (after leaving Caxias) vouched for Campos Junior’s character: “I never doubted the honesty of Mr. Campos.”¹²⁶ So, while Campos Junior accepted responsibility, he maintained his innocence.

Following seven successful and relatively stable years in office, Campos Junior’s promising political career fell apart within a six-month period—from anti-tax protests in December to financial accusations in April—and came to a controversial end in June 1902. After winning two reelections in this rapidly growing town and holding the mayoral position longer than anyone else would for decades, this Afro-Brazilian man, well-respected among the elite local Italians and provincial Brazilian politicians, lost the top formal leadership position in Caxias.

Refusing Defeat: Campos Junior versus Caxias

José Cândido de Campos Junior’s story in Caxias would seem to end with his removal from mayorship in 1902; however, for the next few decades, he intermittently pounded at the door of the political system in Caxias, seeking financial restitution. Although not much is known about Campos Junior’s career or life after 1902, he and many of his children were well-established in the state capitol of Porto Alegre by the time of his death in 1939.¹²⁷ In the interim, it is his son, José Cândido de Campos Netto,

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7. The information given is that the letter was published on December 1, 1898, in “one of the newspapers of the capitol of the State.”

¹²⁷ This judicial document covers the dispersal of his estate, but also includes a somewhat detailed family history, as well as documents that discuss his death in 1939. A reason is not given for the twenty-one-year lag between his death and this legal action, but the matter was likely in the hands of his son, Campos Netto, who was also a lawyer. The recent death of Campos Netto’s wife, and the similar dispersal of her estate, provides circumstantial evidence to suggest that Campos Netto had unknown reasons for creating both

whose career is well-documented. Campos Netto was a teacher in Caxias before moving to Porto Alegre in 1909, although he remained politically connected with at least Caxias's mayor, Penna de Moraes, after leaving Caxias.¹²⁸ In 1913, he moved to the nearby historic German colony of Montenegro, where within the next decade he served as a political administrator.¹²⁹ During his life, Campos Netto published at least two books.¹³⁰ The first, titled *Incontestable Truths*, was published in 1918 and began with a thirty-page story in which he defended his own contentious life in Caxias, but spoke little of his father.¹³¹ Interestingly, his own egocentric and pro-Republican writings are consistently more biting toward Caxias than the writings of his father, who arguably had more to be bitter about.

The Caxias that Campos Junior petitioned over the next few decades was a different Caxias than the one he had governed. The changes in Caxias, even in the moments surrounding his removal, are notable. The predominantly Italian Association of Businessmen that formed in late 1901 with forty-seven members was quickly powerful enough to have sway regarding removing Campos Junior from office, which occurred six months later.¹³² While Campos Junior's removal may have caused tensions within the Association, it likely caused a bigger stir among the Masons, of which Campos Junior and many of the Caxiense elites—both Italian and Brazilians—were members. As the

documents around this same time. "1960 José Candido de Campos Netto" (Porto Alegre: Juiz de Direito da Vara Cível, 1960), APERS.

¹²⁸ Campos Netto, "Verdades Incontestáveis," 28, 35. At a 1912 festival, Campos Netto acted as a representative of José Penna de Moraes.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 40. Within the mayor's office (*Municipal Intendente*), he was Secretary. Campos Netto, *Montenegro*, Dedication page.

¹³⁰ His second was book was over five hundred pages and entitled simply: Campos Netto, *Montenegro*.

¹³¹ Campos Netto, "Verdades Incontestáveis."

¹³² For example, the five founding members were all Italians: Ítalo Victor Bersani, Luiz Baldessarini, Mário Marsiaj, Luis Pieruccini, and Anúncio Ungaretti. These men will be discussed further in the next chapter. Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 169.

economic-focused Association gained influence, the members of the Masonic Lodge seemed to lose theirs. Caxias's Masonic Lodge, the first Masonic group formed in the Italian colonial region of northern Brazil, closed in 1903 and, this time, would not reopen until almost twenty years later.¹³³ This two-year chronology is significant: a predominantly-Italian organization encouraged the hand of the Republican provincial state to support the removal of a colleague it originally placed in office and continued to support in subsequent terms. As the economic organization of Caxiense Italians gained strength, the historically political and class-dominant Masons organization of Brazilians and Italians shut down.

For decades after, Campos Junior petitioned Caxias administrators, defending his character and requesting financial compensation for his election expenses.¹³⁴ He did so through the press and a series of letters to Caxias administrators, most actively seeking restitution after Justino de Aranjó's death in 1916.¹³⁵ He also published an article entitled

¹³³ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 21. of Cruz Neto, Ricardo "Sinopse Histórica," Apostila não publicada.

¹³⁴ "Apuroções Responsabilidades Disciplinares - José Candido de Campos Jr. 1902-1933." The reason for this compensation was well-stated in an April 19, 1933, letter from Campos Junior to the administrative leadership of Caxias. An earlier memo further explains that "the mayor Campos Junior retracted, on April 30, 1902, from the municipal safe, in the quantity of eight '*contos de reis*' (8:000\$000) in order to indemnify the election expense since 1896 until the above mentioned date of April 30th and that were paid to the referred-to safe." *Ibid.* (A *conto* was a unit of money equal to 1,000 *reis* (the money denomination in Brazil). Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 60.) This was on a receipt dated March 28, 1925. This series of petitions were from 1916, 1925–1926, and 1932–1933. Recurring names in the documents include the ex-porteiro Justino de Aranjó and the ex-treasurer Paulino Dutra. In a 1916 letter to Dutra, the author (cataloged as Campos Junior, but with a signature that does not seem like that of Campos Junior) refers to Campos Junior as "your friend and companion." "Apuroções Responsabilidades Disciplinares - José Candido de Campos Jr. 1902-1933."

¹³⁵ Upon Aranjó's death, his widowed wife, Maria Rita de Aranjó, had a letter transcribed to the current mayor of Caxias regarding their house and land. In it, she suggests that they received the land from the mayor's office on April 7, 1902, as extortion. She incriminates both Campos Junior and another member of his administration, Oliveira Samboguy (who had died by this time). The letter is also interesting because it is one of the only letters I came across in my research that was written by a female. Also, given the quality of her signature, she was likely literate. The letter is dated November 2, 1916, and was sent to Caxias's mayor, José Penna de Moraes. "Apuroções Responsabilidades Disciplinares - José Candido de Campos Jr. 1902-1933."

“Open Letters” that reiterated many of the same themes.¹³⁶ Although there is no record that he received the financial compensation he requested in 1916, his petitions one decade later were more effective. Between February 1925 and December 1926, he published a newspaper article and exchanged at least eleven letters with Celeste Gobatto, the then-mayor of Caxias.¹³⁷ He based his case on lists of the accomplishments during his own mayorship which, he argued, were significant in establishing Caxias’s early-twentieth-century prosperity. He then turned this around to say that the financially “just” compensation that he requested would “for the rich and fluorescent municipal of Caxias [be] an insignificance, but for the suppliant [himself, Campos Junior], in this last quarter of life, symbolizes a great value.”¹³⁸ His arguments were successful and, according to a 1932 letter, resulted in a repayment of six *contos de reis*.¹³⁹ In 1932, at seventy-eight years old, Campos Junior stated, “Many times, I implored the municipal government [of Caxias] for this important restitution,” and then, after citing his 1925 repayment, concludes with a request for the final two *contos de reis* as “an act of equity and absolute justice.” A notation on the letter indicates that this—his final recorded request before his death in 1939—was denied.¹⁴⁰

While the petitions themselves are interesting for our story, his methods for making his case illustrate the larger power shift that had taken place in Caxias since he

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* Significant dates include: 1916, 1925-26, and 1932-1933. The newspaper articles are near the end of the collection. One of these two letters was at least printed in a Porto Alegre newspaper, while one may have been printed in a Montenegro newspaper.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* The May 5, 1926 letter is from Campos Junior to the mayor Celeste Gobatto.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* The collection has two receipts from March 12, 1925 regarding the transfer of some of this money. A *conto* was a unit of money equal to 1,000 *reis* (the money denomination in Brazil). Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 60.

¹⁴⁰ “Apuroções Responsabilidades Disciplinares - José Candido de Campos Jr. 1902-1933.” The January 27, 1932, letter from Campos Junior was addressed to the administrative leadership of Caxias and, notably, not to specific individuals.

left office. While his 1902 resignation letter had emphasized what others had published in the press about his character, his later letters often instead focused on “Caxiense elite” who could vouch for his honest character. In both his newspaper articles directed at broader audiences and his letters to Caxias’s administrators during 1916 and later, he frequently cited members of the Caxiense social elite who could vouch for his character and his accomplishments while the mayor. These Caxiense he cited were almost uniformly Italians. For example, in his 1925 request he mentions “legitimate members of the Caxiense social elite,” such as Oreste Manfro, Angelo Antonello, Leonel Mosele, and Antonio Pieruccini—a group who, in another letter, he pairs with Dr. Gobatto as part of the city members who helped in the process of him getting his financial restitution.¹⁴¹ In 1933, in the last letter that we have of Campos Junior petitioning the state for the remaining election money (the request that was denied), the last paragraph of his letter begins with an extensive list of his accomplishments as mayor and concludes with an equally extensive list of fourteen Caxiense who could “attest” to these accomplishments. The list includes Miguel Muratori, Adelino Sassi, João Paternoster, and also an established political and economic leader of Caxias, Abramo Eberle. Of the fourteen Caxiense listed, there is not one Brazilian.¹⁴²

Although Campos Junior campaigned for his cause over the years, this campaigning seems to have been initiated almost completely by him. The only exception is one letter, written in April 1902, when six men petitioned on Campos Junior’s behalf.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* The April 19, 1933, letter was from Campos Junior to the administrative leadership of Caxias. He also mentions Miguel Muratori later in the letter in connection to Gobatto.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* The April 19, 1933, letter was from Campos Junior to the administrative leadership of Caxias. The full list is: Aristides Germani, Miguel Muratori, Abramo Eberle, Rodolpho Braghirolli, Adelino Sassi, João Paternoster, Luiz Curtolo, David Andreassen, Cesar Falabrino, Pedro Fonino, Franciso Dalprá, Carlos Gieson, Dante Pilezzario, João Braghanoli, and concludes with “and others.”

They wrote a statement, without addressing a specific audience, regarding the “accusations against Mr. José Candido de Campos Junior” in which they all confirm that in his “character both public and private” he had consistently acted with “honesty, abnegation, patriotism and concern for whatever related to the betterment of the town.”¹⁴³ Six Caxiense men signed the letter, but none of these names are among the Caxiense elite or the administrators most often mentioned in other relevant documents.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, if the “elites” he frequently cites as supporters actively campaigned on his behalf, there is no record of it.

In its entirety, the trajectory of Campos Junior’s career illustrates a similar trajectory within the political and ethnic dynamics of Caxias society. His political loyalties and ethnic heritage as a Brazilian (more than his racial background as an Afro-descendant) demonstrate the complex and overlapping political, social, religious, and ethnic allegiances that were constantly shifting to accommodate various factions—whether they be Masons, Catholics, Republicans, or Italian Federalists. The end of Campos Junior’s mayorship marks a substantial step in the gradual emancipation of Caxias from Brazilian to Italian political control. This then, would lay the groundwork for increased local power that would occur via the economy in the twentieth century Caxias.

As Caxias became increasingly successful economically after his 1902 removal from office, José Cândido de Campos Junior became increasingly insistent that the community owed him financial reimbursement. Interestingly, in a list of the local elites

¹⁴³ João Ferrari Filho et al., “Abaixo Assinado em defesa do Sr José Cândido de Campos Júnior (ex-Intendente de Caxias) - Caxias do Sul, RS,” April 1902, PST 038, AHMJSA. This translates from “Nós abaixo assignados ...”

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. The six men include four members from the Ferrari family and two other men: Constantino Dagger and Antonio Berna.

who supported his cause, Campos Junior mentioned one of the most economically prominent Caxiense during the early twentieth century—a man whose company would gain recognition not only within the state of Rio Grande do Sul, but also within Brazil and even internationally in the United States and Europe—Abramo Eberle, the central character of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Economic Development of the Pearl of the Colonies

Success Stories: The Centrality of Economics

Today, of all the historic Italian migrant communities in Rio Grande do Sul, Caxias is the most economically successful. It has the second largest population in the state today, behind only the capital of Porto Alegre. The popular and academic histories of this current success often refer back to the early twentieth century, when successful Italo-Brazilian entrepreneurs like Abramo Eberle rose from their modest migrant beginnings and came to symbolize the success of Caxias. Born in Italy and brought to Caxias at the age of four by his parents in 1884, Eberle's story embodies this quintessential Caxias success story. Despite a humble migrant upbringing, he eventually built an internationally recognized metal works company, the Metalúrgica Abramo Eberle (MAE), which earned accolades as one of the top metallurgy companies in Brazil. Rags-to-riches accounts like his are, in part, what make the bootstrap narrative of Caxias history so prevalent. Although much of this popular narrative is factually accurate (migrant entrepreneurs did indeed use ingenuity and hard work to secure their successes) it provides an incomplete picture of the factors influencing the eventual economic success of Caxias.

This chapter analyzes several of these undercredited factors in the economic development of Caxias, all supported by the state: the hiring of Brazilian and Italian transportation workers, the main colonial industries of wine and metallurgy, and the decision to connect Caxias to Porto Alegre by railroad. Ironically, archival sources suggest that, although the state and its employees did have a significant role in the

economic growth of Caxias, this very success was a driving factor in the shift away from Brazilian state control. Success also reshaped the continued involvement of the provincial state from a managerial role into a supportive or promotional one. In an interesting twist, the state joined the Caxiense in advertising the economic success of Caxias using the same bootstrap story that downplayed the state's own support and management, giving almost sole credit to the ingenuity and hard work of the Italian migrants. In this way, the state contributed to the creation of a prevailing account that, to this day, neglects to credit much of Caxias's economic success to the state.

Early Caxias: A State-Driven Economy

Even the most Italo-centric accounts of Caxias history acknowledge the Brazilian state's economic role in the initial establishment of the migrant colonies. Using the promise of land ownership in Brazil, the state actively recruited Italian agriculturalists who were subjected to a poor economic situation in a newly unified Italy.¹ However, as discussed previously, the current literature neglects to mention the significant amount of economic support the new immigrants received from the state and its Brazilian employees upon their arrival. In fact, many of the migrants' immediate necessities—including food, shelter, and transportation—were fully provided for them until their arrival to Caxias, and often during their initial settlement in Caxias. The scholarship also downplays the existence of non-Italians in Caxias history, yet the people hired by the state to provide support to the migrants were, at least initially, often Brazilians. As both elite administrators and common laborers, these Brazilians had a significant role in the

¹ Similar economic motivations were central to many transatlantic migrations of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

economic development of Caxias during the initial decades of Caxias's history.²

Eventually, throughout the period of gradual emancipation in Caxias, many of these state jobs were given to local Italians, but most remained in Brazilian hands during the tenuous period of initial economic establishment.³ It is within this context that many of the interactions between Brazilians and Italians took place. Therefore, much of the significant and daily contact between Brazilian and Italians occurred as a result of the state's substantial role in the economic history of early Caxias.

A main source of provincial state-driven economic support involved improvements to the transportation infrastructure, which was particularly important to Caxias due to its problematic geography.⁴ With its mountainous terrain and landlocked isolation from passable waterways, the location of Caxias made transportation difficult, dangerous, and logistically complex, involving multiple modes of transport for different legs of any trip. In fact, the same route and modes of transport used by the initial settlers were also the primary ones used for trade, and remained so into the early twentieth century. This made trading difficult because, due to the narrow routes and rocky terrain, the addition of a cart to the horse travel—typically beneficial due to the cart's ability to successfully transport more goods—actually proved more burdensome than helpful between Caxias and São Sebastião do Caí. From there, traders loaded their wares onto a boat to Porto Alegre on the Caí River. So getting goods to the marketplace involved

² Administrative positions included the position of *diretor* (director) and later *intendente* (mayor) of Caxias, as well as director of the *Comissão de Terras e Colonização* (Commission of Lands and Colonization). Laborers included guides, *tropeiros*, *carreteiros*, and construction workers.

³ The Brazilian state used the term *emancipação* to describe a changed political status in which the municipality was no longer considered a colony under direct state control (and financial support). Yet, as chapter 3 demonstrates, despite this immediate changed political status, the reality was often an incomplete and transitional process toward self-administration. In Caxias, this disconnect between ideology and reality was seen in the 1890s political leadership, which remained under Brazilian influence into the first decades of the twentieth century.

⁴ Machado discusses how great a concern the roads were. Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 167.

considerable effort, finances, and coordination. This made road construction and maintenance a continual preoccupation for Caxias's leaders. Therefore, the state spent significant energy and resources to construct and improve roadways. In fact, the majority of the financial records preserved from early Caxias history relate to the state's investments in transportation infrastructure, particularly records of payment to managers and laborers for road construction projects. Director logs and correspondence between Caxias and Porto Alegre also reference these projects, which employed a significant number of state workers under the Commission of Lands and Colonization.⁵

Just as the Brazilians directly aiding the migrants can be divided into lower-status transport workers and upper-class administrators, the people hired for road construction projects could be divided into two similar groups: the laborers and the managers.⁶ Although this distinction is also made clear in earlier records, an 1889 payment log colorfully describes the distinction as: "auxiliary people" and "people designated by the Government."⁷ Within both the laborers (the hands of the state) and the managers (acting

⁵ This organization was sometimes referred to with slight modifications of the name, such as adding to the end the names "(do) Caxias" or "(do) Caxias and Antonio Prado." There were also sub-organizations of this Commission. The following are some of the archival sources that demonstrate the significant state expenditures on laborers and materials for road construction in greatest detail: Intendencia Municipal, "Serviços Em Estradas E Pontes - Colonos E Trabalhos (1892-1894): Relações de Trabalhadores de Estradas"; Comissão de Terras e Colonização, "Colonização: Comissão de Terras e Colonização (1879-1890)," 1890, AHRs. Other sources illustrate the same, but in less detail: "Colônia Caxias: Orçamentos Prováveis, Pagamentos, Etc. (1877-1881)."

⁶ "Colônia Caxias: Orçamentos Prováveis, Pagamentos, Etc. (1877-1881)." The first folder titled, "1881: Colonia Caxias, Directoria, Ralacao de Despesas e Orcamentos" gives multiple examples of pay for the "*chefes*" and "*trabalhadores*" but does not list the names of the people holding these positions.

⁷ Comissão de Terras e Colonização, "Colonização: Comissão de Terras e Colonização (1879-1890)." The payment log is dated September 1889. A second similar log from May to June 1889 indicates that the "Auxiliary people" were also majority Brazilians, although the first page of "People designated by the Government" is either missing from the collection or, more likely, placed out of order six pages later in this collection. But, given the similar time frames and stability of the Commission during this time, it is likely that the first page would reflect a similar group of majority Brazilians who held these positions. The potentially misplaced first page indicates the same. An earlier record makes the pay distinction between "leaders or bosses" and "workers." The folder "1881: Colônia Caxias, Directoria, Relação de Despesas e Orçamentos" in "Colônia Caxias: Orçamentos Prováveis, Pagamentos, Etc. (1877-1881)."

as the faces of the state), there was a gradual transition over time from Brazilian to Italian employment in the realm of transportation infrastructure.

Hands of the State: The Shift from Primarily Brazilian to Italian Laborers

Transportation laborers included road construction workers, guides, and transporters (*tropeiros* and *carreteiros*). *Tropeiros* moved people and goods on foot using animals—often horses, mules and/or donkeys—while *carreteiros* performed the same function but did so using an animal-pulled cart. For obvious reasons, the latter required wider and less rugged trails, so in the Caxias region, *tropeiros* were (to the continual frustration of the state and Caxiense) instead often the most efficient transporters.

In Caxias, most of these transportation workers (including guides, transporters, and road construction workers) were clearly paid directly by the provincial government and, at least until 1889, were predominantly Brazilians. Therefore, contrary to the Italian bootstrap narrative, not only did the Italian immigrants receive significant economic aid from the provincial state, but it was often administered or performed directly by Brazilians. For example, after traveling from Porto Alegre to São Sebastião do Caí by river, Brazilian transporters often guided new migrants for the remainder of the journey to Caxias while transporting their belongings.⁸

Although the earliest transportation laborers were Brazilians, Italian migrants soon requested access to these jobs. In July 1879, for example, only four years after the first Italian families arrived, Franguillo Fortunato asked the director of Caxias to be hired

⁸ We have little information on the travel by boat along the Caí River from Porto Alegre to the port of São Sebastião do Caí, but it was also likely Brazilians who conducted this leg of the trip. Therefore, it is probable that the initial immigrants had significant guidance from Brazilians during both legs of the trip from Porto Alegre to Caxias.

as a road construction laborer.⁹ Although the decision was not recorded, later that same year, Lorenzo Libano asked to be employed as a road construction laborer and was denied.¹⁰ Denial seems to be a common response to this sort of Italian request in the late 1870s, including a list from April 1879 in which “various colonists”—at least seven whose Italian-surnames are listed—were all denied their request for a “license to work on the roads of the colony for some fortnights.”¹¹ Records also reveal that, during this same time, at least some Italians requested state jobs other than road construction, such as Affonso Amábile, who offered to provide sanitary services to Caxias. Although his petition was denied, his later contentious history in Caxias suggests that his denial may have had less to do with his Italian name and more to do with his negative reputation or his adversarial disposition.¹²

Despite the initial Brazilian dominance of the state’s transportation labor force, a transition to Italian dominance occurred; but it did not happen overnight. In fact, archival documentation provides some examples of Brazilians and Italians working side-by-side for the state. Compelling examples, from October and November 1889, show an almost fifty-fifty split between Italians and Brazilians hired by the Commission. These two separate payment logs list workers who were paid for “felling *mate* [trees], local roads and trade works.” They also indicate that all eighty-eight workers were paid at the same rate, without distinction between Brazilians and Italians.¹³ Equality in pay scale for

⁹ His full name appears to be Franguillo Fortunato Azevedo, “Directoria: Registro Da Correspondência Recibida, Protocollo (1879-1880),” 21. *Protocollo*, in this case, translates to record or report.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11. October 1879.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 28. The use of “fortnight” here and in other petitions reflected the desire for these men to be hired as workers paid every two weeks or as day-laborer.

¹² *Ibid.* As chapter 3 details, Amábile was a leader in the Federalist revolts in Caxias in both 1891 and 1892, and was killed in an ambush by police during the 1894 Federalist revolt in Caxias.

¹³ “Trade works” is translated from “obras de arte.” One log contains thirty-eight workers and the other lists fifty workers. *Yerba mate* and also *chimarrão*, a typical drink of Rio Grande do Sul, are made from *mata*

laborers of both ethnicities is significant, particularly in a newly established local setting where class distinctions were emerging along economic lines. These payment records not only serve to verify significant interaction and cooperation between Brazilians and Italians in Caxias, but also illustrate the shift from a Brazilian to an Italian majority in the workforce that took place during the 1880s.

When Caxias was emancipated in 1890, and continuing at least throughout the early 1890s, the vast majority of state transportation laborers in Caxias were Italians. For example, all 189 men paid by the Commission in March 1889 as road construction laborers appear to be Italians. They, too, were each paid the same daily rate.¹⁴ However, because the majority of detailed documentation comes from the Commission of Lands and Colonization, this quality of employment records appears to cease after emancipation in 1890. Unfortunately, the only preserved records after this point originate from the Caxias mayor's office and are somewhat less frequent and far less sophisticated. Nevertheless, despite their inadequacies, these employment logs confirm the transition to a primarily Italian workforce in a convincing manner. For example, a log of road laborers from 1891 lists four, double-columned pages of paid workers, all with Italian surnames.¹⁵ Also, from early April 1892, several incomplete records include only names and tally marks beside them to track their pay.¹⁶ Yet, two aspects of these documents are most

trees, although in this case the main objective was likely to clear the land. Comissão de Terras e Colonização, "Colonização: Comissão de Terras e Colonização (1879-1890)." The two logs are within the folder titled, "1889: Comissão de Medições de Lotes 'Caxias e Antônio Prado.'"

¹⁴ *Ibid.* The folder for this payment log is only labeled, "1889."

¹⁵ "Relatório de Atindades Do Serviço (1891-1903)," 1903, AHRs. The payment log is dated October 17, 1891, but the document states that it is a list of road laborers from the year 1891.

¹⁶ Intendencia Municipal, "Serviços Em Estradas E Pontes - Colonos E Trabalhos (1892-1894): Relações de Trabalhadores de Estradas." One document labels these in columns with the first letter of each weekday, while another does so with specific dates. Yet most simply place around four marks to the right of each name, but provide no indication of pay rate and no signature from the laborer to indicate his receipt of said payment.

notable for my purposes: first, the lack of any Brazilian surnames listed throughout these eight pages, and second, the lack of Portuguese used throughout. It seems that the transition of the workforce was so complete that, at least for this particular project, the presumably Italian managers recorded the logs in their own native language.¹⁷ Other than 1891 and 1892, when three Italians led Caxias as the Junta Governativa, almost all state documents were written in Portuguese, so this language shift in the sources suggests a real, albeit temporary, shift in favor of the Italians.¹⁸

A few years later, from April to December 1894, the payment logs show a continuation of both Italian workers and—very interestingly—the Italian language. It also includes several women, which are rarely mentioned in these primary sources. Of the thirty pages covering nine months, the only sign of Brazilian workers are: Manuel Fernando de Lima, Francisco Antonio Ribeiro, and a woman listed later simply as “Vidimora uma Brasileira.” Although the listing of a first name followed simply by “a Brazilian” happens infrequently, the listing of a female in the work logs is even less common. Although her role is uncertain, it is unlikely that she served as a laborer alongside the men since she is one of only two women mentioned in the couple decades that are represented in these extensive work logs. This other female, Catarina Scariot, is noted in the subsequent monthly log (in the Italian language) as a “widow [who] does not work.”¹⁹ The document does not explain why, if indeed she did no work, her name is

¹⁷ *Ibid.* These six documents are within a file, “Relações de trabalhares na abertura de estradas Intendiva Municipal, Caxias, 1892.”

¹⁸ As mentioned in chapter 3, this governing body composed of Angelo Chittolina, Ernesto Marsiaj, and Salvador Sartori, was in leadership from 1890 to 1892.

¹⁹ Intendencia Municipal, “Serviços Em Estradas E Pontes - Colonos E Trabalhos (1892-1894): Relações de Trabalhadores de Estradas.” While the collection contains logs from 1892 and 1894, the 1894 logs are more extensive. Lima is listed in a log from January 30, 1894, Ribeiro in another one from 1894, while Vidimora is listed in a log from December 28, 1894. Scariot is listed in an undated log filed directly before the December letter and within archive’s grouping of 1894 work logs. The first page of the second log is

listed in a payment log. Perhaps her deceased husband formerly worked in this capacity, so the payment was extended to her in his absence, but the record makes no such indication. Since these two women—the only ones named in the pay logs—are listed in the same year, they may have served consecutively in the same or similar position, likely a support role for the male workers, such as cooking or laundering. However, there is unfortunately no further information about either woman; although it is noteworthy that Vidimora is among only three Brazilians represented, while Scariot is Italian. Although these two examples could point to an early shift toward the inclusion of women in the workforce, there is not substantial later information to confirm that these examples represent the beginnings of gender shift in the transportation labor force during this period.

Faces of the State: The Shift from Primarily Brazilian to Italian Managers

Just as the early political administrators of Caxias were Brazilians, the economic overseers the state hired were, at least initially, primarily Brazilians as well. Through the 1880s, the Commission seems to have almost exclusively hired Brazilians for these administrative positions that (at least on paper, but likely also in practice) managed these laborers.²⁰ However, as an Italian holding an economic leadership position, Luigi Chinali was an early exception to this rule. In January 1880, he made a formal request to the director of Caxias and was granted a job as a director of roadwork.²¹ There is no indication as to why he was afforded this significant privilege, considering the many

missing, so that only numbers 37–108 are listed. Vidimora, as well as some other laborers listed in the log, has a “0” for number of days worked rather than a “4” as was most common. Since each female had an indication of not working, they may have held similar roles.

²⁰ Comissão de Terras e Colonização, “Colonização: Comissão de Terras e Colonização (1879-1890).”

²¹ Azevedo, “Directoria: Registro Da Correspondência Recibida, Protocollo (1879-1880),” 15. January 1880.

denials received by Italians requesting far lesser positions as mere laborers. Nevertheless, his case is interesting because it suggests that he presided over a crew of Brazilian laborers, since Italians were not yet being hired as laborers in great numbers. It would be interesting to know more about the ethnic makeup of his workforce, but unfortunately the documentation does not provide this information.

As the decade and the transition to Italian laborers progressed, a similar yet much slower transition occurred within the management positions. In fact, three records of payment from February 1889 are telling: in the first, the Commission lists six Brazilian men and one Italian whose names are below Alberto de Lavra Pinto, a Brazilian whose pay rate was twice as much as the others.²² The second record lists ten men, up to four of them Brazilians and the rest Italians, all listed below Girolamo Martini, an Italian with a similarly doubled rate of payment. Both of these documents note that all of these men received compensation, not only for their work, but also for their food. This was not the case for the men in the third document, who all received a significantly lower but seemingly standard laborer pay rate without reimbursement for food. The ninety-three laborers in the third document all appear to be Italians. Together, these three documents demonstrate a significant difference between the types of jobs available to Brazilians and to Italians within the state-supported Commission. While some Italians were included in the upper echelon groups, at least eight and up to twelve of the nineteen men listed in the elite groups were Brazilians.²³ Likewise, none of the ninety-three men in the lowest pay

²² Comissão de Terras e Colonização, “Colonização: Comissão de Terras e Colonização (1879-1890).” Lavra Pinto was an administrator in Caxias. The copy of Campo Netto’s book at the AHMJSA includes a handwritten note from Campos Netto to Lavra Pinto on the first page. Campos Netto, “Verdades Incontestáveis.”

²³ The lack of solid numbers is because these names are particularly difficult to read.

group were Brazilians. So although there was now a presence of many Italian workers, Brazilians still monopolized the higher-paid jobs.

In addition, the reports from October to November 1889 describe Brazilians and Italians laboring together “felling *mata* trees, local roads, and trade works” without a clear distinction in the roles. However, a similar but more detailed record from the previous month supports the idea that many of the Italians were still working as laborers, rather than managers. This September 1889 log lists one Brazilian engineer and five surveyors, at least four who were Brazilians. These six men are listed first in the payment log under the title “People designated by the Government,” followed by a list of other workers (who are also majority Brazilian) titled “Auxiliary people.”²⁴ These lists are followed by an untitled list of numerous Italians, who appear to be laborers.

This evidence demonstrates that, at least within the state’s Commission, work above that of a day-laborer was typically reserved for Brazilians, who were the numeric minority in Caxias. Meanwhile, Italians, the majority of the local population, had now almost completely replaced the Brazilians in the more menial labor jobs.²⁵ Therefore, what had once been an ethnic monopoly in the workforce was now an ethnic hierarchy, suggesting the presence of transitional forces at work in the social and economic dynamics of this developing community.

Indeed, the records continue to demonstrate this shifting dynamic as Italians eventually acquired more managerial roles, at least in the prevalent realm of road

²⁴ Comissão de Terras e Colonização, “Colonização: Comissão de Terras e Colonização (1879-1890).” The payment log is dated September 1889. A second similar log from May to June 1889 indicates that the “Auxiliary people” were also majority Brazilians, although the first page of “People designated by the Government” is either missing from the collection or, more likely, placed out of order six pages later in this collection. But, given the similar time frames and stability of the Commission during this time, it is likely that the first page would reflect a similar group of majority Brazilians who held these positions. The potentially misplaced first page indicates the same.

²⁵ *Ibid.* The folder for these payment logs is only labeled, “1889.”

construction, soon after Caxias's emancipation.²⁶ The slow and gradual timeline of the transition in the managerial and laborer workforce suggests a lack of initiative on the part of the state to accelerate it. It is understandable that, in both cases, the state might have initially wanted Brazilians in these roles. As laborers, new migrants might not necessarily possess the required knowledge of local land routes or certain logistical skills like horseback riding. Likewise, as managers, new migrants would likely lack the necessary understanding of engineering and surveying, not to mention of the language (and often of literacy) to communicate with the Brazilian state. However, we know that these first Italian immigrants arrived with at least basic abilities as laborers—particularly since most were agriculturalists—yet it took the state more than a decade to begin hiring Italian laborers in significant numbers. Similarly, these migrants could have quickly learned the necessary knowledge and skill required to manage a rural road construction project, yet for nearly two decades the state rarely hired Italian managers. This unnecessary predominance of Brazilians in both high and low positions in the workforce demonstrates a direct preference by the Brazilian state to hire Brazilians—rather than Italian migrants—within the developing economy of this Italian colony. This also suggests that the state and the Brazilians it hired directly influenced the successful establishment of Caxias's economy, so this becomes yet another strike against the bootstrap narrative.

Agriculture and Industry: The “Colonial Products” of Wine and Metallurgy

State transportation projects, with the help of both Brazilian and migrant workers, improved the infrastructure of the region, but it was agriculture that formed the backbone

²⁶ Intendencia Municipal, “Serviços Em Estradas E Pontes - Colonos E Trabalhos (1892-1894): Relações de Trabalhadores de Estradas.”

of the early Caxias economy. This is not surprising for the time, especially considering that the availability of land was the primary factor in originally recruiting the Italian immigrants to Caxias. Eventually, by the early twentieth century, Caxias would gain its enduring reputation for vineyards and fine wines, but the initial agricultural activities of the colony were far more varied and directed toward subsistence agriculture.²⁷ Some of these agricultural products were produced for markets beyond Caxias; however, these had to travel through intermediaries in “São Sebastião do Caí [which] had well-structured commerce dominated by German-Brazilian marketers who became intermediaries between the Italian colonial producers and the state capital.”²⁸ Historian Maria Abel Machado describes the physical difficulties of this transport in detail, including the ineffectiveness of normally useful pack or cart animals due to “narrow roads that were always in a poor state of conservation.”²⁹ Therefore, in the decades before building the railroad that linked Caxias to Porto Alegre in 1910, the state’s investment in transportation bolstered the agricultural economy of Caxias by facilitating the movement of agricultural goods beyond the local market in Caxias.

During the first decade of the 1900s, as the transportation of goods became somewhat easier, Caxias began to be recognized for the quality of its Italian wine and metallurgy.³⁰ The vineyards and wineries enhanced the developing romantic image of Caxias by linking it to the idealized image of Europeans. Meanwhile, the metal products,

²⁷ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 162. The other crops in Caxias were primarily wheat and corn, although there were various other crops such as barley, beans, fruits, walnuts, potatoes, and olives. Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 81–82.

²⁸ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 58–59. The goods traveled the same route as the arriving settlers: via land from Caxias to São Sebastião do Caí and then via water on the Caí River to Porto Alegre.

“Marketers” here is translated from *comerciantes*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

³⁰ Metallurgy, in this case, refers to the creation of metal products, particularly for ranching, such as saddle stirrups, boot spurs, and cattle prods.

often used in ranching and horseback riding, linked Caxias to the prevailing “cowboy culture” of Rio Grande do Sul. Despite this odd juxtaposition of European and cowboy imagery, these products came to share distinction and value as Italian “colonial products.” Therefore, regardless of their dissimilar agricultural and industrial origins, wine and metal products were linked in the marketplace by their common colonial culture.³¹

An economic class system emerged within the rural agriculture and the urban industry of Caxias, Machado (borrowing heavily from historian Vania Beatriz Merlotti Herédia) argues.³² In this system, “it is possible to distinguish the existence of two economic groups that are important for the process of development of the region: those that produce and those that control the productive process, principally, the surplus.”³³ Machado also argues that the owners of industries and business houses who controlled the productive process, together with the farmers and industrial workers who produced the goods, shared responsibility for the economic success of Caxias. In 1905, the Italian consul Humberto Ancarini wrote, “The colonist is obliged to sell his goods to the businessmen for a bargain price.”³⁴ The buying and reselling of goods occurred at local business houses, which Caxias historians Loraine Slomp Giron and Vania Beatriz Merlotti Herédia describe as a mixture between a “supermarket, bank, transporter, and manufacturer of agricultural products... (They) were linked to big business, and many

³¹ They were also linked in their development because of owners like Rovea, who engaged in protoindustrial practices that could be classified as both agriculture and industry.

³² Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 60–61; Vania Beatriz Merlotti Herédia, *Processo de Industrialização da Zona Colonial Italiana* (Caxias do Sul: EDUCS - Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 1997), 56–59.

³³ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 61.

³⁴ Humberto Ancarini in *Bollettino dell' emigrazione* (Rome: Tipografia Nazionale di G. Bertero, 1905, 19–22) in *Ibid.*, 62. “Businessmen” here translates from “*negociantes*.”

had navigation lines [boat lines, etc.].”³⁵ They gained the upper hand by not only selling products, but also by extending credit to “the colonists [who] attributed [business] ownership with the potential for wealth.”³⁶

Statistical analysis demonstrates the economic growth of Caxias by showing that the number of business houses grew from 25 to 103 in the fifteen years between 1884 and 1899.³⁷ Ten years later, according to the 1910 census, this number had grown to 186 business houses, with 235 places of industry, figures that Giron and Heredia designate as “very significant numbers.”³⁸ Many of these business houses in Caxias were owned by notable Caxiense businessmen, such as the first one started in 1877 by Felice Laner, whose business was later attacked in the 1894 Federalist revolution, and Vicente Rovea, who later became the mayor of Caxias.³⁹ Elite Italian businessmen formed the core of the Masons as well, and used this organization to influence politics, as illustrated in the previous chapter. However, at the turn of the century, the Caxias economy had grown to the point where these local businessmen, with the help of the state, formed a new economic association and closed the local Masonic chapter.⁴⁰ Obviously, Caxias was no longer just a community of migrant farmers, but its increasing economic success had indeed been originally founded in its vineyards.

³⁵ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 93. Various terms are used to describe these business houses, including: “*casas de negocios*” or “*casas comerciasis*.”

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁷ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 164.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 183.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 164–165. For a discussion of the Federalist attack, see chapter 2. Rovea’s mayorship will be mentioned briefly later in this chapter. Adelino Sassi is also mentioned as notable by the authors.

⁴⁰ Regarding the opening of the Association of Businessmen in 1901 and the closing of the Masonic lodge in 1903, see: Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 21–23.

Caxias Vineyards: Increasing Demand for Italian Colonial Products

Ever since their initial settlement by Italian migrants, “a great majority of the colonies were composed of farmers.”⁴¹ The colonial land itself was poorly suited to agriculture, even to the types of crops that tend to thrive in rocky, mountainous areas with lush vegetation. Consequently, the successful establishment and continued cultivation of any agricultural product on this unforgiving land became a matter of pride for the community and helped them create an industrious, bootstrap identity for themselves. Even as early as 1884, less than one decade after the colony’s establishment, Pasquale Corte, the first Italian consul to visit Caxias, expressed his amazement at the quantity of agricultural production, noting that “wine is offered in quantity to visitors, always freely.”⁴²

For the first two decades after settlement, Caxias wines were only sold regionally, but their economic reach expanded soon after the revolutions of the 1890s subsided. In fact, in 1898, with the intention of extending their markets northward, Antonio Pieruccini traveled by donkey to bring the first barrels of wine to São Paulo, a journey of more than 600 miles!⁴³ Interestingly, in 1900, a twenty-year-old Abramo Eberle, this chapter’s featured individual, made his own journey to São Paulo by boat, not to sell the products of his fledgling metallurgy company, but primarily to sell Italian colonial products, specifically wine, grappa (listed as *graspa*, which is a brandy made from grapes), salami,

⁴¹ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 94.

⁴² Pasquale Corte in *Le colonie agricole italiane della Provincia di Rio Grande del Sud del Brasile. All esposizione di Torino*. (Montevideo: Stamparia della Nación, 1884), 59 in Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 58–59. Although Machado lists his name as Pascale, in Italian it would have been written as Pasquale. So, here I have instead followed Iotti’s spelling of his name: Luiza Horn Iotti, *O Olhar do Poder: A Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul, de 1875 a 1914, Através dos Relatórios Consulares* (Caxias do Sul, RS: Editora da Universidade de Caxias do Sul, 2001), 72.

⁴³ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 59. Of Ernesto Pellanda, “Aspectos gerais da colonização italiana no Rio Grande do Sul” in Bertaso and Lima; “Álbum Comemorativo do 75 Aniversário da Colonização Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul: Orgão Oficial da Festa da Uva e Exposição Agro-Industrial: 1950,” 54.

and prosciutto.⁴⁴ Soon after his journey, the market for Caxias wine expanded northward to Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte.⁴⁵ Eberle's sales proved to be lucrative enough that he made similar trips during 1901 to 1902 to sell more "Italian" products.⁴⁶ The expansion of these markets "encouraged the vineyard culture and the manufacturing of wine in the region. With this, the grapevines (viticulture) characterized the local economy, becoming one of the primary crops and a principal commercial product."⁴⁷ Therefore, at the turn of the century, with a population of 16,000, the Caxias economy "transformed rapidly" from a variety of agricultural pursuits to a center of agricultural production focused specifically on vineyards.⁴⁸

Caxias Metallurgy Industry: The Metalúrgica Abramo Eberle (MAE)

The wine business of Caxias may have been its earliest and most glamorous, but the metallurgical industry followed soon after, eventually expanding into international markets. This was particularly true of Eberle's company, the Metalúrgica Abramo Eberle (MAE), a factory that created metal products for, among other things, ranching and horseback riding, with items such as stirrups and spurs. The MAE became the epitome of success within the migrant community, a shining example of Italian quality and ingenuity. The name Eberle thereafter became synonymous with the quintessential bootstrapping Italian migrant.

⁴⁴ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 59. Of Ernesto Pellanda, "Aspectos gerais da colonização italiana no Rio Grande do Sul" in Bertaso and Lima, "Álbum Comemorativo do 75 Aniversário da Colonização Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul: Orgão Oficial da Festa da Uva e Exposição Agro-Industrial: 1950," 54. Bergamaschi mentions this trip taking place in 1901, which it clearly could have extended to. Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 103.

⁴⁵ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 59.

⁴⁶ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 55.

⁴⁷ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 59.

⁴⁸ This was Caxias's population in 1900. Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 58. The quotation is from: Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 60.

Abramo Eberle was the son of Giuseppe and Luigia Eberle, who brought him from Italy to Caxias in 1884 when he was just four years old.⁴⁹ His young age suggests that, although he was born in Italy, Abramo likely identified strongly with Brazil, yet within the context of a predominantly Italian community. This in-between identity may have been precisely what gave him an advantage in both the local Italian and also the regional and national Brazilian economies. In 1896, at the age of sixteen, Abramo bought the small metal shop from his father, who was more interested in farming than metallurgy.⁵⁰ During the eight years it took for the business to expand beyond the competing local metal shops, Abramo began traveling by horse and boat between Caxias and Porto Alegre in order to buy and sell goods.⁵¹ Then came his wine-selling trips to São Paulo, as well as his marriage to Elisa Venzon, with whom he eventually had five children.⁵² After 1904, Abramo moved his company into “new production: the fabrication of riding articles, in silver, white metal and yellow metal,” which broadened the company’s potential for new products and capitalized on regional demand due to Rio Grande do Sul’s predominant riding culture.⁵³

His success and his upstanding reputation as “a Christian businessman” makes him an exemplary model of the upper-class Italian businessman who, through economic success, often gained political clout and, in many cases, political office in Caxias,

⁴⁹ His parents’ full names were Guiseppe Giacomo Eberle and Luigia Carolina Zanrosso Eberle and, at the time he had one older brother, Eugênio Luís. Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 85–86. In a later document, interestingly their names are listed as the Portuguese forms: José and Luiza. “Caxias Cartorio Do Cível Inventário - Eberle,” 1915, 2, 5, AHRs. Luigia’s parents were listed as Antônio and Maria Zanrosso. Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 42.

⁵⁰ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 43. “Metal shop” translates from *funilaria*, which implies a small shop. This suggests that his father, Giuseppe Eberle, may have been more typical of the protoindustry (alternating between agriculture and other activities) that was a basis of Caxias’s economic growth.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 94–95.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 98, 109.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 108.

diminishing the power of the provincial state and its non-Italian leadership.⁵⁴ This shift from governmental control to private power illustrates the political advantages enjoyed by recipients of economic success. However, at the turn of the century, Eberle and this emerging Italian business class did not have a localized body dedicated to its own interests—a deficiency that would soon be remedied by the creation of the Association of Businessmen in 1901.⁵⁵

The Power of Economic Success: The Association of Businessmen

Abramo Eberle was one of the founders of the Association of Businessmen that, as we saw in the previous chapter, was supportive—if not the initiator—of Campos Junior’s mayoral unseating in Caxias.⁵⁶ Although ethnic exclusivity was not stated as an official statute of membership, this was an organization of Italians. Of the forty-seven members in 1901, the twenty listed as leaders of the association were Italians.⁵⁷ These businessmen possessed significant political clout within the community, which indicates the continuing shift of power from Brazilians to Italians in Caxias. In fact, Eberle’s prominence as a businessman later gained him a local political office that he held for nearly two decades. Another example is Ítalo Victor Bersani, the first president of the Association, who was also the Italian consul for Caxias.⁵⁸ His concurrent roles, as both a government representative of Italy and the president of the association that helped force

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 85. The section about Abramo Eberle is titled, “A Christian businessman” and describes, although not at length, his Catholic faith.

⁵⁵ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 85.

⁵⁶ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 64–65. Yet, as mentioned in chapter 3, Eberle was also listed—although years later and only once—by Campos Junior as one of the elite Caxiense who could vouch for Campos Junior’s character.

⁵⁷ *Livro de Atas* (1901-1936) of the Associação de Comerciantes in Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 86–87.

⁵⁸ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 169. Ítalo Victor Bersani was the second Italian consul in Caxias, accompanying and following his father, Domenico Bersani, who was the first Italian consul in Caxias. Domenico was born in Mantova, Italy, and arrived to Caxias in 1878 with his fourteen-year-old son Ítalo (and ten-year-old son Carlo), who later became the consul. Iotti, *O olhar do poder*, 165–166.

the local Brazilian mayor's resignation, can hardly be considered coincidental. Several other founding members belonged to prominent families in the community, including Mário Marsiaj, a relative of Ernesto Marsiaj, who had served as one of the three Italians leaders of the Junta Governativa from 1890 to 1892, and Luis Pieruccini, a relative of Antonio Pieruccini, who made what had to be an exhausting trip by land to bring the first Caxias wine to São Paulo.⁵⁹

The formation of such associations followed other national models. Over four decades earlier, in 1858, the Associação Comercial de Porto Alegre formed, followed by similar organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo by the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰ Machado argues that these Brazilian organizations, along with Caxias's own Association of (Italian) Businessmen, together wielded power as a "diligent commercial and industrial Brazilian bourgeoisie." These elite groups, by "becoming a social and political agent, now had in [these] class associations an instrument of power with the ability to interfere in the decision process and to define important and essential questions, [and did so] with great efficiency and success."⁶¹

Although the Association of Businessmen was new, the people involved were the same Italian elites who identified with the Masons. Caxias historians Loraine Slomp Giron and Heloisa Eberle Bergamaschi state:

[We] should observe that the Association [of Businessmen] reunited the same group, the Caxiense who had fought in antagonistic groups in the political struggles in the last decade of the nineteenth century, [which were] fights between the Masons and the Comitês Católicos. The

⁵⁹ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 59, 149, 169. Of Ernesto Pellanda, "Aspectos gerais da colonização italiana no Rio Grande do Sul" in Bertaso and Lima, "Álbum Comemorativo do 75 Aniversário da Colonização Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul: Orgão Oficial da Festa da Uva e Exposição Agro-Industrial: 1950," 54.

⁶⁰ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 170.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Association was a new scene for the old disputes. The businessmen understood that, independent of their religious or [political] party positions, they all had common [economic] interests.⁶²

This assertion suggests that the dissolution of the Masons in 1903 was in part due to its prior function as a social and political society now being fulfilled by this new economic association. It also clearly illustrates the gradual transition of power from the state to the local Italian business owners (and from the public to the private sector).

Bergamaschi further argues that in Caxias the formation of the Association of Businessmen “would unite divergent political and religious factions; [because] those in the association fought for common class interests.”⁶³ If this type of unity were true temporarily, it did not remain so for long; because, despite four years of impressive accomplishments, the Association of Businessmen closed down in 1906 following internal conflicts.

However, over the next few years, the state government of Rio Grande do Sul encouraged the model of local cooperatives in order to strengthen the state economy. Interestingly, to this end, the state supported the reestablishment of the Association of Businessmen, as well as the creation of industry-specific cooperatives.⁶⁴ Pedro de Toledo of the state’s Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce even “brought Dr. Stefano Paternó from Italy, arriving in September 1911, in order to organize cooperatives of small producers.”⁶⁵ The state particularly encouraged the introduction of quality standards and

⁶² Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 88. The political struggles of the 1890s, including the fights between the Masons and Catholics, were discussed in chapter 3.

⁶³ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 58.

⁶⁴ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 184–187. They also worked on establishing cooperatives for the wine industry.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 186. Paternó is also briefly discussed in: Augusto Neftali Corte de Oliveira and Ramon Victor Tisott, “Places of Association and Differentiation: The Italian Immigration in Southern Brazil” (presented at the 3rd National Conference of Political Science at UFRGS, Porto Alegre, RS, Brasil, n.d.).

the commercialization of wine, which resulted in lucrative returns.⁶⁶ “The [provincial] government in turn sought to stimulate wine production... With this, in 1911, it registered a superproduction of wine.”⁶⁷ Therefore, “with the emergence of the winery cooperatives, the production of wine had achieved the status to face the regional market and solidify the national market.”⁶⁸ This demonstrates yet again how state support directly contributed to Caxias’s economic success.

By 1912, at the urging of the Republican-controlled state government, the Association of Businessmen was reinvigorated and strengthened, establishing its headquarters in a room of the Club Juvenil, a local Republican club.⁶⁹ This partisan choice of location was no coincidence, for political matters were now on the forefront of its agenda. Giron and Herédia argue that “the force of the association [of Businessmen] showed that it possessed political prestige, as it was heard by the State Governor, by the municipal administration, and by the forces of the community.”⁷⁰ At this point, multiple members of the Association had held top political offices in Caxias, including Vicente Rovea, who served as the mayor from 1907 to 1910, and his brother-in-law, Abramo Eberle, who served as the vice-mayor for three different mayors between 1907 and 1928, illustrating that economic success was clearly a path to political power for the Italians in Caxias after the early decades of primarily Brazilian administration.⁷¹ Yet, due to the

⁶⁶ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 184–185. Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 82–83.

⁶⁷ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 184.

⁶⁸ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 82.

⁶⁹ They established these headquarters by April 1912. *Livro de Atas* n. 1, February 21, 1912 of the Associação dos Comerciantes in Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 187.

⁷⁰ Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 89.

⁷¹ The three mayors were Vicente Rovea (1907–1910), Penna de Moraes (1911–1924), and Celeste Gobbato (1924–1928). The Vice-Mayor was nominated by the mayor, meaning that each mayor chose Eberle for this position. Page 109 states that Eberle “started his political participation” as vice-mayor, nominated by Vincente Rovea (1912–1916).

factors discussed in chapter 2—the state’s allotment of land, aid for the colonists, and favoritism toward Italians—this economic success was not equally attainable for non-Italians. The state, by simultaneously denying Italians access to labor employment and granting their access to other opportunities (such as state aid and land ownership), inadvertently encouraged Italians to become businessmen and, eventually, political figures.

Expanding Success: MAE on the Regional, National, and Global Stages

Eberle’s biographies mention relatively little about his political influence during his two decades as vice-mayor; but his economic success is well documented because MAE brought Caxias products to international markets. Of all the Caxias entrepreneurs of his time, “Abramo Eberle stands out not only as the person responsible for the metals industry, [but] for having transformed his small shop into one of the largest industrial establishments in South America.”⁷² The company gained recognition within the state of Rio Grande do Sul, and its goods were frequently advertised in the state capital of Porto Alegre’s newspapers. Regionally, Caxias and MAE were not the only players in the metallurgical industry; for example, a 1906 photograph titled, “Workers of Thimung Smelting” from São Leopoldo shows men standing next to metalworks machinery.⁷³ However, no other metallurgical company from the region earned as much recognition on the regional, national, and global stages as Eberle’s MAE.

The success of MAE affected the entire area, due to its regional markets and suppliers. Within the state, MAE sold goods in the regional markets of Porto Alegre, Rio

⁷² Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 95.

⁷³ “Exposição Trabalho Industrial E Tecnologia - Rio Grande Do Sul 1880-1940” (Museu Universitário UFRGS, 1987), unnumbered page, front of book, AHRS.

Grande, Pelotas, São Leopoldo, and Taquara, while the supplier of the primary materials for Eberle's factories from Taquara.⁷⁴ This German colony was located 26 miles east of Novo Hamburgo, which, as the northern terminus of the German colonies between Porto Alegre and Caxias, was 45 miles south of Caxias.⁷⁵ Within Brazil, the MAE was considered one of the top metallurgical companies in the country and, by 1920, was listed among the largest companies in Brazil. In fact, while only 3.6 percent of Brazil's companies employed over 100 workers at this time, MAE actually boasted 250 regular employees.⁷⁶ Giron and Bergamaschi claim that MAE "exported products to all the Brazilian states," but its thriving economic distribution network extended even beyond regional and national connections into international territory.⁷⁷ In fact, MAE products, including saddle stirrups, boot spurs, and cattle prods, were exhibited and sold abroad in the global markets of the United States and Europe.

The MAE's international success resulted in awards and recognition that not only helped the company but the image of Caxias as well. During the 1920s, Eberle received regional accolades when the MAE welcomed a visit from Getúlio Vargas, the governor of Rio Grande do Sul and future president of Brazil.⁷⁸ He also received international recognition when Italy's Prime Minister Benito Mussolini presented him, as well as other Caxiense, with an achievement award.⁷⁹ Ironically, this son of poor European migrants who had brought him across the Atlantic as a young boy to find success in the Americas,

⁷⁴ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 108. Rio Grande do Sul and Pelotas were two expanding port cities in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

⁷⁵ Given the transportation routes and topography, it is likely that these primary materials traveled from Taquara through Novo Hamburgo to reach Caxias, rather than through mountainous and relatively undeveloped terrain for the seventy miles to Caxias.

⁷⁶ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 106.

⁷⁷ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 107.

⁷⁸ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 73.

⁷⁹ Letter from Abramo Eberle to Sartori & Sartea, Via Stella, 10, Milan, Italy dated November 18, 1922 from the archive of Júlio João Eberle in *Ibid.*, 70.

became so successful that he began traveling internationally, back across the Atlantic to his native Italy, and even north to the United States.⁸⁰ In fact, he sent his first son to study in Germany from 1922 to 1926, so Abramo's South American success resulted in European rewards.⁸¹ Yet, despite the regional, national, and international success of the MAE, this was still the same company that originally, during Abramo Eberle's childhood, had shared an entrance with the Eberle homestead in Caxias.⁸²

These humble roots and glowing successes illustrate why Abramo Eberle's story became entwined with the success story of Caxias. As the economic wealth of Caxias continued to increase and the local industries—particularly those tied to wine and metallurgy—gained a reputation beyond the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Caxias became known as a model migrant community, the pearl of the colonies within Rio Grande do Sul.

A Legacy of Success: Caxias as the Pearl of the Colonies

The economic success of Caxias is obvious, but the impetus for this success, especially compared to the nearby Italian colonial centers of Bento Gonçalves and Garibaldi, is not so clear. All three communities began as Italian migrant communities in similar fashion, eventually becoming reliant on vineyard agriculture and local industries, yet today the population of Caxias is over three times greater than the other two towns

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 68, 111–112. In the United States, he at least traveled to New York, where he was surprised to meet another Caxiense, who aided him during his time in New York. This will be covered further in chapter 5.

⁸¹ His first son José Abramo Venzon Eberle, nicknamed Beppin, studied at the School of Mittweida. *Ibid.*, 144, 157.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 116, 141. Bergamaschi mentions that his son Beppin, born in 1901, grew up at a time when the house and factory entrance was the same. Although I do not know when this shifted, it likely did so before 1920 when there were 250 employers.

combined.⁸³ If the bootstrap narrative is to be believed, then the migrants of these other communities must have possessed less ingenuity and/or work ethic, which is highly unlikely. Instead, two major factors tipped the scales in favor of Caxias: the railroad and the self-promoted designation of Caxias as the “Pearl of the Colonies.” Unsurprisingly, as we have seen throughout this study, these factors were heavily influenced by the state.

A Railroad City: The Significance of the Year 1910

It is hard to imagine the international success of Eberle’s company—or the economic success of Caxias, for that matter—without the state’s decision to construct the railroad connecting Caxias to Porto Alegre, which was completed in 1910. Ever since the first Italians arrived, transportation had been a critical issue. The mountainous terrain, the heavy rains, the early lack of roads, and the later poorly maintained roads isolated Caxias from the outside world. As we have seen, road construction and maintenance was a constant concern for Caxias’s leaders and a consistent recipient of significant state funding. By the late nineteenth century, many Caxiense saw the railroad as an answer to their transportation issues. Newspaper journalist Adelchi Colnaghi, reporting on Júlio de Castilhos’s visit to Caxias in 1897, stated that Castilhos had made a promise regarding the railroad. Colnaghi quotes Castilhos: “On my word of honor, I promise to commit all my efforts until the dream of this laborious population becomes, soon, a reality.” To which, the Caxiense cheered, “Long live Dr. Júlio de Castilhos! Long live Rio Grande do Sul!”⁸⁴ Machado supports this by claiming that “the construction of the railroad that

⁸³ In 2010, Caxias’s population was over 435,482, while Porto Alegre’s was 1,409,939. By comparison, at this same time Bento Gonçalves’ population was 107,341 and Garibaldi’s was 30,692, while the population of the historic German colony of São Leopoldo was 214,210, still half the population of Caxias. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). Last accessed online February 2014.

⁸⁴ Mário Gardelin and Rovílio Costa, *Colônia Caxias: Origins* (Porto Alegre, RS: Edições EST, 1993), 129.

linked the municipality to the capital of the state, promoted by the Governor Júlio de Castilhos when he visited Caxias, came to be a great hope for all as a definitive solution to the transportation in the region.”⁸⁵ Remarkably, it was also during this visit that Castilhos famously referred to Caxias as the “pearl of the colonies,” but the town would not fully reflect that designation until after his promised railroad was finally realized in 1910.⁸⁶

In his Porto Alegre newspaper the *Stella d'Italia*, Colnaghi actively campaigned for Castilhos’s promise to be carried out. On May 1, 1902, in an article titled (in Italian), “And the railroad of Caxias? ...” he mentions discussions of the railroad instead being constructed through the towns of São Leopoldo and Taquara, but continues that “an other line [is] much more important: [one] to Caxias and the colonial area of the region.”⁸⁷ Interestingly, the first publication of his newspaper was on March 30, 1902.⁸⁸ This was soon after the formation of the Association of Businessmen and less than one week before the accusations against Campos Junior exploded. The start of the newspaper at this time was likely intentional since, in the next issue a few days later, Colnaghi mentions Campos Junior and the “scandalous administration of Caxias.” Gardelin somewhat passively validates this indictment by—immediately after citing this accusatory quotation—concluding with a peculiar one-sentence paragraph that simply states, “The reader should review the history of our Association of Businessmen...” and trails off

⁸⁵ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 168, 180. Castilhos visited Caxias in 1895 and 1897.

⁸⁶ Buccelli, “Un viaggio a Río Grande del Sud,” 229.

⁸⁷ Gardelin and Costa, *Colônia Caxias: Origins*, 1993, 125.

⁸⁸ Colnaghi was from Milan, but lived for many years in Rio Grande do Sul. His stated purpose of the newspapers was to act as a “voice for the [Italian] Colony,” which Gardelin explains as the objective “to promote and defend the interests of the Italian colonies.” *Ibid.*, 121–122.

without further explanation.⁸⁹ This seems to imply what was already suspected, that there was indeed a connection between Campos Junior's removal from the mayor's office and the increasingly powerful Association of Businessmen.

Bergamaschi claims that "the railroad that linked Caxias to Porto Alegre was another victory of the Association of Businessmen."⁹⁰ The railroad construction began in 1904.⁹¹ The railroad was critical to Caxias's development because, in a 1906 description of Rio Grande do Sul, other communities of northeastern Rio Grande do Sul were mentioned as the "commercial concentration" of the area—including Bento Gonçalves, Garibaldi, Alfredo Chaves, and Lagoa Vermelha—but not Caxias.⁹² This suggests that, only a few years prior to the railroad, not only was Caxias not yet recognized as *the* commercial center of the region, it was even excluded from mention as a significant commercial locale. However, a map from the same year, showing the railroads in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, shows tracks running from Porto Alegre north through São Leopoldo and Novo Hamburgo and then turning east to Taquara. To the west, in the area of the Italian colonies, the only colony named on the map is Caxias, to which railroad construction had just begun.⁹³

A few years later, on June 1, 1910 the national and provincial state provided Caxias with two significant gifts that solidified its future economic success: first, rail tracks were laid in Caxias to complete its connection to Porto Alegre, and second, the official status of Caxias was raised from town to city. This all-important day signifies the

⁸⁹ Gardelin and Costa, "Colônia Caxias: Origins," 1993, 124. This is a quotation from the April 3, 1902, issue of the Porto Alegre newspaper, *Stella d'Italia*.

⁹⁰ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 59.

⁹¹ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 181. The plan was to finish the railroad in three years, although it took six years. This type of schedule change is not uncommon in Brazil.

⁹² Buccelli, "Un viaggio a Río Grande del Sud," 213.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 390. In Campos Netto, *Montenegro*, 319.

end of early Caxias history and the beginning of its storied rise to economic success. In an interview, Zulmiro Lermen classified these as “very important events.”⁹⁴ The railroad’s arrival in 1910 made it possible for economic goods to travel more efficiently than the previous land and water route through São Sebastião do Caí.⁹⁵ Guerino Ângelo Boff, whose grandparents witnessed the arrival of the railroad, said it was the talk of the town. The festival was “a beauty” and subsequently the train “transported a little bit of everything ... wood, corn, wheat, colonial products ... and wine. The wine almost always.”⁹⁶

According to Machado, “The actual benefit of the new situation [the railroad] was for the businessmen of the same ethnicity [Italian], in other words, the businessman of the Italian area who dominated the regional trade.”⁹⁷ Previously it took eight to ten hours to travel along the river from Porto Alegre to São Sebastião do Caí (one of the two legs on the trip to Caxias); now in ten hours (and only one mode of transportation) one could travel from Porto Alegre all the way to Caxias.⁹⁸ Therefore, with two trains running daily, the thirty-five-year “problem of transportation [was] practically resolved.”⁹⁹ In subsequent years, the railroad eventually connected Caxias to the neighboring Italian communities of Bento Gonçalves and Garibaldi; so by 1916 “the most important of these

⁹⁴ Lermen, Zulmiro, interview by Liliana Alberti Henrichs and Juventino dal Bó, transcribed audio recording, October 24, 1983, 1, AHMJSA.

⁹⁵ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 59.

⁹⁶ Guerino Ângelo Boff, interview by Elenira Prux, Mayara Rodrigues, and Sônia Storchi Fries, transcribed audio recording, June 19, 2009, 4, AHMJSA.

⁹⁷ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 182.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 61; Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 99. *Almanque – Comercial Illustrado Rio-Grandense, GUIA FOX, Almanak Commercial Illustrado Rio-Grandense – 1915-1916*, 306

Serra [Gaúcha] stations was Caxias, through which a major amount of the regional production passed.”¹⁰⁰

The construction of the railroad through Caxias was due to the efforts of both Brazilians and Italians, and funded by both state and local governments. The state governor and figurehead of the dominant Republican party, the Brazilian Júlio de Castilhos, promised the railroad in 1897, while the Italian journalist Adelchi Colnaghi living in the state capital reminded the colonies of this promise and promoted the construction of the railroad through Caxias in 1902. Finally, the local Italian-dominated Association of Businessmen also worked to persuade the state of the same cause. This demonstrates that, even while the local Italians were gaining the economic upper hand in Caxias by 1910, the state still clearly played a significant role in the success of Caxias. Both the Brazilian state and the Caxiense promoted this success story.

Success Breeds Success: Promoting the “Italianità” of Caxias¹⁰¹

In Rio Grande do Sul—a state with many immigrant colonies of varying success—Caxias became known as the crown jewel. With its establishment as a colony in 1875, its emancipation as a town in 1890, and its coronation as a railroad city in 1910, Caxias was heralded by the state as the “pearl of the colonies.” Both the provincial state and the Caxiense themselves held Caxias up as a model migrant community. As early as 1912, the newspaper *O Diario* of the Exposição Agro-Pecuararia was advertising “genuine Caxias wines,” illustrating that its identity as a vineyard town was gaining a substantial reputation in the region.¹⁰² In fact, wines topped the list of main exports from Caxias in

¹⁰⁰ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 99.

¹⁰¹ The *Italianità* of Caxias refers to its Italian identity or Italianness.

¹⁰² Campos Netto, *Montenegro*, 35. The newspaper article is quoted in this work. In 1931, the municipality of Caxias began hosting an event that further promoted the image of Caxias as the premiere wine-making

the year after the establishment of the railroad, when 7,824 bottles of wine and other wine products were exported by rail in the first nine months of 1911.¹⁰³

It is also interesting to note the difference that Caxias's economic success made in the town's celebrations. For instance, the twenty-five-year "anniversary" of Italian migration to Caxias passed without significant fanfare in 1900, but this was before the railroad and before the town's economic boom.¹⁰⁴ However, the massive celebration of fifty years in 1925—and other celebrations at each subsequent twenty-five year interval—proved to be powerful tools in shaping and reshaping the public's understanding of Caxias and its history.¹⁰⁵ One of three celebratory albums produced for the fiftieth anniversary in 1925 was collaboratively published by the offices of Italian leader Benito Mussolini and Rio Grande do Sul's Governor Borges de Medeiros.¹⁰⁶

While touting current successes, these celebrations also fostered the idea of a Caxias that had followed the common bootstrap narrative. Much of the documentation for these

capital of southern Brazil with its annual Festa da Uva (Grape Festival), which is still held every year in February.

¹⁰³ *Resumo Histórico e Estatístico do Município de Caxias do Sul – 1909/1911*, Intendência Municipal, AHMJSa in Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 119.

¹⁰⁴ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 124.

¹⁰⁵ For an introduction to this 1925 event, see: Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 1:18. Examples of books published for the celebratory events include: "Cinquantenario Della Colonizzazione Italiana nel Rio Grande del Sul: 1875-1925, La cooperazione degli Italiani al progresso civile ed economico del Rio Grande del Sud"; "Exposição Municipal de Caxias - Comemorativa Do Primeiro Cincoentenário Da Imigração Italiana No RGS"; Pieruccini, Appia Feijó, and Paternoster, "A Municipalidade de Caxias em Memoria aos seus Pioneiros no Premeiro Cincoentenário de sua Fundação (1875-1925)"; Gobatto, "Correspondencia Expedida Pelo Intendente Municipal de Caxias Pelo Cinquentenário Da Colonização Italiana Ao RS"; Antunes, "Documentário Histórico Do Município De Caxias Do Sul - 1875-1950"; Bacchieri Duarte, *Centenário Da Imigração Italiana, Centenario Della Immigrazione Italiana: 1875-1975: Rio Grande Do Sul, Brasil*; Bertaso and Lima, "Álbum Comemorativo do 75 Aniversário da Colonização Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul: Órgão Oficial da Festa da Uva e Exposição Agro-Industrial: 1950."

¹⁰⁶ The album involved collaboration between Mussolini's Ministry of External Relations (Ministério das Relações Exteriores) and Medeiros's office. Giron and Bergamaschi, *Casas de Negócio*, 124. Although Giron does not cite the title of the album, it may have been: "Cinquantenario Della Colonizzazione Italiana nel Rio Grande del Sul: 1875-1925, La cooperazione degli Italiani al progresso civile ed economico del Rio Grande del Sud." Although this album does not state that it was produced as an international collaboration, nor state its publication location(s), the album is published in the Italian language, starts with full-page portraits of both Mussolini and Medeiros (as well as others from both countries), and also includes copies of handwritten letters introducing the album from both Mussolini and Medeiros.

celebrations focus on the three Italian pioneer families—Radaelli, Crippa and Sperafico—who, in 1875, were led by an indigenous Brazilian man, Luíz Antônio, to the unsettled land promised by the state. Beyond this brief mention, the state’s ongoing role throughout Caxias history was barely acknowledged.

Ironically, the provincial state promoted—and continues to promote—this same image of Caxias as the pearl of the colonies, even though this characterization largely downplays the state’s significant role in the city’s success throughout its history. Rio Grande do Sul recently produced tourism brochures titled *Um Brasil Diferente*. One brochure includes the translation in English as “A Different Brazil,” and in Spanish as “*Um Brasil Distinto*” (“A Distinct Brazil”).¹⁰⁷ The other brochure features a glossy cover that shows a glass of red wine glinting in the sunlight against a rich blue sky, an obvious reference to the Serra Gaúcha mountain region which the brochure credits with “the production of Brazil’s best wine.”¹⁰⁸ Likewise, the state website for Rio Grande do Sul refers to Caxias as “the main town of metal industries in the mountain region.”¹⁰⁹

Economic Pioneer: Abramo Eberle’s Legacy

Eberle died in 1945, forty-nine years after buying the company from his father.¹¹⁰ Although Eberle’s legacy lived on through his company, the MAE, his legacy is more than just a successful company.¹¹¹ The economic success that Eberle and the MAE came to symbolize promoted not only his personal legacy but also the reputation of Caxias, which goes back to the original Italian “pioneers” of Caxias. The image is one of Eberle

¹⁰⁷ Informações Turísticas, “Rio Grande Do Sul: Um Brasil Diferente (A Different Brazil / Um Brasil Distinto)” (Rio Grande do Sul - Ministerio do Turismo, n.d.).

¹⁰⁸ Informações Turísticas, “Rio Grande Do Sul: Um Brasil Diferente.”

¹⁰⁹ “Governo do Rio Grande do Sul,” website, accessed January 2014.

¹¹⁰ “Cinquantenario Della Colonizzazione Italiana nel Rio Grande del Sul: 1875-1925, La cooperazione degli Italiani al progresso civile ed economico del Rio Grande del Sud.”

¹¹¹ In the 1980s, the MAE was incorporated into a larger company (now Grupo Zivi-Hércules-Eberle).

as an economic pioneer of Caxias, similar to the original Radaelli, Crippa, and Sperafico families. Eberle's image coincides with the prestigious elevation of Caxias from town to city in 1910, while the image of the first three families as pioneers similarly references May 20, 1875—the date often cited as the start of the Italian colony of Caxias. These are the legacies. These legacies are true, but they downplay important aspects of Caxias's early history. They overlook the significant role of the state from early social history, to the political realm, and even within the economic sphere within which the local Italians were gaining the upper hand. These legacies often focus almost exclusively on Italians as the agents of this history, while neglecting adequate discussions of the non-Italian, and particularly, the Brazilians who had a strong and consistent role in shaping early Caxias.

To this point, the focus of this study has been the lack of recognition given to these non-Italians, as well as the underappreciated influence of governmental involvement in early Caxias history. However, the final deficiency in this narrative—and arguably its most significant—is the lack of discussion regarding broad contemporaneous trends of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The connections and discrepancies between local processes and these regional, national, diasporic, and global movements comprise the story of the next and concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 5

More than Context: A Global Paradigm to View the Local

Broad Perspectives on a Local Event

On November 2, 1896, an Italian society called the Principe di Napoli gathered for their chapter's inaugural meeting in Caxias, Brazil.¹ The program for the day, handwritten in Italian, included music by an Italo-Brazilian band at the home of Giuseppe Chiaradia, the president of the society, as well as lunch with José Cândido de Campos Junior, the Afro-Brazilian mayor of this Italian migrant town. It also mentioned plans to take a photograph to raise donations for the "families of the dead and wounded in Africa, in the ill-fated Battle of Abba Garima."²

These seemingly minor details, written by hand and somehow preserved for over a century, illustrate the value of using a broad approach of nested lenses to better understand local histories and their primary sources. A local perspective on this particular event would recognize the significance of the mayor's invitation, especially since the society's president previously shared that mayoral role with two other Italians as part of the short-lived Junta Governativa. However, broader perspectives shed new light on the affair. For example, nearly all the Italian migrants to Caxias were from the northeastern Italian region of Veneto, yet the name of this Italian society linked it to the central Italian city of Naples. Taking such a name suggests that these migrants were beginning to shed their regional loyalties and to establish more of a national identity as Italians, which is

¹ Parts of this chapter were presented at the conferences of the World History Association, Migration without Boundaries, Collisions and Encounters: Migrations in a Global Perspective, and the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters. I thank the audience and attendees, particularly Kevin Reilly, Donna Gabaccia, Kirstin Fermaglish, and Laura Cuppone, for their helpful responses and comments.

² Chiaradia, "Programma de Sociedade Italiana Principe Di Napoli."

especially significant because some of these “Italians” actually migrated from Austria, and many identified more as Italian upon arriving in Brazil than when leaving Europe.

Also, the Principe di Napoli—which functioned as a mutual aid society and social club—had contemporary chapters in other areas of the Italian diaspora, including North America.³ Therefore, by starting a chapter in Caxias, the migrants became linked, even if only by name, to other Italian migrants in the Americas. By itself, this is merely circumstantial evidence; however, when combined with their fundraising efforts for the homeland, these together suggest an emotional link to Italy. The funds raised were intended to provide relief to the families of soldiers who had died or been wounded in the failed Italian campaign for Ethiopia earlier that year. In Europe’s scramble for political control of the African continent, Italy underperformed its European peers by famously failing to colonize this Africa country and suffering heavy military casualties. In fact, during the battle for Abba Garima, 70 percent of the Italian troops sustained casualties, which compelled the members of this Caxiense mutual aid society on the other side of the world to aid the families of these fallen former countrymen.⁴

These sorts of connections between the meso and macrolevels provide much more than simple context.⁵ Instead, a more full analysis becomes possible—one that views through wider lenses and utilizes both primary and secondary sources to develop a global

³ This society is also discussed in: Oliveira and Tisott, “Places of Association and Differentiation: The Italian Immigration in Southern Brazil.” Branches of the Principe di Napoli were also established in the United States, where I have found evidence of the Società Bersaglieri Principe di Napoli in Colorado and the Principe di Napoli that was established in Castle Gate, Utah, in 1902.

⁴ Known typically as the Battle of Adwa, this final battle took place near the Abba Garima Monastery. In this battle, 7,500 Italian soldiers were killed, 1,428 wounded, and 1,864 taken as prisoners of war, while another 7,100 Eritrean soldier recruits were also killed fighting for the Italians. Paulos Milkias and Getachew Metaferia, *The Battle of Adwa: Reflections on Ethiopia’s Historic Victory against European Colonialism* (New York: Algora Pub., 2005), 71–71.

⁵ By macrolevel, I am referring to global scope, while I use mesolevels to refer to diasporic, national, and regional scale. World migration historian Dirk Hoerder make a strong case for the utility of the mesolevels in: Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*.

paradigm for analyzing local history. Academic historians typically view their subjects through a fairly narrow lens and add some relevant context. This perspective has its benefits as well, but by also utilizing a “nested lenses” approach, such as in this study, a richer picture emerges.⁶

A Global Approach of Nested Lenses

Historians today are increasingly encouraged to globalize their research. For some, this trend seems unreasonable, or at least unnecessary, but even scholars sufficiently motivated to do so often find it overwhelming. Primary archival research is central to a historian’s training, which is why many spend their entire careers in the study of one specific locale during one specific era. To these historians, the idea of attempting that level of understanding through a broader approach can seem laughable. Therefore, when asked to broaden or globalize their research, the results are often a placement of their local research within a broader context, usually in part of an introductory chapter. This contextual approach results in little to no analysis of the connections between the global and the local; it instead serves as background knowledge to set the scene or is simply omitted altogether.

In response, this chapter provides a practical and methodical model for historians to meaningfully utilize a broader paradigm to provide actual analysis, not merely context, in their work. While such a model would perhaps be more accepted coming from an established scholar, my position as a doctoral student trained in a traditional department, not one of the few world history doctoral programs, demonstrates the accessibility of my

⁶ Although I have not heard the term “nested lenses” used frequently, the concept is familiar to world historians.

approach.⁷ The majority of scholars identified as world or global historians were first well-established in their regional field, often with decades of local research experience and sufficient time to develop a broader knowledge base. Therefore, I am in a unique position to contribute a global model that is within practical reach for the vast majority of historians, particularly new scholars, who wish to incorporate broader perspectives into their research and analysis but who are overwhelmed and/or undertrained for such a monumental task.

This approach itself is not new, but is presented differently here, using a system of nested lenses. By building on world and global history scholarship, this model shifts systematically between increasingly wider perspectives, or lenses, to demonstrate how the local level interacted with each of these broader levels. While this study is rooted in primary archival sources, it also incorporates broad scope secondary literature throughout, most directly in this concluding chapter. In doing so, it follows world history scholarship by demonstrating that local primary and broad secondary source scholarship, when used to identify and analyze connections between local and broad-scale processes, can be woven together to gain a more in-depth explanation of these divergent scales.

To academic historians, my study shows that world history need not only be a teaching field but can also be a legitimate research field as well. While my study is, on the one hand, a microhistory of early Caxias, it is also a meso and macrohistory to better analyze how the microhistory was connected to its regional, national, diasporic, and global contemporaries. Of course, reality is not tidy and easily organized into labeled

⁷ Yet, I did receive two weeks of formal training and critical development at the first World History Dissertation Workshop, as mentioned in my acknowledgements. I also taught multiple sections of a global history course and became an active member of the World History Association a few years before beginning this research project. Therefore, I have had an ongoing interest in world and global history more than my graduate degree training implies.

boxes—like the levels or lenses used in this chapter—so the messiness of this oversimplified categorization will quickly become evident. However, even this untidiness further proves the value of this approach by suggesting the potential for additional complexity in the analysis when these nested lenses are introduced. Therefore, the unavoidable connections and overlap between each of these levels adds complexity, even while the analysis remains tethered to one lens at a time for the sake of simplicity.

With this framework in mind, the local and provincial trends in Caxias that were discussed throughout the previous chapters can now be seen resonating at the regional, national, diasporic, and global scale. For example, when exploring the global process of massive migration during the mid to late nineteenth century through these various lenses, our understanding of each level is deepened.

The recruitment of migrants serves as an excellent illustration. The view through the local lens shows that land was the primary recruitment tool in the migrant colony of Caxias, although it was supplemented by direct aid for Italian migrants in the form of financial and administrative support. Through a regional lens, this recruitment is colored by the fact that Caxias, along with many other Italian migrant colonies, was modeled after the previously successful German migrant colonies established in the state. This view is then further clarified through the national lens, which shows that Brazil's recruitment of Europeans—typically by providing ocean passage, not land—resulted in Brazil becoming the primary Latin American destination within the Italian diaspora during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Additionally, the diasporic perspective reveals that Caxias migrants align with the general trend of Italians recruited from northern Italy to South America, as opposed to the migrants from southern Italy

who later migrated to North America without state recruitment. Yet viewing through the global lens complicates this by suggesting that Caxias recruitment actually compares better with the free land offered in the Homestead Act of 1862 in the United States than it does with the typical Brazilian recruitment strategy of paid ocean passage.

Taken as a whole, these widening lenses add complexity and nuance to the issue of migrant recruitment in Caxias, even though this simplified example barely scratches the surface and does not address the many tangential questions raised by the inclusion of this information. For instance, how is each method of recruitment more or less attractive to migrants of differing social status? Or, for recruiting states like Brazil that were actively attempting to “whiten” their population after the abolition of slavery, which European countries provided the most and least attractive migrants and why? Wider perspectives and answers to questions such as these help to better explain the local situation in Caxias by seeing a fuller picture instead of analyzing local processes in isolation. However, to build this better understanding, we will first establish a foundation for it at the local scale beginning with context and then moving to analysis.

Caxias in Context

As the previous chapters have shown, local accounts of Caxias history disproportionately focus on the rather autonomous advancement of Caxias, built on the shoulders of and with the labor of Italian migrants in a typical bootstrap narrative, but fail to acknowledge the significant influence of the state and of non-Italians. This chapter continues to challenge this prevailing narrative by viewing this historic migrant community through widening lenses to expose the many non-local factors influencing

local processes as well. However, in order to reach this broader analysis that provides more than context, the basic historical context of local Caxias must first be established.

Historical Context

Although many Italians arrived to North American cities in the late nineteenth century, they also headed for South America, becoming laborers in São Paulo's coffee fields or industrial owners and workers in Buenos Aires.⁸ However, while my research also focuses on Italians migrating from Europe to the Americas during this same period, it highlights a less familiar image: Italians who did not arrive in North America, nor even the most popular South American destinations, but instead headed to the migrant colony of Caxias, one of the primary destinations for Italian migrants within Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul.

In Rio Grande do Sul—a state with many migrant colonies of varying success—Caxias grew from a colony into a town and then a city that was eventually heralded as a model migrant community—the pearl of the colonies.⁹ The early history of Caxias began in 1870 with the undeveloped region's formal designation as an Italian colony and ended in 1910 with its official upgrade to the status of city and a population of 30,500.¹⁰ During these decades, Caxias was populated with about 90% Italian migrants who were given plots of land by the Brazilian government.¹¹ Despite significant challenges, the population and the economic success of Caxias grew steadily until 1910, when this

⁸ Classic works on these topics include: Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920*; Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*; Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*.

⁹ This term was originally used in 1897 by the state governor and continues to be used today to describe Caxias. Buccelli, "Un viaggio a Rio Grande del Sud," 229.

¹⁰ Gardelin and Costa, *Povoadores da Colônia Caxias*, 148; Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*.

¹¹ Gardelin and Costa, *Colônia Caxias: Origins*, 1993. Rovílio Costa and Nádia Maria Lazzarotto, *Gênesis - Etnias Do Rio Grande Do Sul - Registros Dos Imigrantes Entrados No Estado Do Rio Grande Do Sul 1891-1892* (AHRS, 1993).

growth prompted the need for a railroad, which marked Caxias as a successfully established migrant community and assured its further success.¹²

Central Figures in Context

Each of the previous three chapters focused on a central figure who encapsulated or personified the local changes occurring in Caxias during their time. Interestingly, each of these figures came from the lower rungs of the social hierarchy—both in Brazil and also globally—but rose above this status. Luíz Antônio was an indigenous man during a period when the indigenous in the Americas were often being relocated to reservations and sometimes incorporated into mainstream society through programs that taught them how to be “civilized.” He, though, was considered an acculturated Indian, most likely due to his Portuguese upbringing in a German colony, and became a trusted guide for the state. Meanwhile, José Cândido de Campos Junior was an afro-descendent in an Atlantic world that had only recently abolished slavery, with Brazil being one of the last to do so. In nations all across the Americas during this time, natural citizens, migrants, and former slaves were all wrestling to define their new statuses and roles in a world where proponents of pseudo-science eugenics were arguing that afro-descendants were “naturally” a lower species than whites. Although there is no evidence that Campos Junior or his parents were ever enslaved, there is solid evidence that they were Afro-Brazilian and poor, which makes his rise to political leadership all the more noteworthy. And finally, Abramo Eberle was a recent migrant in a late-nineteenth-century society that typically positioned migrants only slightly higher than it did former slaves, while ranking

¹² The significance of 1910 in Caxias is frequently discussed in local historiography. Two examples include: Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*; Rela, *Nossa Fé, nossa vitória: Igreja católica, maçonaria e poder político na formação de Caxias do Sul*.

the desirability (or, more accurately, the undesirability) of these migrants according to their sending country. Compared to immigrants from other European countries like England and France, Italian migrants like Eberle were typically low on such lists. Yet, during the twentieth century, Eberle's economic success—paralleling that of Caxias itself—lifted his status to the level of the Brazilian elites.

When seen within the broader contexts of their time, the lives of these three Caxias figures demonstrate the ability to overcome limitations presented by non-local trends. Their stories parallel that of Caxias itself because it too overcame similar hierarchical challenges to achieve its eventual elite status, not just among the colonies, but also among the cities of southern Brazil. Perhaps in part due to the compelling nature of this underdog story, the historiography on early Caxias is fraught with omissions of outside help or influence. Therefore, to better understand the broader influences at work in early Caxias, wider and wider nested lenses are required, beginning at the regional scale.

Regional Lenses

After expanding beyond the microlevel, it is possible to understand how ostensibly local processes, when viewed more broadly, can be consistent with or contrary to trends at the regional mesolevel. For example, in the late nineteenth century, the people in the regions of both northeastern Italy and southern Brazil had vital connections to their respective *regions*, more than their nations. Venetians, caught geographically and politically between Austria and Italy, often identified with their local city or region more clearly than they did with Italy as a nation (which had only existed since 1866).

Similarly, in Rio Grande do Sul, its *gaúcho* people were still reeling from the failure of their ten-year battle for independence from Brazil only decades earlier. This shared defeat encouraged a distinctly *gaúcho* culture of rugged independence and a general distrust of the nation-state to which they would rather not be subject. Understanding the details of these regional histories helps to better explain the regional and national tensions that played out at the local level in early Caxias, where these transatlantic regions became linked by international migration.

Before analyzing each region separately, it is interesting to note, in both cases, that geography was a significant factor. First, both regions were situated at the periphery of their respective nation-states, and were proving to be particularly difficult for these newly developing nations to incorporate. As geographic outliers, these regions complicated both Italy and Brazil's mid- to late-nineteenth-century attempt to develop cohesive nation-states. When the migrants to early Caxias brought the complexities of these regional histories together in southern Brazil, local processes in Caxias began to reflect the influence of each region. In order to understand these regional influences at the local scale, it is important to first establish that there was indeed a preference for regional identity in both locales, and if so, why was that the case?

Veneto and Northeastern Italy

Evidence shows that the "Italian" migrants to Caxias identified more with their sending region than their sending country.¹³ An informal census conducted in 1883 recorded the 1,889 immigrants to Caxias between 1875 and 1883 and likely illustrates

¹³ The regional identity of these new migrants was also evident in the names they gave to many of the colonies in this northern Italian quarter of Rio Grande do Sul, which referred back to their old homeland, such as the communities of Nova Vicenza and Nova Pádua. Nova Pádua refers to the town of Padova, Italy, which is located about twenty miles from Vicenza, the capital of Veneto.

this regional preference. Although the original document was being restored and was not accessible while I conducted this project, a 2004 transcription was available. The transcription notes attached to the document contain the following designations for “nationality” related to Italy: “Italian, Italian from Trento [the capital of the province of Trentino], Italian from Cremona [the capital of the province of this name], and Italian from Vicenza [the capital of the province of Veneto].”¹⁴ However, the transcribers of the log unfortunately seem to have made the decision to drop the regional designations within the transcription of the log itself, instead listing only “Italian” for any of these distinctions. Similarly, the transcribers note the Austrian regional distinctions of “Tirolesa” (people from the province of Tyrol) and Bohemian (people from Bohemia, which was part-Austrian at this time), but, again, within the log itself, their transcription lists only “Austrians.” Therefore, it appears that the migrants originally identified regions as their nationality, but modern transcribers took the liberty of erasing these distinctions, either as an intentional emphasis on the *Italianità* of Caxias or, more likely, as an attempt to streamline the document for the sake of simplicity. If my conclusions are accurate, the indication of regions in the original document implies the significance of these distinctions to early Caxias immigrants.¹⁵

¹⁴ Although the document title states that the record begins in 1876, there are numerous arrivals from 1875 listed, including those of the first three families—Radaelli, Sperafico, and Crippa—who arrived in May 1875. Góes, “Imigração, Terras E Colonização: Província Do Rio Do Sul - Colônia Caxias (1876-1883).” The transcription was completed by Paulo Roberto Staudt Moreira, Sara Caumo Guerra, and Sherol dos Santos on April 12, 2004.

¹⁵ The transcribers also indicate that other information, such as profession and “etc.,” was present in the original document, but this information was not included in the transcription. This further indicates that these nationality distinctions were likely indicated in the original document, although—unfortunately for my purposes—they have not been indicated in the transcription.

In the transcription notes for this document, another problematic categorization is the referral to Italians from the region of Trentino—it was not added to Italy until 1919.¹⁶ Therefore, any migrants listed as being from Trentino’s capital of Trento in this 1883 log should actually be categorized as Austrians, not Italians. This transcription error indicates that the original document, under the heading of nationality, likely sometimes used regional affiliations with no mention of the nation itself. Surely, if the document had read “Austrian from Trentino,” the modern transcribers would not have changed this to “Italian from Trentino.” However, since the document most likely simply read “Trentino” under nationality, it is understandable that, given Trentino’s modern Italian status, the transcribers mistakenly attributed these Trentino migrants to Italy. Additionally, this error helps explain how the image of Caxias as a purely Italian community might have developed, despite significant contrary evidence that complicates this singular understanding of its history.

If the immigrants indeed indicated their sending nationality as a province rather than a nation—as it seems they did—this suggests they held a more regional than national identity. Referencing a similarly transcribed log from 1875 to 1879, Caxias historians Mário Gardelin and Rovílio Costa describe the Austrians this way: “Politically they brought a Austria-Hungary passport. Culturally they were Italians and usually spoke a Trentino dialect that is still preserved today.”¹⁷ Again, this illustrates the prevalence of regional affiliations, while also appearing to make the same erroneous Italian categorization of Trentino, which was not politically part of Italy until almost half a century after Caxias’ founding. Yet, it is also possible that the intention of these scholars

¹⁶ This was part of the London Pact of 1915 and, following World War I, the Treaty of St. Germain.

¹⁷ Gardelin, *Assessoria Para Assuntos de Povoamento, Imigração E Colonização*, n.d., 2:157.

was not to prioritize the national political lines that divide, but instead to highlight the regional cultural ties that unite.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Caxias historians Luis A. De Boni and Nelci R. Gomes conducted thirty-four interviews with residents from the historic Italian colonial area and began by asking, “Who are your ancestors that came from Italy? [And] from what region?” These questions themselves are interesting because they assume—over one hundred years after the founding of this Italian colonial area—that the interviewees would not only identify their ancestors as Italian, but also that they would know what region of Italy they originally came from. Of the fourteen responses recorded, just two of them answered only the first question, and one other stated, “I don’t remember the region.”¹⁸ The other eleven interviewees, however, identified the region that their ancestors migrated from, which suggests a clear regional connection passed down in these families. In fact, some interviewees even provided further details, such as Rugero Sonda, born in Nova Pádua in 1906, who stated that his grandparents arrived from “the province of Vicenza, Rosa (Comune di-Rosa), district of Bassano” in 1885.¹⁹ This degree of regional specificity, recalled nearly a century after his grandparents’ arrival, indicates a rich regional identification passed down through the generations within his family.²⁰

Given the shaky political situation in these Italian and Austrian regions during the mid to late nineteenth century, it is not surprising to find a weak national allegiance and a strong regional identification among its residents. During a sixty-year period, from 1859

¹⁸ De Boni and Gomes, *Entre o Passado e o Desencanto: Entrevistas com Imigrantes Italianos e seus Descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul*, 13–14. These interviews were conducted between 1977 and 1981; twelve of the interviewees had been born in and/or lived in Caxias at the time of the interview.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 9, 14.

²⁰ Italian migrants had a long history of regional identification, as historian Donna Gabaccia discusses in: Gabaccia, *Italy’s Many Diasporas*, 29–31.

to 1919, the national frontier between these two countries moved steadily northward in regional installments until Italy eventually enveloped all of these regions. In 1859, Cremona was the first of these Austrian provinces to become part of Italy during a political tug-of-war between these political entities that would each soon become a nation-state.²¹

Likewise, the region of Veneto, where most of the migrants to Caxias originated, had also been part of Austria since the turn of the century. It was annexed by Italy within the decade following the unification of Italy in 1861, so this suggests that, in the first years of Caxias's history, many of the initial adult settlers would have been born as Austrians.²² Yet, Vicenza had a long and wealthy history as a dominant political entity for centuries, so it is doubtful that citizens of Veneto adopted an Austrian identity over their regional identity, especially since Austria was not yet a nation-state. Consequently, the migrants from Veneto were born under Austrian rule, then lived as part of a newly unified Italy for less than a decade before they began arriving in the "Italian" colony of Caxias, Brazil. Therefore, labeling the migrants from Veneto as Italians at this time in history is obviously problematic. Yet, since Brazil designated Caxias as an Italian colony, these migrants became Italian more on their arrival to Brazil than they had been while living in Italy.²³

²¹ The Austrian Empire formed in 1867. The Italian Empire became the unified Kingdom of Italy in 1861.

²² In 1875, the first three families, as well as a second wave of approximately twenty families later that same year, were from Milan in northwestern Italy, but migrants from Venice (Vicenza) and its surrounding provinces soon numerically overshadowed these original migrants. Because Venice was officially part of the Austrian Empire until 1866, many of these migrants would have been born under Austrian rule. Interestingly though, Milan also belonged to the Austrian Empire until 1859, so even many of the members of these initial Milanese families who migrated to Caxias would have also been born under Austrian rule.

²³ The phenomenon of migrants adopting a single or dual national identity in the receiving country is discussed in the migration scholarship of various diasporas. See: Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*; John M Nieto-Phillips, *Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s-1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008); Louis A Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban*:

Finally, after seeing heavy fighting between Austrians and Italians during World War I, the northernmost regions of Trentino and South Tyrol were taken from Austria and annexed by Italy in 1919, effectively splitting Austria-Hungary's region of Tyrol in half.²⁴ This ended the sixty-year trend of Italian border expansion northward. However, the extreme alpine geography of these provinces, as well as the inhabitants' notoriously independent dispositions, kept them somewhat isolated from adopting a sense of Italian nationalism. In fact, even today, the Italian constitution considers the Trentino and South Tyrol region to be one of Italy's five "autonomous" provinces, which means they "benefit from particular conditions of autonomy for reasons such as cultural, ethnic or language peculiarities."²⁵

More significant, for my purposes, than the massive conflict that later played out in these regions during World War I, is instead the *shared* regional identity held by the people of Cremona, Veneto, Trentino, and Tyrol *despite* their differing nationalities in the nineteenth century.²⁶ Because the vast majority of the population of Caxias arrived from these transnational regions, their shared history, geography, and culture likely helped them more easily form a community than their separate nationalities might imply. This lack of national identity also suggests that these migrants, on their arrival to a purposefully Italian migrant colony, were more willing to adopt an identity as Italians in

Identity, Nationality, and Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); George J Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

²⁴ In more recent history, a Euroregion was created jointly by Austria and Italy in 1996 that includes Austrian Tyrol and the autonomous Italian provinces of South Tyrol and Trentino. The borders of this Euroregion largely follow the former borders of the County of Tyrol before 1919. So, even today, this region is problematic in terms of its national identity.

²⁵ This quotation is from Article 116 of the Italian Constitution. According to a recent census, in the Italian province of South Tyrol, almost 70 percent of the residents speak German and only a quarter of them speak Italian. Logiudice Sonja, trans., *South Tyrol in Figures: 2008* (Bozen / Bolzano: Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano - Alto Adige: Instituto Provinciale di Statistica - ASTAT, 2007), 15.

²⁶ Góes, "Imigração, Terras E Colonização: Província Do Rio Do Sul - Colônia Caxias (1876-1883)."

order to fit in. In other words, if Caxias had been an Austrian immigrant town, most of these same migrants might just as easily have claimed to be Austrian.

Rio Grande do Sul

Evidence shows that the residents of Rio Grande do Sul also held a stronger regional than national connection. In fact, the state still prides itself on its *gaúcho* (cowboy) culture and advertises itself as “A Different [read, European-influenced] Brazil.”²⁷ Even today, Rio Grande do Sul celebrates its own *unsuccessful* independence movement much more enthusiastically than Brazil’s *successful* independence day.²⁸ Because it shares the majority of its borders with neighboring countries rather than with Brazil, this southernmost state (unsuccessfully) fought for its independence from Brazil in the Farroupilha Revolution of 1835 to 1845. As Brazil tried to redefine itself politically during the mid-1800s, Rio Grande do Sul was clearly a thorn in its side.²⁹

When the Italian migrant colonies were later established in the northeast region of the state, three of the largest of these colonies were named after leaders on both sides of this Farroupilha revolt. Despite being named after the Duke of Caxias, the loyalist military leader who put an end to the ten-year revolution, modern Caxiense celebrate this failed revolt as an embodiment of their independent *gaúcho* spirit, as does much of Rio Grande do Sul. Just west of Caxias, one of the other Italian migrant communities, Bento

²⁷ For example, one current sixteen-page trilingual advertising booklet demonstrates this well: Informações Turísticas, “Rio Grande Do Sul: Um Brasil Diferente.”

²⁸ Farroupilha is celebrated annually in Rio Grande do Sul with much fanfare and pride on the date the unsuccessful state revolution began, September 20th. Celebration of defeat is not unique to Rio Grande do Sul. Other examples from the Americas include the continued celebrations of Mexico’s lone victory at the Battle of Puebla in 1862 during its failed effort to thwart France’s invasion, and the infamous slaughter of Texans by Santa Anna’s Mexican troops at the Battle of the Alamo in 1836 during the eventually successful Texas Revolution.

²⁹ Around this same time, the similarly proud province of Texas successfully fought for its own independence from Mexico in 1835–1836 and remained independent until 1845, when it joined its other bordering country, the United States.

Gonçalves, is named for one of the primary rebel leaders, as is the town of Garibaldi, which was named after Giuseppe Garibaldi, the renowned Italian revolutionary who joined his wife and the *gaúcho* rebels in their fight for independence from Brazil. For my purposes, Garibaldi's life as a revolutionary is especially noteworthy due to his prominent contributions to the histories of both Italy and Brazil. Known as the "Hero of Two Worlds," he was involved in post-independence nation building on both sides of the Atlantic, and became known for his distinct *gaúcho* style of dress, which he discovered and adopted during his time in Rio Grande do Sul.

Garibaldi, as well as his *gaúcho* wife, Ana Maria de Jesus Ribeiro di Garibaldi, often known simply as Anita, who remarkably fought at his side, are still celebrated in Rio Grande do Sul today. In fact, one of the primary downtown squares in Porto Alegre is named after Garibaldi and features in its center a larger-than-life sized statue of him standing in battle next to Anita, who kneels beside a single cannon.³⁰ Additionally, a busy street in downtown Caxias named Rua Garibaldi joins with another popular street, Rua Bento Gonçalves, to parallel one of the main streets of Caxias, named Rua Vinte de Setembro (September 20th Street) commemorating the start of the Farroupilha Revolution on this date in 1835.

Other street names in Caxias continue this practice of honoring regional, as opposed to national, heroes on both sides of the Farroupilha revolts and the later Federalist Revolutions (discussed in chapter 3). These include Caxias's main street, the Avenida Júlio de Castilhos, as well as Rua Dr. Montauray, Rua Borges de Medeiros, and Rua Pinheiro Macado, which are all in the center of town. Also, a bit south of the main

³⁰ Other statues of Giuseppe Garibaldi still stand in many cities around the world, including New York, Buenos Aires, Budapest, and many Italian cities, such as Rome, Naples, Milan, Venice, and Padua. Other statues of Anita Garibaldi stand in Rome and the Brazilian city of Belo Horizonte.

downtown, one street is named after another notable Republican: Rua Campos Junior, the first elected mayor of Caxias and featured figure of chapter 3. Other than the exception of Rua Garibaldi, the primary streets of this historic Italian migrant community were all named after Brazilians of Rio Grande do Sul, not national leaders or prominent Italians.³¹

Throughout the state of Rio Grande do Sul—and specifically within this northeastern region of the state—the independent spirit has been and continues to be celebrated, which may help explain the prevalence of the bootstrap myth in Caxias history. Yet, in an interesting twist, the independent *gaúchos* in the Caxias story are proudly touted as Italians, even though the personal histories of these migrants had very little association with a unified Italy. In fact, an Italian Consulate report of 1892 stated, “The settlers did not make the necessary declaration to get Brazilian citizenship, much less join the register of this consul as Italian subjects.”³² In other words, in true *gaúcho* fashion, the immigrants did not care to be subject to either the Brazilian or Italian state.

Consequently, from the regional perspective, we have Venetian, Trentino, and Tyrolese migrants without much of an Italian or Austrian identity migrating to an “Italian” colony in a region of Brazil without much of a Brazilian identity. This exposes the need to add caveats when answering seemingly mundane questions like: Was Veneto an Italian region? And was Rio Grande do Sul a Brazilian state? Officially: yes, but as these Italian migrants settled into this new Brazilian community, their regional identities usurped these national identities and challenged the respective national trends.

³¹ While Garibaldi became a national figure in Italy, within Brazil he could better be defined as a regional figure within southern Brazil.

³² Mario Maestri Filho, *I Signori delle Montagne: La colonizzazione italiana nella regione nord-orientale del Rio Grande do Sul (Brasile) 1875-1914*, trans. Rainero Schembri (Perugia, Italia: Guerra Edizioni, 2001), 37. Unfortunately, the author does not give further identifying details, such as the name of the author or further explanation, about the consulate report.

National Lenses

The peripheral regions of northeastern Italy and southernmost Brazil challenged the developing cohesion of their respective nations, but this simply added to the many factors complicating the establishment of these new nation-states. While Italy squabbled with Austria to reconfigure its northeastern territories, Brazil struggled to successfully incorporate and strengthen Rio Grande do Sul, an increasingly valuable southern province. Soon after Italy's regions unified in 1870 after centuries of functioning as separate political entities, Brazil shifted political systems from a monarchy to a republic in 1889. Therefore, during Italy and Brazil's nation-building struggles, these peripheral regions were an important priority, but were just one of many.

The Italian Lens

This recent reunification of Italy helps further explain the provincial identity that many of the migrants favored over a national identity. Further, as mentioned previously, the region that the vast majority of migrants to Caxias arrived from was the northeastern border of Italy, an area in which the political line between Italy and Austria was still in flux. For a young nation like Italy, the development of national identity was one that took time. For migrants to Caxias, while the process of formal political unification was established by 1870, the formation of national identity was still in its infancy when migrants began leaving Italy in the early 1870s. As the former prime minister of the

Piedmont region, Massimo d’Azeglio famously stated in 1870: “We have made Italy; now we must make Italians.”³³

In the mid to late nineteenth century, both nation-states were clearly in the midst of a state-building process. A central proponent of Italian unification was the same Giuseppe Garibaldi who from 1835 to 1845 participated in the state of Rio Grande do Sul’s unsuccessful campaign for independence from Brazil—the Farroupilha Revolution. So, international links—those which favored independence and also possibly the bootstrap myth—between Italy and the state of Rio Grande do Sul preceded the massive arrival of Italians to this southern region of Brazil. It also means that the Italian migrants might have had some knowledge of this part of the world previous to migrating there since Garibaldi, after leaving Brazil following the failed Farroupilha War, returned to Italy and developed a reputation as a freedom fighter on both sides of the Atlantic. Embracing the purpose of freeing Italy from Austrian rule, Garibaldi joined Giuseppe Mazzini’s Young Italy movement in the 1830s and later became instrumental in the unification of Italy between 1861 and 1870.³⁴

The people of Caxias offer an example of migrants developing a national identity with their homeland only after arriving to a new land.³⁵ Their regional identity shifted, not to a formal political entity, but to an “imagined political community,” since it was no longer national political citizenship that, in this case, defined nationality but instead the

³³ Charles L Killinger, *The History of Italy* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002), 1.

³⁴ Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 42–72.

³⁵ The “German” migrants to Rio Grande do Sul had a similar history. Following the 1806 formal collapse of the Holy Roman Empire, in 1814 the German Confederation was formed. The Germans who began arriving to Rio Grande do Sul in 1824 came from this loose confederation of sovereign states. It was not until 1871 that Germany was formally unified into a cohesive nation, meaning that the “German” colonists could not claim a cohesive national identity until decades after they began arriving to southern Brazil. Therefore, similar to the Italians of the province, they likely formed more of a national identity with their homeland after arriving to Brazil than before leaving Europe.

ability to adopt a shared cultural heritage.³⁶ Because Caxias was established intentionally as an Italian migrant colony, migrants received tangible Brazilian state benefits, such as initial subsidies and land, if they qualified as *colonos*. As one of the migrant colonies established by the provincial government to be composed primarily of migrants from one sending country, the adoption of an Italian national identity—at least nominally—on arrival opened the doors to significant financial support from the Brazilian state.³⁷

If the migrants' initial adoption of an Italian national identity was superficial, they seemed to embrace it more over time. In fact, when Italy's early twentieth century leader, Benito Mussolini, intentionally developed nationalism, he targeted the migrants of the Italian diaspora, including those of southern Brazil. Italian migration historian Donna Gabaccia explains that "Mussolini's government remained deeply interested in the other Italies" in part because their wealth could support Italy's expansion and that, "[when] appointing his supporters to consular posts, Mussolini urged them to expand their activities among the migrants, especially through cultural programming that emphasized the unity of Italians everywhere."³⁸ As part of this plan, Abramo Eberle, along with other Caxiense (including the mayor Celeste Gobatto), received an award from Mussolini because of "party loyalty, public service and wealth," although Eberle had not lived in Italy since he was four years old.³⁹ A few years later, a 1931 Italian publication titled "I

³⁶ This term is borrowed from Benedict Anderson who argues that a "nation" is an "imagined political community" based on a shared culture. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 2006). It is important to note that not all Caxiense of Italian descent adopted this identity, nor that they adopted it at all times. For example, since administrative correspondence was written in Portuguese between Caxias and Porto Alegre, Italians who did achieve administrative positions communicated in written Portuguese. At the same time, many Caxiense maintained regional dialects of spoken Italian, some that they maintain to this day.

³⁷ This is compared to a subsequent strategy when, in the late nineteenth century, Rio Grande do Sul began establishing colonies intended instead to recruit migrants of *different* nationalities.

³⁸ Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 141–143.

³⁹ Letter from Abramo Eberle to Sartori & Sarteia, Via Stella, 10, Milan, Italy on November, 18, 1922 in

Grandi Navigatori Italiani” was given to Porto Alegre with a message signed by Mussolini: “Half of the world belongs to Italy if we reclaim all the land discovered by Italians. What about the fact of the famous Venetian traveler Marco Polo and Giovanni Caboto, the Genoese Cristoforo Columbo and Vivaldi brothers and the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci?” It ends with, “The spirit of the great navigators who made the greatness of a nation is embodied in the great men of a country.”⁴⁰ He linked thirteenth- to sixteenth-century travelers (who would have certainly maintained a regional over national identity) with one Italian nation. In doing so, he implied a national identity that traversed centuries and political borders, which clearly included the recipients of the book, these recent migrants to South America.

The Brazilian Lens

The 1890 emancipation of Caxias from provincial authority was one small ripple from the massive national changes in the years that directly preceded it. The Brazilian state promoted its 1888 final abolition of slavery and in 1889 changed its political system from a monarchy to a republic as demonstrations of the nation’s modernity. In fact, the Republican leadership of Brazil emblazoned its motto on the new Brazilian flag so that none could miss it: “Order and Progress.” In other words, this new Brazil intended to leave any signs of antiquity and barbarism behind, which it demonstrated in tangible form by emancipating citizens, and also colonies, previously subjected to an outdated system.⁴¹

Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 70–71.

⁴⁰ Giuseppe Fanciulli, “I Grandi Navigatori Italiani” (La Libreria dello Stato - Roma, 1931), unnumbered introductory page, AHRS.

⁴¹ It should be noted that colonial emancipations, such as that of Caxias, were not only philosophical decisions, but were also financial decisions likely intended to decrease the amount of administrative and financial support that the state provided to the colonies.

With the national ideals of order and progress, Caxias and the economically rising state of Rio Grande do Sul happened to be well-suited for promotion as national examples of modernity. In late-nineteenth-century Brazil, it was Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo that were vying for political and economic prominence. Yet, in both cases, ironically due to their longer history of development, they faced significant barriers to being considered a representation of these ideals. In this respect, not only were Rio Grande do Sul and Caxias more malleable, but they also had foundational characteristics lacking in these other two centers that made them more attractive as national models of modernity.

In the national capital of Rio de Janeiro, the government made strong efforts to reconstruct itself as a national embodiment of modernity. At the turn of the century, Latin American nations looked to European nations, especially France and England, as models of these ideals—both to construct their own identity and to determine their standing amongst their peer nations. This was particularly true of Brazil, where these conversations took tangible form in its Europeanized transportation systems and architecture. Thomas Skidmore explains that in order to prove Brazil’s modernity, “fundamental efforts were made in Europeanizing the physical appearance of its cities.”⁴² For example, Rio de Janeiro, which highlighted the Brazilian elite’s admiration of the French, modeled itself very distinctly after the ultra-modernized city of Paris. By 1905, the state had demolished 590 buildings in Rio to make way for the new main artery, Avenida Central, lined with Parisian-style cultural buildings.⁴³

⁴² Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 81.

⁴³ Teresa A Meade, “Civilizing” *Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889-1930* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 84–85.

Although the national capital could seek to demonstrate progress by changing its physical appearance, its demographic composition continued to challenge this appearance of modernity. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century definitions of progress and civilization also possessed a racial component that, in this time of social eugenics, promoted the whiteness of skin color as a sign of this sought-after “progress,” particularly in places like Brazil that were still experiencing the echoes of recent slavery.⁴⁴ Therefore, the lingering effects of slavery, on both national and global stages, caused Rio de Janeiro to face a steeper climb in terms of its perceived modernity.

During the colonial period, Brazil was clearly the largest destination for African slaves in the Americas, receiving about 40 percent of the slaves in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Within Brazil, by the early nineteenth century, the center of this trade had shifted southward from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro.⁴⁵ In fact, “no city in the Americas rivaled Rio de Janeiro in the population growth of freedmen and free blacks during the beginning of the nineteenth century.”⁴⁶ These freed people could have been seen as a mark of modernity, but instead the societal fear many felt about non-enslaved afro-descendants in the Americas hampered the perception of modernity in an area so heavily populated with afro-descendants.⁴⁷

While Rio de Janeiro’s quest for a modern reputation was hindered by its historic demographic composition, São Paulo’s was challenged by its largely agricultural

⁴⁴ Historiography on the whitening process is covered in chapter 1.

⁴⁵ Rio was noteworthy during the nineteenth century in a way that challenged its claims of modernity: “Rio de Janeiro [was] the city that hosted the largest number of Africans and African-Americans in all the Americas.” K. Grinberg, “Freedom Suits and Civil Law in Brazil and the United States,” *Slavery & Abolition* 22, no. 3 (2001): 67.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁴⁷ In the Americas as a whole, the 1804 Haitian independence from France, and the rapid economic depression that followed, was feared as an example of what could happen with a large amount of non-enslaved African Americans. The gradual abolition of slavery in Brazil—rather than an absolute abolition—is an example of how one nation dealt with these fears.

economy, its recent demographic transition from Afro-Brazilian to Italian laborers, and the more haphazard development of infrastructure.⁴⁸ In his description of the city in 1905, Manoel Sousa Pinto, a native of Brazil who grew up in Portugal and attended the University of Coimbra there before returning to São Paulo as a young adult, focused on the apparent European influences in what historian Jeffrey Needall classifies as the “urban façade.”⁴⁹ In the process, Pinto indirectly suggests a comparison between São Paulo and the European standard of modernity. The variety, types, and efficiency of transportation options that he observed were, at first glance, good initial indicators of early-twentieth-century modernity. He mentioned multiple options including tram, streetcar, and taxi—all of which demonstrated industrialization with their use of recent technology and fuel sources—and praised the streetcars for “running on regular schedules,” suggesting a modernized transportation system in São Paulo.⁵⁰ However, the true modernity of São Paulo was somewhat questionable since England, not Brazil, had financed the majority of its transportation development.⁵¹

Similarly, Pinto’s description of Europeans in the city did not meet high, early-twentieth-century standards of progress. Pinto noted “the consortium of languages, [like] a little Babel” and the “foreign ethnic groups” of which “the Italian, for now, predominates.” The influence of these Italians pervades his descriptions of riding in a cab, passing retail store signs, and eating in restaurants. His observations are significant because, to Brazilians, Italy did not measure up to the modernity of France and England.

⁴⁸ James P Woodard, *A Place in Politics: São Paulo, Brazil, from Seigneurial Republicanism to Regionalist Revolt* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

⁴⁹ Jeffrey D Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 231; Manoel Sousa Pinto, “City of Mist,” in *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Robert M Levine and John J Crocitti (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 110–112.

⁵⁰ Pinto, “City of Mist,” 110–112.

⁵¹ Meade, “Civilizing” *Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889-1930*, 22.

At best, it received high marks for its historical significance as the fulcrum of the Roman Empire and of the fourteenth century Renaissance, but it was not seen as the highest reflection of modernity and progress. Pinto demonstrated this sentiment with his description of a cab driver who used “gestures typical of the Neapolitans ... [and who was] muttering in an Italian of ill origins.” Here, he referred specifically to Italians from the city of Naples, who were even looked down on by fellow Italians. Pinto’s otherwise complimentary description, combined with his criticism of the Italian working-class influence, suggests he saw São Paulo moving in the right direction, yet still far from its achievement of a fully modernized city.

The Italians of São Paulo were not seen as a boon to its modernity and progress, perhaps in part because most of these migrants were working-class laborers recruited to Brazil after the loss of its slave labor force in 1888. In 1850, Brazil enforced an 1831 law prohibiting the importation of African slaves. Since this only applied to the international trading of slaves, but did not outlaw slavery itself, wealthy Paulista coffee planters began importing slaves internally from the larger slaveholding region of northeastern Brazil to work in their quickly expanding coffee fields.⁵² Early attempts to employ Europeans alongside enslaved Afro-Brazilians throughout the nineteenth century were, not surprisingly, relatively unsuccessful. With the imminent abolition of slavery itself, São Paulo’s thriving coffee industry faced an insufficient numbers of workers willing to perform punishing labor at low wages, so the Paulista elites took direct action to expand their work force by recruiting white, European working-class migrants.⁵³

⁵² Paulista refers to someone from São Paulo.

⁵³ Scholars debate the amount that the economic factors of market expansion or the social factor of state attempts to whiten the population influenced this program, but most at least agree that both were significant factors.

Starting in 1886, São Paulo did rather successfully whiten its population by recruiting Italians, and later Japanese, using Brazilian government subsidies to pay the migrants' transatlantic ocean passage.⁵⁴ This was a direct result of an 1884 provincial law that provided transportation subsidies for migrants who entered agricultural occupations, which coincided with an increase in the Paulista's coffee production.⁵⁵ Two weeks later, the same assembly passed a law that taxed slave-owners for each slave and used the revenue from these taxes to fund this migration subsidy.⁵⁶ Therefore, the Paulista oligarchy, together with the Brazilian state, created legislation that unmistakably linked the penalty for owning slaves and the promotion of free white migrant labor sources.⁵⁷

Brazil expanded this program after the final abolition of slavery, which resulted in massive European, and particularly Italian, migration to Brazil. In 1888 the program recruited 92,000 migrants, most of them Italians and soon, "work in the coffee fields of the west was universally identified with immigrants."⁵⁸ However, in the late 1890s, São Paulo experienced a decline in Italian migration to Brazil, in part due to negative Italian consulate reports and word-of-mouth reports from returning migrants, both of whom criticized the system for operating much like slavery. Due in large part to these reports, this originally successful provincial and national strategy suffered a significant downturn in 1902 when the Prinetti decree from the Italian government prohibited its citizens from

⁵⁴ Regarding paid ocean passage see: Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 39.

⁵⁵ Regarding the Paulista oligarchy increasing coffee production see: *Ibid.*, 33.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 37–38.

⁵⁷ The Paulista oligarchy, many of them coffee plantation owners, were closely tied to the Brazilian national government. Therefore, while this subsidy program was directly linked to the Paulista oligarchy, most scholarship discusses it as emerging from the Brazilian national state. This program, therefore, is an example of essential simultaneous backing by the state at the local, regional, and national scales.

⁵⁸ This compares to 6,000 recruited migrants in 1886 and 32,000 in 1887. Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 39.

accepting subsidized passage to Brazil.⁵⁹ Because most migrants to São Paulo relied on these subsidies, the Italian government's ban caused Italian migration to Brazil to decrease significantly. Subsequently, Brazil switched to the recruitment of Japanese migrants using similar subsidies, which proved to be successful for two decades before its end in 1927.⁶⁰

Despite their whiteness, Italians in São Paulo still fit into the lower rungs of the Brazilian social hierarchy, above the ex-slaves, but significantly lower than the elite planters at the top.⁶¹ Brazilian historian Thomas Holloway states, "The low status of the coffee *colono* resulted from the identification of work in the groves with the condition of the field slave in the earlier era."⁶² Therefore, Brazilians associated labor in the coffee fields with slaves before the 1880s and with Italians after the 1880s, meaning that Italians were denigrated by some afro-descendants for accepting the work formerly performed by slaves.⁶³ Holloway supports this contradictory dichotomy with a journalist's story from 1902, in which "a black servant refuse[ed] an order she considered below her station with

⁵⁹ Italian immigrants were at least two-thirds of the workers. *Ibid.*, 42, 63.

⁶⁰ Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1999). Yet, the second phase of this recruitment program never reached the numbers of the first phase. For example, between 1911 and 1930, slightly over 96,000 Japanese migrated to São Paulo, which was roughly the same amount as the Italians who migrated to São Paulo in 1888, the year that Brazil abolished slavery. Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 39, 43. Following the 1927 end of the subsidy program, migration to São Paulo was largely national, with migrants arriving from northeastern Brazil. James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 158. Brazilian historian Thomas Holloway states, "One indication that the political power of the planters was no longer total was the state government's unilateral decision in 1927 to eliminate transportation subsidies – the key to the immigration program." Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 168.

⁶¹ Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 169. In his classic work, Warren Dean also argues that European migrants joined the lower class that was composed mostly of poor Brazilians and Afro-Brazilian slaves and former slaves. Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920*. Holloway also notes that both white immigrants and black freedmen were degraded by the Brazilian elite. Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 105.

⁶² Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 105.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 63.

the response, ‘What do you take me for, an Italian?’”⁶⁴ This supports Holloway’s assertion that Italians lost prestige because they were willing to perform labor under conditions that many ex-slaves rejected, even to the point that some Afro-Brazilians ridiculed them. Ironically, this same disparaging remark might also demonstrate frustration that, despite the Italian’s association with slave status, over one decade after abolition these foreigners had greater social mobility than Afro-Brazilians.⁶⁵ Therefore, although São Paulo ultimately did recruit large numbers of white migrants to its coffee fields, their undesirability did not boost São Paulo’s image of “Order and Progress”; so the Brazilian state turned southward to find its model of modernity in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

The state of Rio Grande do Sul, with a growing population in its European migrant settlements—at this point mostly German communities—had foundational characteristics lacking in both Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo that made it more attractive as a national model. Yet, Porto Alegre, the capital of the state, possessed some of the same infrastructural and demographic challenges in developing this image.⁶⁶ In 1872, Porto Alegre’s population was almost 43 percent Afro-Brazilian and 2 percent indigenous.⁶⁷ However, the state was a less densely populated province and its vast tracts of undeveloped land became its ticket to whiteness and modernity. In 1850, Brazil passed

⁶⁴ Holloway, 105 of Rossi, “Condizioni,” pg 41, and L.A. Garrre, *Visions du Bresil*, pg 220.

⁶⁵ Brazilian historian, Jeffrey Lesser argues that Japanese migrants to Brazil challenged elite ideas of ethnicity precisely because they were not African, European, or Brazilian, and therefore, promoted their identity as the white Asians, which placed them within the hierarchy near middle-class Europeans and, even better, Brazilian elites. Jeffrey Lesser, *Welcoming the Undesirables: Brazil and the Jewish Question* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 82.

⁶⁶ During the nineteenth century, Rio Grande do Sul was one-third Afro-Brazilian, with a notable indigenous presence. Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*.

⁶⁷ *Recenseamento da população do Império do Brasil a que se procedeu no dia 10 de agosto de 1872*. 19 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Directoria Geral de Estatística, 1873-1876) in Kittleson, *The Practice of Politics in Postcolonial Brazil*, 20–21. Yet, this was from among a relatively low population of 43,998.

a law that gave ownership of some of this land from the national government to Rio Grande do Sul for distribution, so the province used this land as an effective tool, not only to recruit settlers but also to serve as a gatekeeper providing and denying access to land ownership. Therefore, they were able to successfully recruit from a handpicked selection of white migrant groups, instead of just seeking out migrants willing to work hard for low wages.

Moreover, because Brazil did not pay for these migrants' ocean passage, Rio Grande do Sul attracted a higher class of migrant farmers from northeastern Italy than the more impoverished Italians who typically went to São Paulo. However, the nation-state of Brazil did provide them with the major incentive of land as part of the same national whitening process.⁶⁸ Although the promised plots of land were poorly suited for agriculture, the migrants still valued it because it made them landowners and—importantly—not laborers.⁶⁹ This land encouraged families of migrants to settle permanently; so both the state and the migrants had different intentions for Caxias than for São Paulo, where the seasonal employment of the coffee fields encouraged temporary migrants, many of whom returned often to Italy. These distinctions all resulted in a different relationship between the Brazilian state and migrants to São Paulo, on one hand, and migrants to Rio Grande do Sul, on the other.

Therefore, when viewed through the national lenses of both Italy and Brazil, migration to Caxias served, sometimes unintentionally, as an effective means to foster

⁶⁸ Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 39. Regarding the “whitening” process in Brazil, see: Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*; Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness*; Kit McPhee, “Immigrants with Money Are No Use to Us: Race and Ethnicity in the Zona Portuaria of Rio de Janeiro, 1903-1912,” *The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Latin American History* 62, no. 4 (2006): 623–50; Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*; Telles, *Race in Another America*.

⁶⁹ Extensive evidence regarding the perceived value of this land is given in chapter 2.

and facilitate the objectives of these young nations. For Brazil, after struggling to maintain control of its rebellious southernmost province, apportioning undeveloped land to the state for dispersal proved successful. Not only did the province stabilize in favor of nationalism—albeit begrudgingly—but Brazil also gained a boost to its modernity, thanks in part to the success of Caxias and the growing European reputation of Rio Grande do Sul. For Italy, the gains were perhaps more subtle, but equally significant. Ironically, Italy's struggle to create a national identity did not make an impression on its migrants to Caxias when leaving their old homeland; however, these former Austrians—or more accurately, Venetians, Trentinos, and Tyrolese—instead developed a strong Italian identity and national pride while living and settling in Caxias, Brazil. This same national identity, whether developed at home or abroad, links Italian migrants in Caxias, São Paulo, and all over the world, not only back to Italy, but also to each other as part of the Italian diaspora: a “most migratory people.”⁷⁰

The Diasporic Lens

Diasporic discussions run parallel to the previous analysis of nationalism. At a basic level, the definition of diasporas focuses on the dispersal of a group of people to more than one location from the same homeland, who are then linked by this shared connection to the homeland. Further analysis of this definition is congruent with what Kim Butler considers the three widely accepted features of diaspora. First, diasporic migrations are to multiple locations, usually within more than one receiving nation. Second, the homeland is almost always a separate nation from the receiving nation, so

⁷⁰ Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*.

internal migration is not typically included. Finally, diasporic migrants are linked by connections back to the homeland as part of a diasporic community, even when separated by their new locations.⁷¹

Settlers, Not Sojourners

Within the Italian diasporas, Caxias supports Donna Gabaccia's argument for "many [Italian] diasporas," rather than the singular diasporic model that scholars typically utilize.⁷² The migrants of the Italian diasporas, specifically those moving during this time of massive global migration, are often categorized as uniquely unsettled migrants, yet this is not true of the Italian migrants to Caxias.⁷³ If one were to rank global migrants during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century in terms of who were the most sojourner (temporary) migrants—that is short-term migrants returning to their homeland sending countries—the Italian diasporas would rank near the top.⁷⁴ Referred to as *golodrin*as, over 50 percent of Italian migrants later returned to Italy.⁷⁵ This percentage of returning migrants is significantly high for a migration of such a distance that required many weeks of travel. While the majority of global migrants during this

⁷¹ While scholars create different checklists of what constitutes a diaspora, Kim Butler provides a helpful description of three basic features of a diaspora that most scholars agree on, although she does add a fourth feature of the *necessity* of diasporic identity. Kim D Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," *Diaspora* 1, no. 2 (2001): 189–219.

⁷² Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*. Although Gabaccia does discuss continuities, she emphasizes the distinctions between the Italian diasporas.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Although Italians were surpassed by Chinese, whose return rates may have reached 90 percent, the Chinese migrants were predominantly intraregional migrants, while the Italian migrants included significant numbers of interregional migrants. *Ibid.*, 76.

⁷⁵ Historian Leslie Page Moch explains, "Thousands of Italian and Spanish workers—named *golodrin*as after the swallows' seasonal movements—harvested grain and fruit in Argentina beginning in October; some then worked in Brazilian coffee plantations and then returned home in May." Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch, *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 129. The statistic is from: Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 7.

time period did *not* return to their sending country, the majority of Italian migrants *did* return.

However, Italian migrants, drawn to Caxias with promises of agricultural land, arrived as permanent settlers. This action parallels the global trend of settling, more than it does the diasporic trend of sojourning. But what explains this dichotomy? Why did these Italian migrants settle in Caxias instead of sojourning back and forth like their diasporic counterparts?

Throughout the Italian diasporas, land ownership was highly favored over employment as a laborer. For example, in the United States, “the Italian government also supervised the recruitment of its citizens for employment in Louisiana. Following a 1905 visit, the Italian ambassador to the United States, Edmondo des Planches, concluded that, while owning a farm or business was an appropriate occupation for his countrymen, agricultural labor was not and told Louisiana officials as much.”⁷⁶ Because the recruitment tool in Rio Grande do Sul was the promise of agricultural land ownership, not a paid ocean passage for laborers, many of the migrants to Caxias left Italy with their families, and without the intention of returning.

Families, Not Single Males

Unlike many of the Italian diasporas, migrating in family units was fairly unique to Brazil. In fact, the arrival as families is one of the few similarities between the Italian migrants to São Paulo and to Caxias. Regarding São Paulo, historian Walter Nugent argues that the northern Italian migrants were a unique migrant group within the Italian diaspora because they labored as families, with both parents and children working, which

⁷⁶ Steven J Gold, *The Store in the Hood: A Century of Ethnic Business and Conflict* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 44.

contradicts the prevailing diasporic “stereotype.”⁷⁷ In their interviews with thirty-four residents of the Serra Gaúcha region conducted between 1977 and 1981, historians Luis A. De Boni and Nelci R. Gomes asked six Italian interviewees a question regarding their arrival to the Italian colonial area of Rio Grande do Sul. Of these six, five mentioned coming with family, such as parents, siblings and grandparents. For example, when the family of interviewee Palmira Maldotti (who was born in neighboring Bento Gonçalves in 1898) arrived, “two children came with father and mother and afterwards the grandparents came.”⁷⁸ Yet, the one interviewee who did not arrive with family is even more revealing.⁷⁹ This person was a female, Rosina Meneghetti Bovo, who arrived to Brazil alone in the 1920s, but whose story of her marriage to Benvenuto Bovo further supports the importance of these migrants arriving with families. She states that she made the ocean journey from Veneto to São Paulo alone, “but an unmarried girl could not walk on Brazilian soil; [so I] married (alone) in Padova and then (alone) on the boat in Brazilian waters with the flag of Italy, then later got married this time in his [her husband’s] presence at a church in São Paulo, [where] our wedding witness was a street sweeper who was working there in front of the church.”⁸⁰ Rosina’s multiple marriage pronouncements demonstrate the inability of single women to travel alone, as well as the

⁷⁷ Nugent, “Demographic Aspects of European Migration Worldwide,” 75. Nugent lists multiple sources. In this same quotation, Nugent argues that the northern Italian migrants also contradict two other stereotypes: “They settled on the land—the coffee plantations—rather than in towns; [and] they earned wages.” Although Nugent uses the term “settled,” it seems that his primary distinction is a rural, rather than urban, living situation, not contesting the scholarship that demonstrates that Italian migrants to São Paulo were primarily temporary.

⁷⁸ De Boni and Gomes, *Entre o Passado e o Desencanto: Entrevistas com Imigrantes Italianos e seus Descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul*, 10, 16.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 16.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 10, 16. “Street sweeper” translates from *varredor*.

importance of her arriving with family connections, before joining her husband and eventually moving to Caxias.⁸¹

Caxias historians Loraine Slomp Giron and Vania Beatriz Merlotti Herédia argue that family labor was a key factor that led to the economic success of agriculture in the region. The “division of labor taken by extensive families benefitted the expansion of the economic activities in the Italian colony.”⁸² Therefore, not only did they arrive with families, but their success on the land that they now owned in Caxias was, in fact, dependent on their families. One of the more widely-publicized pictures of historic Caxias illustrates this well, showing multiple generations of the Boff family (sixteen people, including four small children) standing in front of their rustic, two-story house surrounded by barrels and large baskets loaded with grapes and other agricultural goods, while a pig stands nearby.⁸³

The percentage of migrant families that came to Caxias versus other locales within the overall diaspora is striking. In fact, in all the Italian diasporas, the percentage of female migrants during these years averaged only 19 percent, while among emigrants from Veneto it was even lower, a mere 16 percent.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, in Caxias, a block-by-block list of land lot ownership from 1881 to 1884 lists hundreds of households, with only a few listed as having a single male landowner. Furthermore, of these few, most

⁸¹ Rosina had earlier told the interviewers that her wedding date was October 24, 1927 in São Paulo, which indicates her sense of permanency in Brazil. This is further strengthened by their decision to move from São Paulo to Caxias. Of course, this was also the only wedding that her groom was present at, which was likely another reason she might indicate this date over the others. Yet, this third wedding appears to have also been the most informal. Although we do not know how long they remained in São Paulo, since the typical route for Italian migrants to Caxias was through Rio de Janeiro, they likely worked in São Paulo before embarking on a second migration to Caxias.

⁸² Giron and Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, 85–86.

⁸³ I have seen this photograph on a postcard for sale at the AHMJSA archive, as well as in books such as: W. Regius, “Album do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul - Brasil” (Porto Alegre: Livraria do Globo, n.d.), AHRG; De Boni and Costa, *Far la Mérica: A Presença Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, Volume III:63.

⁸⁴ Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 7. This diasporic statistic is from the years 1876–1915, while the Veneto statistic is from 1876–1925.

were Brazilians, while only was Italian.⁸⁵ This plainly demonstrates the clear predominance of migrant families in Caxias, which, combined with São Paulo, illustrates that the majority of the Italian immigrants to Brazil challenged the diasporic trends of single male migrants.

Diasporic Connections

Because many migrants in the Italian diaspora, including those to São Paulo, were sojourners, it is unsurprising to find that these diasporas were relatively active and well connected to one another. Not only was there communication between people located at the different contact points of the diasporas, but there was frequent travel of Italians between these locations. A list of destinations on the back of thirty-two-year-old Pedro Varcellino's Certificate of Nationality, issued by the Italian Consulate in Buenos Aires in 1873, details his travels between Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, between 1875 and 1878. It also confirms that his nationality remained Italian.⁸⁶ Italians such as Varcellino often traveled as seasonal workers between Argentina, São Paulo, Brazil, and Italy. Others traveled between North American cities such as New York and southern Italian predominantly rural locations like Sicily. Even when Italians did settle at a destination, they often remained connected to the Italian diasporas through the sojourning of other Italian migrants in their communities.

In Caxias, however, I have found little evidence of this. For example, there is little evidence of correspondence between Italians in Caxias and those elsewhere in the diaspora, or even back to Italy.⁸⁷ In fact, several of these few letters back to Italy are

⁸⁵ Gardelin and Costa, *Colônia Caxias: Origins*, 1993, 68–98.

⁸⁶ “Consulados E Legações Da Itália (1871-1885),” 1885, front of folder, AHRs.

⁸⁷ De Boni and Gomes, *Entre o Passado e o Desencanto: Entrevistas com Imigrantes Italianos e seus Descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul*. In the thirty-four interviews they conducted, the only interview

focused on encouraging more relatives and friends to join the migrants in Caxias or the surrounding areas. Nonetheless, the Italians of Caxias did have some connections within the diaspora of Italians in Brazil. They maintained connections to Italian migrants in other parts of southern Brazil, such as just across the state line in Santa Catarina, as well as those in São Paulo.⁸⁸ Interestingly, by 1900, when Antonio Pieruccini and Abramo Eberle expanded the selling of Caxias wine to São Paulo, their primary market was the Italian immigrants in São Paulo because it was much less expensive for these immigrants to purchase Italian-made wine from Caxias than to have it transported directly from Italy.⁸⁹

Caxias histories and archives also include very few references to return trips to Italy, including little mention of Italy in the narratives of Caxias history or in the lives of its people. However, a few diasporic connections can be found. In April 1920, Abramo Eberle's family began a two-year trip in the Americas between Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and New York (common receiving areas of the Italian diaspora), as well as in Europe, visiting Germany and multiple cities in Italy.⁹⁰ During this trip, Eberle was "surprised" to find "a Caxiense, João Dal Cortivo, who signed his name as John Cortiff, who greatly helped Abramo and his son in North America. They visited various factories related to metallurgy and sought suppliers of primary products. On this same trip they

questions that mentioned Italy were the initial questions about where they were from and why their families migrated to the Italian colonial area of Rio Grande do Sul. In their responses, none of the interviewee responses recorded mentioned any return migrations to Italy. Also, although the AHMJSA contained many personal collections, I found few documents, such as correspondence from Italy or evidence of further travel to Italy, that would indicate continued contact between the migrants and Italy.

⁸⁸ Alice Gasperin, "Documentos Família de Alice Gasperin," n.d., Coleção privado, AHMJSA.

⁸⁹ Machado, *Construindo Uma Cidade*, 59.

⁹⁰ Bergamaschi, *Abramo e seus filhos*, 111–114. In Italy, they visited at least Naples, Rome, Milan, and "Monte Magré, the native village of Abramo."

purchased mechanical cutters, the best on the market during that time.”⁹¹ Additional evidence of Eberle’s connections can be found in a card he received in 1924 from Stefano Paternó, another Italian migrant to Caxias. The message, written in Italian, reinforces Eberle’s link to fascism and to the idea of a diasporic nationalism that Mussolini’s government advocated.⁹²

From this diasporic perspective, the families of Italian settlers in Caxias seem relatively isolated from other Italian migrants, especially when compared to the typical diasporic tendency toward young, single, male sojourners. Yet, as revealed by the 1896 opening of the *Principe di Napoli* and the donations it raised for the victims of Italy’s failed Ethiopian campaign, the Caxiense people were still connected to their homeland. Granted, the formation of this mutual aid society may have had less to do with diasporas and more to do with the growth of nationalism in Italy and the decrease in Brazilian state financial support. The development of this national identity, which was evidenced by the increased “Italianness” of Caxias, links Caxias to the other Italian diasporas by its relation to the old homeland.

The Global Lens

This study of Caxias has focused on Italian settlers recruited to Brazil’s southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul with promises of land ownership. Within Brazil, the majority of Italians arrived in São Paulo as agricultural workers, while fewer Italians arrived to the southern Brazilian states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, often with the intention of owning land. According to Walter Nugent, “A small number—

⁹¹ Ibid., 111–112.

⁹² Ibid., 114–115.

tens of thousands among millions—of Italian and German settlers in state-sponsored nuclear colonies in southern Brazil or parts of the Argentine pampas achieved it [land ownership].”⁹³ Of the total Italian migrants in Brazil, only 16 percent migrated to Rio Grande do Sul.⁹⁴ Together these meant that within Brazil, the southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul in which Caxias was located was not only unique within the Italian diasporas for its permanent, familial settlement, but that this settlement was numerically overshadowed by the Italians to São Paulo.⁹⁵

Within Brazil, Italian migrants comprised a significant percentage of the migrant population. In fact, from 1878 to 1899, almost 60 percent of the migrants in Brazil were Italians.⁹⁶ This predominance of Italian migrants was a direct result of multiple converging factors, including the establishment of the Italian colonies in Rio Grande do Sul between 1875 and 1877, the start of São Paulo’s migrant recruitment program in 1886, and also the abolition of slavery in 1888 that amplified the need for replacement labor. However, after Italy’s Prinetti Decree in 1902, which prohibited Italian migrants from accepting Brazilian subsidies, a precipitous decrease occurred in the numbers of Italian immigrants to Brazil.⁹⁷ Subsequently, the Brazilian government shifted to recruiting Japanese migrants under the same strategy of paid ocean passages from 1908

⁹³ Nugent, “Demographic Aspects of European Migration Worldwide,” 75. See also: Klein, “European and Asian Migration to Brazil”; Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, 208–214.

⁹⁴ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 188.

⁹⁵ Migrant settlement was a state strategy of several other primary receiving nations during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. In fact, the 1862 Homestead Act in the United States originally gave forty acres of land to men who were at least twenty-one years old and intended to farm it for at least five years. Also, Argentina’s 1853 constitution included the following clause: “The Federal Government shall foster European immigration; and may not restrict, limit or burden with any tax whatsoever, the entry into the Argentine territory of foreigners who arrive for the purpose of tilling the soil, improving industries, and introducing and teaching arts and sciences.”

⁹⁶ Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 57.

⁹⁷ Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 42–43.

to 1928.⁹⁸ Brazilian historian Jeffrey Lesser argues that the Paulistas' choice of Japanese migrants to replace the Italians stemmed from a developing idea of Japanese as white and "non-Asian," which resulted in many Brazilian elites placing "Japanese immigrants in a hierarchical position equal to or above Europeans."⁹⁹

Within Latin America, Brazil was the primary destination for Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. From 1854 to 1924, over 75 percent of the immigrants to Latin America were from these three groups, constituting 38 percent, 28 percent, and 11 percent respectively.¹⁰⁰ Of these three, Italians were not only the most numerous but also, notably, the only one that did not represent a former colonial power in Latin America. From 1888 to 1897, more Italians migrated to Brazil than to any other country.¹⁰¹ During most of the years between 1887 and 1902, the province of São Paulo received about 30,000 to 80,000 immigrants annually; then, in the following decade, the province received only about 8,000 to 15,000 immigrants annually.¹⁰²

Meanwhile, Argentina quickly surpassed Brazil as the leading South American destination for Italian migrants. Argentina's future-president Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was a proponent of the idea that "to govern is to populate," but Argentina's original attempt at recruitment was not nearly as successful, both in terms of numbers and

⁹⁸ Ibid., 69; Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil*, 85–86.

⁹⁹ Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil*, 87. He further argues that Japanese were viewed as politically passive, not as political agitators, which helped them easily assimilate as immigrants. Ibid., 87, 81–113.

¹⁰⁰ Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 147–148; Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, 203.

¹⁰¹ Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, 42.

¹⁰² Giron and Bergamaschi, *Terra e Homens: Colônias e Colonos no Brasil*, 123.

in its ability to attract the preferred northern European migrants.¹⁰³ Instead, this recruitment program, which followed São Paulo's example of paid ocean passage, primarily attracted additional Italian and Spanish migrants, who already accounted for approximately 80 percent of the total migrants to Argentina at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, although Argentina's migrant population increased, its failure to attract rural, northern European settlers increased the migrant urban class in Buenos Aires.

The Greatest Transfer of Populations

Globally, migration to South America constituted roughly 23 percent of the massive migration of Europeans to the Americas, and Italians comprised a significant percentage of these European migrants. Of the over 36 million European migrants to the Americas from 1871 to 1915, almost 22 percent departed from Italy, famously sojourning between—and, less frequently, settling in—cities like New York, Chicago, São Paulo, and Buenos Aires.¹⁰⁵ The Italian migrants of this period are often grouped together, but when this broad temporal range is broken into shorter timespans, a subtle shift is revealed. For example, early in this period, during the 1870s and 1880s, many of the transoceanic Italian migrants left northern Italian regions for South American destinations, while later, by the turn of the century, the trend changed to predominantly southern Italians migrating to North America.

¹⁰³ Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 79–80. Argentina subsidized immigration with paid ocean passages from 1888 to 1890, but the subsidized migrants represented less than one-third of the migrants during these few years. Additionally, the majority of these migrants did not choose to settle rural lands, as Argentina intended, but instead chose to stay in Buenos Aires and other urban areas as industrial owners and workers. This suggests that Argentina's goals may have been better served by a recruitment method similar to Rio Grande do Sul's offer of land ownership, but such an approach was not attempted.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 75–79.

¹⁰⁵ Of the 36,712,000 European migrants between 1871 and 1915, 7,915,000 (21.6 percent) left from Italy. Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914*, 12.

Of the massive European migration, approximately two million Europeans settled in Brazil.¹⁰⁶ This placed Brazil among the leading receiving countries in the Americas, but far beneath the United States. Current estimations of the total arrivals for Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and the United States are 42 million for 1871 to 1914. Of those 42 million, 70 percent came to the United States, 11 percent to Canada, almost 11 percent to Argentina, and 8 percent to Brazil.¹⁰⁷ Nugent also broadens this time period and suggests that during the entire period of massive European migration, Brazil received about 7 to 10 percent of the European migrants.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, within the world migration system, neither Italy nor Brazil became the most numerically dominant sending or receiving countries, although both were among the most significant nations in these respective capacities.

Many of these statistics focus on transoceanic migrants. Yet, an often-overlooked aspect of global migration is intracontinental migration, which typically involves migration to a neighboring country. This omission is not for lack of migrants, as the Italian diaspora well illustrates. In fact, of the Italians who migrated between 1876 and 1914, a slight majority of 55 percent migrated to the Americas (31 percent to North American and 24 percent to South America), while 44 percent migrated within Europe.¹⁰⁹ To these percentages, migration scholars Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller add figures, “Of the 15 million Italians who emigrated between 1876 and 1920, nearly half (6.8 million) went to other European countries.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Nugent, “Demographic Aspects of European Migration Worldwide,” 80.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 78–79.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 68.

¹¹⁰ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 87.

This intracontinental migration was not unique to late nineteenth and early twentieth century Italians, but was instead a continuation of humanity's shared tendency toward transient mobility. Migration historian Leslie Page Moch describes how Europeans have remained mobile since the mid-seventeenth century, but argues that this is a continuance of a constant within human history. Although the figures for transoceanic migrants in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century are impressive, Europeans had not only been moving within Europe long before this period of massive transoceanic migration, but also maintained significant levels of intracontinental migration during this era as well.¹¹¹

As a common human trait, mobility was not confined to Europeans. Migration historian Adam McKeown persuasively demonstrates that interregional migrations are underappreciated within migration history, through his example of Asian migration. For example, statistically, the overall number of intracontinental and intraoceanic Asian migrants during this same historic period rivals that of European migrants to the Americas. Yet, although much of this migration occurred across great distances and between the ethnically diverse regions of Asia, they are often excluded from the discussion of "massive migration" during this era.¹¹² His arguments suggest the inclusion of these Asian migrations within "the greatest transfer of populations in the history of

¹¹¹ Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*.

¹¹² McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846-1940," 156. McKeown utilizes a more extensive time frame than most migration historians and within this provides the following comparative statistics: 55 to 58 million European migrants arriving primarily to the Americas, compared to 46 to 51 million Northeastern Asian and Russian migrants to Manchuria, Siberia, central Asia, and Japan and also 48 to 52 million Indian and southern Chinese migrants to Southeast Asia, Indian Ocean Rim, and South Pacific.

mankind,” which André Armengaud only applied to European migration to the Americas.¹¹³

The European migration to the Americas during this time period significantly accelerated ongoing global processes. In the three centuries of the colonial period that preceded these migrations, only slightly more than two million European migrants arrived to the Americas, compared to over 50 million migrants in the century leading up to World War I.¹¹⁴ By way of comparison, during this same colonial period of two million European migrants, at least seven million African slaves arrived in the Americas.¹¹⁵ Yet, within the next few decades, there was a shift that defines this massive migration period: Nearly three million Europeans arrived in the Americas between 1820 and 1859, while 48 million arrived between 1860 and 1914.¹¹⁶ Although the process of human migration was—and is—a continuity, the massive quantity of not only migrants but of intercontinental and transoceanic migrants during this era defines this period of migration as a major historic departure.

Social, political, and economic movements accompanied this movement of people at every scale, from global to local. Many seemingly local processes, when viewed with a wider perspective, can be congruent with or divergent from trends at the macro and

¹¹³ André Armengaud called this migration in the century before World War I, “the greatest transfer of populations in the history of mankind.” Armengaud, “Population in Europe, 1700-1914,” 70; Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 147.

¹¹⁴ Eltis compiles data to estimate that the amount of Europeans who arrived to the Americas before 1820 “cannot have been much above two million.” Eltis, “Free and Coerced Transatlantic Migrations,” 255–256.

¹¹⁵ The periodization that historians typically use for the colonial period in the Americas is 1500-1800. For Africans, between 1500 and 1800, the best estimates are that 7,331,830 African slaves arrived to the Americas. “The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.” Although overall figures for the Atlantic slave trade often range from 8 to 12 million, these figures include the nineteenth century and sometimes instead refer to the amount of people who departed from Africa or crossed the Atlantic, rather than arrived in the Americas. For example, Manning states that, “some ten to twelve million crossed the Atlantic in captivity.” Manning, *Migration in World History*, 135.

¹¹⁶ Eltis, “Free and Coerced Transatlantic Migrations,” 255–256. I arrived at this number by combining Moch’s figures. Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 147.

mesolevels. This demonstrates the importance of analyzing microstudies at the macro and mesolevels, not only to provide context, but—most importantly—to gain the opportunity for richer analysis, wider understanding, and enhanced explanations of history across the board within all scales, from local to global. A major purpose of this study is to illustrate how world history scholarship can deepen the analysis of primary source scholarship. Bridging the gap between world history research and primary sources is a crucial next step toward further legitimizing world history as not only a teaching field but also a research field.

Conclusion

The nested lenses of this study help to reframe our understanding of Caxias and to establish a revised narrative of its early history—one that complicates the simple bootstrap story. Instead of beginning with three Italian families being led into the Brazilian wilderness by an indigenous guide, our story begins with the mid- to late-nineteenth-century global trends of rising nationalism, the abolition of slavery, the expansion of international trade markets, and an unprecedented upturn in human migration.

Migrants from the border regions between the new nations of Italy and Austria-Hungary, who identified as neither Italian nor Austrian, were agriculturists increasingly abandoned by a rapidly industrializing world who sought a better life in the Americas. Meanwhile, Brazil, while gradually abolishing slavery, sought to replace its labor force and boost its modern reputation by whitening their population with subsidized European migration. Italian migrants responded to the subsidies in droves, accepting free ocean

passage and heading to the coffee fields of São Paulo, but a small percentage of them—these so-called Italian farmers from the border of Austria—followed the promise of land to establish the rural migrant communities of southern Brazil. After the migrants arrived in the provincial capital of Porto Alegre, the Brazilian state provided lodging, transportation, and guides—such as the acculturated indigenous man, Luíz Antônio—for their eighty-mile inland journey to Caxias, where the state then provided these families with plots of agricultural land. In this “Italian” colony of Caxias, many migrant families continued to receive government subsidies until their first harvest.

Although the land was poorly suited for agriculture, these European migrants succeeded, with the help of additional Brazilian financial support and political oversight, to move from subsistence agriculture to a nascent vineyard industry producing wines. The market for these wines expanded to reach the other Italian migrants in São Paulo, who wanted a taste of home. For the first two decades, Brazilians led Caxias politically, but eventually the migrants began to replace Brazilian administrators. In the midst of a political tug-of-war that transcended ethnic and religious affiliations, their first non-appointed mayor was elected—a well-liked Afro-Brazilian named Campos Junior—but the forceful end of his political tenure marked a shift to local Italian control in Caxias. This shift became most notable in the economics of the early twentieth century as Abramo Eberle’s metallurgical company gained recognition within the region, the nation, and even internationally in Europe and North America.

During the first four decades of this migrant community’s history, its members (who were mostly born under Austrian rule) “became” Italian, discovering a national identity with their homeland of Italy from across the Atlantic. Although romanticized,

this identity as the Italian “pearl of the colonies” helped their success and also that of the province, which bolstered its own developing image as the model of Brazil’s “Order and Progress.” However, none of this development and success occurred in a vacuum.

Although the hard work and ingenuity of the Italian migrants was a critical factor, it was not the only one. The provincial government was heavily involved in the early establishment of the successful Italian migrant colony of Caxias, as were many regional, national, diasporic, and global factors. As part of a global trend of massive migration, though, the Italian pearl of Caxias was simply one of many in a world on the move.

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