

Platinean History

Border, Immigration
and Patrimony

Maria Medianeira Padoin
(Org.)



Rio de la Plata

Platinean History
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Maria Medianeira Padoin
Organizadora

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E-book



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Editora Oikos Ltda.

Rua Paraná, 240 – B. Scharlau

93120-020 São Leopoldo/RS

Tel.: (51) 3568.2848

[contato@oikoseditora.com.br](mailto: contato@oikoseditora.com.br)

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Presentation

This book brings together articles authored by Brazilian and foreign researchers who have been working on various themes and study objects within the CNPq/UFSM/Brazil Research Group: *Platinean History: Society, Power and Institutions* and emerges as a direct product of the research experiences developed within the space of interaction and exchange of knowledge which this group has propitiated. The Group was officially institutionalized in 2007, arising as a result of the work of several professors and respective advisors, who already met periodically to debate and work together on their study topics and who also worked with the *Committee of History Regions and Borders* of the *Association of Universities of the Montevideo Group* (AUGM). Thus, based on this experience and the intersections of the investigated themes, this initial group decided to join efforts and share methodologies and study objects to organize a Research Group, which was then approved by the Dean of Graduate Studies and Research from the Federal University of Santa Maria (PRPGP / UFSM) and registered with CNPq (National Council for Scientific and Technological Development of Brazil). The construction of the research lines that make up the Group, therefore, were built from the concerns of its members and are in a process of continuous expansion and integration. Currently, the development of works that dialogue with research related to themes such as “Federalism”, “Borders, Politics and Society”, “History of International Relations and Societies”, “Immigration, Borders and History” and “Patrimony, Culture and Society” are encouraged.

The researchers, students and collaborators linked to the Group also come from the most diverse academic backgrounds and include historians, patrimonialists, tourism specialists, archivists, architects, linguists, museologists, archaeologists and internationalists from not only Brazil, but also Argentina and Uruguay, in order to guarantee a constant exchange of ideals in an environment of inter / multidisciplinary and interinstitutional construction which actively works for the process of internationalization of research in the Human and Social Sciences. We also highlight the Group’s efforts to promote a process of integration and continuous interaction of research at different levels of education, thus allowing dialogue between university professors, researchers linked to institutions and Memory and Patrimonial bodies, graduate students and undergraduate students linked to scientific initiation”.

Within the principle of inseparability of research from teaching and extension within the higher education and research institutions that house these researchers, we also highlight the Group's performance in extension initiatives, such as the *Historical Patrimony, Memory, Education and Preservation Program* that has the purpose of collaborating for the effective preservation of patrimony and memory within the communities in which it operates. It is also noteworthy here that these communities were demarcated from the result of actions and projects already carried out and that encompass the region of the Fourth Colony, with emphasis on the municipalities that today integrate the *Consortium for Sustainable Development* (Condesus - Fourth Colony), the city of Santa Maria and the region of the southwestern border of the state of Rio Grande do Sul (in cities in the border zone that are also directly related to the im / migration processes). In addition, the Group also brings together participants linked to the UNESCO Chair of Humanities, Borders and Migrations, headquartered at UFSM.

Finally, given this brief presentation of the Group, we set out to address the research dealt with in the articles that make up this work, which cover a wide variety of study objects, propositions, settings and periods that, despite this, are based on complementary approaches which allow the possibility of intersection of these productions at different points. The challenge of finding an ideal order for these works, therefore, was solved through the organization of a structure that relates temporal, spatial and thematic aspects at different levels, so that we now begin to introduce the authors of this volume and the respective central themes to which they are related.

In the first chapter, Alessandro de Almeida Pereira seeks to review the historiography related to the formation of the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary powers at the local / municipal level, promoting a questioning, and giving consequent historical foundation, regarding the process of conception and organization of what will be political parties in the 19th century in Brazil. In the sequence, we have the works of Monica Rossato, Gustavo Figueira Andrade, Maria Medianeira Padoin and Valentina Ayollo that prioritize the theme of the Federalist Revolution, dealing with it as a political movement that comes to question the model of Republic that was being implemented in Brazil, especially regarding political representation. In addition, it is worth noting that these studies also demonstrate that the Federalist Revolution was not restricted to a regional movement, of state / provincial scope, having a national character with international ties.

Now, with regard to the political context of the second half of the 19th century, we bring the work of Carlos Eduardo Piassini, who aims to demonstrate that, within the history of political representation in elected offices in Brazil, there was a direct role of European immigrants, especially Germans, within the political discussions of naturalization, those who used power networks to guarantee their effective participation within the provincial political and institutional scenario.

With the fall of the monarchy and the end of the patronage regime, in the first decades of the Republic of Brazil, the Catholic Church went through a series of reformulations that directly influenced its performance and its dissemination process. In this context, Marta Rosa Borin prioritized an analysis of the clashes between Christian churches in different areas, such as institutionalization and religiosity, with an emphasis on their impacts within the educational field of Rio Grande do Sul. Still in this period, within the conjuncture of construction of the republican model in Brazil, the work of Amilcar Guidolim Vitor and Júlio Ricardo Quevedo dos Santos is inserted, which deals with the lieutenants' uprising that began during 1924 in the state of Rio Grande do Sul and that was built from an investigation of testimonies collected by a Police Inquiry of the period.

In addition, it is important to remember that the first decades of the Brazilian Republic were also marked by the global context of wars, the emergence of new ideologies and the establishment of new dictatorial governments. Thus, with this background horizon, the Estado Novo [New State] (1937-1945) was established in Brazil, which in its own time took the country to the battlefields of the Second World War. In this theme, Cyro Porto Martins and João Vitor Sausen talk about the internal perception built around the conflict and on the perceptions regarding the Brazilian insertion in it. Continuing with the themes of the period, Bruna Lima seeks to demonstrate that the flag of nationalism used by the Estado Novo translated into the defense of a pan-American economic development project, which had as a strong articulator of this policy the United States. The flag of nationalism is thus confused with that of Pan Americanism.

In the post-conflict context, the texts written by André Luís Ramos Soares with Tomoko Kimura Gaudioso and Alexandra Begueristain da Silva stand out, which take a new look at Japanese immigration to the city of Santa Maria (Rio Grande do Sul), from studies of the trajectories of the immigrant association "Nihonjinkai" and the biography and the work of immigrant

Mitori Kimuri. Still within the spatial delimitation of the city of Santa Maria, Luciana Souza de Brito, built the trajectory not of an individual, but of a religious institution for women: the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity. Based on this study, the author inserts the entrepreneurial performance of this congregation of women in the history of higher education in Santa Maria, in a line that links history, memory and patrimony. Another work in this perspective is that of Guilherme Dias and André Luis Ramos Soares, which is aimed at reflecting on the relationships between identity, memory and patrimony for the valorization of historical elements bequeathed by human groups in the processes of patrimonialization in the city of Santa Cruz do Sul.

In reflecting on the issue of patrimonialization, Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi analyzes the religiosity of the Italian ethnic group present in the Fourth Colony of Italian Immigration (central region of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil), based on the cemetery patrimony, as a testimony of social relations and their beliefs. Regarding the Fourth Colony, Liriana Zanon Stefanello presents the relationship of the trajectory of two families, the preservation of their memory and their representation through the collection that is found at the Genealogical Research Center (CPG) in Nova Palma (Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil).

Finally, we have a text of historiographical analysis in which Cláudio Kuczkowski and Maria Medianeira Padoin produce a first essay in which they map the theses produced in the Graduate Programs in History in Rio Grande do Sul, in order to understand how they thematize and perceive the Platinean border region.

Thus, with this quick overview of the investigations that make up the present work, we seek to invite the reader to know some of the research results of the Platinean History Group, whose genesis strengthens the importance of joint work between doctors, masters and undergraduate students in a space experienced through a constant construction of ideas, reflections and knowledge production.

We wish you a good reading and invite you
to get to know our production.

*Arthur Engster Varreira
João Vitor Sausen
Maria Medianeira Padoin*

Elements for understanding the formation process of the political parties in Brazil during the 19th century

Alessandro de Almeida Pereira¹

Introduction

This paper emerged during the research about “The formation process of the political parties in the province of São Pedro in Rio Grande do Sul (1845-1862)”.² In the course of the analyses, we arrived at results that demonstrated that the classification of *political groups* is more appropriate for the analysis of the Brazilian Empire, throughout the 19th century. However, we kept the term *political party*, as highlighted by Ana Claudia Santano (2017):

it is necessary to analyze political parties from a perspective capable of assessing whether the reasons that led to their emergence are still justified within the current context of modern democracy. For this, it is important to review their historical trajectory, the evolution of their phases, as well as their reaction to the changes of democracy and society. This panorama can be a good indicator for a review of the role of party organizations in the current democratic framework (SANTANO, 2017, p. 11).

There is an extensive historiographical production on the history of the emergence and development of political parties in Brazil. In Rio Grande do Sul, there is also significant production, especially in the development of analyses for the period from the 1860s to the 20th century, but that did not fail to explain the previous political context, between the end of the

¹ Master in History (Post-Graduate Program in History of the Federal University of Santa Maria Brazil), Doctoral student of the Graduate Program in History at the Federal University of Santa Maria. E-mail: alessandro.hist@gmail.com.

² The survey started in 2016 and is currently being concluded. This work is also a sequence of studies started in 2009 that resulted in the Master's Dissertation “O Poder Local e a Institucionalização da República Rio-Grandense (1836-45)” [The Local Power and the Institutionalization of the Rio Grande do Sul Republic (1836-45)], defended in 2015, at the Federal University of Santa Maria. A part of this research was published as the entry “República Rio-Grandense (1836-45)”, in the work “Dicionário da República: 51 textos críticos” [Dictionary of the Republic: 51 critical texts], organized by Lilia Schwarcz and Heloisa Starling.

Farroupilha Revolution (1835-1845) until the beginning of the War against Paraguay (1865-1870). However, in recent years, studies have emerged about the particularities in relation to the term *political party* throughout the 19th century and this paper aims to contribute by highlighting the fundamental elements for understanding this historical process.

1 Representative System of Government and Democratic System of Parties

The representative Democratic System of parties was developed in the Western world as of the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In some countries, such as England, France and the United States, for example, new policies for extending suffrage had emerged, which obviously resulted in an increase in the electorate, which hampered a closer relationship between representatives and represented. Their votes were no longer intended for people with whom they had some kind of relationship, but for party flags. "Political parties, along with their bureaucracies and their network of militants, appeared precisely to mobilize this more numerous electorate." (MANIN, 1997, p.90)

The political party in this system is characterized as a legal organization, from a legal point of view, with recognition of the rights and duties in the Constitution, with a defined political program, with rules for registration and accessions, as well as an express link between representatives and represented in electoral processes. In the Democratic Party System, its basis rests on the assumption of the right of citizens to constitute the state power that is charged with governing. According to Renato Janine Ribeiro (2017, p.94) "for us, legitimate representation occurs when there is a vote, there is a law, and from this result a government supported by the majority".

This model, currently in force in Brazil, has shown signs of crisis since the 1990s, and has been accentuated in recent years. Currently, there is a discredit of political parties, showing signs of wear reinforced by the sense of loss of political representativeness. More and more people declare themselves to be supporters of the candidate's personality and placing the ideas defended by the parties at a secondary level, which suggests a crisis in the representative Democratic System.

The Democratic Party System has its own historicity, and, like all historical phenomena, it has a landmark of emergence, stages of evolution

characterized by processes of change and permanence and, therefore, it is not a finished system. Such a system resulting from developments in the 19th and early 20th centuries, arises from a crisis of representation of parliamentarism, therefore it carries aspects of the system of Representative Government. However, they are systems that have peculiarities and structural distinctions that directly influence the analysis of the phenomenon of the emergence and development of groups and political parties. In other words, when we speak of a representative system of government, in the case of Brazil, we establish a reference to the period of the 19th century, specifically between 1822 to 1889, while when we approach the democratic system of parties we are referring to the model that was applied from the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, in part of Europe and North America, while in Brazil it started to have an implementation landmark in 1946, inaugurating a period of constitutional party pluralism.

The first fundamental element to put into debate the origins of political parties, therefore, lies in the differentiation between the Democratic Party System and the Representative System of Government. According to Bernard Manin (1997), this system “was not conceived as a particular type of democracy, but as an original political system based on principles different from those that organize democracy” (MANIN, 1997, p. 108).

During the 18th and 19th centuries, England, France and the United States - the most influential countries in the West – developed the Representative System as the system of government of their respective States. This same system was adopted by the Brazilian Empire, highlighted in the 1824 Constitution³.

The basic principles of the Representative System, formulated at the end of the 18th century and applied in practice through liberal institutions, consisted of: *autonomy* of representatives in relation to those represented; *periodic elections*, which served as a regulatory mechanism for this representative autonomy; *freedom of expression*; and, *debate* as a way to achieve the common good in an institution specifically designed for this confrontation of ideas, that is, the *parliament* (MANIN, 1997).

³ Movements such as the process of Independence of the Thirteen English Colonies and the formation of the United States, the French Revolution (1789), the drafting of the 1812 Cadiz Constitution and the 1821 Porto revolution fostered the use of new concepts in the political context of Hispanic America in the period. Miriam Dolnikoff (2008) analyzes the representative system in the Brazilian Empire, throughout the 19th century.

In the representative political system, freedom of opinion is associated with the required link between the needs of the population and the autonomy of action of the representatives. They did not need to make decisions according to the wishes of the represented, however the wishes of the population could not be ignored. In short, freedom of opinion did not have an imposing value, but it was also not considered irrelevant to representatives.

Parliament was a place for deliberation, where representatives could form their positions and decision-making based on the discussion of ideas and the consent of a majority was achieved through argumentative construction. Enabling free deliberation was what justified, in classical parliamentarism, the autonomy of deputies in relation to voters (MANIN, 1997). Periodic elections would function, in theory and practical application, as a kind of evaluation of this political elite⁴.

2 The relation between political groups and the electoral process during the 19th century

The social actors developed strategies to understand and insert themselves in the construction of the Brazilian Imperial State. Research by Richard Graham (1997), Maria Fernanda Martins (2007) and Adriano Comissoli (2011), for example, shows that although there was a change in the form of institutionalized political action in the first Brazilian kingdom, these transformations did not eliminate the behavior shaped during the Old Regime, in which characteristics such as clientelism, patriarchalism and the acceptance of local potentates can be highlighted. This relationship between the application of a theoretical model and everyday political life can be exemplified through the theme of *elections*.

The second element is the perception of the structure of the electoral process, within the scope of the Representative System of Government and its relationship with political groups. The application of this system in the Brazilian Empire did not involve a debate about the organization of collective political participation, that is, of political groups or parties. Studies such as the work of Michele de Leão (2019), show that the debates around the changes in legislation throughout the 19th century presented a concern with

⁴ The Government Representative System was not a finished model and there were reflections on how its application could be improved. We have, for example, the reflections of José de Alencar (1829-1877) when he published his work on “Representative System”, in 1868.

electoral fraud, however, the proposals did not involve any regulation for the performance of groups that called themselves political parties⁵.

Between the years 1846 to 1855, for example, the province of Rio Grande do Sul, in the extreme south of the Brazilian Empire, was considered a single electoral district. The province had five seats of representation in the Temporary Chamber (Chamber of Deputies), which increased to six from 1852; in the Senate it had three representatives; and, there was also the Provincial Assembly composed of 28 members. In the scope of citizenship there was a hierarchy in the exercise of political rights, since the electoral process was divided into several stages according to the classification of the citizen, with the question of income being one of the main items.

All electoral laws of the Brazilian Empire provided rules for individual participation in the electoral process. Each voter (citizen who owned and exercised the right to vote for candidates for political office) from 1846 to 1855 voted for the corresponding number of seats, for example , for the election of Deputies to the Temporary Chamber, each voter in the province chose six names of candidates for representation in Rio Grande do Sul - these names were written on a sheet of paper and signed by the voter.⁶ The votes for provincial deputies followed the same principle, the voter wrote down the names of 28 provincial deputies and signed⁷.

However, the practice throughout the 19th century led to a collective mobilization in elections that involved families and groups of individuals. This practice made it possible to mobilize resources and cooperate in strategies throughout the electoral process. Research, such as Paniagua's thesis (2012), shows that individuals were mobilized to dominate these local institutions, triggering networks of relationships that made it possible to put strategies in place to win the electoral disputes.

There is a record of the organization of slates, where groups used the space of the platform and newspapers to disclose their names to run for election. The historiography of Rio Grande do Sul highlighted the slate

⁵ A very detailed analysis of parliamentary debates in relation to the electoral process can be consulted in the thesis of Michele de Leão (2019).

⁶ In 1855, there was a change in the electoral legislation, which divided the province into two districts, thus, each electoral district elected three deputies. However, this organization of the electoral process was not long lasting, with other changes occurring throughout the 19th century.

⁷ Number corresponding to the Provincial Assembly of Rio Grande do Sul. Each province had a number of provincial deputies according to the number of citizens.

that called itself Liga, in 1852. Individuals with great influence in the province used sessions of the provincial Assembly and space in the periodicals to present names that had the purpose of occupying the six chairs of representation of the province of Rio Grande do Sul at the Temporary Assembly of the Empire. However, there were no rules and regulations for the formation of these electoral slates and there was no need to register. In the same way, this happened with groups that called themselves political parties.

The legislation did not contemplate the organization and rules for the participation of political parties in electoral elections. In the ballot box there were no votes for parties, but directly for the candidates. In practice, the individual who had all the criteria for the full exercise of political citizenship, could participate in the elections and exercise the political office without adhering to political parties. Legislation remained that way throughout the 19th century.

3 Party: a polysemic word

Party is a polysemic term, which has a historicity. Throughout the 19th century, this term was used in Brazil with distinct and antagonistic meanings. Between the decades of 1820 and 1830 there was a predominance of a pejorative content that associated the term with the sense of faction. From the 1840s onwards, we still found this pejorative sense, however, an increasing number of individuals started to adhere to political groups that called themselves parties.

In the 1789 edition, the *Dicionário da Lingua Portugueza* [Dictionary of the Portuguese Language] presents the definition of *party* as “partialities, parts, band, faction”⁸. The term was defined as synonymous with *faction* and *cabal*. Father D. Rafael de Bluteau and Antonio de Moraes Silva present the definition of a *faction* as “f. f. made of remarkable weapons, journey, military company. *Freire*, and *Vasconcellos Arte*. § Groups, partialities, unions, parties” (BLUTEAU, 1789, p.592).

The Dictionary of the Brazilian Language, published in 1832, in the city of Ouro Preto and written by Luiz Maria da Silva Pinto, presented two definitions of cabal: “f.n. Tradition among the Jews about the mystical and

⁸ BLUTEAU, Rafael de. **Dicionário da Lingua Portugueza (1789)**. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Available at: <<http://purl.pt/29264/3/1-2894-a/html/index.html#/168-169>>. Accessed on: March 07, 2018.

allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament “ and “ Conspiracy of people for evil purpose. Fig. These same people” (PINTO, 1832, p. 1750). The term *cabal* is defined in exactly the same words in the dictionaries of Bluteau (1789) and Luiz Silva Pinto, in 1832.

Currently, we can find in the Portuguese Language Dictionary, elaborated by the lexicographer Antônio Houaiss, the term *party* with the following definition “Political organization with common ideas that tries to come to power” (HOUAISS, 2014, p. 612). A supporter is defined as “a party member or supporter; 2. Follower or sympathizer of idea, belief”. While the term *party* is associated with a group of people with common ideas for the purpose of exercising power, *faction* is defined as “a divergent part of a group or party (internal *faction* war). 2. Political party” (HOUAISS, 2014, p. 394). Still in its pejorative use there is the term *factionate*, defined as “1. Divide (into) dissident factions or groups. 2. Incite or promote riot; rebel (up) ~ factional m. adj. and n. Factious [pl.: factious] m. adj. an n. 1 (one) who exerts some violent or subversive action. 2. Who (m) is biased, partial.” (HOUAISS, 2014, p.394).

When we analyze the dictionaries in chronological order we can see that the term *party* acquires a transformation in its meaning. This term evolves from a pejorative sense to a positive one. However, this evolution is not noticeable when we study other types of sources, also in chronological order, because in the historicity of this word there is a phenomenon of polysemy, that is, the term *party* acquires a series of meanings often with antagonistic meanings. When we analyze the newspapers from the 1830s to the 1860s, the parliamentary speeches or correspondence from that same period, we find that the terms *parties / part*, *political party / party* and *factions / cabals* are current terms in the political life in the Center of the Brazilian Empire and in the Province of São Pedro, during the 19th century, where political actors simultaneously used the different meanings of these terms, having their meaning according to the context and characterizing a rhetorical dispute between political groups.

Between 1835 and the 1860s, social actors published different terms to characterize the political groups in the province. At the same time that the term *faction / party* and *cabals* were used as pejorative ways to characterize the opposing political groups, the terms *party / political party* for the self-denomination of their respective political groups were also usual, in some cases, the cognomen being recognized by opponents.

On February 5, 1836, a proclamation of the Provincial Assembly was published in the column “Official Articles”, of the newspaper O Mensageiro⁹, which at the time was dominated by the Farroupilha group. Title of the proclamation: “Extraordinary Provincial Assembly - Proclamation. Provincial Legislative Assembly to its Co-Provincials”.

People of Rio-Grande! The President's failure to comply with the Assembly's first demand has already precipitated us into all the horrors of the civil war. With the pretext of defeating the **fantastic Republican party**, which is said to be opposing its installation, a reaction was prepared in the vicinity of the Capital; and in the absence of Brazilian arms, who could lend themselves to such a nefarious project, the **counter-revolutionary makers** did not hesitate to resort to the German Settlers, deluding, and enticing more than two hundred unwary, who even took up arms, to harass us. To what excesses, what disgrace would the Province of S. Pedro do Sul be led to, if the inexperienced Settlers had not been warned in time andwould have arrived to attack the City! Fortunately, however, for us, and for that flourishing Colony, its peaceful, industrious inhabitants recognized the trap very early, laid down their arms, and only cared for their useful and interesting work; while the **heads of that anarchic movement seek to escape, to avoid the punishment of the Law**. A new fault on the part of the President may, oh people of Rio Grande, perhaps, definitely lose us. But is it credible that he is deaf to the voice of this country, which saw him born, and where he possesses everything that is most dear to the heart of man? No: the concept that forms this Assembly is quite different: **it wants to suppose that he has been betrayed; that he has let himself be deceived by a handful of selfish perverse people who surround him, and who, wanting to make him an instrument of their damned vengeance**, try to overshadow the truth, and make him believe that there is no individual security in the Capital, and that a **Republican party plots against his installation**. (...) Paço d'Assemb Legislativa Provincial on January 28, 1836 - Francisco Xavier Ferreira President - José Mariano de Mattos, 1st Secretary. - Antonio Alvares Pereira Coruja, 2nd Secretary (“O MENSAGEIRO, 1836, p.102)

During this period, according to Sérgio da Costa Franco (2004), the Farroupilhas dominated the provincial Assembly. Araújo Ribeiro's position as president of the Province was considered by them to be “illegal” and “anarchic” since the act was carried out at the City Hall of Rio Grande. In

⁹ “Newspaper created on November 3, 1835, as an official organ of the provincial government in the period when Porto Alegre (RS) was dominated by the Farroupilhas. It was written by Vicente Xavier de Carvalho and was dedicated to the publication of the acts and proclamations of the Presidency, of the minutes of the Legislative Assembly, among other official documents. Its last issue circulated on May 3, 1836.” In: Rare MUSECOM NEWSPAPERS: 1808-1924. Organized by Marcia Eckert Miranda and Carlos Roberto Saraiva da Costa Leite. Porto Alegre: Press release, 2008, p. 73.

this context, the term *Republican party* is a denomination attributed by the political group allied to Araújo Ribeiro and the deputies reproduced the cognomen denying the existence of a group with that denomination.

The use of the term *political party / party* is used again in the proclamation of the Provincial Assembly, on February 25, 1836. On that occasion, the deputies responded to Citizen Antônio Araújo Ribeiro, who had taken office as President of the Province, in the Municipality of Rio Grande. From that city, Araújo Ribeiro wrote and spread throughout the Province a manifesto against the illegalities committed by deputies in Porto Alegre. The board of directors of the Assembly¹⁰, in response, declared through the Proclamation that Araújo Ribeiro “fantasized” the existence of a “republican party” in Porto Alegre¹¹.

During the 1830s, the terms *party*, *faction* and *cabals* were used more frequently in newspapers, which circulated in the province of Rio Grande do Sul, than recorded by shorthand in the minutes of the first Legislature of the Provincial Assembly (1835-1836).

Loyalist newspapers in the Province of São Pedro, which defended the integrity of the Brazilian Empire, used the different meanings of the term *party*.

The Correio seeks to discredit the people of the Province with their writings, saying that it is divided into **parties!** Have you seen a greater effrontery? Here there is little or no way out of such a scrap of paper, and almost, without making a mistake, the Artilheiro asserts, that there are not **20 pure loyalists** in the whole city, if they read it, it is more like a ruse with which the wolf covers itself with the sheep's cloak, and watches him closely, than to delight in their doctrines: the others, who read it, one already knows, or they are **unimportant individuals**, who cry for the time of glory, or they are **Farrapos**: thus their doctrines cause no upset here; faraway they can make an impression to those who ignore the facts, and do not know, that in the **Province** there are only two parties diametrically opposed to each other: one composed of the elite and rich people of the province, and of honorable people, who want order restored, whatever the cost; the dignity of the Nation maintained, the law observed; which, for two years, has defended the integrity of the Empire, and the Throne of H. M. D. Pedro II, and which, upset and exasperated already from too much contemplation that has been given to the

¹⁰ The Provincial Assembly in that period had as its deputy Francisco Xavier Ferreira. Deputy Antônio Álves Pereira Coruja was the 1st secretary and Deputy Fr. Juliano de Faria Lobato was the 2nd secretary.

¹¹ PROCLAMAÇÃO. A Assembleia Legislativa do Rio Grande do Sul a seus coprovincianos. Porto Alegre, 25 de fevereiro de 1836. In: SILVA, 2005, p. 313.

rebels, without having reaped the least good but, instead, the greatest evil, want the crime punished and public security maintained; another party, composed, almost completely, of rabble rousers who want disorder, theft, killing, massacre, an independent province, and constituted into a Republic, and which has been working toward this end occultly, for nearly 8 years, and, declaredly, and, in fact, for two years. No other party exists in the Province and if it exists, it is a third, which, with the cape of the moderate Legal one, works also with the anarchist whom it favors and protects. [...] It brings the Correio bug in favor of what Mr. Droz's authority says, which is expressed as follows: *I deplore the country, where you want to classify individuals by their political opinions; there are only two extreme parties:* and a null center floating from one to the other. What does this mean? The Correio brought firewood to be burned: between us are the two extreme parties, that is, diametrically opposed are the Legal one, and the Farrapo party: and the other null one floating from one side to the other side, which will it be? The third party, to which the Correio, according to it, makes it very clearly known, belongs: yes, it floats to the Legal party, and then to the Farrapo party, similar to herbs called water hyacinths, which, having its roots closer to one margin than the other, driven by the current, or by the wind they float to the opposite margin, and opposite to the one where they are ingrained, but soon, once the driving cause ceases, they immediately float to the margin where they are held by the root, and where they will get the food from! (O ARTILHEIRO, 1837)¹²

In the fragment cited, the writers of “O Artilheiro” wrote against members of the newspaper “Correio de Porto Alegre”, a newspaper that defended the presidency of Feliciano Nunes Pires and that represented a divergence in the Legalist group. Its writers use the term party positively, bringing it closer to the sense of a political group. The pejorative content is restricted to the characterization of the individuals who were part of the *Farrapo party*.

According to Álvaro Klafke (2007, p.81) “the editor’s inspired rhetoric - the image of water hyacinth (...) is very eloquent - is at the service of critical radicalism and political tension”. The rhetoric of the writers of “O Artilheiro” ignored the elitist characteristic of the two political groups in dispute in the Province, in addition to expressing an aggressive combat, in a context in which Porto Alegre was under siege. Also, according to Álvaro Klafke (2007), with the anticipation of Pedro II’s coming of age, a political defense was inaugurated in the Empire, guided by a new position of the

¹² O ARTILHEIRO. Porto Alegre, n. 6, 26 de agosto de 1837. Museu de Comunicação Hipólito da Costa.

groups, committed to the integrality of the Empire. In the province of Rio Grande do Sul, “the official legalistic discourse took on a more purposeful character in the relationship with dissidents, pointing to negotiated, conciliatory solutions, even with an amnesty proposal in exchange for the return to order” (KLAFKE, 2007, p .83).

4 Groups self-named as political parties

In the first Legislature of the Temporary Chamber (1826-1829), there was a division between the wing of the “left coast” called ministerial opposition and the ministerial group. These divisions were spontaneous and organic from Parliament, in a Representative Government system.

The political divisions in the provinces of the Empire followed local specific logics and, many times, were names existing only at the provincial level and without correspondence with the names existing in the Temporary Chamber and in the center of the Empire (RODARTE, 2011). Some terms remained common throughout the 19th century. Groups calling themselves parties were characteristic in the political sphere, they were not regulated by laws, therefore they were spontaneous actions that followed the themes of the policy that related to the whole Empire and, also, according to the specificity of each province.

The Regency Government that was installed after the abdication of D. Pedro I, in 1831, was supported by a reformist group of deputies, who managed to form a coalition with anti-reform deputies calling themselves “*moderator party*” (RODARTE, 2011, p.72).

In the mid-nineteenth century, two political denominations emerged in the Brazilian Empire: *saquaremas*, as a nickname attributed to conservatives and *luzias*, a nickname dedicated to liberals. According to Lynch (2011), “saquarema was the name of the municipality of Rio [de Janeiro] where one of the conservative leaders, Visconde de Itaboraí, had a farm. There, the group met frequently”. While *luzia* “was a reference to a small town in Minas Gerais, Santa Luzia, where the greatest defeat of the liberals occurred in the revolts of 1842.”

The formation of the saquarema group takes place between the years 1835 and 1836. During this period, a political group in the center of the Empire came together to organize legislative projects in opposition to Regent Diogo Antônio Feijó (1784-1843) and Law No. 16, of August 12, 1834, known as the Additional Act. This group originally came from regions

formed by the Court, by the province of Rio de Janeiro and by groups from the south of Minas Gerais and associated with them. They were moderates, “linked by a mix of ideological reaction, government appointments, parliamentary representation and regional oligarchies” (NEEDELL, 2011, p. 100).

This political group found in the Brazilian imperial institutions a favorable space for their formation. The magistracy, Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro, the presidency of the same province and the Chamber were used as a space for organization and articulation. Paulino José Soares de Souza (1807-1866), in 1841, formulated a positive memory around the construction of the saquarema political group, already known by that name at that time. Soares de Souza records that in 1837 the “new party” (political group saquarema) had been organized by his friends and by the circle of individuals into which he was inserted¹³. Paulino de Souza (1807-1866) recalls that the main leaders managed to articulate “[Bernardo Pereira de] Vasconcelos (1795-1850) and Honório [Hermeto Carneiro Leão] (1801-1856) to an important group from Rio de Janeiro led by Rodrigues Torres (1802 -1872) “(NEEDELL, 2011, p. 100).

This group was articulated and was constituted through nomination, election and marriage around Rodrigues Torres, elements that consisted of the connection point between the provincial assembly and a network of families of sugar cane growers in the Baixada Fluminense. The terms *Partido Santa Luzia* and *Partido Saquarema* gradually gained ground in the different provinces of the Brazilian Empire.

In the provincial parliament, some groups strived to be characterized as political parties. Along with these characterizations there is a link with the reformed Constitution of the Brazilian Empire, the commitment to the Monarchy, to the territorial unit, among others. Intentionally or not, this relation of the narrative between the term political party and these elements represented a search for a legitimization of performance through political groups, that is, a civilization of politics¹⁴.

¹³ Annaes do parlamento brasileiro: Camara dos Srs. Deputados (1876-1884). T. I. Rio de Janeiro: Hypolito José Pinto, et al., 1841, p. 556.

¹⁴ Ivo Coser (2015) presented a debate in the 19th century that represents these narrative disputes, where there is the characterization of groups as factions, which operated within the Empire, where the law was not enforced and the idea of civilized regions, in which the groups were classified as political parties. Analyzing the policy in the interior of the provinces it is possible to verify that the groups had ties that linked the politics of the capitals to the interior.

In 1845, a new phase began in the daily life of the province of Rio Grande do Sul. After almost ten years of civil war, political life in the province was taking new directions and deputies resumed their work in the sessions of the provincial Assembly, in the city of Porto Alegre (provincial capital).

With the end of the Civil War (1835-45), the first sessions of the assembly began in 1847, which was still composed of 28 deputies. Among these, two had been Ministers of the State of the Rio-Grandense Republic (1836-45) - José Pinheiro de Ulhôa Cintra and Francisco de Sá Brito - and benefited from the amnesty of the Brazilian Empire, in addition to other names who were members of the clergy which promoted the separation between the Catholic Church of Rio Grande do Sul and the Bishopric, based in Rio de Janeiro.

In the sessions of the provincial assembly, during 1849, 30 deputies (including two alternates) participated, from a list of 38 names elected to exercise the mandate in the provincial legislature. The analyses of the sessions from 1847 to 1849 show that there was a small group that stood out in the debates, but it also indicates that this phase inaugurated a new theme for the organization of political groups: a phase characterized by the victory of the Brazilian Empire against the revolts that shook the territorial integrity since the abdication of the throne by D. Pedro I (1831).

This general theme of the Brazilian Empire resulted in the self-declaration by the provincial deputies as belonging to the Saquarema party and the Santa Luzia party. However, alongside these individuals there were many others who participated in politics without making explicit their belonging to political groups and, much less, declared themselves as belonging to political parties.

5 Constitutional Parties

From the 1870s onwards, periodicals began to publish the names of political parties and individuals who identified with such groups. However, political parties did not acquire a constitutional organization until the 20th century. In Brazil, political parties were only mentioned in the 1934 Constitution. However, only in the 1946 Constitution did it present a chapter on the topic.

In the Federal Constitution of 1937, there was no provision on political parties, making any attempt to create any association unviable, in a continuous attack against such organizations, as well as a hostile stance towards them.

It was only after 1945 that the term “parties” was gradually mentioned, albeit in a negative way, since the [Getúlio] Vargas government used several rules to weaken them in the face of the 1945 elections. The first constitutional mention of the parties appeared soon after, in the 1946 Federal Constitution; with this Charter the parties began to be referred to in a bureaucratic and repressive manner, with two mentions in arts. 119, I and 141, § 13 (SANTANO, 2017, p.21-22).

Finally, this is one of the most important elements in relation to the study of political parties in the Brazilian Empire. There was an electoral process system that was distant from the narrative construction of groups that called themselves political parties.

Conclusion

In the 19th century, the Brazilian Empire had a political system that founded a hierarchy in the dimensions of political citizenship. The electoral process was divided into stages: first, the number of voters was determined, so that they could choose voters, who in turn would elect political representatives.

In principle, votes were attributed to individuals. In the Constitution of 1824 or in the electoral laws there is no regulation for the political participation of groups, slates or political parties. However, in the course of electoral practices, social actors organized themselves into groups and, some of these individuals associated these groups with the term party, characterizing it as a position based on political ideas and principles.

Regarding the formation process of political parties in the Brazilian Empire, throughout the 19th century, the following characteristics stand out: a) the complete absence in the Constitution of 1824 and the electoral legislation on the formation of groups, slates or political parties. The laws of the Empire did not prohibit, but neither did they determine any legal order on the subject, no rules or limits were established for these actions; b) The electoral system focused on the rules for individual actions, however the voting structure, where the individual voted for multiple names for the vacancies, provoked in practice a mobilization of political groups for the elections disputes; c) In general, groups emerged without formalization, there was no registration of groups, slates or political parties. In practice, any individual could say that his group was a political party and without laws and regulations on the subject, the process of forming political groups and parties in the 19th century developed intrinsically in the dimension of the narrative of social actors.

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The republic in the Platinean border region: the exile of Gaspar Silveira Martins in Europe

Monica Rossato¹

Introduction

This work is related to the research developed through the Postgraduate Program in History at the Federal University of Santa Maria, Brazil. Research that is part of the “umbrella” project entitled *História da América Platina e os processos de Construção e de consolidação dos estados nacionais no século XIX e no início do século XX* [*History of Platinean America and the processes of construction and consolidation of national states in the 19th and early 20th centuries*], which develops several research projects from the perspective of the Platinean border region². This work was also supported by a Capes Scholarship through the Doctoral Exchange Program [Programa de Doutorado Sanduíche no Exterior – Edital 019/2016 / CAPES], which enabled us to have contact with historical sources about Gaspar Silveira Martins and the Federalist Revolution in Europe.

From the perspective of political history and relying on a variety of historical sources, this chapter seeks to present the passage of the Monarchy

¹ Doctor in History (PPGH/UFSM). E-mail: monyrossato@gmail.com.

² This “Umbrella” project is coordinated by Prof. Dr. Maria Medianeira Padoin (PPGH / UFSM), supervisor of the present Doctoral thesis which has the theme “Gaspar Silveira Martins and the Federalist Revolution (1893-1895): what federalism is this?”. We use the *Platinean border region* to refer to a larger region that includes Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina, when thinking about the territory in which the Federalist Revolution developed and the ties to Gaspar Silveira Martins. Among the results of this research are: ROSSATO, Monica. **Gaspar Silveira Martins e o federalismo**. 2011. 65f. Monograph (Undergraduate Work in History) – Federal University of Santa Maria, Santa Maria, RS, 2011; PADOIN, Maria Medianeira; ROSSATO, Monica. **Gaspar Silveira Martins**: perfil biográfico, discursos e atuação política na Assembleia Privincial. Porto Alegre: Legislative Assembly of RS, 2013. Available at: <<http://www2.al.rs.gov.br/memorial/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=NnrIEuzsNLc%3d&tqid=3454>>. Accessed on: December 22, 2013. ROSSATO, Monica. **Relações de poder na região fronteiriça platina**: família, trajetória e atuação política de Gaspar Silveira Martins. 2014. 163f. Dissertation (Master in History) – UFSM, Santa Maria, RS, 2014; ANDRADE, Gustavo Figueira. **A trajetória política do General João Nunes da Silva Tavares (Joca Tavares)**: família, comunicação e fronteira. 2017. 177f. Thesis (Master's of History) – UFSM, Santa Maria, RS, 2017.

to the Republic in Brazil through the journey of Gaspar Silveira Martins³ in Brazil to Europe, through his formation manifested still during the Empire, as well as ties, travel, networks of solidarity and friendships with the Brazilian Colony in Paris and beyond. To this end, we also demonstrate the antecedents of the Federalist Revolution from Europe, as well as other revolts in other states that threatened to emerge, showing that the articulation of the Revolution happened before 1893, and prepared for the return of Silveira Martins from Europe.

1 The transition from a monarchy to a Republic in Brazil

The transition from one government system to another in November 1889 was not exempt from conflicts and resistance on the part of those who, from one moment to the next, were removed from the political power they had until then exercised with the Emperor. The change in the established order generated resistance on the part of some sectors that demanded greater dialogue, spaces for action, reforms, and other projects according to their conceptions of nation, country, and people.

In this perspective, the proclamation of the Republic, on November 15, 1889, had its previous origins in a series of elements that were causing the crisis of the Empire since the 1870s. Among these elements, highlighted in parliamentary discussions, were the proposals of abolitionism and the eradication of slavery itself, a theme that reverberated among the elites in

³ Gaspar Silveira Martins was baptized on August 5, 1835 in Cerro Largo, Melo, in Uruguay and his parents, Maria Joaquina das Dores Martins and Carlos Silveira were born in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul and owned properties in both Brazilian and Uruguayan territory. This contributes to their “binational” border bond, that is, Uruguayan and Brazilian according to the place of their birth. The region where Gaspar Silveira Martins was born was located in the border lands of Brazil (city of Bagé) and Uruguay (city of Melo). Silveira Martins built a political career with the Brazilian Empire. His academic training began in Pelotas (Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil), then in Rio de Janeiro, in Olinda and São Paulo; he graduated in Law at the Law School of São Paulo in 1856. He practiced law in Rio de Janeiro and served as a Municipal Judge. In the Province of Rio Grande do Sul, he acted in the creation of the Partido Liberal Histórico [Liberal Historical Party], where he was elected Provincial Deputy for the Provincial Assembly of Rio Grande do Sul, in 1862. In 1872 he assumed as Deputy General until 1879. He was Minister of Finance of the Empire (1878), and between 1880 and 1888 he served as Senator. In 1889 he was sworn into the Presidency of the Province of Rio Grande do Sul. With the end of the Empire in 1889, Silveira Martins was exiled from the national territory by a decree of the republican government. After this period of experience in Europe, he returned to Brazil at the end of 1891 and in 1892, he joined the Partido Federalista [Federalist Party] (PF) acting in the mobilization and articulation of forces for the Federalist Revolution, in defense of an alternative political project to that which had been implemented in Brazil.

each part of the Empire. Likewise, the end of the Paraguayan War (1864-1870) brought high discontent about the Monarchy, as well as favored the emergence of the military in the political arena, stimulated also by the innovations and technical education of the military schools (CARVALHO, 2012).

An impatience appeared among students of the Military Academy even before the war, in the 1850s and 1860s, in which higher education provided them with subsidies to address Brazilian problems and to be sensitive to external theoretical currents, enabling intervention in public spaces and proposing the construction of a Brazilian society under new foundations (HOLANDA, 2008). In this process, the historical situation of not having autonomy vis-à-vis civilian power in the Monarchy, in which they were submitted to the governments, led to the aversion of the Armed Forces to parliamentary institutions, in vogue in the early years of the Republic (HOLANDA, 2008). The creation of Republican Clubs in the States and their press favored the expansion of the Republican Movement and the debate around political reforms in Brazil (HOLANDA, 2008).

The National Parliament, due to an eminent Monarchy crisis, began to discuss imperial reforms in the last decade of the Empire (CARVALHO, 2012). In the discussions, political clashes between the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party were frequent, which represented different views and expectations about the future of the Monarchy (RIBEIRO, 2015).

Other proposals were presented as substantial for the Liberal Party and the future and integrity of the Empire, proposals that were part of the Party's Program in 1868, and that needed to be resumed to reform the Monarchy and limit the conservative advance in the Parliament. Thus, since the reforms on the agenda in 1878, the Liberal Party was divided by political issues, in which a wing of moderate liberals joined with conservatives to overthrow the liberal offices of Paranaguá (1882) and Lafayette Rodrigues (1883) and had come to power in the Cotegipe Cabinet (1885).⁴

Likewise, in 1885 Joaquim Nabuco presented a proposal for a constitutional revision for the creation of the Federative Monarchy, in the Chamber of Deputies, a project that had the support of liberal deputies, but

⁴ To learn more about this topic, see the work by: ALONSO, Ângela. **Flores, votos e balas: o movimento abolicionista brasileiro (1868-1888)**. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015.

which was not carried forward.⁵ The idea was, in the next legislature, for voters to give their representatives authorization to change articles of the Constitution that did not meet the federal monarchy's interests.

Silveira Martins demonstrated support to the federation, when in the Senate, in response to the President of the Council, he said that his province had claimed the federation, as he observed that the Provincial Assembly and the President should harmonize, citing the cases of dismissals of employees who did not hold political positions in the Province and the interference of the Imperial Government in the commands of the National Guard at the border.⁶ Gaspar Silveira Martins was also in favor of the issue of the abolition of slavery, for its gradual extinction in five years, with compensation for the owners and the creation of the Emancipation Fund and the nationalization of lands close to railways and rivers for immigrant settlers.⁷ In order to replace slave labor, it was also necessary to stimulate the entry of European labor and the creation of colonies of European immigrants for economic development, in face of the large crops.

The federation appeared as a demand at the end of the Empire, expressed as a project of the Liberal Party in the National Parliament. A few years later, without being able to carry out this reform when assuming the Liberal Cabinet in 1889, Ouro Preto also took on the task of carrying out the monarchical reform project, also presented as the Liberal Party Program, which sought to resume the reforms advocated by the Party at the end of the 1860s such as the provincial administrative reform, the decentralized regime of the Additional Act, civil marriage, religious freedoms, temporary Senate, among others.⁸

⁵ NABUCO, Joaquim. Anais da Câmara dos Deputados, Sessão de 14 set. 1885, p. 426. In: Nabuco, Joaquim, 1849-1910. **Joaquim Nabuco**. NETTO, Munhoz da Rocha; FREIRE, Gilberto (Org.). 2. ed., ampl. Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados, Edições Câmara, 2010. 559 p. (Série perfis parlamentares; n. 58).

⁶ MARTINS, Silveira. **Anais do Senado**, Livro 6. Sessão 25 Sept. 1885.

⁷ These items were present in the proposal of the Chief of Cabinet Dantas, Project No. 48 of August 4, 1884, presented to the Chamber of Deputies. In: BARBOSA, Ruy. Emancipation of slaves: opinion formulated by Deputy Ruy Barbosa as rapporteur of the United Budget and Civil Justice Commissions. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Nacional, 1884. Available at: <<http://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/handle/id/174431>>. Accessed on: 09 April. 2020.

⁸ Items present in the First Project voted by the Congress of the Liberal Party in May 1889. In: MESQUITA, Elpidio de. **Dois Regimens**. Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Leuzinger, 1896. Rare work researched in the National Archives of Rio de Janeiro, RJ/Brazil. Ouro Preto took office on June 7, 1889.

Regarding these assumptions, the performance of the Liberal Party, which Silveira Martins was part of, was marked by different paths concerning the demands, groups, and defenses presented, especially if we observe their convergence with the emergence and performance of the Republican Party in Brazil, from its 1870 Manifesto. This is what José Murilo de Carvalho (2018) identified when he proposed the existence of a second generation within the Liberal Party, in the Second Reign, which did not have in its central concerns the call for national unity and integration of the nation, as did the first generation of the Party, which had experienced the threats that the regimental revolts caused for the federalization and separation from the Empire.

This new liberal generation of the 1860s, which Silveira Martins was part of, defended reforms such as local decentralization, free education and religion, free trade, extinction of the Moderating Power, a Senate without lifelong terms, direct suffrage, separation of justice and police, the election of the president of the province, responsibility of the ministers, among others. The defenses represented a generation gap within the Liberal Party and the forerunners of reforms that, moments later, were on the agenda of the Republican Party in its vehement criticisms of the Empire's political practice, which led Carvalho (2018) to propose the displacement of the centrality of the 1870's generation thesis as the founder of the Brazilian republican movement, which was, with previous roots, in this new generation that emerged from the Liberal Party. In addition to Silveira Martins, his brother-in-law Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira was part of this generation, as one of the signatories of the Republican Party.

In 1869, inserted within the liberal current of the Liberal Party, Silveira Martins' speech was an example of the contemplation of civic virtues, when he explained the passage from the Roman Republic to the Empire, and the transformations of *respublican* institutions into despotism,⁹ in which the imperial government's corruption and tyranny were enemies of civic virtues (CATROGA, 2011). In his speech, the local government emerged vehemently from the example of peace judges who stopped being elected to being appointed by the government, as well as the loss of autonomy of the

⁹ SILVEIRA MARTINS. **Conferência Radical**, oitava sessão, 1869, p. 24 and 25. Speech given by Mr. Dr. Gaspar Silveira Martins on Radicalism. Rio de Janeiro: Typografia e Lithographia Esperança, 1869. Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil.

municipalities with the decrees and warnings of the central government (CARVALHO, 2018). The discussion of the generation of the end of the 1860s, mainly focused on the form of the organization of powers, in the decentralization and autonomy guaranteed by the Additional Act of 1831, in aspects that involved the unitarianism represented by the figure of the monarch and the defense of federalism.

It is observed that Silveira Martins was part of the generation of liberals responsible for the biggest and most intense debates on proposals and structural and political changes in the Second Reign, including federalists (CARVALHO, 2018). And that, after the Republic was proclaimed, he continued to defend republican and civic virtues that did not necessarily correspond with a specific form of government, but with the defense of liberties and of a strong, civil Federal State, capable of guaranteeing state and municipal autonomies (federalism).

For those who remained in the Liberal Party, as was the case of Silveira Martins, the Radical Party's defenses were not implemented by the Liberal Party, in the offices which they led throughout the Empire. They were explained by Afonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo, who would head the last Empire Office in a Reform Program in May 1889, which guaranteed the autonomy of the provinces and municipalities, freedom of worship, temporality of the Senate, and expansion of the right to vote, reform proposals that were not enough to stop the Republic (CARVALHO, 2018). In this sense, for those who migrated to republicanism, they were not responsible for the transition of the political situation from an Empire to a Republic, leaving to the military the support for the change and the reach of power of the referred reforms (CARVALHO, 2018).

With the Republic, the discussion revolved around three models of a republic to be implemented (CARVALHO, 1990) and, consequently, the perspective of the conception of freedoms and organization and distribution of powers, that is, federalism. The latter, specifically, is diverse, if we take into account its notion that it represents a complex and multiform reality, as a way of combining unity and diversity, common government and self-government, insofar as we question how, at different times, we sought to combine unity and diversity in the construction of National States (VALDÉS, 2017).

José Murilo de Carvalho (1990) presented the models of the Republic that started to be discussed in the scope of the reorganization of powers

and the participation of Rio Grande do Sul in this process. The model of São Paulo's rural landowners, which had as reference the North American federalist organization, aiming at the maintenance of private interests and social order. A Jacobin view was also used, defended especially by liberal professionals with wide popular participation, which, in the understanding of the period, was not accepted. And, finally, the positivist version of a republican dictatorship with emphasis on progress, science, strengthening of the State, which had repercussions especially in the military circles, which used the challenges of the period to create a solution to the problem of national unity and the new regime.

Attention is drawn to the fact that these three models of a Republic were not the only ones in vogue in the period, in the context in which revolts broke out in Brazilian states, with the departure of Deodoro da Fonseca and his replacement by the vice-president, Floriano Peixoto. But there was no consensus regarding the uniformity of the proposals and laws that came to govern the nation with the 1891 National Constitution and the discussions in the states. For the case of Rio Grande do Sul, Positivism was not unanimous among those who had joined the Riograndense Republican Party, this being a crucial point for dissenting from the Party and the fissures with other political groups.

From the end of the Monarchy, the concern of military governments had been with the possibility of the exiles and monarchical sympathizers to organize and to articulate themselves in order to undermine the newly established Republic. A Republic that was built, in its early years, with the support of former Empire leaders/politicians, like Rui Barbosa. In this sense, from the November 15th coup until the convening of the National Constituent Assembly and subsequent approval of a Constitution in 1891, the political exiles of the Monarchy were on the agenda in the communications matters of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and in the press under the watchful eyes of Deodoro da Fonseca's government. Despite the idea of the King's return or some successor, the national threat to the Presidentialist Republican Federative regime, established by the Constitution, became the regional revolts and rebellions that generated an effort on the part of the government to associate these only as small events.

2 Gaspar Silveira Martins's exile in Europe

The transition from the Monarchy to the Republic generated different reactions in the four corners of the country. Demonstrations of adhesion broke out in several places, as well as the news of resistance by some groups, were among the events published in the newspapers of the time. The journals, as vehicles that related to certain groups and political projects, expressed different positions concerning the new political scenario.

The rhetoric here, for the periodicals, was of fundamental importance, since its function is to persuade, argue, and please the public to their cause (MEYER, 2007). In this sense, right after the military movement that ousted the Monarchy from power, newspapers in Rio de Janeiro brought news of conspiracies and uprisings in the border area, fueled by exiled politicians in Europe such as Ouro Preto, Silveira Martins, Carlos Silveira Martins, Lafayette Pereira, Barão de Loreto, among others, in early 1890.¹⁰ In other words, Silveira Martins and his family did not represent a threat only in southern Brazil, but also appeared in the European international list of threats to the Brazilian republican regime, according to the published news, by the periodic press aligned with the new members of the national power.

Regarding this news let us make some considerations. In Europe, the *Diário de Notícias* republished in full the news originally published in the *Paris*, a Brazilian agency in Paris/France, that D. Pedro II in Europe articulated the restoration of the Monarchy and had support from Germany and the press, with the support of a “gang” that included Ouro Preto, Barão de Teffé, Silveira Martins and their son Carlos, Lafayette Pereira, Barão de Loreto, among others, responsible for encouraging separatist aspirations, insurrections and the formation of more republics, intending to ruin the credit the Brazilian provisional government had abroad.¹¹ This question leaves no doubt about the possibility of revolution and separation that was linked to the public figure of Silveira Martins from the beginning, thus justifying, through the press aligned with the government, his exile to the European continent.

Thus, we started to analyze more closely the trajectory of Silveira Martins and his family in the European circle with ties to the Brazilian

¹⁰ UMA CONSPIRAÇÃO. *Diário de Notícias*, RJ, 06 de fev. 1890, p. 1. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

¹¹ UMA CONSPIRAÇÃO. *Diário de Notícias*, RJ, 06 de fev. 1890, p. 1. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

Colony that resided in those countries, especially in the city of Paris, the place of their greatest actions.

We start these reflections by the Banishing Decree of politicians such as Affonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo, entitled Visconde de Ouro Preto, and Carlos Afonso de Assis Figueiredo and of the exile in the case of Silveira Martins.¹² From a legal perspective, Silveira Martins' sentence was that of exile from the national territory,¹³ forced to seek residence in any European country, justified by the maintenance of public order for the removal of enemies from the homeland. Unlike the situation of the brothers Assis Figueiredo and the Emperor who were banned from the national territory.

In this sense, Silveira Martins was the only one in the condition of being exiled from the Brazilian homeland with a definite destiny to Europe, at the time of the installation of the Republic, in a decree officially promulgated by Deodoro da Fonseca. The exile proposed the extinction of political rights which deals with his possibility of articulation and endangering the republican order established by his family, social, economic, and political ties with the Platinean border region. Especially due to the condition of insertion in this region, marked by the strong presence of the local powers, the caudillos, who enlisted troops around their causes.

Exile, then, within its varieties in the way it presents itself, has a political motivator and France was a host country for Latin American elites in the 19th and 20th centuries (ROLLAND, 2008). Thus, France was, throughout the 19th century, a place chosen by Brazilian elites for exile, a place that had its weight in the choices, due to the intellectual profile of the formation of D. Pedro II and the representativeness that Paris had in the literate and intellectual culture, of foreign freedom, a place where the Brazilian presence became more intense as of 1870 stemming from a community which was literate and ideologically united around the Monarchy¹⁴

¹² BRASIL. Decreto nº 78, de 21 de dezembro de 1889. **Coleção de Leis do Império do Brasil – 1889**, Página 273 (Publicação Original). Available at: <<http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1824-1899/decreto-78-21-dezembro-1889-542219-publicacaooriginal-50068-pe.html>>. Accessed on: Sept. 28, 2015.

¹³ BRASIL. Lei de 16 de dezembro de 1830. Manda Executar o Código Criminal. Available at: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/lim/LIM-16-12-1830.htm>. Accessed on: August 26, 2019.

¹⁴ We refer here to the Brazilians in Paris as part of the Brazilian colony in Paris in the 19th century, according to the master's thesis: BARBOSA, Thalita. **A Elite no exílio: a Colônia brasileira de Paris (1889-1928)**. 163f. Dissertação (Mestrado em História). Universidade de Juiz de Fora, Juiz de Fora, MG, 2019.

With the 1889 Banishment and Exile Decree, the Viscount of Ouro Preto, Carlos Afonso de Assis, and Silveira Martins joined the Brazilian colony in Paris, also following the tracks of Emperor D. Pedro II,¹⁵ banned from the national territory. On December 23, 1889, Gaspar Silveira Martins sailed for Paris, accompanied by one of his sons. Days later his wife and other children boarded the Magdalena ship.¹⁶ According to the list of passengers on this English packet-boat, his wife Adelaide Silveira Martins and his family were among the passengers, along with his sister and wife of Counselor Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira, Francisca Lafayette, and their two children.¹⁷ The Lisbon *O Século* reported the deportation of Silveira Martins and other politicians.¹⁸

Gaspar Silveira Martins and one of his sons arrived in Paris in early 1890 and were hosted at the family house of his brother-in-law Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira, who had not been exiled by the Brazilian government but had joined the Brazilian colony in Paris. Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira, a Liberal Party politician and one of those who signed the 1870 Republican Party Manifesto, headed, in 1889, the Empire commission that traveled to Washington (United States) for the Pan-American International Conference, in which his nephew and Gaspar Silveira Martins' son, Carlos Silveira Martins held the position of secretary at the time of the transition from Monarchy to Republic.¹⁹

The fact is that Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira and Carlos Silveira Martins left the mission in Washington and joined the Brazilian colony in Paris days after the end of the Monarchy. Already installed in Paris, in February 1890, Silveira Martins and his son traveled to Lisbon, where he gave an

¹⁵ About the exile of Emperor D. Pedro II there is the doctoral dissertation: FAGUNDES, Luciana Pessanha. **Do Exílio ao Panteão:** D. Pedro II e seu reinado sob o(s) olhar(es) republicano(s). 349f. Tese (Doutoramento em História) – Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 2012.

¹⁶ JORNAL DO COMMÉRCIO, RJ, 11 jan. 1890, p. 2. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

¹⁷ SAÍDAS NO DIA 13. **O Paiz**, RJ, 14 jan. 1890, p. 3. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

¹⁸ Source: Telegram from Rio de Janeiro announcing the deportation of Silveira Martins and other politicians. **O Século**, Lisboa, Portugal, Dec. 23, 1889, p. 1. Available at: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa/Portugal.

¹⁹ According to Dulci (2008), from the Republic onwards, there was a policy of realigning Europe's power axis, especially England towards the United States, in a definition of models and anti-models to be observed (DULCI, 2008). This explains the Brazilian government's foreign policy regarding mistrust towards Europe and its possible relations which favored political exiles accused of being monarchists, as we will see below.

interview to the English newspaper *Times* by the *Gazeta de Portugal*.²⁰ In the same month he went to northern Germany, to Hamburg. In February he was expected in Berlin²¹ and in October of the same year, in Frankfurt, according to information, to deal with interests of the German colony in Rio Grande do Sul. Once again, demonstrating the approximations between the Germanic colonies of Rio Grande do Sul²² and Silveira Martins while exiled in Europe. During the trip to Germany, Silveira Martins had left “a box of books to keep”²³ in order to enhance his personal library and bookstore.²⁴ Due to this path and the contacts established, he caused mistrust from the Brazilian government, which, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, suspected that “gasparistas will contract a loan of nine thousand contos with a Banco Allemão [German Bank]”.²⁵

After returning from Hamburg, Silveira Martins and his son stayed in Lisbon, staying at the Veneza Hotel, where they waited for the arrival of their family to return to Paris again.²⁶ His wife, children, sister-in-law Francisca Pereira Rodrigues and captain-lieutenant Frederico Meunier Gonçalves left Brazil in January 1890 for Lisbon, where they met Silveira Martins and then left for Paris.²⁷

It was in Paris that the family remained most of the time during exile. The youngest daughter, Gasparina da Silveira Martins, who at the time was

²⁰ MARTINS, Gaspar Silveira. Interview with Senator Gaspar Silveira Martins to *Times* on January 23, 1890. **Gazeta de Portugal**, Lisboa, 28 jan. 1890. Researched periodical at the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (IHGB), Rio de Janeiro.

²¹ JORNAL DO COMMÉRCIO, RJ, 21 fev. 1890, p. 2. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

²² The telegram announced that the provisional government entrusted Gaspar Silveira Martins with the mission of dealing with the Brazilian consulate in Frankfurt about the German colony's interests in Rio Grande do Sul. Source: **Diário do Comércio**, 13 out. 1890. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

²³ NEWS. SILVEIRA MARTINS. **O Brasil**, RJ, 16 jan. 1891, p. 2. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

²⁴ Silveira Martins owned a bookshop located at Rua do Ouvidor, downtown Rio de Janeiro, which was auctioned in 1897, after the Revolution. Source: LIVRARIA EM LEILÃO. **A Nação**, RJ, 10 ago. 1897, p. 2. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

²⁵ Communications between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Brazilian consular offices abroad. Paris. Dispatched Telegrams. 1884-1899. Shelf 227, Shelf 3, Pack 12 and 13. Encrypted telegram, 02 Mar. 1893. Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil. Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, RJ.

²⁶ CORREIO PAULISTANO, São Paulo, 04 fev. 1890, p. 1. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

²⁷ GAZETA DE NOTÍCIAS, RJ, 14 jan. 1890, p. 2. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

14 years old, was enrolled at Colégio Sacré Coeur de Marie, thus further improving the study of the French language, which she had learned from her mother Adelaide de Freitas Coutinho.²⁸ The two remained in Paris even after the return of Silveira Martins to Brazil in late 1891. The other children of the couple remained in transit in the Platinean border region, Brazil and Europe. Proof of this was the fact that Silveira Martins had a grandson born in Paris in 1894. He was Carlos da Silveira Martins Ramos, who assumed the post of secretary of diplomacy abroad,²⁹ which shows the insertion of the family in Europe. Adelaide Augusta de Freitas Coutinho was the daughter of the renowned lawyer from Rio de Janeiro, Dr. José Júlio de Freitas Coutinho, with whom Silveira Martins worked shortly after his law training in 1856. As a woman of the Brazilian elite, she had an education inspired by the French model and was politically active alongside her husband.

In Europe, in May 1890, Silveira Martins had traveled to London. There, he would meet José Carlos Rodrigues, a renowned Brazilian journalist, a sympathizer of the Republic, and of the monarchical power in Brazil, whom he regretted not having had the opportunity to meet with.³⁰

José Carlos Rodrigues had international experience in the journalistic and political field, circulating in the United States and Europe.³¹ He worked as a correspondent for the *Commércio* newspaper in the United States and created the *Novo Mundo* newspaper, in which personalities such as Teófilo Braga³²

²⁸ This information was kindly made available by Gaspar Silveira Martins' great-grandson, Antônio Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira, through email exchanged on April 17, 18 and 24, 2017. Source: PEREIRA. **Informações sobre Gaspar Silveira Martins**. 26 abr. 2017 [personal message], message received by monymarchesan@yahoo.com.br on April 26.

²⁹ RAMOS, Carlos da Silveira Martins. Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Almanaque do pessoal para 1940, p. 270. Rio de Janeiro: **Jornal do Commercio**, 1940. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

³⁰ MARTINS, Gaspar Silveira. Carta a José Carlos Rodrigues, lamentando não o haver encontrado na residência. Londres, 19 mai. 1890. Manuscritos. Coleção José Carlos Rodrigues. Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

³¹ To know more about the trajectory of José Carlos Rodrigues, see the doctoral dissertation of: JUNQUEIRA, Júlia Ribeiro. **José Carlos Rodrigues: um interlocutor privilegiado nos bastidores do poder (1867-1915)**. 274f. Tese (Doutorado em História). Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 2015.

³² Teófilo Braga adhered to the Comtean system in Portugal as of the decade of 1890. At the end of this decade, the positivist philosophy had advanced in Portugal, which, initially gathered together different federalist, unitary, radical and opportunistic currents which later were unified in a republican party program in the process of "joining positivism and republicanism" (CATROGA, 1977, p. 322).

collaborated. Due to his experience in the financial sector abroad, in 1890 he was appointed by the Minister of Finance, Rui Barbosa, to the post of a delegate of the National Treasury in London. José Carlos Rodrigues did not take office and suggested its extinction, thus returning to Brazil in 1890, becoming editor-in-chief of *Jornal do Commercio*, in Rio de Janeiro.³³ In Europe, Eduardo Prado and Eça de Queiroz were part of his network of constructed relationships (JUNQUEIRA, 2015), a point of convergence with the relationships of Gaspar Silveira Martins.

Information about exiles and Brazilians in Europe was reported in some periodicals. On May 4, 1890, the Brazilian periodical *Correio Paulistano* published information about the activities carried out by exiles in Europe, according to their correspondent for *Jornal do Comercio*, in Paris.³⁴ This and other reports demonstrate the intense political life of these emigrants, especially if we observe that they followed some paths like Cannes and Naples, linked to the circle of the social relations of D. Pedro II. Silveira Martins had good relations with the Emperor, in meetings and visits in Paris, as well as places like Cannes and Baden-Baden (France). This information appears in the reports of D. Pedro II, in his diary of exile, demonstrating the articulations of Brazilian politicians around the political cause of Brazil in that context, according to his own words: "10h5' Well. I talked and at 7 Sully and Silveira Martins came, whose conversation was not very interesting because I spoke with some caution. I went to the concert which I program together as usual".³⁵ In October of the same year, in Paris, D. Pedro II was accompanied by Ouro Preto, Ferreira Viana, Lafayette, Silveira Martins, and Eduardo Prado, in an event that also included the visit of the Portuguese Consul, Eça de Queiroz, and other personalities of the European world (VAMPRÉ, 1947).

One perceives an intellectual and political activity that brought Brazilian politicians, linked to the Monarchy, closer to the list of Portuguese Republican intellectuals, of the 1870 generation, represented by the names

³³ JOSÉ CARLOS RODRIGUES. **Almanak Laemmert:** Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) – 1891 a 1940, ano 1891, p. 256. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

³⁴ EXILADOS POLÍTICOS. **Correio Paulistano**, São Paulo, 04 mai. 1890, p. 1. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

³⁵ ALCANTARA, D. Pedro de. 21 ago. 1890. In: BEDIAGA, Begonha (Org.). *Diário do Imperador D. Pedro II: 1840-1891*. Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, 1999.

of Eça de Queiroz in his social liberalism adept to Proudhon and Ramalho Ortigão's theories, aligned to Vianna Moog in his positivism, evolutionism, and foreignism (CATROGA, 1985). In the wake of these ties, the Iberian issue, Iberianism, also under discussion in the second half of the 19th century, was on the rise, in its cult of universal reason and fraternity among peoples, as an alternative to the emerging imperialism of other European nations aiming at restructuring the forces of Portugal and Spain and their colonial possessions (CATROGA, 1985).

In 1890, Silveira Martins was in Naples, in a conference with the Italian philosopher, journalist, and politician Giovanni Bovio.³⁶ Bovio was a correspondent for the *Jornal do Comércio* in Rio de Janeiro in Italy, for his trajectory as a republican follower of the ideas of Mazzini, professor of philosophy at the University of Naples, publicist, literary person and deputy in Italy.³⁷ According to Alessandro d'Atri, the content of the conversation was about political issues regarding European constitutions that were free of the military element and in which representative government was enshrined, such as the French republic, the English freedom, and the Italian state, in the formation of a civil and representative government.³⁸

In this sense, Silveira Martins' contacts with Bovio and with the professor at the University of Naples, Errico de Marinis, allowed him to get closer to active intellectuals in the ideas and projects of State organization in the industrial era, linked to liberalism, socialism, unionism, in addition to the case of Marinis on Italian immigration. The link between Silveira Martins and immigration is demonstrated by the example of the Fourth Imperial Colony of Italian Immigration, in the central region of Rio Grande do Sul, which came to be called Silveira Martins Colony, due to the tribute to the politician and his influence on the theme of immigration in Brazil.

It seems to us that relations with D. Pedro II intensified in 1891, in which visits and meetings between them and together with other politicians had become more frequent, making conceivable a possible arrangement for an heir to the Monarchy to take over the political business in Brazil. Let us

³⁶ News published in the Italian newspaper *Commercio di Genova* on December 31, 1890 and republished by the *O Brasil*, on February 15, 1891: SILVEIRA MARTINS. **O Brasil**, Feb. 15, 1890, p. 2. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

³⁷ GIOVANNI BOVIO E O SR. SILVEIRA MARTINS. **Jornal do Brasil**, RJ, 19 mai. 1895, p. 3. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil. Available at: <<https://storia.camera.it/deputato/giovanni-bovio-18370206/organi#nav>>. Accessed em: Jan. 13, 2020.

³⁸ Ibidem.

see some excerpts from the Diary, such as that of March 13, 1891, in which D. Pedro II wrote:

I had a good lunch with Ouro Preto and then I talked to him about the new Penal Code that Batista Pereira and others had already organized in the ministry, reflecting on what the reading had suggested. He told me that Silveira Martins was coming here and asked me to welcome him as I recognize that he deserves to be welcomed, stating only that I would never conspire or authorize even a tacit conspiracy and reserved my resolutions to take them according to the circumstances of the moment. And he will still come tomorrow.³⁹

In this report, we observed that there were conspiracy proposals against the government of Deodoro da Fonseca, something that Janotti (1986) had identified about those who were deprived of the power, being that they were divided into two groups: those who saw the situation of the Republic as something reversible (restorers) and those who joined the Republic (Neorepublicans). These groups, in our perspective, represent an overly automatic point of view in terms of whether or not they accepted the Republic.

Political affairs in Brazil were at the center of the meeting between D. Pedro II and Silveira Martins, on September 23, 1891,⁴⁰ as were the social relations of family proximity, when four days later, on a Sunday, D. Pedro received Silveira Martins, his wife, and daughter.⁴¹ The circle surrounding the Emperor was configured of spaces for debates and intellectual and political events of Brazilian exiles and European personalities, made possible also by the presence and action of Freemasonry, as members such as Silveira Martins, Ouro Preto, and Rio Branco were Freemasons.

Continuing with the ties of Silveira Martins in Europe, according to Janotti (1986), Count D'Eeu maintained an intense correspondence with Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira, brother-in-law of Silveira Martins and also in exile, working to promote a meeting with the exiles to discuss the monarchical restoration, under the coordination of Barão de Penedo. This last politician was, for many years, diplomat of the Monarchy, joined with

³⁹ ALCANTARA, D. Pedro de. 13 mar. 1891. In: BEDIAGA, Begonha (Org.). **Diário do Imperador D. Pedro II: 1840-1891**. Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, 1999.

⁴⁰ ALCANTARA, D. Pedro de. 23 set. 1891. In: BEDIAGA, Begonha (Org.). **Diário do Imperador D. Pedro II: 1840-1891**. Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, 1999.

⁴¹ ALCANTARA, D. Pedro de. 27 set. 1891. In: BEDIAGA, Begonha (Org.). **Diário do Imperador D. Pedro II: 1840-1891**. Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, 1999.

the Brazilian interests in England, coinciding with the period that Silveira Martins was Minister of Finance of the Empire (1878), responsible for managing loans from English banks for the construction of railroads in Brazil, that Silveira Martins defended so much.

According to the same author, D. Pedro II sent for Silveira Martins to hear from him about that, since everyone present was in favor of the movement, except for Gaspar Silveira Martins, who said it was too late for that. The occasion was reported by Barão de Penedo who was with Silveira Martins and Godofredo Escragnolle Taunay with D. Pedro in his apartment at the Bedford Hotel, to discuss the possibility of the Emperor's return in the face of disorder and militarism in Brazil.⁴²

In this regard, his brother-in-law Lafayette was among the most enthusiastic about restoration, even inviting Saldanha da Gama to the coup and overthrow of the republican government (JANOTTI, 1986). Established in Brazil since his return from Europe, in March 1891, he favored the restoration of the Monarchy under the organization of a regency and, for this plan, the flagship was in Rio Grande do Sul, in order to take the revolution to other states and re-establish a government with monarchical representation, yet to be decided. Also, he advised that the creation and insertion of the Party would take place only when the name of the monarchical successor was decided, which brings us to the interactions between Silveira Martins and his companions in the party regimentation. Here is one of the possible ties and influence of Gaspar Silveira Martins as a leader in the border region and Europe during this period, and as a man close to Lafayette and the Emperor, due to his political ties.

At the national level, the government of Deodoro da Fonseca had invited former imperial political cadres to compose the Cabinet he had assumed on November 15, and been installed in, as of January 22, 1891, where he remained until November 23 of the same year, until he was replaced by his vice president Floriano Peixoto in the Presidency. One of these politicians was Barão de Lucena, from Pernambuco, who suffered persecution in the face of the fall of Deodoro da Fonseca from power and the consequent removal of his commissioners. In addition, one highlights

⁴² The memories of Barão de Penedo were published in: MENDONÇA, Renato Firmino Maia de. *Um diplomata na Corte de Inglaterra: O Barão de Penedo e sua época*. Brasília: Senado Federal; Conselho Editorial, 2006.

the Brazilian crisis, the danger of the Federal State project not being implemented, that is, the failure to guarantee regional autonomies/member States could lead to the fragmentation of the Brazilian territory.⁴³

Floriano Peixoto, who had been elected by Congress on a different ticket from that of Deodoro da Fonseca, upon taking power, invested against the state governments that had supported Deodoro da Fonseca, supporting the internal cleavages to gradually undermine the forces aligned with Fonseca.⁴⁴ Also, for the states, the fact that he held the Presidency was, under constitutional perspective, an illegality, since elections were scheduled for the case of power vacancy in less than two years after the promulgation of the 1891 Constitution. Once again, the idea of separatism was justified by the illegality and restriction of the freedoms and autonomy of the member States. Thus, political cleavages and instabilities increased in Rio Grande do Sul, from the coup of November 15, 1889 until the rise of Júlio de Castilhos, through the election, in January 1893.

The construction of the Republic was surrounded by movements of contestation and resistance, in which the Armada Revolt and the Federalist Revolution were not the only ones to demonstrate the discontent of social groups towards the political direction taken by the Republic. Pernambuco and Bahia also experienced the emergence of rivalries between elites and their party organizations, both historically marked by experiences of a federalist proposal in the 1824 Confederation of Ecuador, in which ideas of a republic and a federative monarchy entered the scene in these provinces.

Regarding the Brazilian Government, their suspicions came from the knowledge that agents located in Europe were acting in favor of the rebels. According to Piza,⁴⁵ the Secretary of the Brazilian Legation in Paris, Oscar de Araújo, was a person who acted in favor of the alleged Republic of Rio Grande do Sul and against the Brazilian government in Europe, being this a possibility of disintegration of the Brazilian homeland into small republics,

⁴³ CONDE, Julian Alvares. Secretario da Legação Uruguai no Rio de Janeiro. Carta enviada ao Ministro das Relações Exteriores do Uruguai. Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Legación de la República en el Brasil (1890-1892). Caja 100, Documento 801, 4 jan. 1892. Arquivo General de La Nación, Montevidéu, Uruguai.

⁴⁴ CPDOC. Verbete. Deodoro da Fonseca. Available at: <<https://cpdoc.fgv.br/sites/default/files/verbetes/primeira-republica/FONSECA,%20Deodoro%20da.pdf>>. Accessed on: Ago. 20, 2019.

⁴⁵ PIZA, Gabriel de. **Carta ao Visconde de Cabo Frio**. Paris, 26 nov. 1891. MRE. Cartas recebidas. 1891-1900. Estante 313, Prateleira 4, Maço 21. Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro.

such as Rio Grande do Sul, which would emerge in the face of the fragility of maintaining national unity.

It is clear that Silveira Martins was present in the list of politicians closest to the Emperor, as a Counselor and a trusted man of D. Pedro II during their exile in Europe, together with other politicians from the time of the Empire. The next day, in another meeting, D. Pedro II, reported in his Diary: “I heard Seibold read Débats and as he left I talked to Penedo and Estrela about the business that still depends on Isabel, whom I will ask to listen to both of them and Silveira Martins”⁴⁶. This discussion involved Isabel as a possible heir to the throne, with the advice of the monarchists Barão de Penedo and Barão de Estrela in addition to the Crown adviser, Silveira Martins. This issue was considered because, in 1888 and 1889, she had been politically active in Brazil, replacing the Emperor. In another meeting, the next day, they were together: “I’m with Gaston and Isabel left for a little while. 3h5’ Conversation between my children, Silveira Martins, Penedo, and Estrela. The result was what I feared. I’ll see if I get out”.⁴⁷

What result was this that the exiled Emperor feared? According to information by Janotti (1986), monarchists did not find help and assistance within the royal family to restore the Monarchy. Some monarchists defended the name of D. Pedro II to be reinstated to the throne, as was the case with Silveira Martins, who entered the list of the most considered to assume the throne in case of regency in the name of the royal family: “they anxiously hoped that his return would trigger the restorative revolution in Rio Grande do Sul and that, from there, it would spread to the rest of the country” (JANOTTI, 1986, p. 52). On the eve of Floriano Peixoto’s taking over from Deodoro da Fonseca, other names were also considered to assume a possible regency, such as Saldanha da Gama and Paulino José Soares de Souza (JANOTTI, 1986).

Silveira Martins was a strong name for the post they were looking for in a resumption of monarchical power, as he had been appointed by D. Pedro II to organize a new Cabinet, moments before Deodoro da Fonseca removed them from power. After all, he had extensive experience in political

⁴⁶ ALCANTARA, D. Pedro de. Paris, 12 nov. 1891. In: BEDIAGA, Begonha (Org.). **Diário do Imperador D. Pedro II: 1840-1891**. Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, 1999.

⁴⁷ ALCANTARA, D. Pedro de. Paris, 13 nov. 1891. In: BEDIAGA, Begonha (Org.). **Diário do Imperador D. Pedro II: 1840-1891**. Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, 1999.

positions in the Empire as Provincial Deputy, General Deputy, Senator, Minister, President of Province, Councilor to the Emperor and at that moment, he was in exile with the Emperor. There is also the fact that he had organizational capacity in southern Brazil if he were there. Thus, despite not being present in the Platinean border region, news about the possibilities of a conspiracy of exiles concerning the newly implanted republican regime circulated in French newspapers raised by themselves. The French newspaper *Le Matin* brought on its front page the trip by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Quintino Bocayuva, to Rio da Prata to deal with the conspiracies against the Republic and to interdict its territory from Gaspar Silveira Martins and Ouro Preto.⁴⁸

We observe that, in the face of the Brazilian Government's internal crisis in November 1891 of the closing of the National Congress, of Deodoro da Fonseca's resignation and his Vice-President, Floriano Peixoto, taking on the presidency, a series of revolts and political instabilities threatened the integrity of Brazil because of the dismissal of political positions in the states aligned with Deodoro da Fonseca's politics. During this period, the echo of this instability reached Europe through periodicals that endorsed the campaign of those who projected other directions for Brazil of separatism, small republics, disintegration, and Union. Gaspar Silveira Martins, in Europe, noticed these nuances and, given the possibility of reintegrating in the new elections planned for 1892, he returned to Brazil and the Platinean border region for the moment that all this international and border experience was present in the Federalist Revolution.

In this direction, sectors of the Navy commanded by Custódio de Melo and Saldanha da Gama rose against the federal government and the Federalist Revolution was also declared in southern Brazil, officially by the military chiefs in March 1893.⁴⁹ In this last movement, the rupture of Santa Catarina with the federal government in October 1893, and its support of the federalists of Rio Grande do Sul, ended up forming a provisional government in the capital of Santa Catarina, under the command of Guilherme de Lorena (MEIRINHO, 1993) and of Silveira Martins as

⁴⁸ CHOSES DU BRESIL. M. Bocayuha a Rio de la Plata – Le but du Voyage. *Le Matin*, Paris, 01 fev. 1890, p. 1. Biblioteca Nacional da França. Available at: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr>>. Accessed on: Out. 30, 2017.

⁴⁹ RIO GRANDE y la revolución. *El Día*, Montevideo, 21 mar. 1893, p. 1. Hemeroteca do Palácio Legislativo do Uruguai, Montevidéu, Uruguai.

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the island's provisional government.⁵⁰ This tying of Silveira Martins to these movements and these so-called conspiracies, by the political situation of the period, was also motivated by his circulation and configuration of his power networks in Europe.

Faced by the political events in Brazil and not counting anymore with the presence of D. Pedro II, Silveira Martins decided to return to the country and to his Platinean border region ties after this European experience of living as a political exile along with an intellectual life of meetings and construction of political networks for the purpose of contributing to the Revolution that was being prepared in Brazil. But well before his return, movements were already being organized in the border area interconnected with the other movements in Brazil, showing up the agents involved in this process, among which was Gaspar Silveira Martins.

Final considerations

The international experience of Silveira Martins undergoes a trajectory of ties with the Platinean border region and beyond when thinking about his academic and political training, in which readings and authors cited in his speeches in the Empire and the later exile on that continent were part of his intellectual framework and in the construction of the agenda that brought this region to Europe through his exile and later, through the Federalist Revolution (1893-1895).

Thus, we demonstrate the complexity involved in the period of institutional transition from Monarchy to Republic, beyond the Brazilian national limits and the insertion of the old imperial political cadres in the new political reality. To this end, Europe and the sending of Silveira Martins in the footsteps of the dethroned Emperor also made it possible for him to move away from the Platinean border region, a region that has historically demonstrated mobilization in the face of the institutional crises of the National States.

In this sense, through European and international ties of the exiled Silveira Martins, it is clear that the questioning of the implementation of the Republic in Brazil was through an internal as well as an external coup.

⁵⁰ ITAJUBÁ, Barão de. **Carta resposta enviada ao Santa Anna Nery**. Berlim, 09 nov 1893. MRE. Cartas recebidas. 1891-1900. Estante 313, Prateleira 4, Maço 21. Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro.

From the internal actions of states and their political groups, we saw that they were endorsed by the fall of Deodoro da Fonseca and the unconstitutionality of Floriano Peixoto when he assumed the position of President. And by external means, the organization of political exiles and their networks that had the support of the European periodic press to question the Republic, also interconnecting their agents, such as Silveira Martins, Eduardo Prado, Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira, and Santa Anna Nery to movements that were organized in their states.

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The Province of Corrientes and the Federalist Revolution in Rio Grande do Sul (1893-1895): economical bonds and political support

Gustavo Figueira Andrade¹

Maria Medianeira Padoin²

Valentina Ayrolo³

The Federalist Revolution (1891-1895) was a civil war that happened after the proclamation of the Republic in Brazil, involving the Southern Brazilian states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná, but also embracing a La Plata area, involving Uruguay and Argentina, and it was one of the most violent conflicts to ever take place in Brazil, resulting in ten to twelve thousand casualties in a million-people population (LOVE, 2006; RECKZIEGEL, 1999). The battle occurred in a period of economic crisis, involving several social groups, and might be understood as a contesting movement formed by part of the old political liberal elites that used to control the political scenario in Brazil's Monarchy. Some of the reasons for the fight included taxation over border commerce and repression of smuggling, objecting to the political model that took place in Rio Grande do Sul after the Republic, with positivist characteristics, which prevented their access to the power structures of the state. The means to access power, on a national level, brought consequences to the local power of these liberal elites, opposing different federalist views (ROSSATO; ANDRADE; PADOIN, 2018).

Historiography about this conflict, which, for a long time, limited its comprehension to the national borders, has advanced in the understanding of the range of international influence this battle acquired.

¹ Master and doctoral candidate in History through the History postgraduate Program of the Federal University of Santa Maria through the Federal University of Santa Maria. CAPES/FAPERGS scholarship holder; Capes scholarship through the Program of Foreign Doctorate (Public notice nº 041/2018), in the National University of Mar del Plata. E-mail: figueirandrade@gmail.com.

² PhD in History from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, professor of the History Department and the History Postgraduate Program of the Federal University of Santa Maria. Advisor. E-mail: mmpadoin@gmail.com.

³ PhD in History from the Université Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne, professor of the History Postgraduate Program of the Federal University of Santa Maria and the National University of Mar del Plata (UNMdP, Argentina), Co-Advisor. Email: vayrolo@gmail.com.

In the following paper, we maintain that, to fully comprehend the actions – a lot of them successful – of the federalists from the most Southern state of Brazil, one needs to think that Rio Grande do Sul was part of a revolutionary region. This idea, at a first moment, fits with the stories thought by national States, mainly in a period when the stories of the nations were being built during the end of the 19th century, right in the middle of the consolidation process of the countries from the La Plata River basin. Understanding the actors and which factors brought individuals closer from the other side of political limits, bonded by solidarity and mutual help against the power projects from the big centers of the La Plata region, contrasted with the interests from diverse places, which had alternative projects and were capable of imposing and getting the respect for their interests at the end of the 19th century, period of time on which we focus our study. It is about a geographical space that covers the Argentine provinces of Corrientes, Entre Ríos, Uruguay and Rio Grande do Sul, and involves understanding their different parts of a space interconnected by the commercial, family, military and political relations of the federalists, which were fundamental to mobilize, coordinate and maintain the Revolution in a border space during the Federalist Revolution. Meanwhile, we will try to understand: who were the ones responsible for the support? How did it happen? What are the possible relations among the governments of Corrientes, Entre Ríos, Uruguay and Buenos Aires to make this support achievable, and who were the figures that represented this bond? What were the advantages of helping the federalist forces?

These questions guide the following paper, which aims to show the support from Argentine and Uruguayan political leaders, as well as help from the Brazilian ranchers, who owned lands in these places, as a central element of political coordination and logistics that helped to uphold the war and Brazilian people living on the margins of the Uruguay River, in the Argentine province of Corrientes, during this fight. The coordination of the relation networks of Brazilians that were living in that territory, very much attached to the economical actions which conjoin to think a region, created a mix of family and professional relationships, besides friendships with foreign authorities, which were mobilized, in the sense of giving logistical support, which reveals a wider structure that granted the federalists means to sustain a war of resources in Brazil against the government forces. In the meantime, this task also meets the need to widen the understanding

about some questions shown by studies that so far have been dedicated to this theme, and that, we believe, need to be better demonstrated, which will bring greater comprehension about the magnitude and amplitude that involved the Federalist Revolution.

Thus, the present paper aims to show the support from Argentine political leaders, as well as the help from the referred ranchers as central elements of political and logistical coordination, which made possible the sustainment of the war and of the Brazilian people that lived in the Argentine province of Corrientes.

1 What has been written about this theme?

There are some studies that were dedicated to understanding the Federalist Revolution of 1893 in Corrientes. Among these there are Marcos Vinicius Costa's studies: *The federalist Revolution (1893-1895): the La Plata context, the networks, the speeches and the Liberal-Federalist political projects* (2006), that proposes a view about the political history of the La Plata region, aims to understand the reasons that were used to support the speech of the Liberal-Federalist elite that commanded the Federalist Revolution (1893-1895), aims at comprehending the context in Uruguay and Argentina, linked to the studies of the opposers' networks between the Radical Parties (Argentina) and *Blancos* (Uruguay) with the federalists from Rio Grande do Sul, forming solidarity networks, creating a project of a country. Marcos Vinicius (2006) shows a dubious performance from Valentin Virasoro and that he tried to pursue and arrest the Brazilians in Corrientes, answering to the complaints of the Brazilian Legation in Buenos Aires to the Argentine Ministry of External Affairs. However, he also says, in his dissertation, that the support for the Brazilian people would have come from the political authorities of Corrientes, from the cities on the margins of the Uruguay river, which would have allowed them to camp in that province's territory.

In his doctoral degree thesis, "Nation, smuggling and political alliances in the western border of Rio Grande do Sul in the second half of the 19th century: cross-border relationships between the communities of *São Francisco de Borja* and *Santo Tomé*" (2013), Marcus Vinicius focuses on the political networks, alliances and conflicts that took place in the border region in the end of the 19th century; the author tries to understand the coordination of border-relation networks and their mobilization for its protection and rearrangement in the Argentine city of *Santo Tomé*, executing

a study of the federalist Dinarte Dornelles' performance. In his analysis, the author uses documents from Brazil's Ministry of External Affairs Historical Archive, in Rio de Janeiro, and from the National Archive in Brazil, Argentine's Ministry of External Affairs Historical Archive, also intending to demonstrate the presence, flow, support and action from the federalists in Corrientes, and the help from the authorities of the borders of Corrientes borders to these federalist migrants who used the territory of this Argentine province to act in Brazil. Therefore, the author deals with the movements at the border of Correntinian (people from the Province of Corrientes) migrants since 1892, highlighting the actions of Brazilian leaders and their movement in Corrientes, making the old commercial relations and smuggling networks existing at the border of *São Borja* and *São Tomé*, understandable. Reviewing Virasoro's performance, this author states that he didn't have a lot of access to documents that would allow a better analysis about the performance of Corrientes' governor, because through the ones he had consulted⁴, he understood that Virasoro would have complied with the Correntinian border authorities, so that he would avoid issues with them, which leads to the understanding that the author maintains his opinion that Virasoro did not underpin the Brazilian federalists, and that the action of the border authorities had taken place much more autonomously, without mentioning what would have been the Argentine links that maintained such connection.

On the other hand, Tiago Machado's study in *Federalist Revolution: international consequences* (2009), using the memoirs from Argentina's Ministry of External Affairs and telegrams, talks about the support between the Radical Civil Union, the Brazilian federalists and the ambiguity of this aid given by the Argentine government, aspiring to comprehend the relations between the Brazilian revolutionaries and Corrientes' governor, Valentin Virasoro, as one of the main supporters of the federalists. He would have endorsed the transit and helped the federalists and their leaderships with genuine support. This author also mentions Ana Luiza Reckziegel (1999) to affirm the existence of a deal between federalists and the Radical Civil Union, which had supplied them with weapons and support, even for a possible secession of Rio Grande do Sul.

⁴ Among the files consulted by Marcus Vinícius Costa, there are: Itamaraty Historical Archive. Ministry of External Affairs. Rio de Janeiro. National Archive – Rio de Janeiro. General Archive of the Argentinian Nation – Buenos Aires. Argentina's Chancellery Archive – Argentina's Ministry of External Affairs.

Stemming from the Correntinian point of view, María del Mar Solís Carnicer (2005), in her master's degree dissertation, works with Juan Ramón Vidal's political journey, one of the most important leaders of the Correntinian autonomism, bringing a perspective of the events that allows the understanding of the action of the autonomists in this context and enables to think the relation between autonomists and the Brazilian legalist authorities. This author highlights that, from 1893 through 1895, there were several revolutionary conflicts in Corrientes, between Correntinian Liberals and Radicals against autonomists, and a lot of them took place in the cities near the border with Brazil, like *Santo Tomé*, *Paso de Los Libres*, *Alvear*. Nonetheless, she also highlights that the border with Brazil was not the only path used as an exile and transit route of the revolutionary forces, pointing out that the Paraguay border was also used during this conflict to escape the revolutionary army (SOLÍS CARNICER, 2005, p. 123).

In these border cities, the author highlights the use of Brazilian recruited forces and also the use of the Brazilian territory for refuge, when necessary. This demonstrates the management of the border, similar to what was already established on the border with Uruguay, something that deserves to be emphasized, mainly because, for an armed group to pass across a border with men carrying weapons, it is necessary to have previous knowledge about the border field, so that they can avoid attack, receive support from the authorities and local supporters from the neighbor country.

When it comes to borders, especially thinking from the perspective of the State, we think about zones with the presence of two or three countries, divided by imaginary lines, which were thought by the centers of power. However, the approach we use is a border comprehension thought by the people that live there and by the dynamics that embrace this border territory, because the comprehension of this region by those who dwell in this place is, sometimes, a lot different than that proposed by the State. It goes beyond the political limits and endorses, according to Pablo Dobke (2015), through the performances of the individuals that live in a border area, widening the limits or even the idea of border, according to their social relations in this space. By that, the limits established through the acts of individuals over a space, in which their different interests are inserted, can plot distinct regional spaces, with their own characteristics and where there are many common features, when it comes to cultural, economic, social and political aspects (TARACENA, 2008; KOSELLECK, 2014).

For Taracena (2008), this border region is an area that is not isolated by artificial limits. To the contrary, it is in contact through diverse elements, including commercial, political, economic, social or even cultural, therefore, it is constantly “exposed to time and the capacity of territorialization by the regional elites and ruling social groups, as well as to the effects provoked by the movements of the population and particular logics born out of internal economic processes” (TARACENA, 2008, p. 193; KOSELLECK, 2014).

For that matter, we understand that the support provided by ranchers (owners of big, medium and small rural lands) and Brazilian traders who lived in the Corrientes Province was essential to the federalists. Without their help, furnishing shelter in their rural lands, so that they could reunite and organize themselves, it would have been impossible, unless they had used camps in the midst of the border cities, which would have drawn a lot of attention from Brazilian authorities, constantly keeping an eye on the movements of Brazilian revolutionaries.

This support of the ranchers, most of them Brazilian who were sympathetic to the federalists – because there were also supporters linked to the PRR with ranches on the other side of the Uruguay river –, may have been a predominant element to facilitating hiding the camps where federalist forces reunited, besides gathering in the cattle coming from Brazil. The connections to local political leaders, some of whom were close friends of Brazilians and of individuals who had rural lands in their departments, and were linked by relations of typical border reciprocity, where both sides of the border were strategical resources to be arranged in case of need, gaining help and shelter in conflicts or persecutions due to political disagreements, so common in that society marked by the violence of the revolutions that happened in the 19th century.

From the social and economic point of view, this area has a strong connection between Brazilian residents on or with rural lands in Uruguay and Argentina, as well as Uruguayans living and owning lands in Brazil, Argentinians residing in Uruguay and Brazil. The flow of people in this area can also be associated to economic and commercial issues, a lot related to a livestock world⁵.

⁵ When we talk about a livestock world, we refer to the existence of several historical, social, cultural and political aspects that involve this economic experience over the 19th century. They may vary from wedding arrangements, cronyisms or political alliances among elite families, a lot associated to the strategical and power needs of a farming border society.

For that matter, either wintering cattle in one or another side of the border, moving it depending on the advantages offered by the laws of one country or another, or protecting it during conflicts, as well as legal commercial trades and smuggling played an important role in the La Plata region economy, and in internally interconnecting this region⁶, creating spaces of sociability, providing a venue for the experience of the individuals in the arrangement of this geographical area.

It is important to reinforce that smuggling was largely used by the individuals living on the borders, from colonial times on, as Helen Osório (2007) pointed out, and also involved the survival needs of the remote communities, which rarely would be supplied by the Rio Grande port, or many times had their rate a lot higher when compared to those provided by the other harbors in the La Plata region (COLVERO, 2004), a situation which got worse because of the railroad constructions in Uruguay (SOUZA, 2008).

They were dynamic activities and involved the commercializing of mules for the livestock and its byproducts, also commercializing wine, mate herb, timber, tobacco, corn, cassava, among other rural products, besides importing several manufactured products through the ports of Montevideo and Buenos Aires (COLVERO, 2004; THOMPSON FLORES, 2012; COSTA, 2013; VOLKMER, 2013; RODRIGUES, 2014). True routes of legal and illegal commerce were created, supplying the markets in the interior of Rio Grande do Sul that connected them to the other areas in the La Plata river region. Through these routes, immigrant waves also flowed which enhanced the integration in that area, many of them establishing themselves with trading houses and industries in border zones, as the case of Bagé, over the second half of the 19th century⁷.

⁶ It is a region that had its links strongly conformed since the colonial time, mainly if we analyze the conformation of our proposal of a war area which partially coincides with the spatial limits of the old Jesuitical Province of Paraguay, the thirty peoples of the Jesuit Missions and their relative *estâncias* or cattle ranches.

⁷ FAGUNDES, Elizabeth Macedo de. **Inventário Cultural de Bagé**: um passeio pela história. Bagé: Evangraf, 2005.

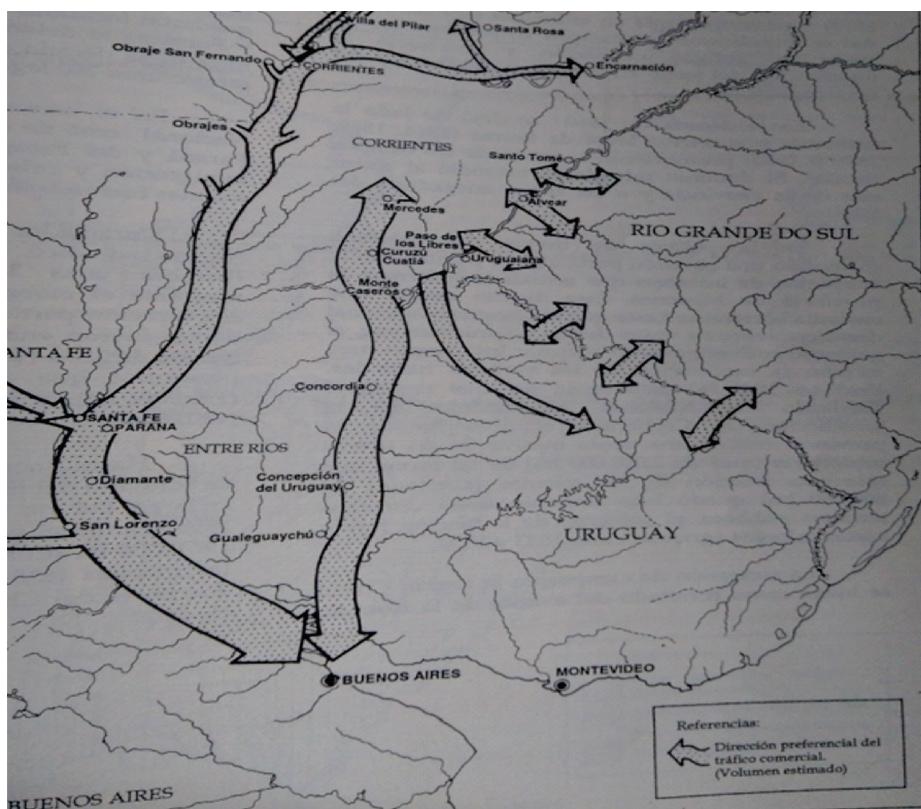
REIS, Jorge. **Apontamentos Históricos e Estatísticos de Bagé**. Bagé: Tipografia do Jornal do Povo, 1911.

JORNAL A PRESENÇA ITALIANA NA HISTÓRIA DAS EMPRESAS DE BAGÉ. Edição comemorativa aos 140 anos da Sociedade Italiana de Beneficência em Bagé – Anita Garibaldi. Bagé, 2011.

ROSSATO, Monica. **Relações de poder na região fronteiriça platina**: família, trajetória e atuação política de Gaspar Silveira Martins. 2014. Dissertação (Mestrado em História). Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Santa Maria, 2014.

In her doctorate thesis, Mariana Thompson Flores (2012) shows the complexity [of these practices], the diverse forms by which they were executed and the amplitude the coordination took on around these commercial practices in the La Plata region. Ernesto Maeder and Ramon Gutierrez (1995) present an important analysis to comprehend this La Plata commercial space, through a study that led to the *Historical Atlas of the Argentine northeast*, in which they delimit and represent, cartographically, the main local routes used according to picture 1.

Picture 1 – Map of the commercial routes



Source: MAEDER, Ernesto J. A.; Gutierrez, Ramon. *Atlas Histórico del Nordeste Argentino*. Resistência, Chaco: Ed. Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistoricas, Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, 1995, p.125.

VARREIRA, Arthur E. *As marcas da fé Valdense nas periferias da fronteira platina*. Trabalho de Conclusão de Graduação (Graduação em História). Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Santa Maria, 2018.

2 The presence and importance of the Brazilian ranchers in a revolutionary region

In order to comprehend the possible connections between the federalists and the local authorities during the Federalist Revolution, the case of the Argentine Province of Corrientes was studied by Marcos Vinicius Costa (2013), a study in which he highlighted the existence of strong relation networks between Brazilian and Correntinians, not specifying details about these networks or how this support would have happened, though. We believe that parentage bonds were also essential to imagine this support, mainly by forging solidarity bonds, as it meant an answer to understand the actions of the individuals and the context of the Federalist Revolution at that border.

Through our research carried out in the Argentine Province of Corrientes, we had access to many documents, such as censuses, registry records of rural properties and cattle brands, besides bibliography about this period. The region involving the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, Uruguay, and the Argentine Provinces of Entre Ríos and Corrientes was marked by intense commercial relations and conflicts throughout the 19th century. Pablo Buchbinder (2004) highlights that this area was economically linked to the advance of the people from Rio Grande do Sul into the territory of these places, looking for favorable fields for raising and wintering cattle. The presence of these people was accompanied by the Brazilian external politics, directed to the interests of the Brazilian Empire in the La Plata river basin.

It was a marketing circuit, which entailed complex networks of social, commercial and family relations, and that interconnected Brazilians to the places where they were, but they had their own interests, which were clearly demonstrated during the conflicts throughout the 19th century, and by mobilizing relation networks on the other side of the border, an international collaboration area was created. The big presence of these Brazilians in Argentine provinces and several Uruguayan places along the river was a key strategical resource in those fights, in order to support and cater for the fighting forces, get support from the foreign political leaders and also access to the ports in the La Plata region, which would guarantee supply in the crisis periods, as happened in the Federalist Revolution in Rio Grande do Sul.

3 Economy in Argentina

By analyzing the files researched in the General Archive of the Corrientes Province, we had access to some material that indicate evidence of many Brazilians with rural lands in the western coast of the Uruguay river, in the Correntian departments bordering Brazil, in the cities of Santo Tomé, Alvear, La Cruz, Paso de Los Libres and Monte Caseros throughout the 19th century, and that point to the importance of the Brazilian ranchers for the revolutionaries in Rio Grande do Sul. Among the analyzed works, there are those from Ernesto Maeder and Ramón Gutierrez, pointed out by their *Historical Atlas of the Argentine Northeast* (1995); Zacarías Sánchez's work named *Descriptive notes from the Province of Corrientes additional to the geographical map, with a registration of the rural properties; The official record of the limits of the farms in the Province of Corrientes* (1904), organized by the Argentine Farming Department; and also the *graphical map registry from the Province of Corrientes. Argentine Republic* (1893). This data propitiates observing strong evidence of ranches belonging to Brazilians, who might have been affected by the PRR politics, since the beef jerky industry also developed in this area during the 1880s, creating the need of cattle to sustain it, which might have led to great unhappiness. This would explain the capability of the federalists to cross the border with huge contingents and take shelter, camping and gathering men and resources on Argentine lands during the Federalist Revolution of 1893. All of that would demand friendliness, support and funding by the Brazilian people living in Corrientes to maintain the battle, supplying their forces and having somewhere to take shelter when needed.

The big flow and presence of Brazilians in this area was not only by federalists, but also people connected to the PRR, as, for example, Aparício Mariense's case, born in São Borja. He had been affiliated to the PRR, he organized and participated, in 1892, in a secret meeting held by members of the Party in the city of Monte Caseros, Province of Corrientes, Argentina, aiming to help Júlio de Castilhos get back his power (FRANCO, 1996).

It was a context where the opposition to Castilhos took back the power in Rio Grande do Sul and started persecuting objectors. This case is only one among many others that happened at the Brazil-Argentina border, and at the same time they propitiated the understanding that the territory of these people went beyond political boundaries, and was also managed in moments of crisis and persecutions by the PRR members at this border,

and it possibly counted on support by Brazilians and ranchers residing in the city, probably a large number, due to the fact that Alvear had a Brazilian consulate in the time before and through the revolution, which was transferred to La Cruz⁸ in order to control the intensity of the Brazilian migrant movement, among them, of the federalists and also of those linked to the PRR.

One example of the importance of these Brazilian ranchers living in the riverbank areas of the Argentine Provinces, as well as of the support from local authorities, may be noted in the Artigas Department case, in Uruguay, bordering Brazil and Argentina.

As we tried to demonstrate from our analysis of General João Nunes da Silva Tavares's personal mail presented in our master's degree dissertation⁹, the Artigas Department was of strategical importance for this movement of forces coming from *Barra do Quarai* or *Monte Caseros*, that is, it represented an intersection between Corrientes and the Uruguayan territory, beyond being an important delivery point for the supplies coming from Montevideo and Buenos Aires by the Uruguay River, destined to supply federalists forces in Corrientes and for the Northern departments of Uruguay.

In this regard, the newspaper *El Diário*, from Rivera, published news on October 23rd, 1894, about the concentration of federalist forces in Monte Caseros aiming to impact on Uruguiana. At that time, also, a considerable amount of weapons and ammo, besides two artillery batteries had been seized, coming from Montevideo, and was to be sent to Corrientes.

It is important to reinforce that during the period being talked about, between 1893 and 1895, Correntinian cities La Cruz, Alvear, San Martin (Yapeyu), Paso de Los Libres, Santo Tomé and Monte Caseros, bordering Brazil, had most of their population living in the rural areas, therefore, it was a rural society. This information can be seen by the period of time, according to the following chart:

⁸ MAIL, Official, Letter sent from the Argentine Ministry of External Affairs to the governor of Corrientes, 13/08/1894, Tomo 513.

⁹ ANDRADE, Gustavo Figueira. **A trajetória política do General João Nunes da Silva Tavares (Joca Tavares):** família, comunicação e fronteira. Dissertação (Mestrado História). Santa Maria: Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, UFSM, 2017.

Population and surface of the Province of Corrientes per department on the banks of the Uruguay River

DEPARTMENT	URBAN POPULATION	RURAL POPULATION
La Cruz	5.391	10.871
Alvear	4.150	
San Martín (Yapeyu)	1.330	
Paso de los Libres	4.346	6.116
Santo Tomé*	4.497	9.058
Monte Caseros	3.003	8.279
	TOTAL 19.714	TOTAL 26.224

* The sum of the total amount of the rural population took into account the one existing in the Garruchos department.

Source: SÁNCHEZ, Zacarías. Notas descriptivas de la provincia de Corrientes. Complementares de la carta geográfica. Com um registro general de las propriedades rurais. Registro de las propiedades de la Provincia de Corrientes. Buenos Aires: Mariano Moreno, 1894. Chart built by Gustavo Andrade as of the analyzed sources.

In contrast, by observing the list of rural lands on the border with Corrientes, our attention was drawn to the existence of a lot of first and last names with Brazilian origin, or that might have been Hispanicized.

These names are listed as owners in the *Complaining notes about the losses generated in the Paraguay War in 1865 (1877), General Archive of the Province of Corrientes, Administrative Files* in the work of Dardo Ramírez Braschi: *The Paraguay War in the Province of Corrientes: political impacts, damages and consequences for the civil population* (2014).

Coming from our research in the *First census of the Argentine Republic of 1869* and in the *Second Census of the Argentine Republic of 1895*, in which data about the population, farming and industry was gathered, it was possible to identify growth in the presence of Brazilians living in Corrientes, specifically in the riverbank departments of Uruguay from 1869 to 1895¹⁰.

¹⁰ Población por Nacionalidades y sexo de la Provincia de Corrientes – Americanos, tabla 3. Primeiro Censo de la Republica Argentina de 1869. Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Porvenir, 1872, p. 196-197.

Población por Nacionalidades y sexo de la Provincia de Corrientes – Americanos. Segundo Censo de la Republica Argentina de 1895, Tomo II, segunda parte. Buenos Aires: Taller tipográfico de la penitenciaria nacional, 1898, p. 239.

This census also allows noticing that the biggest concentration of Brazilians in the Province of Corrientes was on the banks of the Uruguay River, especially in the cities of La Cruz, Santo Tomé and Paso de los Libres, as they were third in assets ownership through that period, only behind Italians¹¹.

Brazilian population in the departments on the riverbanks of the Uruguay River – Province of Corrientes

DEPARTMENTS	1869	1895
Mercedes	78	144
Monte Caseros	113	854
Paso de los Libres	528	935
Santo Tomé	1939	4400
La Cruz	436	2321
TOTAL	4.963	8.654

Source: Población por Nacionalidades y sexo de la Provincia de Corrientes – Americanos, tabla 3. Primeiro Censo de la Republica Argentina de 1869. Tomo I. Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Porvenir, 1872, p.196-197.

It's an area full of commercial relations and relation networks established on both sides of the border, and that had been increasingly occupied, in distinct immigration waves all through the 19th century, and that had a strong advance of Brazilians onto the eastern river bank area of Corrientes and the Misiones territory (BRESSAN, 2015).

A commercial circuit linked to Rio Grande do Sul, Uruguay, Paraguay and the Province of Entre Ríos, was established with the Uruguay River playing a key role for these communities (MAEDER, 1995; DJENDEREDJIAN, 2003; COLVERO, 2003; SCHIMIT, 2004; COSTA, 2013; VOLKMER, 2013; COSTA, 2013; RODRIGUES, 2014). It was a geographical space where cattle-raising and commercial activities created routes which expanded beyond national borders, targeting the

¹¹ Habitantes y Proprietários de Bienes de raíces por nacionalidad – Provincia de Corrientes. Segundo Censo de la Republica Argentina de 1895, Tomo II, segunda parte. Buenos Aires: Taller tipográfico de la penitenciaria nacional, 1898, p. 253.

markets of these places, mainly coming from Paso de los Libres and Santo Tomé.

The occupation and settlement process on the riverbanks of the Uruguay River in this Province had a different setting than that done on the riverbanks of the Paraguay River. It was an area largely occupied by Brazilians and Paraguayans, geared to cattle-raising, agriculture in small and large rural properties, but also establishing businesses in border cities, becoming a zone where the people kept close links on both sides of the Uruguay River (SCHALLER, 2005; BUCHBINDER, 2010; COSTA, 2013; BRESSAN, 2015; GALLERO, 2016).

Through the 19th century, Enrique César Schaller (2005), in his paper *Corrientes and the occupation and commerce of the shores of Rio Uruguay (1830-1895)*, expresses that the occupation of these lands happened in a hard area to regulate, where commercial activities grew independent of those done on the western riverbanks of Corrientes. The author also highlights the breadth of the trades performed on the riverbanks of the Uruguay River, which allows understanding how it was highly connected to the Misiones territory, Entre Ríos and Rio Grande do Sul.

In the 1890s, as cited by Enrique Schaller (2005), the largest rural lands were on the riverbanks of the Uruguay River, a space that had great numbers of livestock production, according to the 1895 census¹² involving Santo Tomé and La Cruz, San Martín, Mercedes with sheep farming prevailing in Monte Caseros and Paso de los Libres.

Among the professions carried out by Brazilian residents in Corrientes, in both rural and urban zones, there were peasants, day workers, washerwomen, seamstresses, prostitutes, industrial workers, ranchers, farmers and tillers on small properties, traders, doctors, among other occupations¹³. Besides the rural and city zones, there was the riverside population¹⁴, who lived on the islands of the Uruguay River, a true

¹² Segundo Censo de la República Argentina de 1895. Buenos Aires: Taller Tipográfico de la Penitenciaria Nacional, 1898.

¹³ Archivo General de la Nación, Segundo Censo de la República Argentina de 1895. Buenos Aires: Taller tipográfico de la penitenciaria nacional. Populación Rural y Urbana. Territorio e Provincia de Corrientes. Tomos 235, 994, 995, Rolos 575-576.

¹⁴ Archivo General de la Nación, Segundo Censo de la República Argentina de 1895, Populación Rural y Urbana. Territorio e Provincia de Corrientes – População fluvial La Cruz. Segundo Censo de la República Argentina de 1895. Buenos Aires: Taller tipográfico de la penitenciaria nacional. Tomo 85, Folio 1016A-1016B, 1898.

international territory, where Uruguayans, Argentines and Brazilians, besides others, lived, counting with a large number of fishermen, sailors, smugglers, socializing zones on those islands, like an intersection between Brazilian and Argentine territories.

The Province of Corrientes was one of the best when it came to livestock¹⁵ in Argentina in the end of the 19th century, having its biggest cattle-and-horse-raising outputs in Santo Tomé, La Cruz, Mercedes and Curuzú Cuatiá; meanwhile wool production concentrated in Esquina, Goya, Santo Tomé and Paso de los Libres¹⁶.

Cattle-raising production in Correntinian departments on the riverbanks of the Uruguay River were attached to beef jerky supplies of Concórdia, Colón and Gualeguaychú in Entre Ríos (SCHALLER; 2001; 2005). At the end of the 19th century, with the decadence of beef jerky production in Entre Ríos, this market readjusts itself and demonstrates a local integration due to livestock and beef jerky activities.

Correntinian cattle production, sent to the beef jerky zones of Entre Ríos, had in the Monte Caseros' departments its commercial routes, especially in the cities of Concórdia and Concepción del Uruguay, an area that also kept tight connection to Rio Grande do Sul, since the middle of the 19th century, when the French naval block was imposed, from 1838 to 1840 (SCHMIT, 2004; SCHALLER, 2005). This route plugged Corrientes to a market involving an international region, connecting several places, especially Fray Bentos, in Uruguay, beef jerky-production areas of Pelotas, in Rio Grande do Sul, where cattle was sent to in exchange for Brazilian products (SCHMIT, 2004; SCHALLER, 2005).

This commercial transit also flowed in the contrary direction, Brazilian producers who lived in the North of Uruguay, as well as in the departments of Artigas, Salto and Paysandú, on the riverbanks of the Uruguay River, with great amount of Brazilian-owned properties, also took their cattle to winter or produce beef jerky in Entre Ríos or in Rio Grande do Sul, depending on the market (BARRÁN; NAHUM, 1971).

¹⁵ ARGENTINA, Segundo Censo de la República Argentina de 1895, Tomo III, primeira parte. Buenos Aires: Taller tipográfico de la penitenciaria nacional, 1898, p. 88.

¹⁶ ARGENTINA, Segundo Censo de la República Argentina de 1895, Tomo III, segunda parte. Ganado bovino; Ganado Caballar; Ganado lanar e porcino. Buenos Aires: Taller tipográfico de la penitenciaria nacional, 1898, p. 192, 204, 216-217.

4 Local support to the federalists from Rio Grande do Sul – Brazilian ranchers living in Corrientes. Point of support and connection to Brazilian migrants

Based on the complaints made by Brazil's Legation in Buenos Aires, several references to camps alongside the border were made, which were used by Brazilian refugees to organize themselves and make new incursions into Rio Grande do Sul's territory, even using them as a point of support to supply their forces.

Given the aid of Correntinian authorities to the federalists, however, Brazilian reports indicate a more complex situation, as considerable cattle was transferred to that Province, with help from local authorities, besides sheltering large contingents of federalist forces on the riverbanks of the Uruguay River.

Alvear's case, for example, was a camp with nearly 170 men, who, with the connivance and help from local authorities, among them, rural police inspectors from Santo Tomé and Alvear, would make it easy for the refugees to use Argentine lands as a base for military operations. There were also reports about the existence of Brazilian camps in Argentine territory, in front of the margin of the Ibicuí River¹⁷, corresponding to a place named San Martin.

This support was explicit to the point that Santo Tomé even had a revolutionary committee in the city, as Marcus Vinícius Costa highlights in his thesis, and this committee counted with some Brazilians, like Bertran Beltrán, Gabriel Pina de Albuquerque, Modesto, Francisco Dorneles and Emílio Garcia Trois¹⁸, among others, and many of them had been living for a long time in that Province, though their presence was constantly denied by Correntinian authorities.

Other reports made by Brazil's Legation in Buenos Aires to Argentine authorities, mention that “**80 wagons** full of stolen foodstuffs, and **12 thousand heads of cattle**, together with others previously stolen from the

¹⁷ CORRESPONDÊNCIA Oficial, Carta, Eduardo Costa, Ministério das Relações Exteriores a Valentin Virasoro, Governador da Província de Corrientes, 30/01/1894, Tomo 512. CORRESPONDÊNCIA Oficial, Carta, Legação do Brasil em Buenos Aires ao Sr. Ministério das Relações Exteriores. 27/06/1894, Tomo 512.

¹⁸ CORRESPONDÊNCIA Oficial, Telegrama, Eduardo Costa, Ministério das Relações Exteriores a Valentin Virasoro, Governador da Província de Corrientes, 17/07/1894, Tomo 512.

cities of São Borja and São Luis”¹⁹ were transported to Corrientes. These same reports describe the transporting of large amounts of cattle from Brazilian territory to the Correntinian side of the border, and that “in the cities of São Borja and São Luis this number reached more than **30 thousand heads of cattle**. These corralled animals are carried with ranch brands until being counter-branded, and again, rebranded as it pleases them”²⁰ so that the cattle could get inside Argentina. After reaching Corrientes, these cattle would be taken up to many of the properties of the federalists, or to the lands of their friends, relatives or supporters, in order to be settled in. This amount of cattle needs space for grazing, so, even though it was divided into lots, a great quantity of pasture would be needed.

More details about this surveillance may be observed from the letter sent on August 21st, 1894, where the Ministry of Government is told that the number of “haciendas” (cattle) that were transferred to Corrientes, though not being able to judge precisely, was, according to data gathered, nearly 8 to 9 thousand heads of cattle that would have passed through Garruchos, Rincón de la Merced and Hormiguero, all being monitored and were corresponding to the brands of those who owned property certificates²¹.

Another account sent by authorities from Santo Tomé to governor Virasoro, in April 5th, 1894, states that

(...) as the emigration that comes from Brazil to this department is large, it has been granted me, according to Political Chief Don Findel Onieva, to guarantee access for some heads of cattle, through documentation and certificates, files and brand marks, besides testimony from Garruchos’ neighbors ensuring to know the people and their interests (...) the number of heads of cattle that was allowed to cross the border under the mentioned conditions has not exceeded three thousand heads (...)²².

If they were rebranded, it was necessary to have someone lend their Correntinian ranch brands and documents, in case the police would find them, but above all there was need for lenience by the border authorities, and lands to keep this huge amount of animals that had been gathered as

¹⁹ CORRESPONDÊNCIA Oficial, Carta, Legação do Brasil em Buenos Aires ao Sr. Ministério das Relações Exteriores. 27/06/1894, Tomo 512.

²⁰ CORRESPONDÊNCIA Oficial, Carta, Legação do Brasil em Buenos Aires ao Sr. Ministério das Relações Exteriores. 27/06/1894, Tomo 512.

²¹ CORRESPONDÊNCIA Oficial, Carta, Governo de Corrientes ao Ministro de Governo, 21/08/1894, Tomo 513.

²² CORRESPONDÊNCIA Oficial, Carta, Justo Rodriguez, de Santo Tomé, a Valentin Virasoro, Governador da província de Corrientes. 27/06/1894, Tomo 509.

war plunder in Brazil. On the other hand, considering that these cities bordering Brazil were small towns, and the context given was of a rural society (MAEDER, 1995; SCHALLER, 2005; 2008), they would not be able to keep and supply these forces strategically for a long time, if inserted in an urban context, without exposing the explicit support which would lead to larger diplomatic conflicts.

Space was needed to settle these big contingents and gather together the horses, the war train would be necessary, and it involved wagons and steers to feed the forces, besides supplies to feed the soldiers, their families and the animals they carried.

That being said, leads us to defend that, though there was official financial support made by the Argentine government to keep the refugees, it was expensive and, therefore, it had a fifteen-day deadline, being necessary for the federalists to fend for themselves after this term. In order to maintain them, the ranchers and the Brazilians living in Corrientes were among the ones to help the most, with aid and supplies to the Brazilian federalists.

Since the reports and news refer to the fact that Brazilian forces were camping in many places of Corrientes, they were surely settled in some rural lands, so they indeed would need help from the owners of these lands to hide and move themselves. This situation becomes clear from a telegram sent by Alvear's Justice of the Peace to the governor of Corrientes on May 26th, 1894, asking: “(...) if the owners of the fields permit groups of emigrants to camp on their property, what measures should I observe to withdraw them 8 to 10 leagues as ordered by H.E. |?” and the governor's answer was that: “**the choice of the place of camp or subject left to the relations that the emigrants have and the goodwill of the neighbors** who did not refuse **an act of hospitality** (...)”²³.

In line with what we affirmed, is the fact that Correntinian authorities asked that the individuals who were transporting cattle should be recognized by the landlords and their neighbors, which reinforces the idea of a possible

²³ CORRESPONDÊNCIA Oficial, Conferência telegráfica entre o Juiz de Paz de Alvear e Valentín Virasoro, governador da Província de Corrientes. Archivo del Ministerio de las Relaciones Exteriores de Argentina, Legaciones y Consulados de América – Brasil, Bolivia y Colômbia. Caja n.558 bis, 28/05/1894. “(...) si los propietarios de los campos permitieran que grupos de emigrados compararan en su propiedad, que medidas debo observar para retirarlos á 8 o 10 leguas como ordena S.E?” and the governor's answer was that “**la elección del lugar de campamento o assunto librado á las relaciones con que cuenten los emigrados** mismos y a la **buena voluntad de los vecinos** que no se negaran a un **acto de hospitalidade** (...).”

support by these authorities, because, otherwise, it would be really hard to keep large contingents without supplies for men and horses. The importance and the support of the ranchers to the federalists is made clear in Admiral's Saldanha da Gama Mail Diary, according to which "Saldanha coordinated the efforts, from one ranch to another" (COSTA, 1944, p. 378).

According to Ernesto Maeder (2014), in cities alongside the riverbanks of the Uruguay River, most of the rural properties were large properties, mainly in Santo Tomé, Concepción, San Martin, Monte Caseros e Libres, and they were zones of big cattle and sheep raising, as it grew a lot in the last decade of the 19th century, with expressive presence of Brazilians.

Corrientes was also a Province oriented to cattle-raising activities and connected to the beef jerky producers of Entre Ríos (SÁNCHEZ, 1894; MAEDER, 1995), for example, this cattle could be used as payment to the ranchers for the help, who could be the same people, besides, stealing cattle from the properties of enemies was not something restricted to the time of the Federalist Revolution, but a normal thing in the periods of conflict throughout the 19th century. A complaint made by the Brazilian Legation in Buenos Aires on September 9th, 1893 confirms this possibility, through which can be observed that couriers from the Correntinian government were sent to investigate weapons that were being received and stocked for the federalists on a ranch and beef jerky producer in Monte Caseros²⁴.

Such support would not be for free, besides feeding those forces, they might be taking their cattle to Correntinian territory for protection against the plunder of the legalists, however, we believe that, given the large amount of cattle, everything suggests that this activity was destined to protect their businesses and guarantee supply for those animals and their commercial activities, which were cattle-raising and beef jerky production.

Final considerations

This was an area with complex relation networks, where the characters flowed through this space beyond the political borders of their countries, territorializing them through their social relations and commercial activities;

²⁴ CORRESPONDÊNCIA Oficial, Telegrama de Leopoldo Basvilbaso, interventor na província de Corrientes, ao Ministro das Relações Exteriores da Argentina, Eduardo Costa. Archivo del Ministerio de las Relaciones Exteriores de Argentina, Legaciones y Consulados de América – Brasil, Bolívia y Colômbia. Caja n. 558 bis, 09/09/1893.

They had an identity and solidarity bonds that were activated when needed for trade or to escape conflicts or organize revolutions. They had, in the sovereignties of other countries, the protection for their families and properties, creating cross-border connections that were present in the end of the 19th century.

Just as the ranchers living on the border between Brazil and Uruguay would be affected by the tariff measures imposed by Júlio de Castilhos's PRR, the Brazil-Argentina border also had ranchers and intense trade markets in this zone. The great amount of cattle and sheep raised in the Correntinian departments on the riverbanks of the Uruguay River was sent to the beef jerky producers in Entre Ríos, on the riverbanks of the mentioned river, mainly in Concórdia (SCHALLER, 2001).

Based on these issues, it is possible to imagine the existence of complex relation networks between ranchers, middlemen, smugglers and traders, either Brazilian, Argentine or Uruguayan involved in this commerce around the Uruguay River, and that might explain the support for the federalists during the Federalist Revolution.

All these elements which we sought to present led to an important political support by the local authorities, but also by ranchers living in those referred places around this region, where relation networks were structured to provide the federalists with a base for operations protected by the sovereignty of countries bordering Rio Grande do Sul, being a cornerstone to their strategy and from where they could organize the Revolution.

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Immigration, naturalization and political participation in the Brazilian empire

Carlos Eduardo Piassini¹

The Brummers and the War Against Oribe and Rosas (1851-1852)

*Landesknecht!*² Mercenary to serve in Brazil? Brummer!³ It is shameful and pitiful to see yourself as the mercenary of a strange nation. But when one follows in a humble spirit the twisted destiny that led everyone to start this path, then one learns to judge one's deeds and actions. Flippancy, a taste for adventure, ignorance, hard times and other events push one to take a few steps that people later regret (LENZ apud FLORES, 1997, p. 15).⁴

The above excerpt is part of the memories left by Cristóvão Lenz (Berlin, 1834 – Taquari, 1917) of his experiences as a mercenary hired by the Brazilian Empire to act in the war against Oribe and Rosas (1851-1852). Lenz's account expresses regret and shame for the decision to leave German territory and come to Brazil as a mercenary. The little appreciation for this episode seems to result from the fact that he served as a soldier hired to defend a nation other than his own. According to Walter Bryère-Ostells (2012), the devaluation of acting as a mercenary before society is a very recent mental construction, induced by the French Revolution. In a strict sense, explains Bryère-Ostells (2012, p. 10-11), “(...) the Latin term *mercenarius* designates a ‘soldier hired with money’ or a ‘domestic who is

¹ Doctoral student of the Graduate Program in History at the Federal University of Santa Maria, in the Frontier, Politics and Society Line of Research; member of the CNPq Platina History Research Group: society, power and institutions; CAPES / DS fellow. E-mail: cepiassini@gmail.com.

² *Servant of the Fatherland!* (Our translation).

³ German mercenaries incorporated into the Brazilian imperial forces received the nickname *Brummer*. There is more than one version for the use of this term. The most recurring is that the German mercenaries received this name because of the large copper coins of 40 rs, known as “Brummer” which they used in their payments. Another version says that the German legionaries were surly and grumpy, which, in German, translates as *Brummer* (FLORES, 1997; PIASSINI, 2016).

⁴ *Landesknecht! Landesknecht!* Mercenário para servir no Brasil? Brummer! É vergonhoso e digno de pena ver-se como mercenário de uma nação estranha. Mas quando se segue com espírito humilde o enroscado destino que levou a cada qual a encetar tal caminho, então se aprende a julgar o seu fazer e agir. Leviandade, gosto por aventura, desconhecimento, apertos e outros acontecimentos empurram a uns tantos passos dos quais a gente se arrepende mais tarde (LENZ apud FLORES, 1997, p. 15).

paid'. It soon acquired the sense of a military man who serves a foreign organization or government for remuneration".⁵

The hatter Cristóvão Lenz, despite saying that "It was not my wish to **sell myself** as a mercenary of war (...)"⁶ (LENZ apud FLORES, 1997, p. 15, emphasis added), he did, being only seventeen-and-a-half years old. But he was not the only one. About 1770 men of German origin were hired by the Brazilian imperial government to fight in the campaign against the forces of the Buenos Aires dictator, Juan Manoel de Rosas, and his Uruguayan ally, Manuel Oribe. They formed the German Legion and, when they arrived in Brazil, received the nickname *Brummer* (PIASSINI, 2016).

This conflict had an international character as it involved Buenos Aires, Corrientes, Santa Fe, Montevideo, Entre Ríos, Paraguay, Brazil, France and England. Among the motivations of those involved, strong economic interests, the existence of expansionist plans and the defense of the autonomy and independence of some of them stand out (BARRAN, 1979; BETTEL, 1991). The main engine for the outbreak of the war was the expansionist policy of Juan Manuel de Rosas, who, according to Barran (1979), ruled Buenos Aires with dictatorial powers. Despite allowing the political autonomy of the provinces belonging to the Argentine Confederation, Rosas maintained the economic dominance of the region in Buenos Aires, refusing to open the coastal ports to direct trade with Europe, which characterized a peculiar federalism. Suffocated, the provinces of Corrientes, Entre Ríos and Santa Fé sought to combat the hegemony of Buenos Aires.

English and French merchants, for their part, wanted direct negotiation with the coast, Paraguay and Uruguay, and were unwilling to accept the intermediation of Buenos Aires and the high customs taxes they would have to pay. In that context, Uruguay was experiencing turbulence caused by the opposition of two groups, the *blancos* (rooted in the rural environment; it fought the Franco-English intervention; the authoritarian Hispanic tradition remained faithful) and the *colorados* (connected to the urban environment; shared the ideas from liberal European currents;

⁵ "(...) o termo latino *mercenarius* designa um 'soldado contratado mediante dinheiro' ou um 'doméstico que se paga'. Logo adquiriu o sentido de militar que serve a uma organização ou a um governo estrangeiro mediante remuneração."

⁶ "Não era meu desejo **vender-me** como mercenário de guerra (...)."

supported by immigrants from revolutionary Europe). In 1839, Fructuoso Rivera, a member of the *colorados* group, came to the presidency of the Eastern State. To such an extent committed to the forces that had helped him to conquer power (the Rio Grande *farrapos*, the Argentine unit emigrants and the French squadron), he was forced to declare war on Rosas (BARRAN, 1979).

The Brazilian Empire's fear of Rosas lay in its support for Oribe, which represented a serious risk of Uruguay's incorporation into Buenos Aires. At the same time, Rosas' expansionist policy posed risks to Paraguay's autonomy. According to Doratioto (2014), this panorama made Brazilian governors fear a Buenos Aires superiority over the platinean region, in order to prevent free navigation in the affluent rivers of the Prata, since the Paraná and Paraguay rivers were the only access roads to the Province of Mato Grosso. Finally, weakening the Argentine Confederation meant leaving Uruguay weakened against Brazil. Thus, in 1851, the Brazilian government entered the conflict, leading to the recruitment of the German Legion of Brummer (DORATIOTO, 2014; PIASSINI, 2016).

Emperor D. Pedro II then sent Sebastião do Rego Barros to Hamburg in order to recruit mercenaries to act in the conflict against Rosas and Oribe. According to Alberd Schmid (1951), most of the recruited legionnaires had formed the Schleswig-Holstein army, involved in border disputes with Denmark in the 1840s. These duchies, which linked German to Danish territory, had come under the domination of Denmark in 1459, maintaining their local autonomy. Because of their location, a large part of the population of these duchies was of German origin. In the 1840s, the kingdom of Denmark adopted an official policy of integrating the two duchies into its territory, imposing a new order through the cultural and administrative neutralization of the German population residing in Schleswig and Holstein. The majority German population of these duchies did not accept the impositions of the Danish kingdom and rose up against it. The conflict started in 1848, adding to the countless others that shook Europe at that time, motivated, above all, by national and liberal issues (LEMOS, 2015; PIASSINI, 2016).

After several defeats, Denmark asked England, Russia and Austria to intervene in the conflict. The cry was answered. Helpless, the duchies were left alone in their struggle. Regular German troops withdrew from the conflict. Thus, there was a campaign throughout the German Confederation to recruit volunteers to fight the Danes. The call was successful. Driven by

democratic and liberal ideals, and with the intention of unifying German territories, hundreds of soldiers joined. However, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were defeated. Persecuted, many of the volunteers of the defeated forces sought refuge in the city of Hamburg (LEMOS, 2015; PIASSINI, 2016).

Aware of what had happened, Sebastião do Rego Barros and his agents formed a large part of the German Legion of *Brummer* with elements from the dissolution of the troops of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The heterogeneity of recruits is exemplified by Schmid (1951) in a speech by Carlos von Koseritz, in which he points out that there were old men, with experience of being active in campaigns in Africa, India, Poland, and Spain, as well as many young people, some without even completing their studies. German legionaries, therefore, were between 17 and 50 years old (TESCHE, 2014; LEMOS, 2015; PIASSINI, 2016).

About 1770 men from the most varied parts of Europe, mainly Austria and Prussia, were hired. Three sailboats brought the Infantry, four Artillery and two Sappers, on trips that lasted eight to ten weeks. A large portion of them acted as a reserve force. Only 80 gunners⁷ under Prussian command and a hundred sappers⁸ incorporated into the national army fought at Monte Caseros, the site of the defeat of Rosas. Their situation was not the best. According to Flores (1997, p. 8),

Unarmed and in need of military training, poorly fed, with torn clothes and without shoes, in a flagrant lack of planning on the part of those who hired them, according to Lenz, half deserted – with the collusion of the Brazilian authorities, who were thus relieved of the payment of the contractual clause; a fourth part died of cold, malnutrition and diseases due to lack of food or inadequate diet, and only about 450 continued engaged waiting for the contract term to end. Adding to those who remained in Brazil, was an uncertain number of legionaries who deserted in Uruguay and returned to Rio Grande do Sul in the post-war period.⁹

⁷ Soldiers in charge of Artillery, that is, handling parts, cannons and more weapons to fire projectiles from a great distance.

⁸ Soldiers in charge of opening ditches, trenches and underground galleries, to mine the environment to defeat the enemy.

⁹ Desarmados e carentes de treino militar, mal alimentados, com veste rota e sem calçados, numa flagrante falta de planejamento por parte de quem os contratou, segundo Lenz, a metade desertou – com a conivência das autoridades brasileiras, que assim se desobrigavam do pagamento de cláusula contratual; a quarta parte morreu de frio, subnutrição e doenças decorrentes de carência alimentar ou cardápio inadequado e apenas cerca de 450 aguardaram engajados o término do prazo contratual. Aos que permaneceram no Brasil, somou-se um número incerto de legionários desertados no Uruguai e que retornaram para o Rio Grande do Sul no pós-guerra.

The end of contracts and casualties in the German Legion were mostly in 1853, when it was dissolved. Most of the *Brummer*, after the events unfolded at Prata, spread across America. Many settled in Rio Grande do Sul, especially in regions of German colonization, such as São Leopoldo. Among them were Carlos von Koseritz, Frederico Haensel, Guilherme ter Brüggen and Carlos von Kahlden (FLORES, 1997; PIASSINI, 2016). The life trajectory of these four German immigrants offers elements to understand how the political participation of foreigners in Brazil Empire took place.

The conquest of political rights for foreigners: *Lei Saraiva*¹⁰ (1881)

The Constituent Assembly of 1823 inaugurated the construction of legal definitions regarding citizenship in independent Brazil. Despite its dissolution, ordered by d. Pedro I, who was upset by the prospect of having his powers limited, the draft constitution for the Empire of Brazil elaborated and discussed by the Constituent of 1823 had great influence in the elaboration of the Constitution of 1824, since it served as a model (SCHWARCZ and STARLING, 2015).

The feeling of aversion to the Portuguese element appeared in the speeches of several deputies and influenced the establishment of criteria for obtaining Brazilian naturalization. The moment revealed tensions inherent in the establishment of a new group in power, even though it consisted of members who were there before. According to Caio Prado Jr. (1933), the anti-Portuguese behavior expressed by some deputies and part of the population, occurred, above all, as a reaction to the possible Portuguese recolonization in the face of the recent and still fragile political separation. At the same time, movements of Portuguese troops in some Brazilian provinces contributed to this. Besides this, strong political and economic interests came into play. The opposition of the Brazilians against the Portuguese resulted in a series of “(...) restrictions on foreigners: limited naturalization, incompatibility of those naturalized for positions of national representation”¹¹ (PRADO JÚNIOR, 1933, p. 55).

¹⁰ Saraiva Law (1881).

¹¹ “(...) restrições aos estrangeiros: naturalização limitada, incompatibilidade dos naturalizados para os cargos de representação nacional” (PRADO JÚNIOR, 1933, p. 55).

The obtaining of citizenship by foreigners had to wait for its own law, instituted only in 1832. In that context, naturalization broadened the prospects of foreigners, granting them the condition of Brazilian citizens able to exercise political rights, but imperial legislation prevented them from competing and occupying the positions of general or provincial deputy, or senator of the Empire, restricting the political performance of naturalized foreigners to elective positions at the local level, as judges of peace and aldermen. This situation remained until 1881, even after several changes to the electoral legislation,¹² when the *Lei Saraiva* was instituted. Throughout the 19th century, the naturalization process also underwent modifications, in order to be facilitated, especially for foreigners established in regions of German colonization (PIASSINI, 2019).

The *Lei Saraiva* ended those limitations. Its preparation and promulgation were the result of an earlier process, based on the defense of direct elections with greater restrictions to select the voting public. According to Richard Graham (1997), the social and economic changes of the 1860s and 1870s brought about changes in the Brazilian political culture, also affecting the electoral issue. Different groups, both urban and rural, began to pressure the government for reforms in the electoral system.

Both liberals and conservatives came to agree that only wealthy men should vote. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, voices were added in defense of direct elections with strict qualification of ownership. The discourse of political inaptitude of the poor and free population gained more and more influence and influenced the government to work to carry out electoral reform (PIASSINI, 2016, p. 104)¹³

Decree No. 3,029, of January 9, 1881 received the nickname *Lei Saraiva*, in honor of José Antônio Saraiva, Chief of the Liberal Cabinet who articulated the approval of changes in the electoral process, and also the *Census Law*, due to the annual minimum income requirement of 200 thousand réis as a prerequisite to vote, and the complicated proof of income.

¹² Some decrees related to the electoral issue established during the Imperial Period (1822-1889): Decree nº 565 of 10 July 1850; Decree No. 842 of September 19, 1855; Decree No. 1,812 of August 23, 1856; Decree No. 1,082 of August 18, 1860; Decree No. 2,675 of October 20, 1875; Decree No. 6,097 of January 12, 1876. For more information (PIASSINI, 2019).

¹³ Ambos, liberais e conservadores, passaram a concordar que só os homens de posses deviam votar. Ao longo das décadas de 1860 e 1870 somaram-se vozes em defesa de eleições diretas com rígida qualificação de propriedade. O discurso da inaptidão política da população pobre e livre ganhou cada vez mais envergadura e influenciou o governo a trabalhar para realizar uma reforma eleitoral (PIASSINI, 2016, p. 104).

Saraiva specified a list of documents difficult to obtain, necessary to prove the required annual income, which drastically reduced the electorate (LEAL, 1976). The changes were in line with a certain tradition of popular participation in the imperial elections, maintained since the promulgation of the 1824 Constitution.

The electoral law of 1881 reduced the number of those who voted from one million to about 150 thousand people, although curious – and symptomatically – this law was often misinterpreted, at the time and later, as a democratic measure, hailed as a great victory for enlightenment and freedom. The truth is that the fear of an increasing number of free workers, who could misuse their voting rights, obscured the possible advantages that had previously justified a broad electorate, as testimonies of a hierarchical theater. Such a ritual no longer seemed worthwhile. More and more intensely, the working classes emerged as dangerous classes (GRAHAM, 1997, p. 242).¹⁴

At the same time that the *Lei Saraiva* made access to voting difficult for some social sectors, it allowed the eligibility for more expressive elective positions for naturalized foreigners and non-Catholics. The great defender of this change was Gaspar Silveira Martins, an important liberal politician. For the first time, the electoral legislation included them among those who were fit for the positions of senator, deputy general and provincial (PIASSINI, 2016). Thus, in the 1880s, five German naturalized Brazilians were elected as provincial deputies to the gallery of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul: Carlos von Koseritz, Frederico Haensel, Guilherme ter Brüggen, Carlos von Kahlden and Frederico Bartholomay. Of this group, the only member who did not come to Brazil as a *Brummer* was Frederico Bartholomay, which is why he was not considered in this study.

The importance of the *Brummer* lies in the role they played in the search for greater political participation for the Germans established in Rio

¹⁴ A lei eleitoral de 1881 reduziu o número daqueles que votavam de um milhão para cerca de 150 mil pessoas, ainda que curiosa – e sintomaticamente – essa lei muitas vezes tenha sido mal interpretada, na época e mais tarde, como uma medida democrática, aclamada como uma grande vitória do esclarecimento e da liberdade. A verdade é que o medo de um número crescente de trabalhadores livres, que pudessem utilizar mal seus direitos de voto, obscurecia as possíveis vantagens que anteriormente haviam justificado um amplo eleitorado, como testemunhos de um teatro hierárquico. Tal ritual não parecia mais valer a pena. De forma cada vez mais intensa, as classes trabalhadoras despontavam como classes perigosas (GRAHAM, 1997, p. 242).

Grande do Sul, by influencing the development of the communal life of the Germans and German-Brazilians, by forming a German press in the province, until then non-existent, and developing recreational associations and intellectual exchange with Germany (FROEMMING, 2009; TESCHE, 2014). After leaving the military, they acted as “(...) surveyors, Colony directors, merchants, teachers and a larger number of settlers, more difficult to be located, as they spread out over a larger geographic radius and worked in anonymity” (FLORES, 1997, p. 9).¹⁵ When the *Brummer* entered the German colonies, most of them remained without adequate public aid. Due to their liberal experience in Europe and the majority of them being literate, they took the initiative in creating schools, churches and societies (KILP, 2012).

Through the press and political action, the *Brummer*, especially Carlos von Koseritz, claimed rights and played a decisive role in conquering political rights for German-Brazilians, regardless of creed and ethnic origin. The *Brummer*, of high intellectual level, with philosophical and liberal principles and well-educated, became representatives and claimers of the rights of German immigrants and their descendants in the colonies and cities where they settled (PIASSINI, 2016).

Biographical aspects of Koseritz, Haensel, Brüggen and Kahlden

In the Legislature of 1881-1882¹⁶ of the Provincial Assembly of Rio Grande de São Pedro, Frederico Haensel (Liberal Party) and Frederico Bartholomay (Liberal Party) occupied seats in that parliament's gallery as provincial deputies, the first being re-elected to the legislatures of 1883-1884¹⁷, 1885-1886¹⁸, 1887-1888¹⁹ and to the last imperial legislature, 1889²⁰. For his part, Carlos von Koseritz (Liberal Party) was elected to the 1883-1884, 1885-1886, 1887-1888 and 1889 Legislatures, while Guilherme ter Brüggen (Conservative Party) was elected to the 1887-1888 Legislature.

¹⁵ “(...) agrimensores, diretores de Colônia, comerciantes, professores e um número maior de colonos, mais difíceis de serem localizados, pois se espalharam em um raio geográfico maior e trabalharam no anonimato” (FLORES, 1997, p. 9).

¹⁶ Information provided by the Memorial of the Legislative Assembly of Rio Grande do Sul in digital listing.

¹⁷ Idem.

¹⁸ Idem.

¹⁹ Idem.

²⁰ Idem.

Finally, Carlos von Kahlden (Liberal Party) was elected only to the 1889 Legislature.

During the second half of the 19th century, before the enactment of the *Lei Saraiva*, in view of the conditions imposed by the electoral law, Koseritz, Haensel, Brüggen and Kahlden looked for other ways to act politically, distancing themselves from the official elective field. The places in which these individuals were inserted and the professions they exercised, demonstrate that public offices, the press, recreational societies, Freemasonry, diplomatic representation and commerce were the main spaces in which they worked (PIASSINI, 2016).

Public positions and diplomacy offered them the exercise of authority and contact with different public authorities. Two of them, Frederico Haensel and Guilherme ter Brüggen, worked in consular activities as representatives of Prussia in Rio Grande do Sul, attending to the demands of the Prussian immigrants established in that province. Frederico Haensel served as Vice-Consul of Prussia in Santa Cruz do Sul, a position for which he was appointed in 1867, while Guilherme ter Brüggen served as Honorary Consul of Prussia in Porto Alegre for twenty years, from 1862 to 1882. For his part, Carlos von Kahlden was director of the German Colony of Santo Ângelo²¹ throughout practically all its existence, from 1857 to 1882, while Carlos von Koseritz performed one of the most important functions of the Colonial Complex, that of Colonization Interpreter, between the years 1866 and 1868. Thus, they acted as representatives of the interests of the German community in Rio Grande do Sul, at the same time that they established personal relationships with prominent individuals and gained experience in the functioning of the public machinery and the world of politics. They acted in non-elective functions, therefore, they were appointed as civil servants and consular representatives, remaining within the space of political action reserved for foreigners, even if naturalized (PIASSINI, 2017).

The most prominent life trajectory of the selected group was that of Carlos von Koseritz. For Tiago Weizenmann (2015), Koseritz's participation as a mercenary was short-lived. Journalist Alberto Schmidt (1911) does not even consider Koseritz as *Brummer*, claiming that he only came to Brazil in

²¹ The Santo Ângelo Provincial Colony was located in the territory that today corresponds to the municipalities of Agudo, Paraíso do Sul, Cerro Branco, Novo Cabrais and part of Dona Francisca, Cachoeira do Sul and Restinga Seca.

one of the boats that brought the German legion as a cabin boy, that is, an apprentice sailor, having stayed in Pelotas, while the legionaries went on to the outskirts of Buenos Aires. Contrary to Schmidt, Imgard Grützmann (2007) states that Koseritz was a *Brummer*, since he would have been engaged in the German Legion in Rio de Janeiro, from which he deserted in Rio Grande in 1852, when he moved to Pelotas.

The present study considers Koseritz a *Brummer*. He came to Brazil on *Heinrich*, one of the vessels that brought the German Legion in 1851, and enlisted as *Brummer* in Rio de Janeiro, signing a contract to provide military service with the German Legion in the 2nd Regiment of the Cavalry Reserve on foot. Unlike most German legionaries, who marched to Uruguay, Koseritz remained in the city of Rio Grande, in Rio Grande do Sul, with the reserve troop, where he was limited to barracks services. During the period of engagement, he served successive periods in prison for not adapting to military discipline. In June 1852, more than four months after the end of the war, he defected (LEMOS, 2015; PIASSINI, 2016).

While still young, Koseritz worked as a bookkeeper and teacher. On December 27, 1854, he married Zeferina Maria Barboza, daughter of Antônio Manoel Barboza, in the Igreja Matriz São Francisco de Paula, in Pelotas, and with her he had four daughters: Carolina (1865), Adelaide (1868), Zelinda (1870) and Zeferina (1872). In 1856, he founded in Pelotas, together with his friend Telêmaco Bouliech, a school for boys and engaged in the journalistic activity working in the newsroom of the newspaper *O Noticiador*. In 1858 he created his own newspaper, *O Brado do Sul*, considered the first daily newspaper in the city. Besides this, Koseritz connected with the intellectuals of Pelotas, and became involved in local politics, taking a stand against the progressives, members of the dominant party in the city, through daily clashes in the press. After suffering reprisals, he moved to Rio Grande, where he worked in the local press writing the newspaper *O Povo* and collaborating in *Eco do Sul*. There, he also founded a primary and secondary education establishment, *Ateneu Rio-Grandense* and became involved in new controversies (GRÜTZMANN, 2007).

The father of one of the students of the *Ateneu Rio-Grandense*, Querubim Correa de Araújo, in a note from the *Diário do Rio Grande* of November 8, 1863, accused Koseritz of raping his 10-year-old son. Mr. Querubim asked the authorities to punish Koseritz, stating that it would be easy to find witnesses among the institution's students, that is, he indicated

between the lines that the supposed violence suffered by his son extended to other students (MELLO, 2013).

According to Luis Borges (2007), these accusations originated in the discontent of some parents of *Ateneu Rio-Grandense* students with the dissemination of liberal ideas by Koseritz. The educational institution ended up closed. In early 1864, Koseritz went to Porto Alegre and sought out the Secondary School Council, when he managed to reopen his school and, it is speculated, received the proposal to work as editor-in-chief of the *Deutsche Zeitung* newspaper.²² The invitation was accepted and he moved to Porto Alegre. He held the position of editor-in-chief for 17 years, which allowed him to stand out from the province's German community, in addition, under his command, *Deutsche Zeitung* became an important spokesman for the aspirations of German-Brazilians (WEIZENMANN, 2015 ; MELLO, 2013; GRÜTZMANN, 2007; OBERACKER JR., 1968).

In the capital, he worked as a journalist in the press in German and Portuguese and as a lawyer, although he had no specific training in the area. At the invitation of the provincial government, he worked as a Colonization Interpreter between 1866 and 1868. He was responsible for the reception, accommodation, and distribution of colonists of any nationality who arrived in Porto Alegre, in addition to the obligation to maintain correspondence with the colonies and to act as an intermediary between them and the Presidency of the Province. In 1867, the aforementioned position started to accumulate the functions that previously belonged to the Inspector General, which ceased to exist, above all the inspection of all businesses related to the colonizing enterprise in the province (PIASSINI, 2016).

In his tenure, he sought to organize the file of the Interpreter Agent's office, which was disorganized, lacking provincial laws, plans for some colonies, colonist records, statistics for the provincial colonies, and updating official correspondence with colonial directors. In addition, it strengthened the control over settlers. Working together with the colonial directors, Koseritz started to receive copies of the colonists' records and any and all abandonment of colonial terms, which passed to the General Directorate of Finance. The arrival of North American settlers to Rio Grande do Sul

²² In free translation, *German Newspaper*.

through the initiative of the Brazilian imperial government occupied a large part of their concerns (PIASSINI, 2016).

Before 1875, Koseritz participated in Freemasonry in Pelotas, when he met Telêmaco Boulech, head of the *Honra e Humanidade* lodge. In Porto Alegre, he actively participated in Masonic life after the end of the Paraguayan War (1864-1870), as evidenced by his participation in the founding of the *Zur Eintracht* lodge,²³ regularized in 1875 with its temple built and inaugurated in 1876, in what was the first public ceremony of freemasonry in Porto Alegre. The *Zur Eintracht* was the first to carry out their activities in the German language (COLUSSI, 1998; PIASSINI, 2017; WEIZENMANN, 2015).

In addition, Koseritz devoted himself to historical, economic, philosophical and cultural studies, ethnographic research and literature, having authored an enormous work in the press and in book form. As a politician, he remained in the Provincial Assembly from 1883 to 1889. In the press, Koseritz propagated his political-philosophical convictions, especially the liberal ideas, Darwinian evolutionism and monistic philosophy, his anti-clerical, anti-French and anti-positivist position, as well as discussing central issues of the second half of the 19th century, including education, political participation of German immigrants and their descendants, the maintenance of the Germanness of this group and their insertion in Brazilian society (GRÜTZMANN, 2007).

Koseritz was an exceptional individual. He unquestionably contributed to the development of the press in Rio Grande do Sul, working in Portuguese and German-language journals. He defended and published great scientific postulates of the 19th century. He bravely fought aspects of religion and certain religious groups. He fought to expand the political participation of German immigrants. He contributed to the literary scene of Rio Grande do Sul. He acted as Colonization Interpreter, assisting German immigrants who had recently arrived in their new homeland. He taught, founding the teaching institution itself and preparing teaching material that became a reference. He left impressions of his travels in Brazil and Europe. He defended the German-Brazilian identity and the capacity of the German element for the development of the Brazilian Empire. He

²³ In free translation, *Harmony*.

arrived at the Provincial Assembly as a Deputy for the Liberal Party and participated in the political-party disputes of the second half of the 19th century. He was a Mason. He wrote scientific, literary and technical works. Therefore, he left a vast legacy (PIASSINI, 2016).

In turn, Carlos Hermann Johann Adam von Kahlden, known as Baron von Kahlden, may not have achieved a prestige similar to that of Kosertiz, but he had his importance. He was a surveyor, slave trader, real estate speculator, police chief, bridge builder, alderman of Cachoeira do Sul, provincial deputy and, above all, the director of the Santo Ângelo German Immigration Colony. According to William Werlang (2002), Baron von Kahlden was born in Ludwigslust, in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, on May 20, 1831. The Kahlden family gravitated around the Mecklenburg-Schwerin aristocracy, the origin of their noble status, and a means of facilitating the pursuit of a military career for their sons and obtaining good marriages for their daughters. Sixth and last son, Baron von Kahlden emigrated to Brazil in 1851 as a *Brummer* mercenary. According to Hilda A. H. Flores (1997), he came as Ensign of the 14th Infantry Battalion on the *Heinrich* sailboat, and then was elevated to 2nd Lieutenant of the Sapper Company, which had been reorganized.

Unrelated to the military profession, Baron von Kahlden stayed in Rio Grande do Sul where, according to legionary Júlio Jorge Schnack (apud FLORES, 1997), he invested in the construction of bridges. In 1854 he was appointed by the provincial president, Sinimbu, to direct the *Ponte do Salso*²⁴ repairs. The work carried out, completed in February 1855, earned him the appointment to build the bridge over Arroio Santa Barbara, in Cachoeira do Sul, a task which took almost two years and caused tensions between the Baron and his men (WERLANG, 1995; PIASSINI, 2016).

He married Carolina Cândida Gomes da Silva, daughter of the commissioner general, alderman and landowner of Cachoeira do Sul, Antônio Cândido Gomes da Silva. However, Kahlden did not complete the work on the bridge over Arroio Santa Barbara, because in 1857 he was released from his role as builder and ended up being director²⁵ of the Santo

²⁴ Salso's Bridge.

²⁵ The Director, in the official colonizing undertakings of Rio Grande do Sul, was in charge of not only supervising the subdivision, the distribution of lots, the opening of roads, the construction of bridges, etc., but also, constantly, exercising police and judicial power (NOGUEIRA).

Ângelo Colony by the then President of the Province, Ângelo Muniz da Silva Ferraz. The Baron was at the head of the colonial administration during practically the entire period of existence of the Santo Ângelo Colony and it was in this environment that he came to hold several public positions, such as the police chief of the fifth police district of Cachoeira do Sul; administrator of one of the districts of Cachoeira do Sul from 1883 to 1885, when the Santo Ângelo Colony lost its administrative autonomy; surveyor and alderman of Cachoeira do Sul (1883-1887). In addition, he pursued commercial activities, such as the sale and purchase of slaves and colonial plots (WERLANG, 1995).

An active participant in the Liberal Party, Baron von Kahlden was its leader in the Santo Ângelo Colony region. In 1888, he was elected provincial deputy by the sixth electoral district at the time with an expressive 1329 votes. In 1889, with the advent of the Republic, the *Partido Republicano Rio-Grandense* (PRR)²⁶ took power in Rio Grande do Sul after the indirect election of Júlio de Castilhos (TARGA, 2007). With that, the work of the Legislative Assembly was interrupted and thus, Kahlden lost the position of deputy.

Wilhelm ter Brüggen, or Guilherme ter Brüggen, son of Francisco ter Brüggen and Catarina Laehr ter Brüggen, was born in Minden-Preussen, and emigrated to Brazil in 1851, on the *Hamburg* ship, as a soldier in the *Brummer German Legion Infantry Battalion* (LEMOS, 2015). After his military service, he settled in Rio Grande do Sul and began to carry out activities related to commerce and the press. He married Ernestine Wilhelmine Hedwig Klingelhoeffer, with whom he had two children, Clara ter Brüggen Schmitt and Edgard ter Brüggen. His main role was that of Honorary Consul of Prussia in Porto Alegre. Along with other merchants, he was one of the founders of the important German newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung*, published in the province of Rio Grande do Sul, and of which he was provisionally editor. He was a member of *Praça do Comércio*²⁷ of Porto Alegre, and Director of the Beneficent Society of 1858, *Deutscher Hilfsverein*, which in the 1880s gave rise to the Farroupilha Highschool, still in operation (PESAVENTO, 1992; PIASSINI, 2016).

Brüggen's role as Consul encompassed several issues related to the daily lives of immigrants established in the Colonies of Rio Grande do Sul,

²⁶ Rio Grande do Sul Republican Party (RGSRP).

²⁷ Commerce Square.

and he mediated the solutions and the demands. He was an authority of great respect, and many appealed to him aware of his political strength. Committed to his tasks, he faced at least two provincial presidents who did not cooperate with his requests and was successful in one of the cases, demonstrating skill in the strategies to face authorities above his. He was an immigrant who gave voice to several other immigrants confronting the public power, and his competence, understood in different ways, is attested by the twenty years he remained in the position of Consul, experiencing constant exchanges between provincial presidents, with whom he needed to deal at all times (PIASSINI, 2017).

Frederico Haensel was the character with the least amount of documentary traces found, so the research on him did not produce the same volume of results and analyses as the others. The most recurrent link to his name was merchant activity. Frederich Häensel, signed Frederico Haensel, son of Susana Catarina Haensel and Guilherme Haensel, came to Brazil in 1851 as a *Brummer* legionnaire, on the *Heinrich* ship, serving as a soldier in the Artillery Regiment (LEMOS, 2015; PIASSINI, 2016). After his military service, he remained in Rio Grande do Sul and married Ernestina Haensel, in the Nossa Senhora Mãe de Deus Community, in Porto Alegre. From the marriage and married life, they had two sons, Oscar Haensel and Waldemar Haensel, and three daughters, Otília Haensel, Hedwiges Haensel and Amália Haensel (PIASSINI, 2017).

Like Brüggen and other important German merchants from Porto Alegre, he was one of the founders of the biweekly German-language newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung*. In the 1860s, Frederico Haensel was already a successful merchant, with business in Porto Alegre and a store in Santa Cruz, where he served as Vice-Consul of Prussia. The prerogatives of the position led him to come into conflict with the colonial director of Santa Cruz, Afonso Mabilde (PIASSINI, 2017).

The political trajectory of Koseritz, Haensel, Brüggen and Kahlden before the enactment of the *Lei Saraiva* (1881)

The four characters in this study stood out among the other German immigrants established in Rio Grande do Sul. The positions they held as civil servants, consular representatives, journalists and merchants gave them the prominence necessary to act politically, even though they did not hold

electoral positions²⁸. In this sense, they were spokespersons and leaders of the German-Brazilian community in Rio Grande do Sul. An example of this role is found in the articulations that some of them performed during the Paraguayan War (1864-1870).

The Prata region was relatively pacified after the end of the war against Oribe and Rosas (1851-1852), however, it was not long before rivalries between Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay changed that scenario, due to disagreements over the borders between these countries, freedom of navigation of the platinean rivers, disputes for power by local factions and historical rivalries. The Paraguayan War was a conflict born of the process of building national states in America, and the border condition of some of the states involved (DORATIOTO, 2002).

With Brazil's involvement in this conflict, soldiers were recruited from all over the Empire. Considerable number of German immigrants and their children, established in Rio Grande do Sul, presented themselves for military service. At first, marked by euphoria and the belief that Brazil would easily win the conflict, there was the formation of Volunteer Bodies. However, victory did not come as quickly as expected and the horrors of the war drove out the initial enthusiasm. Desertions occurred in large numbers, while the number of volunteers fell dramatically. Thus, the government started to use forced recruitment (IZECKSOHN, 2001).

Many *Brummer* returned to the old military profession, no longer as mercenaries, but as volunteers. The Baron von Kahlden, when the Paraguayan War began, started intense propaganda recruitment among Santo Ângelo settlers. He requested authorization from the Minister of War to organize a Company of volunteers, and for that he was authorized in late July 1865. There is no information about the effectiveness, or not, of this claim by Kahlden (PIASSINI, 2017).

Carlos von Koseritz articulated a movement to enlist Germans from Rio Grande do Sul to protect the southern border. To put this idea into practice, there was a meeting at the Hotel Drügg, in Porto Alegre, on January 1, 1865. Part of those present supported the initiative, while others rejected it, bringing to light the memories of the *Guerra dos Farrapos*²⁹ (1835-1845), which had divided Germans from the São Leopoldo colony into imperial

²⁸ Except Baron von Kahlden, who served as a counselor in Cachoeira do Sul.

²⁹ *Farrapos War* (1835-1845).

and ragged troops. The majority decided on neutrality, criticized by Koseritz. Another meeting was held on January 15 of that same year. The disagreements did not cease, but approval was given for the creation of the Defense Corps, which would consist of about 150 local members. Another contribution by Koseritz came as editor-in-chief of the German-language newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung*, in which he gave space for news about the Paraguayan War (WEIZENMANN, 2015).

In turn, as Consul of Prussia in Porto Alegre, Brüggen had to resolve a series of issues resulting from Brazil's involvement in the Paraguayan War. There were several requests for assistance sent by Prussian subjects or their families to the consulate. The Paraguayan War claimed the lives of some of the German immigrants engaged in the defense of the Brazilian Empire. The Prussian Consulate in Porto Alegre was responsible for responding to death certificate requests. There were cases in which the consulate dealt with the financial issues of Prussian subjects who died in the conflict, as well as cases of subjects engaged in the Brazilian military forces who were left without receiving the agreed salaries when they were enlisted. To a large extent, Brüggen had to intercede for the freedom of underage children of German immigrants forcibly recruited (PIASSINI, 2017).

The Paraguayan War, therefore, had consequences for the lives of many German-Brazilians living in the German colonies of Rio Grande do Sul. Although many of them were not Brazilian citizens, they volunteered to fight for the interests of the Empire of Brazil. In this sense, there was considerable engagement by former *Brummer* legionaries, such as Baron von Kahlden, Koseritz and Brüggen.

Another example of the political participation of the characters in this study can be found in their relationship with Freemasonry. In 1876, the cornerstone of the Masonic Temple *Zur Eintracht* was established in Porto Alegre, the first to carry out its activities in German. It had Koseritz as its great articulator. He contributed significantly to the spread and growth of Freemasonry among the immigrant population of German origin. Koseritz constantly traveled to the interior of the province, encouraging the foundation of new lodges, such as *Lessing*, in Santa Cruz; *Germanic*, in Candelária; *Força e União*, in Novo Hamburgo; *Concórdia*, in Três Coroas; among others (WEIZENMANN, 2015; PIASSINI, 2017). Koseritz counted on the help of Freemasons and contact with several public men in his campaign to achieve greater political rights for German immigrants and

their children. In his role as a member of Freemasonry, he launched on January 6, 1876 the newspaper *A Acácia*, the official organ of Freemasonry in Rio Grande do Sul until 1879, of which he was the owner, director and principal, if not the only, editor (COLUSSI, 1998).

In addition to the dissemination and reaffirmation of liberal ideas, Freemasonry became for Koseritz a space for building social bonds, since he had contact with people linked to the elite of the German and German-Brazilian community, and of the entire province, as well as to a set of varied political views, since Freemasonry made it possible for abolitionists, republicans, liberals and monarchists to coexist. Like Koseritz, Haensel and Brüggen were Freemasons in Porto Alegre, enjoying the same contact with different opinions and having access to the political possibilities offered by that group's sociability. Kahlden, meanwhile, circulated in Cachoeira do Sul Masonry as a member of *Loja Liberdade*, founded in 1874 (PIASSINI, 2017).

The second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the twentieth were marked by a proliferation of cultural, recreational, professional and mutual help societies among the Germans scattered throughout the German colonial zone, especially with the German community in Porto Alegre. The *Deutscher Turnverein* (German Society of Gymnastics) was the first sports company established in Porto Alegre in 1867. It inaugurated organized sports in the capital and German sports associations in Rio Grande do Sul. It had an urban character, since in the interior there were numerous shooting societies, while the few fitness societies were located in the headquarters or villages. The main enthusiasts of gymnastics were the *Brummer*, artisans, merchants and employees of German commercial houses (SILVA, 2006; PIASSINI, 2017).

Among the founders of *Deutscher Turnverein* were Brüggen, who became its president, and Koseritz. Almost half of them were part of the German Beneficent Association, *Deutscher Hilfsverein*, founded on March 21, 1858 with the aim of providing support, social assistance, job placement and professional guidance to German immigrants and their descendants (JACQUES, 2013). In addition to philanthropic service, it was also inclined to value the German language, customs and ethnic and cultural values (TELLES, 1974). Among the assistance actions that it promoted, there were the help to destitute Germans, paying them the expenses with hospitalization and burial, and aid to poor students (ROCHE, 1969). Among the partners

of *Deutscher Hilfsverein* were Brüggen and Frederico Haensel. Brüggen was appointed president of the association in the years 1868, 1870 and 1876 (JACQUES, 2013; PIASSINI, 2017).

Commerce was one of the main activities carried out by the characters in this study. The most prominent was Haensel, who worked at various levels within the commercial world facing the colonial complex. Within a few years, he became a partner at *Haensel, Hasslocher and Cia.* In addition, he maintained a commercial store in the interior of Santa Cruz. He was part of *Companhia Fluvial* and is listed as one of the partners of the Commercial Association of Porto Alegre, created in 1858 under the name of *Praça do Comércio*, of which he was president. Brüggen also participated in this organization and was a merchant in Porto Alegre. He owned a printing company, related to the *Deutesche Zeitung* newspaper. In the 1880s, that periodical made several advertisements for the company *Brüggen e Cia.*, which sold medicines, textbooks, novels, sponsored lectures, among other services and products (PIASSINI, 2017).

The activities of director of the Santo Ângelo Colony, as well as acting as a surveyor, allowed Baron von Kahlden privileged knowledge about the vacant and private lands of that region. According to Alejandro J. F. Gimeno (2014), in Cachoeira do Sul there was a land commercialization network facilitated by the city's Notary, in which Kahlden was involved. Purchased at lower prices, they were sold for colonization or to other interested parties at higher prices, benefiting those involved. Land-related activities yielded considerable monetary value to Baron von Kahlden, who participated in land allotment societies and provided services to the provincial government, receiving about 5% of the amount collected in each colonial lot measured and sold in the Santo Ângelo Colony. Another activity in which the Baron was involved was the sale of slaves (WERLANG, 2002; PIASSINI, 2017).

Conclusion

From this study, similarities were identified between the trajectories of Kahlden, Haensel, Koseritz and Brüggen, which allow them to be characterized as a specific group, distinct from the vast majority of German immigrants from Rio Grande do Sul. They came to Brazil as soldiers of the German Legion of *Brummer*, so that greater training and political awareness, and the receiving of a prize after the end of the military service contract, were incentives for a trajectory with greater possibilities, free from the

restriction of cultivation of the land, as was the case with most immigrants who came to Rio Grande do Sul. They settled in regions of German colonization and married women from prominent and traditional families, which functioned as an instrument of social propulsion.

They obtained Brazilian citizenship through naturalization and, faced with the restrictions of the electoral legislation of the Brazilian Empire, they acted politically in different social spaces. They built their political trajectories working in the various component areas of the Colonial Complex, receiving great prominence in public jobs, which raised them to the position of authorities among the population of German immigrants and mediators of their claims before the Presidency of the Province. They were part of recreational and charitable societies and associations, participating in the founding of some of them and building sociability networks amid recreational and philanthropic activities. In Freemasonry, they expanded their networks of contacts, both with important figures in the capital and with leaders of the colonial nuclei, in addition, they exercised their political inclinations there. The involvement in the engagement of volunteers for the Paraguayan War demonstrates how representative they were among their peers and, at the same time, refers to their past as *Brummer* and the concern to include the Germans in the defense of the Brazilian Empire. Through commerce, some of them aligned themselves with the Liberal Party. In addition, commercial activities were sources of enrichment and prominence among German immigrants and their descendants. Thus, despite their specificities, the trajectories of Koseritz, Haensel, Brüggen and Kahlden allow us to understand the transformations in the process of political participation of foreigners established in Brazil in the 19th century.

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The construction of family memories in the fourth imperial colony of Italian immigration of Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil: a case study¹

*Liriana Zanon Stefanello*²

Introduction

The family memories of the immigrants and descendants of Italians “kept” at the Centro de Pesquisas Genealógicas [Center for Genealogical Research] in Nova Palma³ (CPG), by Father Luiz Sponchiado instigated us to develop this research. It was observed that their relations with the families of Nova Palma took place in different ways, with greater or lesser affinity, both politically and socially. This intrigued us, because knowing its history, we did not clearly understand how much the role Father Luiz Sponchiado played in this context. Therefore, we were increasingly encouraged to understand how the construction of this memory took place, both the one elaborated and “kept” at the Nova Palma Genealogical Research Center, as well as the immigrants own memories and the memory about themselves elaborated by them by and for their descendants over time. In this search

¹ This article/chapter is a synthesis of the author's doctoral thesis in History and in “Lingue, Cultura e Società Moderne”, in the joint supervision modality, entitled: Memórias Familiares: Um Estudo da Imigração Italiana na Quarta Colônia Imperial (Rio Grande Do Sul, Brasil), defended at the University of Vale do Rio dos Sinos (UNISINOS/RS) and at Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia/Italy in 2015, under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Eloisa Helena Capovilla da Luz Ramos and Prof. Dr. Luis Fernando Beneduzi. During the joint supervision period, the research was carried out in Italy, at the University mentioned above with funding from the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), through the Doctorate Exchange Program Abroad. Research is carried out in several collections in the Tuscany and Veneto Region.

² Doctor, professor of the Colégio Franciscano Sant'Anna- Santa Maria/RS, of the Colégio Riachuelo-Santa Maria/RS, da rede Estadual do RS and researcher of the research group História Platina: poder, sociedade e instituições do CNPQ/UFSM. E-mail: lirianazs@yahoo.com.br

³ The Nova Palma Genealogical Research Center (CPG) was created by Father Luiz Sponchiado, and opened for public visit at the Centenary of the Italian Colonization of Núcleo Soturno, today the municipality of Nova Palma, in 1984. This priest was concerned with researching the genealogy and documentation of Italian immigrants and their descendants established in the Fourth Imperial Colony of Italian Immigration in Rio Grande do Sul.

and other related answers, we constructed the doctoral dissertation that we have now synthesized that proposed to analyze the construction of family memories of immigrants in the region of the Fourth Imperial Colony of Italian Immigration of Rio Grande do Sul – Brazil from the analysis the documentation organized at CPG and the private and unpublished documentation of the Pippi family.

To write the story, we used the two archives, the CPG, with around 600 documents filed in the referred boxes of these two families, and the 2000 documents filed in the private collection of the Pippi family. The documentation archived in both places and used is very broad. They consist of: photographs, souvenirs (death, birthday, first eucharist and masses), invitations (graduation, wedding), newspaper clippings, interviews, oral testimonies, territorial tax collections, and loans; civil and religious certificates (birth, marriage, and death), notes (promissory, tax and receipts), correspondence, land deeds, land purchase and sales contracts, transfer of property, summons, powers of attorney, appointments, election advertisements, commercial transactions, etc. In this analysis, therefore, we use this vast documentation on families and bibliographies concerning the themes, especially those linked to micro-historical studies on the immigration process.

Theoretical issues

When we chose to analyze the two families, we found that their trajectories would allow us to analyze their influence from the past to the present in all aspects of colonial life, whether economic, political, or socio-cultural aspects. Observation showed us that both families were influential in the community, had economic power, and also had symbolic capital. For this reason, we consider them representatives of many other families established in the region. Studying them, therefore, meant starting from a particular (private) history to perceive the whole. In other words, the reduction of the scale of analysis, in this case,⁴ the trajectory of these two families ultimately allowed us to perceive, observe and identify aspects that

⁴ When referring to this aspect Levi says that “for microhistory, the reduction of the scale of analysis is an analytical procedure, which can be applied anywhere, regardless of the dimensions of the analyzed object”. LEVI, Giovanni. About micro-history. In: BURKE, Peter. **A escrita da história:** novas perspectivas. São Paulo: Editora da UNESP, 1992. p. 137 and adding that this “microscopic observation will reveal previously unobserved factors” (p. 139).

would otherwise go unnoticed in the construction of the economic, political, and social networks of the Fourth Colony. In other words we wanted to identify the influence of these networks on the memorial reworkings made by Father Luiz.

The trajectories we set out to compare in the analysis were the trajectory of the priest and the trajectory of the Pippi and Pigatto families who collaborated in the process of choosing memory preservation and, in this sense, this trajectory serves to understand points of contact between the families and the priest.

To achieve this objective, we start from the notion of trajectory defined by Bourdieu (2008, p. 74-82) as “a series of positions successively occupied by the same agent (or same group), in a space, the agent itself developing and submitted to incessant transformations,” but we consider the reflection made by Kofes (2001, p. 19-28) to be very relevant, which starts from the same principle as Bourdieu, but takes into account temporality. The author, when studying the trajectory of her character seeking to verify the image that the written testimonies offer of the analyzed woman, considers the importance of the narratives woven by her, in an “attempt to freeze a precise temporality” (KOFES, 2001, p. 27) and thus an image of herself. With this, for the author, the trajectory would be “the process of configuring a unique social experience.” (KOFES, 2001, p. 27) Understanding the memory/history of oneself is fundamental to ascertain that the different social actors seek to build through their narratives, taking into account that the process of narrating and recording implies a selection, the principle of any and all memorable processes.

The trajectory of Fr. Luiz Sponchiado began in 1956 when he received the Parish of Nova Palma which happened simultaneously with the expansion of his prestige and the confirmation of his policy.⁵ His trajectory crossed more particularly with one of the two focused families (as well as with hundreds of others) through the use of some important instruments,

⁵ On this aspect of the life of Fr. Luiz Sponchiado and his role in the process of emancipation from the Fourth Colony, consult BOLZAN, Moacir. **Quarta Colônia:** da Fragmentação à Integração. São Leopoldo: UNISINOS, 2011. (Doctoral Dissertation); ROSSATO, Jucemara. **Padre Luiz Sponchiado:** um empreendedor em Nova Palma (município da Quarta Colônia de Imigração Italiana). Santa Maria, 1996. (Conclusion paper of Undergraduate History Course); MANFIO, Juliana Maria. **Entre o Sacerdócio e a Pesquisa Histórica:** a trajetória de Padre Luiz Sponchiado na Quarta Colônia de Imigração Italiana – RS. Santa Maria: UFSM, 2015. (Master's Dissertation).

including the pulpit, for the exercise of his religious activity and the organization of the Genealogical Research Center (CPG), an institution whose purpose is to preserve the memory of Italian immigration in the locality and to act in the emancipationist movement in the municipalities of the Fourth Colony.

It is at the CPG that Fr. Luiz organized the “family boxes” with the documentation related to immigrant family groups and it is where he built, with documents of various types, an official immigration memory in the region. Exemplifying the partnership with the prelate, we analyzed the PIGATTO family. A relevant family in the community, the Pigatto were systematically linked to Fr. Luiz Sponchiado, accompanied him in campaigns, and supported him in actions developed by him. We found, however, that for different reasons not all families had the same type of relationship with the priest, as is the case of the Pippi family.

In a region of immigrant origin not all family groups had their “family box” at CPG that reflected the group’s history and complete trajectory. In the unfolding of the process of formation of the collection made by Fr. Luiz we realized that other mediations could have interfered in the composition of these family boxes, among which are the political affiliation of the family group and/or the priest and/or the agreement with the parish priest leadership.

At the other end of this local network are, therefore, opponents of Fr. Luiz from a political point of view, those who fought with the priest for local political leadership. In this place of opposition to the priest, the PIPPI family was studied. Like the Pigatto family, Pippi is a family of possessions and a traditional and prestigious family in the community. This family group from the point of view of its history also acted differently in relation to their papers as they did not deposit them in the CPG as most did but kept part of their documentary history at home, giving them another arrangement which led them to tell their past in another way, to decide for themselves the family’s memory policy.

To understand these different contexts of the colony we point out the following findings developed throughout the thesis: There is an official and public memory, organized and recognized as such in the CPG, made by Fr. Luiz Sponchiado. In parallel to this memory which we call official, there is another private historical memory kept at home and organized by the descendants of the Pippi family. We perceive in this memorial struggle one

of the characteristics of the formation of the Fourth Colony of Italian Immigration in Rio Grande do Sul.

We used the studies of cultural history from authors such as Chartier (2002) and Guinsburg (2001, p. 85-103) with which we discuss the issues of representation. On the issues of memory central to this work we make special use of the works of Candau (2011) and Pollak (1992; 1989). In this analysis memory was the guiding thread of individual and collective actions. In other words, we always tried to analyze these actions in the dynamics of memory preservation.

For this, we started from the understanding that “people develop ideas about the reality which are translated into images, discourses and social practices that not only qualify the world but also guide the point of view and perception about this reality.” (PESAVENTO, 2008, p. 11-18) It is from these social practices, shown from the point of view and perception of reality, that we approach representation. This term was developed by authors such as Chartier (2002, p. 165) and Ginzburg (2001, p. 85) and both identify that, sometimes, it is treated as the presentification of an absence and sometimes makes the represented reality visible (displays its presence). It is in this second perspective which will guide our reflections.

We understand that belonging to a group, to a community, is to define one's social place, establishing boundaries, allowing continuity in time. Thus, “the definition of one's own identity forms, so to speak, a basis of social cohesion, a chain of identifications and meanings of mutual understanding.” (PESAVENTO, 1993, p. 384) When society defines and elaborates an image of itself and the world, an identity is attributed and constitutes itself as such. Therefore, it is important to understand and recognize that identification and differentiation are two sides of the same coin since identification with a certain group is only possible when there are groups considered to be different. That is, limits are created between them and us which are expressed in cultural differences in which the uses of certain traits mark a specific identity.

In this sense, memory is a constituent element of identity. The elaboration of memory is a social construction, that is, it exists through this intersection between the individual and the collective. Thus, selecting what should be remembered and what is left to oblivion is part of each and every process of building memory and identity. So, “memory, this collective operation of events and interpretations of the past that we want to safeguard

is integrated, as we have seen, in more or less conscious attempts to define and reinforce feelings of belonging and social boundaries between collective groups." (POLLAK, 1989, p. 9)

We will also use microanalysis approaches that, in studies on migration (especially studies developed in the last decades of the 20th century), start from the understanding of the individual as an active subject who makes decisions and where the family acquires an important role because it is there that decisions are made and where strategies for survival are outlined. (RAMELLA, 1995, p. 14) It is within the scope of personal relationships, therefore, that information is passed on.

Family history had many readings according to time and place. In this work, the studied families seek to affirm kinship and belonging in the memory about Italian ancestry, and it is in an attempt to understand the constructions on this family and collective memory that we will reflect on what the family is or can be.

We resume the story in a social perspective in which the guiding thread of this investigation falls on the family group, its strategies and relationships which would enable us to perceive, in its details and peculiarities, what the particular has as a collective. It will seek to apprehend the most complex networks of cultural, emotional, and power support built by immigrants. In using this method what we are doing is constructing the analysis categories from the observation of the sources that are not given *a priori*.

In this sense, we found that a version of the preservation of family memory to highlight its different temporalities, its place in society, its characters and sentimentalities was carried out by Father Luiz Sponchiado when he began his research on Italian immigrants and descendants in the Fourth Colony. With such action he proposed not only to discover his personal history but also to be the "guardian of the memory"⁶ of the Fourth Colony. In other words, the "guardians of memory" are people who, for some reason, are indicated to speak/write about local stories. For this reason, they strive not to forget the past, dedicating themselves "permanently to the (re)construction of memory, either by collecting photographs and small objects in their souvenir boxes or by narrating their newest cases and stories to their members" (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 186). So

⁶ Pollak (1989, p. 8) works with the idea of "guardian of memory" when referring to memories, zealously kept and which are transmitted either in the family, in associations, in affective networks and/or political sociability.

Memory, while modeling us, is also shaped by us. This perfectly sums up the dialectic of memory and identity that come together, nurture each other and support each other to produce a life trajectory, a story, a myth, a narrative (CANDAU, 2011, p. 16).

Through his research in the parish archives of several dioceses in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, in the National Historical Archive, in the Public Archive in Porto Alegre, through interviews and visits to families collecting old documents, photographs, objects, in addition to the collaboration of the families themselves who went to the parish house when he was still a parish priest in Nova Palma, and later to his office at the Genealogical Research Center (CPG) he started building, from 1973, a collection that currently has 1850 Italian surnames. However, recalling Farge's ideas (2009, p. 11), the archivist collects and classifies, and the archive is the result of this work. Therefore, in order to arrange such documents, it is necessary to bear in mind that any family collection goes through an internal selection process before being handed over to the organizer of the collection. In the specific case of the CPG of Nova Palma this collection has passed, at least, by a double selection carried out first of all by the family which provided the priest with what it considers important about itself according to the affinity and trust it had in him. And second, the selection made by the priest, who, given the available documentation, selected what he considers representative of the family's history and memory. In this case, Fr. Luiz's authority as a parish priest should not be neglected because it facilitated access to family documentation since the priest's prestige in the areas of Italian immigration went far beyond spiritual leadership⁷ as "he was an indispensable element in the social and cultural world of the Italians in the colony "(BOLZAN, 2011, p. 124).

Despite these mediations, it is important to consider that family collections are organized according to the expectations of those who thought them, with a determined objective and a vision of the past that is filtered by the present. When doing this, the owners of these archives are, at the same

⁷ On this aspect, the following works can be cited: Maria Catarina ZANINI. Italianidades no Brasil Meridional: a construção da identidade étnica na região de Santa Maria. Santa Maria: UFSM, 2006; VENDRAME, Maíra Ines. “Lá éramos servos, aqui somos senhores”: a organização dos imigrantes italianos na ex-colônia Silveira Martins (1877-1914). Santa Maria: UFSM, 2007; VENDRAME, Maíra Ines. *Ares de vingança: redes sociais, honra familiar e práticas de justiça entre imigrantes italianos no sul do Brasil (1878-1910)*. Porto Alegre: PUC, 2013. (Doctoral Dissertation).

time, subjects who write about themselves and who write history. This is the case of Fr. Luiz Sponchiado, but it is the historian's job, in these cases, to unveil the discourse built on these families of Italian immigrants established in the colonial region under study, as well as their memories. In other words, it is up to the historian to ask how the priest built the discourse and on what he based himself to build it.

The construction of memories

In order to seek answers to these questions, we divided the work into five chapters that are presented as follows: the first gives an overview of the work, which says what it is; the second puts Fr. Luiz on the scene; the third deals with the two families of immigrants, their origin, the society where they lived in Italy at the time they emigrated; the fourth chapter discusses the social organization of the aforementioned immigrants and their relations with commercial houses and other activities; the fifth chapter, finally, analyzes the organization and the memorial reworkings done by the CPG and in it, the organization of the family boxes and their content and the differences established there.

In the second chapter, we start from the assumption that the Genealogical Research Center (CPG) of Nova Palma is a place of memory – the memory and the official and public history of Italian Immigration in the Fourth Colony – and, as such, enshrines a representation of the past and elaborates a discourse about the history. We analyze, in this first part of the work, how this construction takes place and, in this sense, places FR. LUIZ SPONCHIADO as a central figure. To do so, we follow his trajectory. He himself descended from Italian immigrants from the Commune of Carbonera, in the Province of Treviso, who came to the colonial region in 1885. We consider it important to reflect on this protagonist to understand who the social agent authorized to build the official memory of Italian immigration from this region is, and in what context this construction would take place.

In this context, we sought to follow this priest's trajectory to understand the moment of his insertion in the community of Nova Palma, where in addition to his pastoral activity, he built an image around himself which allowed him to be the mediator⁸ for the resolution of issues in different

⁸ This term was originally used in Anthropology, by Fredrik Barth (1993). The history was worked on by Edoardo Grendi and Giovanni Levi who, analyzing the relationship between family,

social areas. At this point, we identified that his authority was respected beyond the community, and, because of that, he received the authorization, in the 1970s, to coordinate the celebrations of the Centenary of Italian Immigration in this colonial region, granted by the Diocesan Bishop of Santa Maria Dom Ivo Lorscheiter. As the CPG is the result of this work, we could say that this was a memory made official by the Church and recognized by the community.

However, the appropriation of this memory would not take place on an equal basis. Trying to understand who these social agents of the Pippi and Pigatto family were, and how these memorial reworkings would take place, we believed it was important to follow the trajectory of these two family groups. This was the work developed in the third part of the analysis (chapter 3).

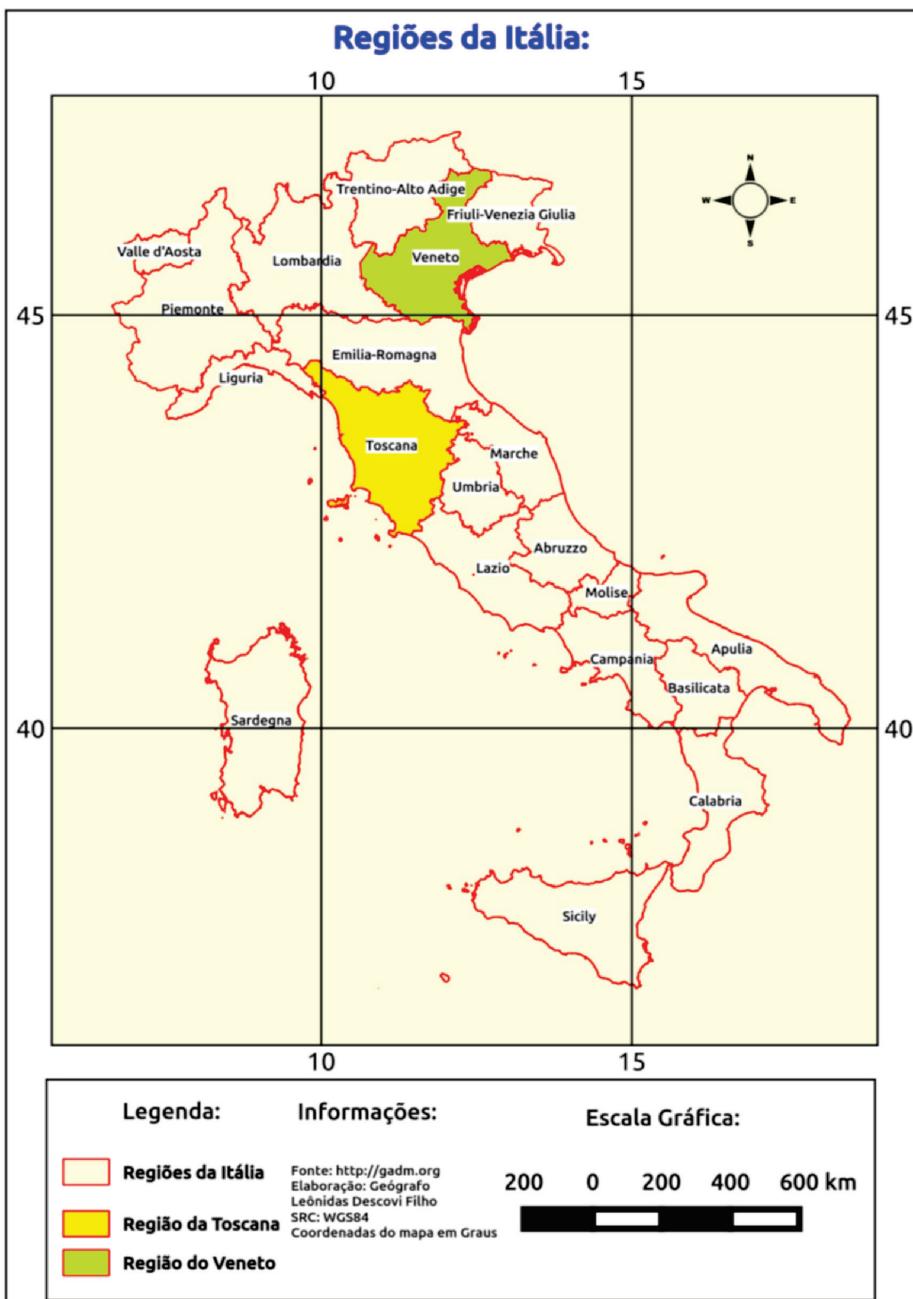
In this sense

Pursuing a trajectory means following the historical development of concrete social groups in a social space defined by those same groups in their battles for the definition of limits and legitimacy within the field in which they operate. Certainly, social origin is a powerful spotlight in the elucidation of these trajectories because the primary habitus, due to the family environment, is a first and profound social impression on the individual who will suffer other sedimentations throughout life (MONTAGNER, 2007, p. 18).

These two families of Italian immigrants are from different regions of Italy who immigrated to Brazil. Thus, we investigated the local history and immigration processes developed in the region of Tuscany and Veneto (see map 1 below), aiming to understand the society in which our protagonists lived and to understand the motivations and aspirations that led them to emigrate. As we have already said, we started from the assumption that these subjects were responsible for outlining their strategies for social resilience and made use of all means for that. In this perspective, we identified the relational networks established in this process, responsible for supporting the flows of these migrations.

community and the outside world, identified that some individuals could be “bridges” between such units, acting as political, social or economic “mediators”. LIMA, 2006 apud VENDRAME, Maíra Ines. **Ares de vingança:** redes sociais, honra familiar e práticas de justiça entre imigrantes italianos no sul do Brasil (1878-1910). Porto Alegre: PUC, 2013 (Doctoral Dissertation). p. 25.

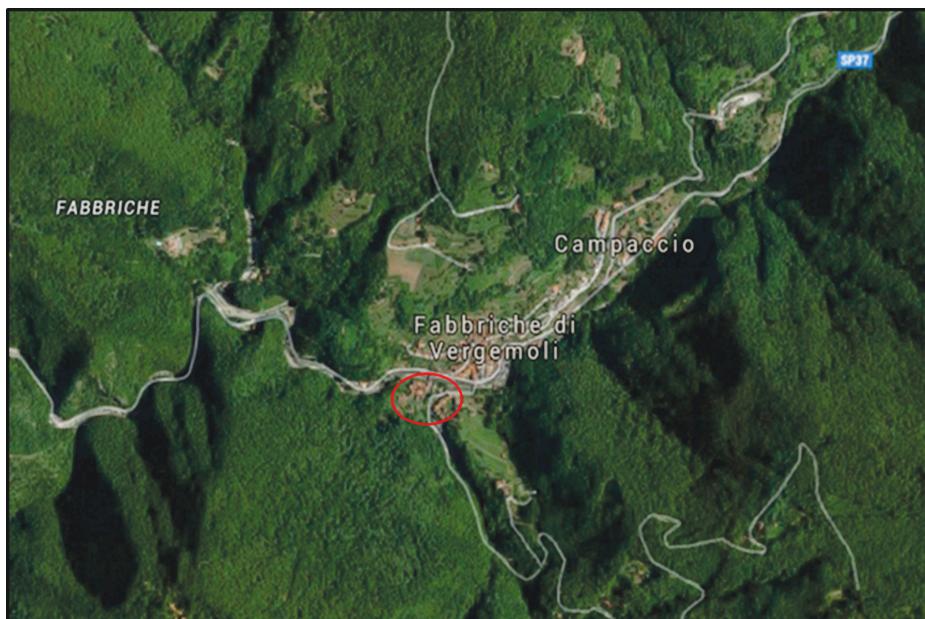
Map 1: Location of the Administrative Regions of Italy



Source: Map prepared especially for this work by: DESCOWI FILHO, Leônidas. Florianópolis, 2015. 1 map. Scale: 1: 200,000.00.

The Pippi family came from the municipality of Fabbriche di Vallico, a region located between the mountains in the Province of Lucca, region of Tuscany. We located there, in the 1850s, the family of Giuseppe Luigi Pippi and Elena Gianni, and their seven children: Giuliano Pippi, Prosperous Pippi, Luisa Aldegonda Pippi, Maria Dionizia Isabella Pippi, Flávio Bruno Pippi, Gotardo Dionizio Adolfo Pippi, and Vittorio Oreste Pippi.

Figure 1: Territory of the current municipality of Fabbriche di Vergemoli. The red circle highlights the region historically called “Colandi” of the extinct municipality of Fabbriche di Vallico



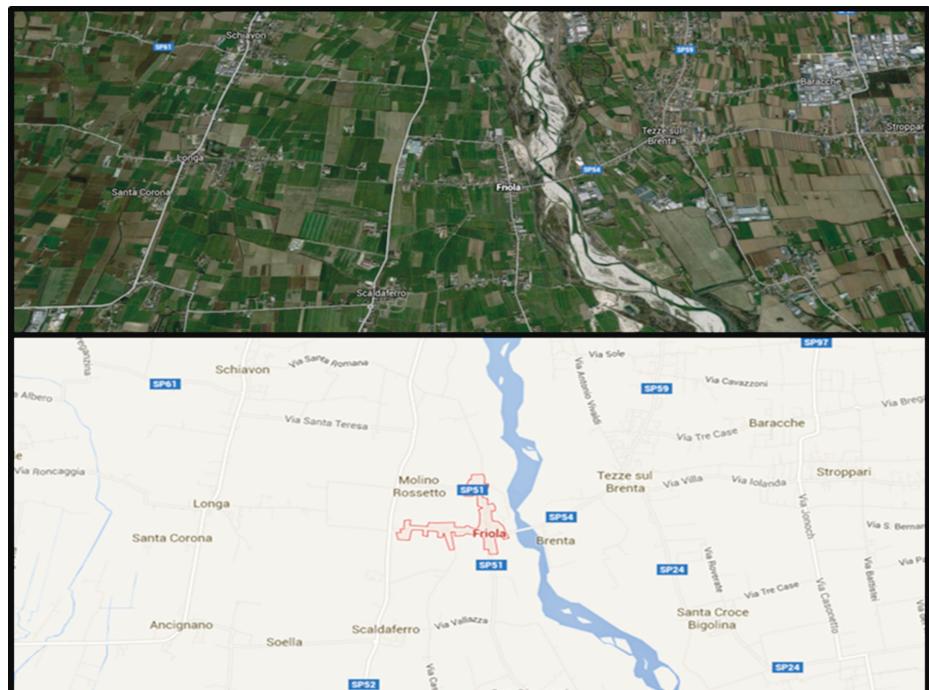
Source: GOOGLE MAPS Adapted by the author. Mountain View: Google, 2015. Available at: <<https://www.google.com.br/maps/@43.9968758.10.4267772,1190m/data=!3m1!1e3>>. Accessed on: Feb. 1, 2015.

After the death of the householder in 1870, immigration became the prospect for the Pippi family. It is in this context (it is not known how or why) that the second-born of the couple, Prospero Pippi, decided to emigrate alone at the age of 12 in the year 1865. Thus, in a period before the great immigration, but following a path already taken by many Tuscan people, Prospero Pippi left for America.

This, by inserting himself in colonial society and expanding his business, fueled the family migratory flow allowing his brothers to come. Commercial activity would be the option used by the family to enter the Rio Grande do Sul society. Throughout this process we identified the establishment of other networks that would be equally important in the expansion and success of this commercial activity.

As for the Pigatto family, immigrants from Pozzoleone, Comune of Vicenza in the Veneto region, their insertion was facilitated by having family members already established in America. Thus, Luigi Pigatto and his wife Lucia Catterina Mazzardo, upon receiving news from Maria Madalena Mazzardo, Lucia's sister, married to Giacomo Turra and immigrants established in Colônia Silveira Martins in the state of Rio Grande do Sul-Brazil since 1884, contemplated the possibility of changing their living situation and also emigrating. They did so in 1888 together with Vincenzo Pigatto, his brother.

Figure 2: Aerial view of Friola – Comune de Pozzoleone



Source: GOOGLE MAPS Adaptation made by the author. Mountain View: Google, 2015. Available at: <<https://www.google.com/maps/place/36050+Friola+VI,+Italy>>. Accessed on: July 2015.

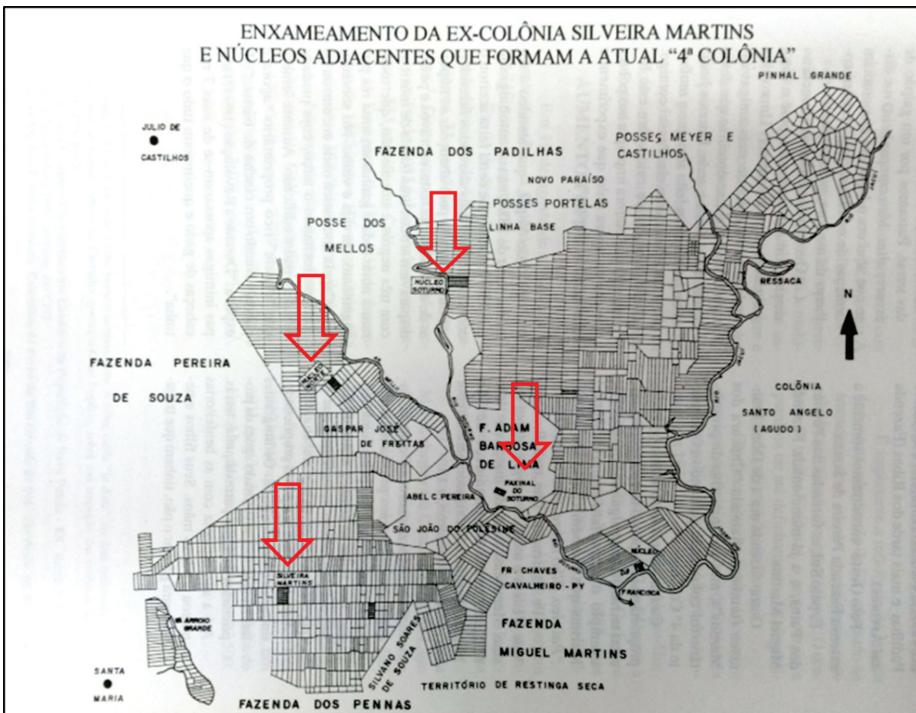
In the colonial society the two brothers engaged in diversified activities, such as, on many occasions when they are hired for road opening services which enabled them to gain an extra income in addition to the cultivation of the colonial lot(s). This income would be reinvested in other areas such as the commercial house and in land acquisition.

When identifying the relational networks established by both family nuclei, we realized that the space of the commercial house was, *par excellence*, the place where these alliances were built. This was the object of study in chapter 4. At this moment, we were studying the expansion of this commercial activity in these two family nuclei and the consolidation of family power. This was the creation of a network of commercial houses which would be directly managed by family members. The “*venda*”⁹, a space *par excellence* for sociability would also be the space where alliances and friendships would be formed. “The space for commercial, financial and sociability intermediation in the colony was the *venda*, the commercial house; territorial reference for business, political settlements, discussions and information; male presence *par excellence*, a place for bargains and merchant power.” (TEDESCO, 2010, p.283) It is in this perspective that the commercial houses of the subjects studied here would enter, as well as the activities involved around them. Far from being understood as passive subjects, they are processes.

The economic capital from this activity would make it possible to diversify activities. We realized that both families reinvested their profits in the acquisition of territorial areas and the development of other activities.

⁹ T.N: Commercial house.

Figure 3: Location of the places where the members of the Pippi and Pigatto families settled in the colonial region.



Source: Adapted by the author of Sponchiado's work (1996, p. 71).

The influence of these families for generations would be extended by the reinvestment of these resources and by the maintenance of this commercial activity. From this economic and social prestige combined with the established networks, these families would reach political power. From the second half of the 1950s we also tried to identify the relationships established by the members of these two family nuclei with Father Luiz Sponchiado when he became the parish priest of Nova Palma, since the relationships established, both in the exercise of the activity of parish priest as well as his function in the emancipatory process begun at this time, would influence the construction of the family memory elaborated by him.

The constructed family memories were the object of the study of the last part of the thesis, chapter 5. At this point we dedicated ourselves to analyzing the memorial representations elaborated from the CPG collection and the private collection of the Pippi family. We sought to discuss the

memorial framework elaborated at CPG, a place of memory and the official and public history of Italian immigration from the imperial Fourth Colony, by Father Luiz. The memory would be recognized as official by the community and appropriated, in this case study, by the Pigatto family.

But, as the entire process of re-elaborating a memorial is a representation, not all families would appropriate their memory “kept” in the CPG. This was the case, in this study, of the Pippi family, through Maria Neli Donato Pippi, who organized another memory of her family group. The Pippi family itself build its history and prestige. Thus, we observed that there was a claimed memory and that it would not be represented in the CPG collection. We identified that in this memorial struggle sociability would have played a decisive role in the construction of memory. In this context the family’s documentary heritage would bring out the identity of these individuals, these families. Identity is constituted primarily in the immaterial, that is, in the memory of each individual.

Final considerations

Throughout this work our reflection showed that those responsible for creating collections are historical subjects who looked at the past from their relationships and aspirations of the present. This point of view determined the selection of the documents and their availability by the families given to Father Sponchiado, the authorized representative to save and build a memory of the families and of the immigration that would be “kept” in the CPG. Mrs. Maria Neli Pippi, for her part, will do the same with the documentation of her family, dividing with Father Luiz Sponchiado the custody of this documentary collection. These are private documents which allowed us to conclude that she did not recognize in the priest someone authorized to make the history of her family. Possibly, she was the authorized representative to speak for her own, or to whom this function was delegated.

Regardless of these tensions and mismatches, in the end, we realize that the family documentation stored in these two collections has become a family documentary heritage of the descendants of Italian immigrants from the Fourth Colony.

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The dispute between Catholic and non-Catholic educational representatives for the Rio Grande do Sul educational field in the Republic of Brazil¹

Marta Rosa Borin²

The situation of the Catholic Church, since the beginning of the Republic in Brazil, in 1889, was one of tension, as it sought to preserve the *status* and space conquered in the Imperial period. Historiographical production, in general, points out the difficulties encountered by the clergy in Rio Grande do Sul during this period, and not infrequently, political alliances and disagreements, the confrontations between Catholics and non-Catholics. In the regional context, liberal and anti-clerical forces predominated in the face of a Church in constant movement motivated by its episcopate³. At the national level, the situation of the Church was similar to that experienced at the regional level, where bishops sought to carry out reforms in order to moralize the Church in Brazil and advance in the Romanizing catechesis, the Catholic Restoration which initially coincides with the Pontificate of Pio XI, when the Church and the Italian State come to understand each other again, and culminates in the signing of the Lateran Treaty in 1929, ratifying the situation created in 1870. The Pope then became concerned with the Church's influence in modern society. In Brazil, the Catholic Restoration takes place after the proclamation of the Republic when the Church started a reaction movement against the new regime, in view of its secular character, because during the Empire it enjoyed some privileges, as Catholicism was the official religion. With the Republic, the Church started to emphasize the union between the Catholic faith and the

¹ Part of the content of this chapter was published in Portuguese in the book: Nova história de Santa Maria: outras contribuições recentes, organizado por José Iran Ribeiro. RIBEIRO, José Iran e WEBER, Beatriz Teixeira. Nova história de Santa Maria: outras contribuições recentes. Santa Maria: Câmara Municipal de Vereadores, 2012.

² PhD in History from the UNISINOS. Professor of the History of the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM), Brazil. E-mail: mrborin@gmail.com.

³ ISAIA, Arthur. **Catolicismo e autoritarismo no Rio Grande do Sul**. Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 1998; COLUSSI, Eliane. **A maçonaria gaúcha no século XIX**. Passo Fundo: UPF, 1998.

Brazilian homeland, which helped to recover its influence with the political power.⁴

Contrary to the Empire's beliefs, the 1891 Republican Constitution was not declared in the name of God, making clear the secular character of the new regime. Members of religious orders and congregations were deprived of political rights; only civil and not religious marriages were recognized by the state; education was laicized, religion being eliminated from school curricula and the government was banned from subsidizing religious schools. This meant that the Church acquired independence and had to remain alone, with the Holy See being able to appoint bishops to Brazil.

From a spiritual point of view, however, the situation of the Catholic Church, after the Republic, was considered serious, since "the Catholic episcopate and thinkers during this period" supported the thesis of the illegitimacy of the Republic due to its secular orientation. Referring to a lay state was tantamount to saying a "wicked and atheist" state and, therefore, without the values that would allow it to be recognized by Christians.⁵

For the bishops, secularism or secularization was synonymous with atheism and, therefore, they denied the legitimacy of the republican government, claiming that the new regime did not correspond to the will of the Brazilian people who had been shaped by Catholic principles. The separation of State and Church removed from the Roman Catholic religion the exclusivity of the *Revealed Truth*, placing it in competition with other religions.⁶

In this context, the educational field of Rio Grande do Sul, at the end of the 19th century, becomes a field of dispute between Catholic and non-Catholic forces, which can be analyzed, as proposed by Bourdieu (1998), as a structure, a space of contention, in which a set of objective relations between historically constructed positions are intertwined, which has specific institutions and its own operating laws, where social actors occupy a determined position to which certain interests are linked, in this case the cultural and the religious interests. Beliefs are considered as a capital accumulated in the course of previous struggles that guide the strategies of agents who are committed in the field. In this sense, newspaper sources,

⁴ AZZI, Riolando. *A Igreja do Brasil, da apologética à renovação pastoral*. Belo Horizonte: O Lutador, 1991; AZZI, Riolando. *A neocristandade: um projeto restaurador*. São Paulo: Paulus, v. 5, 1994.

⁵ AZZI, Riolando. *O estado leigo e o projeto ultramontano*. São Paulo: Paulus, 1994, p. 19-20.

⁶ AZZI, Riolando. Op. cit., 1992, p. 91.

both confessional and non-confessional, attest to the existence of tensions in the Rio Grande do Sul educational field, from the end of the 19th century.

The support for the diversification in the offer of education in Brazil was anchored in the Republican Constitution of 1891, when the State was declared secular. Freedom of worship made it possible for confessional schools of different faiths to function, which, from an educational point of view, also made it possible to install Protestant oriented schools in the country, which had been impeded during the Empire..

According to Kreutz (1998, p. 215), it is from 1860 that, in Rio Grande do Sul, a greater attention to the school process began, both from the government and from the Churches, with “the Catholic and Lutheran Churches having a specific interest in coordinating the school process, understanding the school as a basic instance of its pastoral process”. It would be a Christian reaction against the advance of the secular state in the conduct of the educational process.

In the case of Catholicism, education was a powerful factor for its affirmation in the secular state, since in schools, in addition to reading and writing students “learned the meaning of being a member of the Church, catechism, Biblical History, to respect ecclesiastical authorities and living scrupulously, according to the commandments of God and the Church” (RAMBO In: DREHER 1998, p. 148-154).

The support for this issue came from Rome, which, in 1875, according to Kreutz (1998, p. 211-215), established as a guideline of the Catholic Church the duty of parents to send their children to parish schools, otherwise they would be committing sin for the fact of depriving them of Catholic formation. This determination was also proclaimed in Rio Grande do Sul. However, according to the author, the Constitution imposed lay teaching at all levels of education, including Catholic schools. In the city of Santa Maria it would be no different, however, we emphasize that the educational field was also part of the game of interests of the Freemason agents, in this case with a liberal formation. In 1876, for example, the *Boletim do Grande Oriente do Brasil* (GOB)⁷ published a story about the need for a Masonic college in

⁷ Until 1857, three central Masonic powers existed in Rio Grande do Sul: the Grande Oriente do Brasil (GOB), the Grande Oriente do Passeio (GOP) and the Areópago dos Cavaleiros de Kadosch. The unification of the national Freemasonry took place in 1883. In 1902, the autonomous Grand Orients began to be recognized by the Freemasonry, but the unification of this grouping took place only in 1909. Cf. COLUCCI, Eliane Lucia. **A maçonaria gaúcha no século XIX.** Passo Fundo: Editora UPF, 2003.

Santa Maria, due to the “fanaticism and daring” of Jesuitism that “tries to overwhelm everything”. The editor warned: “it is necessary, it is urgent that we instruct the coming generation, so that it understands what it owes to itself, to God and the country”.⁸

Thus, Masonic social agents declared themselves affirming the need of Masonic schools since they considered the clergy to be fanatical and, like the clergy, but in an inverse process, they were instructed not to enroll their children in Catholic schools and warned that Freemasonry should interfere in order that primary education be entirely lay, as determined by the State Constitution.

As we will see, the Santa Mariense educational field was not only dynamic, but also a space of tension among its agents for the hegemony of knowledge, as members of Freemasonry sought to influence public education centers to contain religious teaching and challenge Catholic dogmas. The Catholic Church, for its part, through papal documents forbade the faithful to participate in secret societies.

In cities, in the interior of the state, such as Santa Maria, for example, in the first decade of the 20th century, confessional schools, run by religious people, predominated in education. But the local population had had public classes since 1838⁹. Years later, in 1885, according to Belém (2000, p. 210-211), the village of Santa Maria had five private schools, one under the direction of a Catholic priest, Father Klein, where elementary subjects were taught in the German language. Between 1877 and 1899, there were five provincial schools in the city (public classes), one mixed, one female and three male.

For the Catholic Church, the lay public school represented a danger to the young person's soul, and the promotion of the coming of religious orders to also work in teaching was one of its strategies in favor of the monopoly of belief, hampered not only by secularism, but also by anticlericalism.

An event that denotes tension in the educational field of Rio Grande do Sul, and by extension in Santa Maria, was the organization, in 1902, of

⁸ Luz e Fraternidade Lodge, **Boletim do Grande Oriente do Brasil**, Santa Maria, n. folha 79-62, Oct. 1876, Arquivo Luis Eugenio Vescio (ALEV), Silveira Martins.

⁹ In an article in the local newspaper, **Diário do Interior**, the 100 years of the first public class in Santa Maria taught by Professor Braga was remembered. “Commemorative Monument to the first centenary of the opening of the first public school in Santa Maria 1838-1938.” **Diario do Interior**. Santa Maria, year XXVII, n. 123, p.1, 15/10/1938, Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Santa Maria (AHMSM) [Municipal Historical Archive of Santa Maria].

the Congress of Venerable Masons, when the gaucho “free-masons”, according to Colussi (1998, p. 436-446) were instructed not to enroll their children in Jesuit schools and warned that Freemasonry should interfere so that primary education could be entirely lay, as determined by the State Constitution. For the author, the fact that the Companhia de Jesus occupied, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, an important space in education, both for the elite and for the popular classes, became a problem for Freemasonry, from the second half of the 19th century.

Aware of the liberal Masons’ view of the educational field, Catholic leaders from Santa Maria, following the guidelines of the Holy See with regard to teaching, promoted the foundation of confessional schools in the city. At the initiative of the Pallottine priest, Father Caetano Pagliuca, for example, in 1904 Santa Maria received the French Marist Brothers who founded the Colégio São Luiz, aimed at male students. This Gymnasium, which in 1906 was renamed Colégio Santa Maria, came to have 600 students, some from Uruguay and Argentina. For female students, the Sant’Anna High School was opened in 1905, under the direction of the Franciscan Sisters. These schools probably competed with the Olavo Bilac District High School, opened by the State in 1901.

Regarding the mobilization of Catholic confessional teaching, there was a reaction from social agents of other faiths, such as, for example, the Methodist pastor João J. Ruiz when he wrote in the Methodist newspaper *O Testemunho*, not only criticizing the Pope, but condemning the arrival of the Marist Brothers in Rio Grande do Sul which, together with other Catholic religious congregations, flocked to “putrefy” the state of Rio Grande do Sul:

The worthy emulators of Pius X, run out of and expelled from the Roman Catholic countries themselves, came as a flock of hungry birds of prey upon Brazilian territories, and we see them unfortunately in an indefinite number, bringing the various uniforms of the subjects or aggregated servants of the ambitious monarch called Roman Pope, who still aspires that kings and emperors submissive to their despot will kiss his feet, thus aiming for the universal dominion of all governments (...). Although the civilized peoples of our time are in open contradiction to Roman ultramontanism¹⁰ (...) he

¹⁰ The Ultramontan clergy are the ones who became loyal to the Pope of the Church of Rome, the one who is behind the French Alps, (ultra-mount, expression that means beyond the mountains), due to the Western Schism (1378-1417). Ultramontanism meant adherence to the Holy See, fidelity to religious orthodoxy, confidence in the Pope’s absolute authority in matters of faith and discipline, a phenomenon that became known in Brazil as Romanization. It is a doctrine and policy of traditionalist Catholicism that recognized liberalism as a path to moral decay. See AZZI, Riolando. *O altar unido ao trono: um projeto restaurador*. São Paulo: Paulinas, 1991, p. 114-126 and 151.

arrogates to himself the pompous title of vicar of Christ, the same (...) continues to send his squads of submissive slaves, uniformed in different ways. One of these squads composed of Marist priests in their cassocks, black as personified hypocrisy, is presently invading the rich mountainous area where until now the fresh air of historical freedom has been breathed.¹¹

The tone of the speech of the Methodist press organ expresses a tense atmosphere in the religious field and as it was linked to the educational field, it is noticed that, together with the Masonic version, the adverse positions of these social groups, Methodists and Freemasons, are outlined in relation to the Catholic clergy and vice versa.

The educational activities of the Catholic clergy were supported by Pope Pius X's Encyclical *Acerbo nimis*, published on April 15, 1905, warning of the ignorance among the Catholic faithful. The encyclical that pointed out the Pontiff's view of the evils of society at the time was criticized in the newspaper *O Testemunho*. In it he had determined that in the Universities religion classes be established "[consisting] of the truths of the faith and the formation of the Christian life". For the Methodist columnist "the head of the church of Rome" did not have the remedy for all social ills because "declaring himself infallible, he took the sacred teaching of God out of the hands of the people and gave them the corrupted teaching (...), the Roman catechism"¹².

On the Catholic side, the publications of the press agency *A União* had offended Protestants. As a counter-response to that newspaper, Pastor João Vollmer published, on the front page of *O Testemunho*, a long article denouncing the calumnies and intrigues in relation to the Methodists. The agency *A União* allegedly reproached Catholic parents who sent their children to the high schools of Methodist missionaries, as these were considered by the Catholic clergy "clearly with the declared purpose of combating the Catholic religion". According to the editor of the Methodist newspaper, every educated man could see in this regard the "reactionary spirit of the Jesuit who doesn't want to yield even the freedom of education to his fellow man". For the Methodist "the ignorant", who depends on the priest, "pretentious creature", will start to look "with great fear and distrust on

¹¹ "Actividade da Curia romana". **O Testemunho**, Porto Alegre, 1 Dec. 1904, year I, n. 23, p. 89.
Arquivo John Wesley (AIPJW), Porto Alegre.

¹² "Pio X e sua Encyclica of 15 April P. P." **O Testemunho**, Porto Alegre, 1 Sept. 1905, year II, n. 17, p. 77-78. AIPJW.

our schools from now on".¹³ But, he stated that this would not disturb the expansion of Methodism in Rio Grande do Sul.¹⁴

The dispute for the space of influence and the animosities between Catholics and Methodists were being declared through the press and in the field of beliefs both fought for hegemony.

Protestant support for public education was also on the front page of the newspaper *O Testemunho*. The article exalted the Republic and attributed the growth of the United States to public and free education. The writer of the article suggested that the North American teaching method be adopted in Brazil, as he remembered that this country was as old as that, but less developed due to poor education.¹⁵

As in the Protestant perspective, the “real danger” that surrounded the Brazilian nation was Roman Catholicism, the newspaper expressed indignation with the “secular press” for having remained “silent in the face of the ever-increasing invasion of the representatives of the sect that has most contributed to the unhappiness of the nations”¹⁶. The writer supported his indignation at the arrival of Catholic religious orders in the State, in the following statement:

In the court of public opinion, ultramontanism is already known as the active germ of all infamies, all wickedness, all attacks and all disorders (...). The constitution of this bloody institution is not known and has never been subjected to a legal examination, which alone would be enough to make it suspicious (...). The main weapon they use to carry out their dismal plans is conspiracy (...). The ultramontane, Jesuit danger has long since invaded our dear homeland (...). Unhappy is the nation that leaves the education of those who are to become the citizens and parents of tomorrow in the hands of these people without a country and without a family.¹⁷

It can be seen, with these data, presented here minimally, that in Rio Grande do Sul, in the early years of the 20th century, the Methodists, as well as the Freemasons, disseminated and shared the idea that the teaching in the Catholic schools would lead to the decadence of the State and together formed a chorus against their representatives.

¹³ VOLLMER, João. “Nós e a ‘União’”, **O Testemunho**, Porto Alegre, 15 Aug. 1904, year I, n. 16, p. 1. AIPJW.

¹⁴ Ibidem. Idem.

¹⁵ “Instrução Pública Primária”. **O Testemunho**, Porto Alegre, 15 March. 1905, year II, n. 6, p. 20. AIPJW.

¹⁶ “O Verdadeiro Perigo”. **O Testemunho**, Porto Alegre, 15 Aug. 1905, year II, n. 16, p. 73. AIPJW.

¹⁷ Ibidem. Idem.

Freemasonry, at the end of the 19th century, will endeavor to create its own schools, not only to defend secular education but also to combat conservative clergy. Colussi (1998, p. 438-443), observes that, starting in 1870, "more concrete initiatives were taken in this field, which would lead, at the turn of the century, to the Masonic policy of creating their own schools. At the national level, Freemasonry founded lodges with the purpose of spreading instruction among the popular classes". The entry of teachers into Freemasonry, especially those who worked in public education, was facilitated so that Freemasons had access and influence in the lay formation of popular sectors.

In Santa Maria, the influence of Catholic religious leaders on teaching would have repercussions on anti-Catholicism expressed, also, by Masonic social agents, such as, for example, in the report sent by the Luz e Trabalho Lodge of Santa Maria to the Grand Orient Mason, in 1908. The preponderance of Catholicism in the city was recognized in it and the Freemasons were warned not to wane and to continue in the "battle against these enemies of the Masonic institution".¹⁸

Another document that can attest to the rejection of Catholic confessional teaching in the city is in the minutes of the session, of 1908, of the Luz e Trabalho Lodge, signed by the regularization commission, which says that the Freemasons should "work with all devotion to fight the Jesuitism that, with huge steps, implant their malevolent domain in Santa Maria"¹⁹. They condemned the "pernicious action of Jesuitism that threatens, at this moment, to overwhelm consciences, with its subversive practices". They warned of the "clerical ambition" surrounding public education, as they considered Santa Maria an appropriate place to establish a "lay Gymnasium" so that their children would stop attending "corrupted and backward teaching by priests and nuns".²⁰

The terms Jesuitism and Jesuit, used by anticlericals, referred to the Catholic clergy in general and, we understand that the rejection was of the conservative clergy, of the clergymen that they considered faithful to the Holy See, as we can see in the letter that Cícero Barreto wrote to José Domingues de Almeida, complaining about the "bastard" position of certain

¹⁸ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, n. folha 78-04, 07 Aug. 1908, ALEV.

¹⁹ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, n. folha 78-05, 13 Nov. 1908, ALEV.

²⁰ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, n. folha 78-07, 11 Jun. 1909, ALEV.

Freemasons of being “close to Jesuitism, which dominates the teaching and is not patriotic”, saying that it is an “ill-fated invasion through religious education”.²¹

The religious orders that were established in Santa Maria had the objective of strengthening the action of the Catholic Church in the city. In addition to the creation of schools, they formed prayer groups through which they sought to affirm the Catholic religious spirit, trying to distance young people and families from anticlerical propaganda, in order to contain indifferentism and anticlericalism and, consequently, weaken their opponents.²²

In Freemasonry, the battle against the Church did not cool down. An example is the text written by the professor, Margarida Lopes, criticizing religious teaching in schools²³. In recognition of her work carried out in favor of public education, in 1912, the Luz and Trabalho Mason's Lodge of Santa Maria requested the granting of the title of meritorious to the professor, in a letter to the GORGS General Assembly. The letter justified that the title was due to the fact that Margarida Lopes was “endowed with intelligence and high culture”, considered as a person who was not carried away by the clergy agents, refusing to enroll in Catholic associations and dedicated “To fight relentlessly against the conquests of obscurantism and backwardness”.²⁴ Margarida Lopes had worked hard in favor of Santa Marian Freemasonry, dealing with issues related to the causes of the deterioration of public education, State action and religious education.²⁵.

This position of Freemasonry was publicized in the city through the journal *Reacção*, a press agency that declared itself anticlerical. In its

²¹ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, n. folha 75-34 A, 12 May. 1909, ALEV. Cícero Jacynto Barreto, together with other teachers, was part of the teaching staff of the Olavo Bilac Elementary School.

²² Livro Tombo, Catedral Diocesana de Santa Maria, n. 3, 1889-1914. Arquivo Paróquia Nossa Senhora da Conceição (APNSC), Santa Maria.

²³ The professor, Margarida Lopes, was born in Rio Pardo, in Rio Grande do Sul in 1874, where she graduated from the old Normal School. She was a member of the International Mixed Masonic Order of Human Rights, founded in 1893 in Porto Alegre. In 1901 she was transferred from Cachoeira to Santa Maria. She was considered an honorary of the Rio Grande do Sul masonry at the level of the Rosa Cruz Cavalry. She died in 1949. Cf. SILVEIRA, José Luiz. **Revelações históricas da maçonaria**. Santa Maria: [s. n.], 1985, p. 201-208.

²⁴ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, folha 78-11, 27 March 1912, ALEV.

²⁵ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, folha 78-12, 16 June 1912, e folha 78-26, 17 June 1914. ALEV.

first edition²⁶ the magazine's editors criticized Catholic schools where they believed that “little science”, “limited knowledge”, “erroneous and absurd ideas”, were taught, crippling the brains of the poor little ones who fall into their nails”.²⁷

In this dispute over the Santa Mariense educational field, social agents who were in the same field of interests and in the same position denoted the dogmatisms of the conflict. Thus, in mid-July of that same year, the president of the School Council of the Municipality of Santa Maria, Mason Demetrio Niederauer, endeavored to make “disappear the superstition that in order to educate children, one must only use the schools of the priests”, which he considered an unjustifiable mistake due to the existence of public schools, which were in line with the principles of the Republic.²⁸

However, some public school teachers in Santa Maria consulted the president of the Municipal School Council about the possibility of teaching religious education classes, but the answer at the time was negative. According to the *Reacção* journal, those teachers were influenced by the Catholic vicar Caetano Pagliuca, a “skillful dominator”.²⁹

The situation was tense and biased. On the Catholic side, the result of the Latin American Plenary Council, held at Colégio Anchieta, in 1915, in Nova Friburgo, Rio de Janeiro, set the tone for the issue. At that event, the parents were again warned not to entrust their children “to immoral and ungodly teachers, to anti-Catholic or non-religious schools”. It would be considered a serious sin because such parents would, by this procedure, become “accomplices in their children’s corruption and responsible to God for all the evils that will come later to them and to society”.³⁰ Those who join the “Masonic or Carbonary sect or another of the same kind who, openly or clandestinely, plot against the Church and the legitimate powers,

²⁶ “A Escola e o livro”. **Reacção**. Santa Maria, 01 May. 1915, year I, n. 1, p. 5, Arquivo Casa de Memória “Edmundo Cardoso” (ACMEC), Santa Maria.

²⁷ “Livros Recomendados”. **Reacção**. Santa Maria, 01 May 1915, year I, n. 1, p. 9, ACMEC.

²⁸ “A instrução dos pequenos”. **Reacção**. Santa Maria, 16 July 1915, year I, n. 6, p. 10, ACMEC.

²⁹ “A instrução religiosa e as aulas públicas”. **Reacção**. Santa Maria, 16 Sept. 1915, year I, n. 10, p. 9. e “A instrução religiosa e as aulas públicas”. **Reacção**. Santa Maria, 11 Jan. 1915, year I, n. 11, p. 1, ACMEC.

³⁰ “Perigos contra a fé”, Título I: Fé, Cap. V, 59, 60. In: **Pastoral Coletiva dos Senhores Arcebispos e Bispos das Províncias Eclesiásticas de São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro, Mariana, São Paulo, Cuiabá e Porto Alegre comunicando ao clero e aos fiéis o resultado das Conferências Episcopais na cidade de Nova Friburgo de 12 a 17 de janeiro de 1915**. Rio de Janeiro: Martins de Araújo, 1915, p. 14. Arquivo Museu Sacro de Santa Maria (AMS), Santa Maria.

as well as those who do them any favor, those who do not denounce their coryphaeuses or hidden chiefs, by them not fulfilling the duty of denunciation “ would be subject to excommunication.³¹

Through this declaration, the Catholic Church demanded the right of bishops to have the freedom to direct Catholic teaching, because “in the exercise of their ministry” they could not be prevented from watching over the doctrine that was being taught.”³²

In order for public schools not to be deprived of the Christian spirit, the bishops recommended that they also be led by teachers “of religious sentiments”, and even that “members of religious associations” obtain the diploma of normalists (teachers) in order to work in the various schools, denominational or not.³³ They condemned the State for neglecting religion, as if God did not exist: “such civil indifferentism is an unprecedented temerity even among the pagans who had so deeply etched in their understanding and heart the belief in the divinity and the need for a public religion”.³⁴

Probably, the *Pastoral Coletiva* of 1915 had repercussions among the Freemason agents, since the issue of religious education was one of the themes addressed in the National Masonic Congress, held in Rio de Janeiro, in 1915,³⁵ when a “thesis”³⁶ was presented by professor Margarida Lopes criticizing Catholic teaching and characterizing it as being fanatical, in addition to being considered the main thing responsible for the moral decay of society. In her presentation, she sentenced that religious orders abused the social ascension they exercised “harming and disturbing the integrity of the family, mainly through female education”. She warned that schools run by religious [professionals] “should be classified as commercial political-religious establishments, not schools” because “their owners work for a political purpose”. She emphasized that teaching was not in decline, but it lacked firmness and guidance and the only remedy was “to fight the principles of these sects.”.

³¹ “Principais erros modernos”, Título I: Fé, Cap. VI, 90. In: **Pastoral Coletiva de 1915**. Op cit. p. 22.

³² “Escolas catholicas”, Título I: Fé, Cap. VIII, 113, 114". In: **Pastoral Coletiva de 1915**. Op cit. p. 28.

³³ “Escolas catholicas”, Título I: Fé, Cap. VIII, 132. In: **Pastoral Coletiva de 1915**. Op cit. p. 33.

³⁴ “Escolas e colégios em geral”, Título V: Costumes do povo, Cap. IV, 1515, 1516. In: **Pastoral Coletiva de 1915**. Op cit. p. 380.

³⁵ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, n. folha 78-43, 1915, p. 18-33, ALEV.

³⁶ LOPES, Margarida, documento datilografado, 35 páginas, s/ título, [191-], ALEV.

In fact, this text is a warning speech to the Freemasons of the danger in which, according to the author, education was found in the country, especially in Rio Grande do Sul because it was predominantly in the hands of the “deformed” Catholic religious orders that “they weakened the bonds of society, discredited the national character and fought republican ideas”. She also criticized the excessive religious freedom that the State had granted to the clergy, since they were considered by the author as “hypocritical because they hid their contempt for the State, whom they hated for having abolished the divine right”. She also spoke about the pseudo-patriotism of the clergy and the “incompetence of the nuns and priests to teach lessons for the formation of the character”, because she considered that they stimulated “the children to frivolity and disobedience toward the parents”, being unfavorable of the boarding system due to poor hygiene and the “vegetative life” to which the students were submitted.

The warnings from both Masonic and Catholic agents show the constant struggle for spaces of action in society. In the educational field, Santa Maria was conquered by Catholicism with the expressive increase of confessional schools. In the Itararé neighborhood, for example, where the families of railway workers predominated, in 1916, the diocese already had the Santa Catarina School, which, according to Probst (1989, p. 116), was run, at first by the Franciscan sisters and later by the Sisters of Notre Dame (Notre Dame). This school in the year 1920 would have had approximately 200 students.³⁷

The concern of the Catholic clergy in Santa Maria with the spread of the Methodist teaching and religion in the city was evidenced, again, in the *Monthly Bulletin of the Diocese of Santa Maria*, when ecclesiastics warned parents not to enroll their children in Protestant schools, even if they were free of charge. Those who allowed their children to study non-Catholic schools would incur “excommunication”.³⁸ At the time of this publication, the Methodist school “Centenário” was about to be inaugurated in the city. The bishops considered Methodist teachers to be “heretical, wicked, scandalous or infamous teachers” justifying that they sought “to implant Protestant heresy in Brazilian territory”.

³⁷ Livro Tombo, Catedral Diocesana de Santa Maria, n. 4, 1915-1944, p. 1 verso, p. 2, 2 verso, p. 15 verso e p. 16, APNSC.

³⁸ PIMENTA, D. Silvério Gomes. “Pastoral D. Silvério Gomes Pimenta. Arcebispo de Mariana sobre o perigo dos collegios acatholicos”. **Boletim Mensal da Diocese de Santa Maria**, ano IX, n. 3-5, May 1921, p. 65. AMS.

This prejudiced position was recorded by Freemasonry, as attested by the letter addressed to GORGs, signed by the Grand Secretary General of Porto Alegre, warning that the bishop of Santa Maria, D. Áttico Eusébio da Rocha (1923-1929), had sent a circular declaring that all parents who place their children in schools that are not run by Catholic religious [leaders] would incur excommunication penalties. In the missive, Freemasons declared that representatives of Catholicism sought to “impose themselves by cunning and hypocrisy”.³⁹ In response to the bishop’s attitude, the secretary of the Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Rodolpho Ângelo,⁴⁰ writes to GORGs proposing the creation of schools sponsored by the Order, answering questions about fighting religious schools and even the question among the old Freemasons, asking them to show solidarity in enrolling their children in these schools.⁴¹

In the documents we had access to there is no reference to a Masonic school in Santa Maria. What happened was that teachers who were members of Freemasonry became directors of public schools, as is the case with Professor Margarida Lopes or had private schools, as is the case of the “Gymnasio Ítalo-Brasileiro”⁴², with an internal boarding school and day school that followed a free teaching program.

We can see, by the dates of the correspondences, that the divergences of Freemasonry with the Catholic Church go into the 20th century and that the terms used by the Freemasons were of repulsion in relation to the confessional teaching and the Catholic clergy and vice versa.

If, at the end of the 19th century, Masonic anti-clericalism prospered and co-opted the main segments of intellectuals and politicians in Rio Grande do Sul and, through public education, it fit into the philanthropic spirit, in the 20th century the Catholic Church conquered important spaces in the educational field and created a network of schools with the clientele being part of the elite of the state and also of the working class.

In this sense, the expressive number of employees of the Railway System of Rio Grande do Sul concentrated in Santa Maria requested of the directing board of the Employee Consumption Cooperative of this company, based in the city, to implement schools with professional training for their

³⁹ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, n. folha 78-71, 30 April. 1927, ALEV.

⁴⁰ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, n. folha 78-72, 05 April. 1927, ALEV.

⁴¹ Fraternidade Lodge, Pelotas, n. folha 45-56, 10 March. 1927, ALEV.

⁴² Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, n. folha 78-115, s/d, ALEV.

children. Thus, the direction of the men's School of Arts and Crafts, founded in 1922, was under the direction of the Marist Brothers for more than 50 years, guided by the School of Engineering of Porto Alegre. For the daughters of the railway workers, a women's school of Arts and Crafts was created, the "Escola Santa Terezinha", founded in 1923, under the direction of the Franciscan sisters. The Sisters of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary directed the Railway School "Instituto Rui Barbosa".

In addition to these, there were other Catholic schools and seminaries in the city for the formation of clergy, a relevant factor for the time, considering the distance that Santa Maria was from other training centers. The religious education projects point to the attempt of a hegemony of Roman Catholicism and, in the competition with its opponents, even in the 1920s, the Catholic clergy was concerned with strengthening its staff when it invested in seminary training. An example was the São José Minor Diocesan Seminary, inaugurated in the episcopate of D. Áttico Eusébio da Rocha (1923-1929),⁴³ under the direction of the Jesuits for 40 years. The city also had a Carmelite Minor Seminary.

To emphasize the influence of private education in Santa Maria, the Catholic weekly *O Santamariense* published some data on this issue. It informed, for example, that, in the 1920s, some of the schools operating in the city were: Santa Rosa school on Rua Tuiuti, in a house provided by Ms. Geni Cunha da Rocha and directed by Moreninha Cavalheiro, with 66 students; Escola Santa Terezinha, founded in 1920, located in the former Chácara da Baronesa, today the site of the Convent of the Franciscan Sisters, where Professor Ida Moroni worked, that year with 54 enrolled students; Colégio São Luiz, run by Father Pagliuca, with 160 students and Escola Nossa Senhora das Dores, with 97 students. The director was a nun assisted by Professor Ida Grassi.⁴⁴

In the following year, *O Santamariense* reported the number of other Catholic schools such as Escola Santo Antônio, with 48 students and Escola Coração de Jesus. Another initiative to assist students from poor families or orphaned, in the educational field, was taken by the Pallottine priest Caetano Pagliuca and the entrepreneur Antônio Álvares Ramos, who founded, in

⁴³ Livro Tombo, Catedral Diocesana de Santa Maria, n. 3, 1915-1944, p. 9, APNSC.

⁴⁴ "Collegios e Escolas". **O Santamariense**. Santa Maria, 28 Dec. 1922, year 1, n. 22, p. 2, ACMEC.

1927, the Patronato Agrícola School “Antônio Alves Ramos”. In this school, in addition to Christian formation, students received preparatory instruction to exercise a trade.

Besides this, we can mention here other institutions in the city of Santa Maria run by Catholic religious congregations such as, for example, the Nossa Senhora de Fátima School, run by the Sisters of the Catholic Apostle (Pallottine); Pensionato Santa Terezinha, run by the Missionary Sisters of Jesus Crucified; Little Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, with Maria Medianeira House and School.

In the 1930s, some Freemasons of Santa Maria, such as Venerable Cícero Barreto, attentive to the advances of Catholic religious orders in the city, in a missive addressed their brother of the brotherhood, Otto Wermann Menchem, from GORGS, asking him to locate the thesis on teaching, previously presented at the Masonic Congress, in Rio de Janeiro, as they intended to reissue some chapters due to the “unreasonable pretensions of the relapsed ultramontanism, trying with their insidious practices to take over the teaching”⁴⁵.

The justification for this attitude can be explained by the considerable number of Catholic schools in the city, since in 1932, Santa Maria had 12 Catholic schools that numbered 4,375 students, while in public and private schools Catholic religious education was also taught. Of the 132 educational establishments, until 1932, 24 were state, 57 municipal, 37 private, 2 military, 8 secondary education, 3 vocational education and 1 higher education, founded in 1931⁴⁶.

As there was no longer a monopoly of beliefs, the educational field was one of the spaces of struggle destined to transform the city through knowledge. The belief that managed to overlap or monopolize that specific capital would have the foundation of power or authority. In this field, the social actors of the different beliefs had in common certain interests that were fundamental to them. Those antagonists bet on education as cultural capital, and on catechesis as capital of salvation goods. These accumulated goods that were produced at school, in the family, in the temple and in society, needed to be distributed in order for the population to remain Catholic or lay.

⁴⁵ Luz e Trabalho Lodge, Santa Maria, n. folha 78 – 76, A e B, 25 Dec. 1930, ALEV.

⁴⁶ BELÉM, Op. cit., p. 217-230.

Final considerations

The Catholic Church sought to supplant its opponents who positioned themselves as astute articulators of the written word. On the other hand, in the game of interests, no less astute, were the attitudes of Catholic bishops and priests, when they acted not only in education, but also when, by extension, they catechized families and invested in the formation of priests, through Catholic Seminaries.

In this struggle for the *conquest of souls* in the city, we consider that schools functioned as regulatory agencies for thought and actions. Freemasonry, as most interested in secularization, had local intellectuals and was reinforced in Rio Grande do Sul with the accession of new members from other locations and regions.

The implementation of the Republic, a time of political crisis, required action by the Church, capable of training the clergy for structural changes. This action came from Rome, the dominant body, which instructed the clergy to revalidate their power in the state of Rio Grande do Sul through teaching.

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Funerary patrimony and Italian ethnicity: religiosity in the cemiterial space

Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi¹

Introduction

Each city or locality must have a space reserved to house the remains of its former inhabitants and, therefore, its memory. This is both a necessity and a cultural expression since burials are a means to commemorate people but also to conceal death in the eyes of the living. The cemetery environment, so to speak, becomes the place par excellence for those who were, in other times, circulating in the urban and rural space of a municipality.

Studying a cemetery in a municipality and its monuments means “more than telling its history, examining its daily life, its transformations, cultural influences, aesthetic conceptions, social and economic hierarchies, political leadership, and so many other factors, among which we would highlight religious values and morals, and ethnicity” (CERQUEIRA; BASTIANELLO, 2012, p. 2). In this sense, this work takes a look at the cultural patrimony of the Fourth Colony of Italian Immigration, a social space formed by nine municipalities in the central region of the State of Rio Grande do Sul located in the Southern Region of Brazil, focusing on the funerary patrimony in the cemetery space.

“The Region of the Fourth Colony, in its historical formation, was made up of different ethnic groups, predominantly Germans and Italians, in addition to natives of the region, Africans and Portuguese”, refer Colusso and Bevilacqua (2010, p. 49). Silveira Martins (RS) is one of the nine municipalities located in this space and calls itself “Cradle of the Fourth Colony”, which is even indicated on the access portal to the territory of the municipality, on its border with the municipality of Santa Maria. The research was carried out in one of the cemetery environments existing in Silveira, in its urban area: the Jardim da Paz Ecumenical Cemetery, emphasizing the artifacts that represent the religiosity of the local

¹ Adjunct Professor of the Archivology Department of the Center for Social and Human Sciences of the Federal University of Santa Maria – RS.

community, especially the one linked to the Italian ethnicity, since some of the first immigrants and their descendants are buried there.

Castro (2020, p. 14) specifies that the funerary patrimony "is about the materiality of the constructions erected for the dead, the rites of the dead, the devotions of miracle saints, the rituals and pilgrimages in places of crime, among other goods". "Of all the segments of cultural patrimony, the funeral is the one that directly refers to the closing of the life cycle. The dead and the demonstrations surrounding the death of a certain social group, as a legacy, constitute what can or cannot be preserved" (CASTRO, 2020, p. 145).

A profile of the expression of the religiousness of the Italian ethnicity is made from four tombs of the cemetery monuments existing in Jardim da Paz, which were observed, belonging to the population that has been highlighted in the spatial occupation of that place from the end of the 19th century. In the 1930s changes in the location occurred due to the community's action, while Silveira was still the fourth district of Santa Maria (RS), in order to bring improvements to the environment, at the time abandoned. Therefore, it is known that some transformations had already occurred, and some tombs are not entirely faithful to what they were when they were built. Another detail is that because of its nomenclature, and because it is public, it is an ecumenical space, that is, universal, not being exclusively Catholic.

The work is justified by the fact that this cemetery has been observed since the middle of 2019 and that its expansion has been verified since the first semester of that year. An area of similar size was added to the one that already existed on the corner of Fernando Nunes and 21 de Abril streets, right next to the cemetery. It is understood that any modification in places that keep the memory, can result in changes and loss of information, as on the existing tombs.

The photographic record that preceded the writing of this article aimed, above all, to preserve the archival and monumental cemetery records of this cemetery space. With the expansion, this cemetery has guaranteed the provision of burials of the community for the next 30 years. However, it is necessary to take care of the preservation of its history as a whole.

The methodology of this research included three activities: bibliographic research, field research and analysis of cemetery artifacts connected with the population's religiosity. The bibliographic research took place with the gathering of and research in books and scientific articles on

the themes of funerary patrimony, Italian immigration in Rio Grande do Sul, death and religiosity. A field survey was carried out, with a photographic record of 100 graves at the Silveira Martins Cemetery, which was mapped, and later some of those that best represent religiosity were chosen.

After gathering the research data, a check was made on all images, both those of 2019 and 2020. We returned to the site exactly one year after the first visits, in August, to verify the completion of the work and the physical condition of the cemetery. The information present on the same tombs photographed on the different dates was observed. The research presented here also considers a modification carried out in the Jardim da Paz Ecumenical Cemetery in the municipality of Silveira Martins due to the action of vandalism, probably.

The Italians, Silveira Martins and Catholicism

The first colonies of Italian immigrants in Rio Grande do Sul (RS), in southern Brazil, which was still an Empire, were installed in the areas where the municipalities of Caxias do Sul, Garibaldi and Bento Gonçalves are located today. But more Italians crossed the Atlantic Ocean and arrived in Brazil.

Dom Pedro II, through his ally Gaspar da Silveira Martins, realized the need to populate the Serra de São Martinho, defending the north and northeast for the Santa Maria da Boca do Monte intendance. Then another Italian immigration colony appears in RS, initially called *Città Nuova*, then *Città Bianca* and, Silveira Martins in honor of its intercessor, in the empire, Senator Gaspar da Silveira Martins in 1879 (FAGAN, 2015, p. 83).

Several families of Italians moved from the northern region of present-day Italy to Brazil by ship, leaving mainly from the port of Genoa, stimulated by the propaganda of the promised land (fertile and abundant) and arriving in the region of the Fourth Imperial Colony of Italian Immigration, in the center of RS. But, as Sponchiado (2019, p. 37) noted, the “adventure of immigration took different shapes, as it unfolded from the start until the early days of America” as the unexpected aspects became present. The groups arrived in the center of RS on river transport and then there was another stretch of wagon or train, this when the railroad had reached Santa Maria, until the so-called Colônia Station, located where the Camobi Neighborhood currently exists. From there they went by car or on foot to the shed, where today is the Monument to the Italian Immigrant (Photo 1), on the way up the mountain.

Photograph 1 – Monument to the Immigrant



Author: Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi, August 2020.

The first immigrants who arrived at this geographical point, in 1877, had precarious conditions for survival and many were affected by diseases that led to the death of many Italians. “To think that the arrival in the Colony represented the end of suffering and adventures is pure deception” (SPONCHIADO, 2019, p. 55). Some people were permanently based in what is now known as Silveira Martins, a municipality 31 km away from Santa Maria and which can be accessed via BR-287 directly on Estrada Norberto José Kipper or on Estrada do Imigrante (RS-804) and then following through the Norberto José Kipper Municipal Road (ERS-511). But the wait for allocation could be up to six months (SPONCHIADO, 2019).

The “birthplace of the Fourth Colony”, Silveira Martins, was emancipated in 1987 and currently has about 2449 inhabitants according to the 2010 census, with the majority (55.5%) living in the countryside (IBGE, 2019). Of the total population, the majority is between 40 and 49 years old (14.3%), and there is a balance between men (50.1%) and women (49.9%). As for religion, 87.6% of the population declared themselves in 2010 as Apostolic Roman Catholic. The devotion to Catholicism is long-standing.

The first mass at the place where the first Italian immigrants were located in the central region was celebrated on June 19, 1878 because the Imperial government finally agreed to give the license to Father Marcelino

de Bittencourt, then the vicar from Santa Maria. Between that day and the next, 18 children of immigrants were baptized (SPONCHIADO, 2019, p. 82). Beltrão (2013, p. 387) recorded that “the parish of Silveira Martins, by Provincial Law no. 1,455” was created on April 24, 1884. A little later, on June 28, “the parish of Santo Antonio de Pádua de Silveira Martins was canonically erected by Bishop D. Sebastião Dias Laranjeiras”. The religious issue was a demand for the community that settled there, mostly Italian immigrants. On the health issue, Beltrão (2013, p. 408) reports that a serious smallpox epidemic hit Silveira Martins in 1887, when immigration was in full swing.

Catholicism has always been very important and highlighted in memorable moments, so much so that in the celebrations of the “fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the first Italian settlers”, on May 19, 1927, a mass was said in Val de Buia, where there was the shed that housed the first immigrants. According to Beltrão (2013, p. 639), a monument was fixed on the site with a large cross and a plaque on which was written: “Cinquentennial of the first mass celebrated in Silveira Martins by the Reverend. Canon José Marcelino de Sousa Bittencourt. The people celebrate this date with joy. Silveira Martins 19.05.1877 – 19.05.1927”. The focus was to show gratitude to the first Italians who arrived in Silveira, with an expression of the religiosity of the ethnicity.

Sponchiado (2019, p. 85) reveals that it was the councilors of Santa Maria who suggested paying homage to Silveira Martins, “in this gesture, they wanted to show that they owed much to the illustrious tribune”. At the end of the 19th century, when Brazil was already a republic (after November 15, 1889), the place was already referred to as ex-Colony Silveira Martins, which can be observed in several records made in books belonging to the municipality of Santa Maria da Boca do Monte, whose district it was. The fact that it was a former colony is due to the fact that in 1882 the Emperor signed Decree No. 8.641 in which the colony was transferred to “the rule of law common to other towns in the Empire”. Since then, legally, the former colony has come to belong to Santa Maria as a district (SPONCHIADO, 2019, p. 88).

In 1898 the residents of Silveira Martins organized themselves and tried to create a new municipality with Vale Veneto (district of São João do Polêsine), Arroio Grande (district of Santa Maria), Faxinal do Soturno (municipality since 1959), Dona Francisca (municipality since 1965), Ivorá

(municipality since 1988). The request to the President of the State was denied to the Municipal Council a month later (BELTRÃO, 2013, p. 489). A new request was made in 1963, which was also not accepted (BELTRÃO, 2013, p. 488).

Bearing in mind that Silveira Martins only emancipated in 1987, almost 100 years after the first request, there is a certain conflict between the place and Santa Maria, an inattention to Silveira and its people. The telegraph arrived at the site in 1918, telephony and electricity in 1925, almost 30 years after Santa Maria (where it was installed in 1898) (BELTRÃO, 2013). The emancipation law was State Law No. 8481 of December 11, 1987, as stated in its Article 1: “The Municipality of Silveira Martins is created, constituted by the district of the same name, belonging to the Municipality of Santa Maria”.

Patrimony, cemetery and religiosity

The issue of patrimony in Brazil started in the 1930s as a process of building a patrimony based on the administration of President Getúlio Vargas, who wanted to strengthen the idea of a nation based on national patrimony. The National Historical and Artistic Patrimony Service (today Iphan), was born with Law No. 378/1937, with the objective of being national (CHUVA, 2020). The technical inventories of goods indicated those that were “representative of a nation’s imagination”, and later listed and preserved (CHUVA, 2020, p. 91). Without being listed, something was not considered patrimony. “The concept of patrimony was based on the idea of an intrinsic value to goods, revealed by specialists” (CHUVA, 2020, p. 92).

The change in the notion of patrimony, ceasing to be a finished product to also house other expressions of diverse groups, happens when immaterial (non-tangible) goods are also considered patrimony, in addition to documents, landscapes, and the relationship between goods. There also enters the approximation of everyday experiences, such as different rituals, and the change of focus from the material to the immaterial to give visibility to less expressive social groups, such as ethnic groups, among which were Italian immigrants.

In the early 1990s, reflections on cultural policies reached universities and there was an attention from the academic space to decisions about

patrimony. Prats indicates that “adjusting to reality implies the need to transform the discourse, eliminate or relocate an element, introduce new ones” (2000, p. 133). In this perspective, the cemetery can be a new element in the patrimony discourse.

Diesel and Gonçalves (2010, p. 88) highlight the understanding of patrimony:

Cultural historical patrimony of a people, municipality, state or nation are all those material or immaterial goods that we inherit from our ancestors and that tell us their life stories. This patrimony makes us recognize where we came from and who we are, being part of our cultural identity. From the past we learn; in the present, we live, experience and think about the future. Each community ends up judging what is most relevant for this story to be told and passed on to future generations.

The cemetery is then identified as a patrimonial site: a museum and an open-air archive. A museum due to art and symbology, the archive for information. This paradigm shift activates new referents and new meanings for what is found inside cemeteries. Religion, such as the Christian one, is an influence present in memory spaces and especially in cemeteries, a place where Catholicism is present in the symbolic. Catroga (2010, p. 166) wrote that “each and every cemetery, and particularly the 19th century cemetery, must be seen as a place par excellence for symbolic reproduction of the social universe and its metaphysical expectations. And this symbolism stems from the fact that, as Gaston Bachelard underlined, death is ‘primarily an image’ ”.

Feeling the cemetery as a place of memory and patrimony makes what is seen there important, relevant to the community at a given time and space, because “cultures” are mobile, true expressions of beliefs and of the present set of values. A recomposition of the speeches is made, giving meaning to the fragments of culture visualized there. Prats (2000, p. 131) understands that “culture cannot be encompassed in its entirety”, being just a cut out of a larger, more complex whole.

García García (1998, p. 16) understands that “the discourse is a way of expressing some aspects of reality, but it is obviously not that reality”, so what is found in the cemetery is also a discourse, a discourse on the religiosity of the people and a speech about what the people are. It is their representations based on selected elements that form a discursive set. The set of tombs of the immigrants, former inhabitants of Silveira Martins, is a material asset composed of ideas of (immaterial) religiosity reproduced as

speeches (that form a funeral discursive archive) that fit in this place and time, having as support the conditions to be pronounced.

With the support of a power group, patrimony can be “either an invention or a social construction” (PRATS, 2000, p. 115). As a social construction, it depends more on the subject rather than the object, showing subjectivity in the symbolic sphere. Vandalism in cemeteries, in turn, represents the non-recognition of assets elected as patrimony. The community must, therefore, support patrimony policies, understanding their value, defending them.

The cemetery of Silveira Martins – RS

The Jardim da Paz Ecumenical Cemetery was named by Municipal Law No. 34 of November 8, 1989, when the newly emancipated municipality was taking its first steps of independence from Santa Maria, but its existence is former to this since it houses the burials of many Italian immigrants and their descendants, according to what can be read on the tombstones.

As soon as they arrived in the region, the Italians had many trials. “The situation of the colonists’ misery and the precariousness of assistance (...) was a special reason for the overvaluation of the role of religion and faith, through the work of the priests, in the organization of the Colony”, with a “confidence of the colonists in the guidance of priests” (BOLZAN, 2015, p. 138). In Photograph 2 we have the view of the Cemetery from the main gate, observing that at the other end is the chapel, the presence of Christianity from its construction as a place of prayer, since at the top is a metallic cross, well above the two-leaf wooden door. Between the door and the cross, a stained-glass window in a semicircle and below it, a stairway with the same shape. On each side, a long, Venetian-type window.

Photograph 2 – The main entrance to the Jardim da Paz Cemetery



Author: Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi, August 2019.

In the field work, when a considerable amount of photographic records had been made, all the information available in each researched tomb unit was transcribed such as: name, surname, date of birth and death, epitaph, construction material used in the grave, three-dimensional elements and signs, that is, it is an important informational source for the city.

The oldest death record at Jardim da Paz Cemetery dates back to 1888, but it is not known if the remains are there, if they were buried there. After that, the oldest dates of the 19th century are 1891, 1896, 1897, of the Aita, Gazapina and Londero families. On the main avenue, front view and avenue of the chapel, 390 are the names of people buried in 100 tombs in this delimited space, many of them of the 20th century.

In the death registry books existing in the City Hall, which are kept in the Department of Infrastructure and Traffic, burials have been found since April 2, 1900. In that first year, there were 44 registered deaths. The book has records until 1911. There is then a hiatus, without being certain if there are other books there. Apart from the first burial record book, two more books were found: one that starts in 1939 and ends in the 1960s and another that starts in 2007. In the first book, the nationality of the dead is almost only “Italian”, while in the others the number of Italians dropped, until

they are almost entirely “Brazilian” in the third. Nowadays there is a varied population still remaining in the place today, descendants of those first Italians who settled in Silveira Martins.

It is true that “the analysis value of the funerary space is not limited to the quantitative expression of the groups represented by the tombs. The value can be found in the exceptional character, of deviation from the rule, which demands from the researcher an exercise in reflection” (CERQUEIRA; BASTIANELLO, 2012, p. 7). In the cemetery environment taken here as an object, it was verified that it is not uncommon to use the language / dialect of origin of immigrants in the inscriptions. The Italian language is on several graves and indicate the close relationship of those who were buried there with the European country from which the immigration occurred from the second half, and almost the end, of the 19th century.

In the midst of the documents found at the City Hall on death records, a register of Minutes was found, from the year 1932, when a “Commission for the Reconstruction of Silveira Martins Cemetery” was assembled. It brought together five citizens who, representing the community, were concerned about the condition of the cemetery. In view of the death records in the first book, the cemetery, at this point, was at least 32 years old. It is registered in the document that the site was abandoned, being “regrettably in ruins and, therefore, abandoned of all the necessary care for its good conservation”, being necessary “reconstruction, conservation and improvement of the cemetery”. Today, however, it can be said that the cemetery is in good condition.

“In the cemetery, culture, memory and history come together”, according to Bastianello (2016, p. 207). On each tomb unit, the names and faces of the people who formed that people are identified, as if they were sheets of a register that does not exist, a file that is possible to see without asking anyone for permission, and that is available permanently, or until it succumbs to time and inclement weather.

Marcon and Pedrazzi (2018, p. 152) indicate that cemeteries have bridges with Archivology “due to the social document that constitutes the epitaph and other lapidary information”, considering that it is a theme “still little discussed in Applied Social Sciences”. It contains the names, surnames and, also, their absence on those graves that are completely blank. “Anthroponomy is a form of social control over the subject’s otherness. (...)”

all the duty of memory has to go through the invocation (or restitution) of proper names: naming the evoked removes the person from being forgotten, renewing the person's face and identity" (CATROGA, 1999, p. 18).

The photos in the cemetery reveal the clothes, hair, customs and objects (like the pipe, in Photograph 3). They show perceptible physical features. Thus, the informational archive of immigrants in the cemetery is visible and consumable by anyone who can reach this place, absorbing what it offers. Catroga (1999, p. 19) emphasizes that "the cemetery aesthetically reveals the very unconscious of society through a symbolic plot" and "as a worshiper of the dead (...) [man is] a producer of culture and memory".

Photograph 3 – In honor of Giuseppe and Francesca Trevisan



Author: Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi, August 2019.

The homage to immigrants Giuseppe Trevisan, who died on February 25, 1931 in São João do Polêsine, and Francesca Della Valle Trevisan, who died on September 5, 1888 in Silveira Martins (being the oldest grave), was made to mark the 130th anniversary of their arrival in Brazil (1878) and affixed to the grave of three burial units in a simple, printed way, framed in a space protected from the weather.

The cemetery space in the urban area of Silveira has, among other religious manifestations, some of the Christian symbols such as the image of Jesus crucified; his mother, Our Lady; angels; crosses of different sizes

and materials, among others. However, it is known that “the religious sense and the sacred space of the cemetery is stronger on the day of the dead”, according to Rezende (2000, p. 83), when the “people will spontaneously process their faith”.

In the cemeteries there is a great diversity of tomb types, with also very different ornaments, which represent, among other things, the purchasing power of each family as well as the importance given to the constructions. “The tombs, representative of different historical periods, can generally be divided into types. They are: simple grave, horizontal or vertical vaults, chapel vault, monument vault and monument” (COSTA, 2016, p. 27).

In Photograph 4, there is a tomb that is in the most disputed part of the Jardim da Paz Cemetery, the main avenue, right at its entrance, on the right. This tomb, according to the cemetery type, is of the monument type and has writings in Italian.

Photograph 4 – Image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus



Author: Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi, August 2019.

It is a tomb built using white marble whose sculpture portrays the Sacred Heart of Jesus, as it has a heart out of the chest, which symbolizes Christ's love for men. He wears the tunic and the cloak, according to other images that exist in churches. The next tomb (Photo 5), according to the typology, is of the vertical type.

Photograph 5 – Cushion with the image of the Sacred Heart of Mary



Author: Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi, August 2020.

The tomb, which is on a transversal path crossing the main avenue of the cemetery, is very simple, like its ornament: in addition to the cushion, it contains different coverings on the top (painted mortar) and on the bottom (ceramic), without any name. The image of Jesus' mother refers to Christianity and Jesus. Mary's heart burns, showing that a mother's love is warm, strong. On the tomb of Photograph 6, we have the representation of the crucifix.

Photograph 6 – Crucifix on a tomb of the monument type.



Author: Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi, August 2019.

The marble and bronze crucifix represents the crucifixion of Jesus. On the sign, the initials I.N.R.I mean “Jesus Nazarene King of the Jews”. A year later, the sculpture and the plaque were removed due to an alleged theft. Photograph 7 shows the replica of the local church.

Photograph 7 – Replica of the Santo Antonio of Padua Church of Silveira Martins



Author: Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi, August 2019.

As a monument vault, the tomb in green and white colors reproduces the shape of the tower of the Santo Antonio of Padua Mother Church of Silveira Martins, the only round belfry outside Italy, and the bell tower is 42 meters high. Photograph 8 shows the tower.

Photograph 8 – Tower of the Mother Church highlighted in the landscape of Silveira Martins



Author: Fernanda Kieling Pedrazzi, August 2020.

Note that the cemetery reproduction highlights the cylindrical tower, a unique feature of the church in America. The cemetery is 750 meters away from the tower of the Mother church. For Bolzan (2015, p. 147) “the materialization of the Catholic religion can be considered as one of the most significant ways to understand the Fourth Colony of Italian Immigration through its cultural identity”.

Final considerations

The research carried out at the Jardim da Paz Ecumenical Cemetery in Silveira Martins shows the use of space and its relationship with the religiousness of the community, especially that of the Italian ethnic group: immigrants and their descendants. The memory of Italian immigrants from the Fourth Colony of Italian Immigration in the State is present in the cemetery space, and is characterized by the strong influence of the Catholic Church on symbols related to Jesus, Mary, the crucifixion and the presence of the Church as materiality. We agree with Castro's idea (2020, p. 147) that the “fascinating funerary cultural patrimony: is lively, multiple and

challenging, like life. The life which ended in it, but which endures in the representations of men and women in the face of loss”.

The four tombs presented here as examples are just a small sample of religious expression in the environment that is defined as universal and secularized in its name: Ecumenical. On each grave there is a universe of informational interconnections for what Catroga (1999) calls “symbolic plot”. The cult of the dead, in this way, produces culture and memories. It is understood that preserving the cemetery environment and its patrimony is also preserving the identity and culture of that people and place. However, it is necessary for the community to recognize itself there in order to value the memory that reflects and that is discursivized materially and immaterially.

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“Seditious movement”: an analysis of the depositions of the witnesses in the investigation of the police headquarters of Rio Grande do Sul about the 1924 lieutenant uprising in the state

*Amilcar Guidolim Vitor¹
Júlio Ricardo Quevedo dos Santos²*

1 Introduction

Since the Paraguayan War (1864-1870), the Army has had a progressively prominent role in Brazil's political developments. It was during the conflict that an institution was formed which became present in the main events that changed the country's political structures, such as the Proclamation of the Republic in 1889 and the 1930's movement that led Getúlio Vargas to the presidency of the country. Also, low-ranking young officers, mostly lieutenants and captains, were part of the barracks, who in the 1922, 1924 and the Prestes Column³ march movements, led rebel actions in opposition to the governments of Presidents Epitácio Pessoa, Artur Bernardes and Washington Luís. In historiography, the movement became known as a lieutenants' movement.⁴

On July 5, 1922, after the results of the elections in March of that year came out, which gave victory to the situation candidate, Artur Bernardes, who had a strong opposition and resistance from the military,

¹ Doctoral Candidate in History at the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM). E-mail: amilcar_vitor@yahoo.com.br.

² PhD in History by the University of São Paulo/USP; Professor in the Graduate Program of History of the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM). E-mail: j-quevedo@uol.com.br.

³ Rebel movement formed by soldiers, army officers and civilians that traveled throughout Brazil between 1924 and 1927 in opposition to the governments of presidents Artur Bernardes and Washington Luís. The march came to an end in February 1927 when the rebels interned themselves in Bolivia.

⁴ “The lieutenants' movement developed mainly in 1922 in opposition to the governments of the presidents Epitácio Pessoa and, later, Artur Bernardes. The movement took this name because the majority of its participants were lieutenants and captains of the Army” (PRESTES, 1997, p. 69).

especially those of low rank, the first rebel uprising of lieutenants occurred. The uprising ended up restricted to Rio de Janeiro at Copacabana Fort⁵ and was severely repressed by government forces, resulting in the deaths of young soldiers and officers, as well as arrests, punishments, and persecutions of all of those involved in the actions. Bernardes began his term as president in November of that year.

Two years after the rebellion in Rio de Janeiro, again on July 5th, the actions of the lieutenants' movement resumed this time with an uprising in São Paulo, led by General Isidoro Dias Lopes. For more than twenty days, the rebellious military took the capital of São Paulo, being repressed again by federal government forces and were forced to leave the city as of July 28, heading towards the west of Paraná, where they resisted until April 1925, waiting for the support of forces that would rebel in Rio Grande do Sul in October of the same year.⁶

The uprising in Rio Grande do Sul was a direct reflection of the actions in São Paulo and began on the night of October 28, 1924. On this date, barracks in the cities of Santo Ângelo, São Luiz Gonzaga, São Borja, and Uruguaiana rebelled. In Santo Ângelo, in the northwest of the state, Captain Luiz Carlos Prestes⁷ and Lieutenant Mário Portela Fagundes⁸ caused an upheaval in the 1st Railway Battalion, arresting the garrison commander, mobilizing soldiers and officers to join the movement. In addition, Prestes ordered a group of about 40 men to carry out the capture of Ijuí village,

⁵ Military garrison located at the end of the famous Rio beach.

⁶ To understand more about the process of construction of the lieutenants' movement, as well as its motivations and flags raised in the movements of 1922, 1924 and in the march of the Prestes Column, see Prestes (1991), Borges (1992), Corrêa (1976).

⁷ Born in Porto Alegre in 1898, Luiz Carlos Prestes pursued a military career by graduating as an engineer at the Escola Militar do Realengo in January 1920. He was part of the lieutenants' movement since 1922 and was one of the main leaders of the Prestes Column march between 1924 and 1927. In 1934 he joined the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB), becoming one of the main political figures in the country. He was arrested, persecuted and exiled. With the amnesty in 1979 he was able to return to Brazil, breaking with the communist party in 1980. Until his death in 1990 at the age of 92, he dedicated himself to touring several Brazilian states presenting his vision of the country's condition (PRESTES, 2015).

⁸ Born in Pelotas, Mário Portela Fagundes joined the Military School of Realengo in 1919, being a student of Luiz Carlos Prestes and completing his studies in 1921, when he left aspiring to the engineering weapon. The beginning of his military life in Santo Ângelo happened in January 1922 when he was assigned to serve in the 1st Railway Battalion. He died in combat at the end of January 1925, when the Prestes Column crossed Rio Grande do Sul towards Santa Catarina and Paraná aiming to meet with São Paulo troops in the Foz do Iguaçu region (FORNARI; LOPES; GEHLEN, 1997, p. 35).

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approximately 50 kilometers from Santo Ângelo, where the rebels faced resistance from legalistic forces led by police chief Martim Leonardo. Subsequently, rebel troops in Rio Grande do Sul concentrated in São Luiz Gonzaga, where they remained for sixty days, giving rise to the formation and the march of the Prestes Column.

Thus, the present essay aims to expose and analyze the depositions of some witnesses in the police investigation of the Rio Grande do Sul Police Department, especially in the towns of Santo Ângelo, Ijuí, and São Luiz Gonzaga, taken in 1925 by the Deputy Chief of Police from the 15th police region, delegate Antônio de Veiga Cabral. This proposal becomes relevant because most of the information and representations about the events of that period were based on oral reports from those who experienced the events, making it necessary to give visibility and problematize the collection of judicial documentary sources on the episodes in question.⁹

2 The 1924 lieutenant uprising in Rio Grande do Sul

Rio Grande do Sul was the state that continued the actions of the lieutenants' movement after the rebellion undertaken in São Paulo in July 1924. Military conspiracies continued throughout the year, despite news of the uprising in the center of the country having arrived only through newspapers (REIS, 2014, p. 50). Scattered among some state military garrisons, especially in the northwest region and on the border with Argentina, several Army officers formed a group of conspirators in Rio Grande do Sul territory willing to take up arms in opposition to the government of President Artur Bernardes.

Among these officers were Luiz Carlos Prestes, Mário Portela Fagundes and Paulo Kruger da Cunha Cruz, in the 1st Railway Battalion (BF) in Santo Ângelo; João Pedro Gay, in the 3rd Independent Cavalry Regiment (RCI) of São Luiz Gonzaga; Aníbal Benévolo, Sandoval Cavalcante and Ruy Zubaran, in the 2nd Independent Cavalry Regiment (RCI) of São Borja; João Alberto Lins de Barros, in the 2nd Artillery Cavalry Regiment (RAC) in Alegrete; Fernando Távora, in the 3rd Engineering Battalion (BE) in Cachoeira do Sul; in addition to Juarez Távora, who made

⁹ The police investigation of the 1924 lieutenant uprising in Rio Grande do Sul is part of the documentary approach of the Federal Court, Rio Grande do Sul Section, headquartered in Porto Alegre.

the connection between the Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo rebels who were isolated in Paraná, but who, in the state, rose up against the 5th Independent Cavalry Regiment (RCI) of Uruguaiana; and Antônio de Siqueira Campos, exiled in Argentina, who entered the state to assist in the uprising in São Borja. These soldiers were able to articulate, benefiting from the relative geographic proximity between their garrisons, creating a network of contacts in Rio Grande do Sul that was able to unleash the rebel movement of October 1924. Furthermore, in this region, they could also count on the adhesion of civilians linked to the Liberating Alliance¹⁰ who opposed the government of the President of the State, Borges de Medeiros.

Captain Luiz Carlos Prestes, who would become an outstanding strategic leader of the rebellious “lieutenants” in Rio Grande do Sul, had been transferred to the state in October 1922 as a form of punishment for his participation in the conspiracies of July of the same year, that resulted in the actions of the first lieutenant uprising in Rio de Janeiro (PRESTES, 2015, p. 37). The engineer captain’s mission was to head the Inspection Commission for Barracks Construction in the northwest region, more specifically in the cities of Santo Ângelo, Santiago do Boqueirão and São Nicolau.

Historian Anita Prestes (2015, p. 41) highlights that during this period Luiz Carlos Prestes was able to travel around the state seeking to identify new revolutionary focuses for the actions that had been articulated since 1922. He passed through the municipalities of Cruz Alta, Santa Maria, Montenegro, Porto Alegre, Pelotas, Bagé, and São Gabriel. In a letter to Eduardo Gomes, a survivor of the uprising at Copacabana Fort, he reported that in that state no one was interested in the Bernardes government, the main concern was with disputes between supporters of Assis Brasil and Borges de Medeiros (PRESTES, 2015, p. 41).

However, in 1924 the scenario was drastically altered, mainly by the events in São Paulo, which ended up precipitating the articulation and the

¹⁰ In Rio Grande do Sul, the lieutenants’ conspiracies were joined by members of the Liberating Alliance, a political group led by Joaquim Francisco de Assis Brasil, an opponent of the then president of the State Borges de Medeiros, re-elected for a fifth term in 1922, defeating in the elections Assis Brasil himself. In 1923, the state was completely involved in conflicts between the two political groups, “Assististas” [supporters of Assis Brasil] and “Borgistas” [supporters of Borges de Medeiros]. The 1923 civil war was pacified with the signing of the High Pact in December of that year. In 1924, members of the Liberating Alliance saw in the rebel military the possibility of starting a new movement aimed at deposing Borges de Medeiros (PRESTES, 1991).

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triggering of revolutionary actions by the military in the Rio Grande do Sul territory. With the accession of civilians linked to Assis Brasil and the Liberating Alliance, the rebel movement was formed and was effectively unleashed in October. Among the civilian “alliance supporters”, the actions of Honório Lemes, Felipe Portinho, Leonel Rocha, Pedro Aarão, Zeca Netto, Inocêncio and João Silva, João Portinho, Juca Raimundo, Júlio Barrios, Mário Garcia, Sezefredo Aquino, Nestor Veríssimo¹¹ and others stand out. Unhappy with the political scenario in Rio Grande do Sul, they saw in the actions of the lieutenant military the possibility of effecting the deposition of the President of the State Borges de Medeiros (PRESTES, 1991, p. 119).

The months of August, September and October were decisive for the organization of the movement, be it for the decision of members of the Army, such as Luiz Carlos Prestes and Juarez Távora, to create a rebellion among the military garrisons in the state, or for the decisive adhesion of the Liberating Alliance. If in July, when the revolts began in São Paulo, this adhesion seemed unfeasible, in the following months Assis Brasil was raised to the civil leadership of the movement. On the front lines of the actions, Honório Lemes, Zeca Netto, and Leonel Rocha were great civilian leaders seeking not only the deposition of Artur Bernardes, as the military wanted but, above all, the removal from power of the “usurper”¹² Borges de Medeiros.

The arrival of Juarez Távora and Siqueira Campos in the state, Siqueira Campos from Argentina where he was in exile, accelerated the organization of the actions, which after all were scheduled for the dawn of October 29th. According to Prestes (1991, p. 119) on the night of October 28, the 1st Santo Ângelo Railway Battalion rebelled, under the command of Captain Luiz Carlos Prestes and Lieutenant Mário Portela Fagundes. In the early hours of the 29th, the 3rd Independent Cavalry Regiment of São Luiz Gonzaga, under the command of Lieutenant João Pedro Gay; the 2nd Independent Cavalry Regiment of São Borja, under the command of Lieutenant Aníbal Benévolo, with the assistance of Lieutenant Siqueira Campos; and the 5th Independent Cavalry Regiment of Uruguaiana, following the instructions of Juarez Távora and also of civilian Honório

¹¹ Uncle of the writer Érico Veríssimo and political figure active in the Cruz Alta region.

¹² Expression recurrently used by the Liberating Alliance in relation to Borges de Medeiros.

Lemes rebelled. Two days later, a battle from the 2nd Artillery Cavalry Regiment of Alegrete, under the command of Lieutenant João Alberto Lins de Barros also broke out.

In Santo Ângelo, still on the night of the 28th, Luiz Carlos Prestes sent a letter to the intendant of Santo Ângelo, Carlos Kruel, requesting all the existing armament and ammunition, which was granted with great fright by the local representative when he saw his residence surrounded by the rebels. The action resulted in the seizure of approximately 50 rifles (PRESTES, 2015, p. 53). At dawn on the 29th, Prestes ordered the printing of a manifesto written by Lieutenant Portela entitled "*To the people of Santo Ângelo*" which was distributed during the day and explained about the motivations of the uprising and asked for the understanding of the population. In Santo Ângelo, the movement led by the military had the participation of civilian oppositionists to the Borges de Medeiros government. Pedro Bins, Pedro Arão, Juca Raymundo and Inocêncio Silva were the main highlights and their names were repeatedly mentioned in the depositions of witnesses in the investigation by the State Police Headquarters.

Also, at dawn on October 29, Prestes organized and sent a detachment of approximately 40 men led by sergeant Teodósio Boelner and Pedro Bins to attack the village of Ijuí, approximately 50 kilometers away. The taking over of this location was decisive for the rebels, since it constituted an area where government troops would arrive via railway line, reaching Santo Ângelo. However, on the morning of that day, the legalistic forces of Ijuí took up resistance. Sergeant Boelner was killed during the attack and the rebels commanded by Pedro Bins had to retreat and return to Santo Ângelo.

According to Prestes (1991, p. 124): "Faced by the failure of the attempt to seize the city of Ijuí, it was clear to Luiz Carlos Prestes that it would be impossible for revolutionary troops to stay in Santo Ângelo any longer. The time had come to organize the withdrawal from the city". On the 29th, Prestes ordered Portela to go to São Luiz Gonzaga, where the 3rd RCI had rebelled in the same morning under the command of Lieutenant João Pedro Gay. Fearing the arrival of legalistic troops in Santo Ângelo via the railway line, Prestes stayed in the city for only three days, removing the revolutionary troops to São Luiz, where at the time there was no railroad extension, which made it difficult for government troops to have access to the city, which benefited the rebels in organizing a resistance strategy.

Despite having successfully started the rebellious movement, in the border region with Argentina, in São Borja and Uruguaiana, the insurrectional actions failed. Prestes was left to concentrate all the revolutionary force in Rio Grande do Sul in São Luiz Gonzaga, where they remained until December 27, breaking through a major blockade of government troops and starting a march towards Paraná to join forces with the São Paulo force in the region of Foz do Iguaçu. That done, in April 1925, the Prestes Column marched throughout Brazil until February 1927, when it was interned in Bolivia.

3 The depositions of the witnesses of Santo Ângelo, Ijuí and São Luiz Gonzaga in the investigation of the Police Headquarters of Rio Grande do Sul¹³

In the 1920s Santo Ângelo, Ijuí and São Luiz Gonzaga belonged to the 15th police region of Rio Grande do Sul, and acting as Deputy Chief of Police was Deputy Antônio de Veiga Cabral. In Santo Ângelo, 15 witnesses were heard about the events that occurred in October 1924, when the 1st BF rebelled under the command of Captain Luiz Carlos Prestes. In Ijuí, 5 people gave deposition, mainly reporting on the attack that the active soldiers of the 1st BF carried out on the site on the morning of October 29. In São Luiz Gonzaga, the delegate took the deposition of 37 people, the highest number because it was in this city where the rebels stayed for the longest time, sixty days.

It should be noted that the profile of the witnesses who gave deposition in these locations was directly related to individuals who were part of the privileged social strata, mainly from a political and economic point of view. Of the 57 depositions, only two were from women, both because relatives were murdered by civilian members of the rebel forces. Among the men, the delegate listened to engineers, merchants, civil servants, bank agents, local political leaders, such as intendants and ex-intendants, as well as soldiers from the Santo Ângelo and São Luiz Gonzaga garrisons, all on the legal side.

¹³ The depositions of the witnesses of Santo Ângelo, Ijuí and São Luiz Gonzaga are extensive and have many details about the events of the lieutenants' uprising in Rio Grande do Sul. In this approach, it is not possible to deal in detail with all the reports of these witnesses, therefore, we chose to carry out an overview of the most relevant facts addressed by them, as well as the aspects that intertwine in some of the statements.

In Santo Ângelo, between March 30 and April 1, 1925, the following people were heard: Alexandre Martins da Rosa, civil engineer; João Dahne, civil engineer; Carlos Kruel, municipal intendant; Bráulio de Oliveira¹⁴, former municipal intendant; Agostinho Gomes Pereira, postal agent; Caio Mário Belmonte, merchant; Lucídio Rodrigues Lied, agent of the National Bank of Commerce; Florimundo Fernandes dos Santos, acting agent of Banco Pelotense; Hugo Rocha, merchant; João Rocha, agent of the Provincial Bank; Serafim Dias Ferreira, merchant; Antônio Gentil Basílio Alves, doctor of the 1st BF; Abelardo Castanho, sergeant of the 1st BF; Eduardo de Sá Siqueira Montes, Major of the Army and commander of the 1st BF.

In the depositions of these witnesses, they all confirmed that the leadership of the movement was headed by Captain Luiz Carlos Prestes with the help of Lieutenant Mário Portela Fagundes as of the night of October 28, 1924. They pointed out that, initially, around 8 pm, Prestes ordered the arrest of the commander of the 1st BF, which was carried out by a group commanded by the civilian Pedro Bins, under the direct supervision of the captain. They claim that subsequently, through a forged telegram, Prestes and Portela made the lieutenants Machado Lopes and Hugo Carvalho pass the command of the garrison to Prestes. In his deposition, the then intendant of Santo Ângelo, Carlos Kruel, affirms that this same night at his home he was surprised by a group of armed men who requested all the armament and ammunition existing in the building of the municipal office building, where the public jail was also located. The witnesses also stressed the participation of civilian oppositionists to the Borges de Medeiros government, highlighting the names of Pedro Bins, Juca Raymundo, Pedro Arão, Innocent Silva, Wenceslau Pereira, Roberto Frey, Ernesto Aguiar Kruel, Roberto Schnepfleitner, Tranquilino Ribas Pinheiro, Pedro Dornelles, Nestor Veríssimo, among others. These participations confirm the existence of a climate of revolt arising from the civil conflicts of the previous year.

Among the witnesses of Santo Ângelo, one of the most complete depositions is the deposition of the engineer Alexandre Martins da Rosa, both concerning the background of the movement and the unfolding of the

¹⁴ Bráulio de Oliveira was one of the most relevant political leaders of the Republican Party of Rio Grande do Sul (PRR) in the northwestern region of the state, having served as a steward of Santo Ângelo for five terms.

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events of October 29. Martins da Rosa worked with Luiz Carlos Prestes when he resigned from the army in the months leading to the uprising. He says that Prestes never let on that there was any connivance with “seditious movements”¹⁵, as he worked daily from very early until dark. Nevertheless, in his deposition the engineer tried to make it clear that he was also harmed by the rebel action, attributing this to the looting carried out by the revolutionary forces in his store, thus seeking to dispel any suspicion that he had participated in the movement because of his proximity to Luiz Carlos Prestes.

In this context, one of the most frequent questions asked by the delegate to witnesses was precisely concerning looting and depredations carried out by the rebels. In practically all the depositions, mainly in Santo Ângelo and São Luiz Gonzaga, the witnesses confirmed that there were looting and depredations during the uprising, with forced requisitions of foodstuffs, clothes, horses, oxen, and vehicles to transport the troops. In the depositions of the intendant Carlos Kruel and the ex-intendant Bráulio de Oliveira, the construction of institutional visions about the revolutionary uprising is verified, mainly when reinforcing the damages caused to Santo Ângelo by the rebels. They also attribute the authorship of some murders to the insurgents, something that is reinforced by other witnesses, but that is not proven in the police investigation through in-depth investigations, only reinforced taking into account the depositions of the witnesses themselves.

In the deposition of the engineer João Dahne, it is evident that the commander of the 1st BF was suspicious and feared the beginning of a rebel movement, summoning provisional bodies¹⁶ to try to organize a resistance force, and the deponent himself was communicated by Santo Ângelo’s intendant, Carlos Kruel, and participated in that resistance organization. The deposition of the postal agent in the village of Santo Ângelo, Agostinho Gomes Pereira, also brings an institutional view of the uprising, seeking to demonstrate disapproval of the rebels’ actions. He states that he was pressured by the command of the movement through Lieutenant Portela to

¹⁵ The expression “seditious movement” is the most recurrent one, both in the statements of the witnesses and in the statements of the police chief throughout the investigation, as a way to characterize the rebellious actions. The use of this expression also highlights the institutional objective of the Police Headquarters to disqualify the movement.

¹⁶ Civilian groups called by the state to fight the rebels.

send messages containing details of the operations of the “rebels”, mentioning the places where there were combinations for the revolt and an exposition of the results obtained with the requisitions.

In the statements of Lucídio Rodrigues Lied, Florimundo Fernandes dos Santos and João Rocha, the occurrences of looting and depredations are again highlighted, in addition to claiming that the “rebels” imposed a war contribution from the National Bank of Commerce, as well as from the Banks of the Province and Pelotense, of which they were employees. Hugo Rocha presents the same versions of the facts about the beginning of the uprising, as well as about withdrawals, requisitions, and war contributions requested from local banks. The deposition of Serafim Dias Ferreira provides important information on the triggering of the actions, as he was the owner of a printing company and was sought at his home in the early hours of October 29 by Lieutenant Portela with the purpose of printing the bulletin that would be distributed during the day with the manifesto of the leaders of the movement to the population. The last deposition of the 1st of April, given by the doctor of the 1st BF, Antônio Gentil Basílio Alves, gave details of the beginning of the rebel actions, always trying to reinforce his distance and disapproval of the movement, even declaring that he tried to flee from Santo Ângelo, but was prevented from doing so by the “rebels”. He declared that the civilian Pedro Bins took an active part in the movement, going with several soldiers from the railway battalion to assault the village of Ijuí in the early hours of October 29, being completely repelled from that village.

On December 31, 1924, Deputy Chief of Police Antônio de Veiga Cabral took the deposition of Sergeant Abelardo Castanho, imprisoned in the Santo Ângelo city hall building. On January 2, 1925, the then commander of the 1st BF, Major Eduardo de Sá Siqueira Montes was the one who provided clarification. Apparently, the Deputy Chief of Police suspected that Sergeant Castanho had joined the revolutionary uprising, which the deponent denied in his clarifications about the facts, stating that he only followed the rebels to São Luiz Gonzaga for fear of retaliation and that when they abandoned the city in late December, he fled towards the Serro Azul¹⁷ colony, being arrested and taken to Santo Ângelo. The deposition of Major Eduardo de Sá Siqueira Montes gives further details of the uprising,

¹⁷ Current municipality of Cerro Largo.

confirming previous reports about his arrest and detailing how it happened at the behest of Captain Prestes, also stating that he was arrested in São Luiz Gonzaga, and was then allowed to stay at the home of the local vicar, Father Estanislau Wolski, heading to Porto Alegre after the rebels left the city at the end of December. In the inquiry, police chief Veiga Cabral attributed the success of the rebel uprising to the commander's inoperability.

In addition to taking the depositions of the witnesses of Santo Ângelo, the delegate also traveled to Ijuí in order to collect the depositions of people from that locality who participated in the resistance against the troops of the 1st BF who tried to take over the city. On the morning of October 29, a force of approximately 40 men traveled by the railway that connected Santo Ângelo to Ijuí with the mission given by Luiz Carlos Prestes to take that region, considering that it would be a strategic point of arrival for the troops of the state government. The attack was eventually repelled by civilians and local security forces.

In Ijuí, 5 witnesses were heard. They were: Colonel Antônio Soares de Barros, popularly known as Colonel Dico, Ijuí quartermaster; Honório Azevedo, district judge of Ijuí; Chrysanto Gonçalves Leite, civil servant; Fernando Soares da Silva, deputy police officer; Alfredo Steglich, elected mayor of Ijuí. All the witnesses were heard on the sixteenth of April 1925, in the building of the municipal offices of Ijuí.

In his deposition, the intendant Antônio Soares de Barros affirms that it was public and notorious that the oppositionists of that village lived in constant confabulations with suspicious people residing in Cruz Alta, Palmeira, and Santo Ângelo. That Pedro Bins and Albino Jacintho de Oliveira often went to Santo Ângelo to confer with Captain Luiz Carlos Prestes. He stated that on October 28 he was warned that many of these oppositionists were in Ijuí and that possibly an attack would be carried out in the village the next day. Faced with this news, he alleges that he went to the municipal office building where he remained surrounded by friends and supporters, having sent for the deputy police chief, Lieutenant Colonel Martim Leonardo. He said that he remained in the building until 5 am on the 29th, when he left the place and went home to rest, with the deputy remaining in the building.

The intendant said he had barely gotten to sleep at his residence when he heard heavy gunfire, upon which he rose hastily. Verifying that his residence was surrounded by an armed group, he managed to escape, being

shot at while trying to reach the building of the municipal offices to meet with his companions. However, he realized that the besiegers were grouped in the vicinity of the building. Soon after, an employee of the Roeber house informed him that down the Rua do Comércio some loyalists were shooting at the “rebels”, who in a disorderly escape abandoned the positions they were in trying to board the train that had brought them from Santo Ângelo. At that moment, the deponent alleges that he was able to observe that a group of comrades, whom he calls defenders of legality¹⁸, commanded by lieutenant colonel Martim Leonardo, pursued the “rebels”, and the deponent headed to the court to take the necessary measures in order to garrison it, there remaining in the expectation of a new assault, because the shooting continued intense in the streets of Comércio and Floriano Peixoto. According to Colonel Soares, he sent for a group of companions to go to the protection of Lieutenant Colonel Martim Leonardo who continued to pursue the enemies, who, disoriented, fled towards the railroad line in search of the train. Upon arrival at the office building, the deponent observed that at about 30 meters from the site, the corpse of a sergeant, who, he was informed, was the commander of the assailants¹⁹ was lying on the ground. According to him, the facts indicate that the plan of the insurgents was to take Ijuí by assault, organizing a brigade in the municipality to threaten Cruz Alta and Palmeira, extending a destructive action throughout the region, which was not possible due to the setback suffered.

In his deposition, the district judge in Ijuí, Honório de Azevedo, said he woke up in the early hours of October 29, awakened by the shooting that was taking place in the village. He realized that the office of the intendancy was being attacked by the army and civilian forces, and saw that lieutenant colonel Martim Leonardo and deputy Fernando Soares da Silva, offered resistance to the rebels, who were repelled and fled towards the railway station, where they took the train that had brought them from Santo Ângelo. He also claimed to know that the “rebels” had been brought to the village of Ijuí and guided by opposition individuals residing in the locality, cases such as Albino Jacintho de Oliveira and Pedro Bins, attacking the office of the intendancy and surrounding the houses of the municipal intendant and the police chief.

¹⁸ Antônio Soares de Barros also belonged to the Rio-Grandense Republican Party, commanded by the President of the State Borges de Medeiros.

¹⁹ Sergeant Theodosius Boelner.

Public official Chrysanto Gonçalves Leite said in his deposition that the opposition movement in the village of Ijuí caught his attention for constantly communicating with suspicious elements residing in Santo Ângelo, Palmeira and Cruz Alta. He said that political meetings were constantly held and that Albino Jacintho and Pedro Bins often conferred with Luiz Carlos Prestes in Santo Ângelo. About the attack and flight of the “rebels”, he confirms the same as the previous deponents. In addition, Leite also gave details of the circumstances in which Dr. Bozano²⁰ death occurred on December 30, when the rebels from São Luiz Gonzaga sought to cross the territory of Santa Catarina and reach Paraná to join the São Paulo troops that were in the Foz do Iguaçu region.

In his deposition, the deputy police officer, Fernando Soares da Silva, said that most of the local oppositionists knew about the revolutionary plans, all of them being supportive of the cause, highlighting Orlando Pinheiro Machado, whom he describes as an ardent supporter of the 1923 revolution and an enthusiast of the São Paulo rebels, having been seen confabulating on the morning of October 29, taking refuge in his home when he saw the attempt failed. He said that the residences of Serafim Reis and Erwin Otto Spalding were meeting points where the revolt was openly discussed, in addition to constant telephone communications maintained with the districts in order to entice supporters to assist in the projected assault. Finally, in the same way as the previous depositions, the deposition of Alfredo Steglich, elected mayor of Ijuí, argues that it was well known that local oppositionists were articulating with supporters of neighboring municipalities and members of the Santo Ângelo Army.

The municipality of São Luiz Gonzaga was the birthplace of the Prestes Column in Rio Grande do Sul. There the rebel movement remained organized after the setbacks suffered in São Borja and Uruguaiana, and under the leadership of Luiz Carlos Prestes, started to organize what would

²⁰ Júlio Raphael de Aragão Bozano was an intendant of Santa Maria when the lieutenants' rebellions started in Rio Grande do Sul. Active member of the Rio Grande do Sul Republican Party, he was summoned to command an Auxiliary Corps to fight the rebels in the Ijuí region. On December 30, 1924, the car in which he was traveling with other men, including Chrysanto Leite, collided with a group of rebels led by Lieutenant Mário Portela Fagundes. The car was shot, and Bozano and another soldier were hit. The intendant of Santa Maria died instantly. The authorship of the shots came to be attributed to Lieutenant Portela. However, in the investigation by the Police Chief, the perpetrator of the shots was identified as the rebel Reynaldo Kruger by the witnesses.

become the Prestes Column that traveled throughout Brazil until internment in Bolivia in February 1927. São Luiz was under the control of revolutionary troops between October 29 and December 27, 1924, and unlike the other places where military garrisons rose and they remained for only a few days, such as Santo Ângelo, São Borja, Uruguaiana, Alegrete and Cachoeira do Sul, in São Luiz the movement organized its operations and resistance center in the state.

Due to this, in the investigation of the Police Headquarters of Rio Grande do Sul, São Luiz Gonzaga is the city where the largest number of witnesses were heard. In all, 37 people²¹ testified to Deputy Chief of Police Antônio de Veiga Cabral, between March 9th and 27th, 1925, in the municipal intendancy building. These people included political and religious authorities, public officials, the military, merchants, farmers, livestock keepers, journalists, and witnesses to the killings attributed to rebel forces.

In the depositions of São Luiz it is clear that there was a revolutionary environment and that it would have the participation of military and civilians. In his deposition, farmer Irineu Affonso de Queiroz stated that in August 1924 his son, Major Cyro Queiroz, sought him out to let him know that he had been informed by a corporal from the São Luiz garrison, that officers from the 3rd RCI, among whom, Lieutenants Sandoval Cavalcante de Albuquerque, João Pedro Gay, Aparício Cabral, Benévolo de tal, Francisco Reifschneider, Aristides Duarte Sampaio, and Salvador Carrosini, were attracting people for a revolt that would soon break out. Becoming aware of the fact, Irineu declared that he immediately communicated the battalion commander, Captain Arthur Vieira Guimarães, and also sent a telegram to the President of the State, Borges de Medeiros. In the telegram he stated that the appointed officials were the same ones who had tried to instigate the revolt of the regiment in 1923 and that they were frankly in favor of the “rebels” of São Paulo, meeting at the house of Mr. Antônio Ribas Pinheiro Machado and in the Agricultural Apprenticeship, where civilians also participated in the meetings.

He said that in the early hours of October 29 the revolt broke out without any reaction, and the insurgents managed to arrest the officials who were not part of the riot. At the movement’s forehead was Lieutenant

²¹ Due to the limits of this article, it is not possible to carry out a detailed analysis of the 37 depositions, opting to give an overview of what was said by the witnesses to the Police Chief.

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João Pedro Gay, who distributed soldiers around the barrack and outside of it as well. On the morning of the 29th, soldiers who arrived at the barrack were arrested and released only after joining the movement. He also said that the barrack of the Municipal Guard was taken, with the police chief and other members of this force being arrested. He also pointed out that the occupation of the city was made with vehicles for commerce and private use being requisitioned, the demand being of more than thirty. On the second day of the revolt, a bulletin signed by Lieutenant Gay was released declaring that the revolution had the same objective for which the revolutionaries of São Paulo were fighting. Irineu also said that the requests made by the rebels were absurd and unreasonable, not only requesting basic necessities, but also luxury objects, such as silks, shoes, and perfumes. He declared that a robbery regime was implemented in which some homes were violated. Complaints about requisitions made by revolutionaries, usually characterized in the statements as robberies and looting, are common in several depositions, which indicate the pursuit to disqualify the movement.

In the deposition, he also claimed that on the second or third day of sedition, Lieutenant Gay went to Dr. Bento Soeiro de Souza, asking him to join the Liberating Alliance, of which he was president in São Luiz. According to the deponent, Souza summoned the members of the board of directors and that in a meeting it had been decided that the Alliance would not manifest solidarity, but that it would give its members freedom to choose the party they thought best. According to Irineu, after that, there was a concentration in the city of military and civilian revolutionaries organized in different groups, under the guidance and command of the following civilian “chiefs” of São Luiz: João Gonçalves do Nascimento, Sezefredo Aquino dos Santos, Aparício Fabricio, João Silva, João da Luz, João Francisco do Amaral. From Santo Ângelo, Pedro Arão, and from Santiago do Boqueirão, Mário Garcia. He also pointed out that Dr. Bento Soeiro’s attitude was strange, due to his attendance at the barrack and the intimacy he maintained with the revolting officers, making an exception from the demand for Dr. Bento’s vehicle.

The only women to give deposition in the investigation were the ladies Joana Gomes de Mattos and Catharina Corrêa, both from São Luiz Gonzaga. The first gave her deposition related to the death of her children. In the deposition, she said that Mário, Romário, and Cyrino were murdered by groups linked to the civilian Sezefredo Aquino, who traveled through

areas of their fields in the region of the 3rd district of São Luiz. Catharina Corrêa, on the other hand, testified about the murder of her husband, Captain Galdino José de Oliveira, also killed by the civilian forces of Sezefredo Aquino. Both the cases of the deaths of Dona Joana's children and the death of Catharina's husband are addressed and confirmed in the work of Pedro Marques dos Santos (1993), a writer from São Luiz Gonzaga who experienced the events of 1924. Such murders are not just the result of the movement undertaken by the "lieutenants", but reflections of political disputes and other previous personal disagreements, which in 1924 found fertile ground for the settlement of accounts between rival groups. In the other depositions of São Luiz these personal and political disagreements are also made explicit.

Another important deposition of the inquiry is from Father Estanislau Wolski, vicar of São Luiz. In it, the religious man claims that he was traveling in the region when he heard about the rebel movement. Returning to São Luiz, he said that he observed the soldiery of the 3rd RCI wearing red scarves²² around their necks, noticing an absolute lack of people on the streets. He said he was called to the barrack by Lieutenant Gay, who said that the entire state was in revolution and awaiting the arrival of forces from São Borja and Santo Ângelo under the command of Luiz Carlos Prestes, whom he called commander in chief of the liberating forces. He said that Lieutenant Gay asked him to be in charge of calming the population, as they were not stealing or looting, just taking what was necessary for the revolution. The vicar alleges that after that he left, verifying that Lieutenant Gay's words were false, since, from time to time, stolen automobiles carrying stolen goods from the merchants of the city and of the interior of the municipality entered in the city. He affirms that after a few days Captain Prestes arrived in São Luiz and, shortly after, in succession, so did the civil leaders João Silva, Sezefredo Aquino, João Alves do Amaral, João Gonçalves do Nascimento and Dr. Virgílio do Nascimento, whom he calls "little leaders"²³ of the movement.

Father Estanislau also claimed that the "rebels" brought 60 cars from Santo Ângelo, another 20 from São Borja and that in São Luiz they took

²² Symbol of civilians linked to the Liberating Alliance, which shows that the adhesion of these civilians to the military movement is directly related to political events prior to 1924, notably the disputes for the presidency of the State of Rio Grande do Sul.

²³ Leaders.

over 30 vehicles, having also stolen 150 wagons. He said that during the stay of the rebel forces in the city, they stole every day, with or without requisitions, and that the requisitions were usually given by Lieutenant Gay, Captain Prestes, Lieutenant Álvaro Franco and João Silva. He says that Captain Luiz Delmont broke the “record” in rapine and that the sergeants who most distinguished themselves in the robberies were those named Murillo Guerra and Basílio, and among the civilians, “one such” Luiz Rodrigues. He upholds that the revolutionary forces stole everything, harnesses, farms, shoes, preserves, drinks, and even perfumes. That the most affected firms in this regard were Beltrão Brustolini, Leôncio Coimbra, Guilherme Hastempflug, Ford Agency, Henrique Hamann, Cyro Queiroz, João Romero and others. Still on the looting, he said that the rapine was enormous among the country houses, with Manuel Matheus being the individual who most stood out in the practice of this crime, demonstrating a true thief’s instinct and that he also set several fires. The incisive reinforcement of Father Wolski concerning the looting and depredations associated by him with the rebels demonstrates his position alongside the legal forces in order to disqualify the action of the insubordinates who, in his view, were more concerned with the theft than with the cause which they said to defend. Such representations were very common in the trajectory of the Prestes Column, always with the intention of disqualifying its objectives.

In his deposition, the journalist Theodomiro Barreyra stated that the revolt of the 3rd RCI did not cause him the slightest surprise, as he had observed that the state of the regiment was frankly one of revolt, a situation which he had already communicated to the city authorities, who had not given him much attention. He reported that he had many conversations with Lieutenant Gay, which involved political issues that made him deduce about a possible revolt, something confirmed to the deponent by sergeants and soldiers of the regiment. He also said that he sent a letter to the President of the State Borges de Medeiros alerting that members of the regiment were articulating a new uprising and that some of them had already participated in the actions of 1923. He claims that in the letter he affirmed that if these people were not transferred and a superior officer of value was not sent to the regiment, serious unrest would be reserved for the Republican Party in São Luiz. He also claimed that the local “assististas” [followers of Assis Brasil] opposition, linked to the Liberating Alliance, cooperated to carry

out the revolt, especially due to the relationship that existed between lieutenants Aparício Cabral and Aristides Duarte, as well as lieutenants Brilhante, Reischneider, Sandoval, and Waldetaro. He points out that rallies were held in the districts, always accompanied by civilian oppositionists, sergeants, and soldiers, all of whom function as inspectors of the electoral tables by the opposition. He also claimed to know of frequent confabulations of lieutenants Gay, Aparício, and Carrosini with members of the Liberating Alliance.

In general, these and other depositions, both in Santo Ângelo and Ijuí and in São Luiz Gonzaga are an indication that the 1924 lieutenant movement in Rio Grande do Sul was seen by the state authorities as a subversive, “seditious” movement as the witnesses and the delegate Antônio de Veiga Cabral in the investigation of the Police Headquarters defend. Much of this is related to the participation of civilians linked to the Liberating Alliance who pleaded for the deposition of Borges de Medeiros of the state presidency.

4 Final considerations

The historiography of the lieutenants’ movement and the Prestes Column made use of the countless depositions given by the leaders and other members who were part of the revolutionary march that traveled throughout Brazil between 1924 and 1927, having its formation process in Rio Grande do Sul. Among them, Luiz Carlos Prestes himself, who until his death in 1990 reported on several occasions the events of the 1920s when he incited rebellion in the 1st Santo Ângelo Railway Battalion and tried to take over the city of Ijuí. In our research, we found that the police investigation carried out by the Rio Grande do Sul Police Department is an important documentary source about that period, mainly because it contains depositions from witnesses who witnessed the events in the state between October and December 1924.

The archives of the judiciary have contributed important written sources to historical research in Brazil since the 1980s. In 1984 Boris Fasto published *Crime e Cotidiano*. Two years later, in 1986, it was Sidney Chalhoub’s turn to launch *Trabalho, lar e botequim*. Finally, in 1987, *Crime e escravidão*, by Maria Helena Machado, demonstrates how much from that period the sources of the judiciary became the object of study and research by historians. Thus, these documents help to understand the relationships

“Seditious movement”: an analysis of the depositions of the witnesses in the investigation of the police headquarters of Rio Grande do Sul about the 1924 lieutenant uprising in the state

between social agents in other times and societies and to study justice itself and its agents at different times (GRINBERG, 2017, p. 121).

Analyzing the investigation by the State Police Headquarters, we identified that in Santo Ângelo, Ijuí and São Luiz Gonzaga there were important reports from the witnesses, especially concerning the construction of representations that aimed to disqualify the movement led by the lieutenant military. In the accounts of these people, it is clear that most of them belonged to politically and economically privileged social strata, which is reflected in their depositions, mostly in a tone of disapproval of the movement. Constantly, one of the main topics addressed in the police chief's questions was related to the occurrence of looting and depredations practiced by the rebels, which was ratified in most of the witnesses' reports.

Whether during the lieutenants' uprisings of 1924 in Rio Grande do Sul or even later during the march of the Prestes Column, the argument that the movement was much more a seditious and subversive rebellion that resorted to looting and depredations without any kind of patriotic commitment was broadly used as a way to delegitimize and disqualify revolutionary actions. This was done not only by the government with the help of the press at that time, but it was something that spanned generations and still, today, permeates the imagination of a portion of the population.²⁴ In the investigation by the Police Headquarters, it is clear that one of the main strategies of the delegate who took the depositions of the witnesses was to resort to this same artifice, reinforcing his questions and hearing in the witnesses' stories that attributed to the rebels damage to public and private property.²⁵

For Keila Grinberg (2017, p.128) documents such as investigations or criminal proceedings necessarily have contradictions, inconsistencies, and lies, and it is important to reflect on their production process. It is necessary to know how to work with the versions, understand the ways in which they are constructed, and analyze how the different social agents present different

²⁴ See Brum (1994) and Narloch (2011).

²⁵ Luiz Carlos Prestes and other leaders of the Column that traveled throughout Brazil have always shown in their later statements that the aim of the movement was not to harm the population, but that the troops needed harnesses, horses, meat for food and other objects necessary for the continuity of the revolutionary activities. For that, they always made requests asking the population wherever they went to collaborate with what they could. Obviously, exaggerations were committed in some places, something that was exemplarily punished by the Column's command (PRESTES, 1991).

versions for each case, paying attention to the narratives that are repeated. On the other hand, they are also valuable materials capable of showing the performance of social agents in certain realities, as well as their interests, their worldviews, their ways of acting, and recognizing themselves in space.

Concerning the process of forming what would become the Prestes Column and its march throughout Brazil from the end of December 1924, the police investigation of the Rio Grande do Sul Police Department is an important source for the comprehension of how part of the representations about the march of the Prestes Column was built, since the ambiguity of these representations is still felt today, where the movement is sometimes seen as “seditious”, “troublemaker” and “plunderer”, and at other times as one of the greatest revolutionary marches in the history of mankind that exposed the contradictions of the Brazilian republican regime still under construction in the first decades of the 20th century.

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The Association of Japanese Immigrants of Santa Maria/RS – from Ascension to stability

Alexandra Begueristain da Silva¹
André Luis Ramos Soares²

Introduction

This article is an excerpt from the study on Japanese Immigration in Santa Maria, developed within the Graduate Program in History at the Federal University of Santa Maria in 2019, which focused on *Nihonjinkai* – The Association of Japanese Immigrants of Santa Maria / RS – 20th century. One of the objectives was to analyze and characterize the historical periods through which the Japanese Association of Santa Maria passed during these more than 60 years since the arrival of Japanese immigrants in the city in 1958.

Some memories presented in this article are part of the official history of the group of Japanese immigrants participating in the group under study. Those that are repeatedly told, or secured by some minutes, photo album, private or association collections, are memories that can be institutionalized. In this context, it is clear that some memories are silenced or framed – unlike forgotten ones. In other words, there is more access to what is registered and shared as an institutional memory endorsed by the board of the Association of Japanese of Santa Maria, however all the minutes found and made available were written in the mother tongue, that is, in Japanese, same language spoken during *Nihonjinkai*³ meetings.

We realized that at various points in the research, the interlocutors requested that the recorder be turned off, as they did not feel free to record some memories, since there was the possibility of offending other immigrants, even if they had already died, when they mainly referred to the phase in which they lived in Uruguaiana / RS where they went through

¹ Doctor/UFSM. E-mail: abegueristain@gmail.com.

² Professor of the Universidade Federal de Santa Maria. E-mail: alrsoraessan@gmail.com.

³ As the Association of Japanese Immigrants of Santa Maria was called and remains this name to the present time. This is the name that will be used in this article.

many difficulties, mainly financial. Thus, we observe that, even among the Japanese, one could speak of a “framing of memory” just like Pollak, when he emphasizes the “coherence of successive speeches”:

The work of framing memory feeds on the material provided by history. This material can undoubtedly be interpreted and combined with any number of associated references; guided by the concern not only of maintaining social boundaries, but also of changing them, this work relentlessly reinterprets the past due to the struggles of the present and the future. (...) The permanent work of reinterpreting the past is contained by a demand for credibility that depends on the consistency of successive speeches (1989, p. 10).

It was the “successive speeches”, the successive and repeated narratives and memories that endorsed the historical periods that the Association went through in the course of time. Evidently, when it comes to oral history, it is impossible to avoid encountering analyses and criticisms about the legitimacy of the sources consulted, especially when it comes to an “Association”, which by definition has a statute in Portuguese, the country’s native language, where it was founded, record books and collections.

In the case of the study presented, the statute was not found, or, rather, there was no access to any old printed copy. It is inferred that the number provided by the *Nihonjinkai* secretariat was copied in the wrong way, as it was not found in the city’s registry offices or in the Commercial Registry of such association.

In fact, the name as the Japanese refer to *Nihonjinkai* is “Association”, but in the only minutes found, registered in a notary in the city of Santa Maria, it is founded as a Japanese-Brazilian Society. This differentiation was decisive to arrive at these minutes, which had been sought during several years of research at the Memorial of Immigration and Japanese Culture of RS⁴, with data referring to the name and number provided by the research subjects. There is no inference that the research subjects had neglected the research, but that due to the advanced age and the time of inactivity of the formal “Association” the data has been lost among the documents kept by the secretariat of each management, as the Minutes and numbers they did have in hand, in the boxes of documents and souvenirs, were promptly provided.

⁴ The Institution was founded in 2008 and belongs to UFSM and UFRGS. It was affiliated to the Municipal System of Museums of Santa Maria until 2019 and today functions as an Extension Project of the UFSM.

In an interview, in August 2018, the association's president at the time was asked if there was a registration and how the *Nihonjinkai* had been registered. The answer came as follows: "yes, association, very old registration, I don't even remember anymore ... I remember we paid a fine to close, but I don't know the year"⁵. This fact was told by all the members of the governing body. The president said she had a box with documents, but she did not make it available. It is believed that was because they were in Japanese, like others that were given to the research.

It is worth mentioning, however, that at the time of the present research, the president, like most of the governing body, was formed by women, and at the time of the founding of the Japanese-Brazilian Society of Santa Maria, the entire board was formed by men, with women only responsible for the department called Fujinkai – Department of Japanese Women. It can be inferred, therefore, that in the transition between the boards and the time of female empowerment that led women to become members of the governing body, there may be gaps in the documents, as well as in the memories and narratives provided by the research subjects today.

Another important element is that this female empowerment took place in Santa Maria much later than in the large centers of Japanese immigration for several reasons:

The immigrants arrived in the post-war period (with a pre-war mentality that they would return to Japan in five years (CARDOSO, 1959; HANADA, 1987; SAKURAI, 2000; SILVA, 2013, 2019); The group of immigrants that make up the Japanese colony in the city under study is small and it has always been the men who have managed the "Association" since their arrival; the second generation of immigrants, the male children of the presidents, the *Nisseis*, were not interested in continuing the "Association", neither second generation women, which led the *Isseis* ladies (Japanese who came directly from Japan to Rio Grande do Sul) after a certain age to take care of the *Nihonjinkai* so that it would not end, as their husbands were already old and with debilitated health, and were unable to exercise the activities of a president.

This was one of the outcomes after analyzing the history of the *Nihonjinkai* for approximately six years and realizing that in Santa Mara the

⁵ Interview with Mrs. S. in August of 2018.

association of the Japanese did not evolve as in other cities, which is intended to be demonstrated throughout this text.

The Importance of Documents in Writing History

In general, the writing of history is based on physical documents, filed and preserved over time. The document, therefore, has the quality of a proof, or of a testimony that the collective memory uses to construct the cutouts of history. It is said, then, that the documentary or imagery record, which is, therefore, physical, of a fact or event is essential for the writing of history. According to Le Goff (1992, p. 535), "collective memory and its scientific form, history, apply to two types of materials: documents and monuments".

A document, therefore, can be in different forms and, whatever its form of materiality, it has the function of providing existing data and information about a certain historical moment, place or group. For this text, we use the traces found, especially in old photographs, to support the interviews. The existing gaps were filled through natural and individual memories that were sewn into a collective memory about the *Nihonjinkai*. The lack of official documents hindered the historiographic construction. However, it was noticed that the association that still exists, with a board elected annually, with annual dues paid up to date is so palpable for its members that the documents⁶ of its formal period would be secondary.

After all, the concern shown in the interviews was about the current moment, when the association is decreasing every year and with its continuation and succession, as there are not very good perspectives on the part of the Japanese participating in the research.⁷ In addition, the available documents that were used and the interviews carried out indicate that the *Nihonjinkai* can be divided into three different moments: rise, stability and decline unlike other states and cities in Brazil, where Japanese immigration is older than that of Rio Grande do Sul and there is a period of Ascension of Associations, especially after the celebrations of the Centenary of Japanese Immigration in Brazil in 2008⁸.

⁶ Preferably written in Portuguese, for example the Statute, which was not found.

⁷ All first-generation Japanese women or *Isseis*.

⁸ The first ship that arrived in Brazil bringing Japanese immigrants was the Kasatu-Maru in 1908, in the port of Santos / SP.

The documentation that was not found or made available would belong to the first of the three historical moments, in which the Japanese stood out in Santa Mariense society for their active participation in the city's events. This text brings considerations about the studied group, which could be a milestone, in which the decline of the *Nihonjinkai* is configured, at the same time that it can start a new period, the oral recording of memories and a future reinvention from them.

Consider what happened in other cities in Brazil where Japanese immigration is older than in the city under study and, in turn, groups are more organized. The oldest and most organized Japanese-Brazilian associations, according to Moraes⁹ (2012) and the study by Kajimoto (2017) on associations in the city of Marília / SP, launched commemorative books, for the passage of the anniversary of Japanese immigration in the city. Santa Maria also did it, in 2008, with the work of Soares and Gaudioso (2008). Commemorative books are important documents to be archived in the associations, memorials, libraries, municipal archives, among other "places of memory" (NORA, 1993).

The archives of audios, videos and transcriptions of interviews, academic or institutional and commemorative research are transformed into documents and, in this sense, collaborate for the transmission of Japanese-Brazilian or Japanese-Gaúcha identity and memory¹⁰. Documents or monuments relate mainly to places, events and other symbols referring to the past that can help with memories. For Le Goff,

History, in its traditional form, was dedicated to 'memorizing' the monuments of the past, transforming them into documents and making the traits talk, which, by themselves, are often not absolutely verbal, or say in silence something different from what they say; in our day, history is what transforms documents into monuments and what, where traces left by men were deciphered, where before they tried to recognize in negative what they had been, now presents a mass of elements which later need to be isolated, regrouped, made pertinent, put in relation, constitute a set (1992, p. 546).

For the author, the act of creating documents related to human events, events and actions of a certain group and period, through records in physical supports, results in the materiality of memory, which makes it palpable, classifiable and codable so that it can be accessed and available. The

⁹ Table shown in the next Item.

¹⁰ Term presented in the Master's thesis of Silva (2013).

institutionalization of these documents, however, is not exempt from subjectivity, it is the result of the effort and the will for memory of a certain group, association, researcher.

The document is not innocuous. It is first of all the result of a montage, conscious or unconscious, of the history, of the time, of the society that produced it, but also of the successive periods during which it continued to live, perhaps forgotten, during which it continued to be manipulated, even if by the silence. The document is something that remains, that lasts, and the testimony, the teaching (to evoke the etymology) that it brings must first be analyzed by demystifying its apparent meaning. The document is a monument. It results from the effort of historical societies to impose on the future – voluntarily or involuntarily – a certain image of themselves (LE GOFF, 1992, p. 548).

It is noteworthy that each type of document accepts a different type of analysis from the content that contains it. Administrative documentation, such as the minutes or books of associations, for example, provides specific information, unlike images and videos, which allow for a different analysis of informational aspects. The recording of the interviews complements this analysis with information of a subjective nature of the interviewee – the subject's gaze, that which is silenced, or what is not said, or even what the narrator makes a point of emphasizing. These are particular impressions that, when compared to archival documents, allow a complementary and subjective analysis of the information present in the documents.

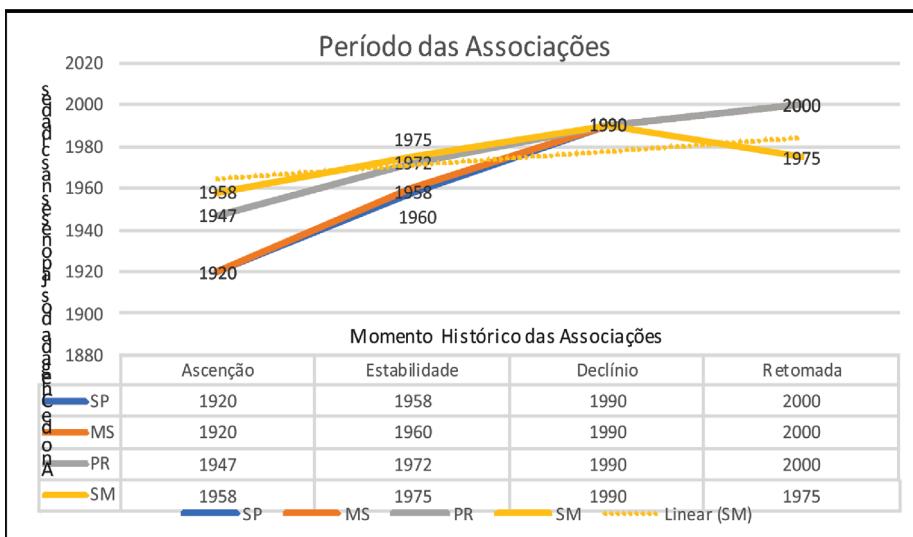
The Association of Japanese Immigrants in Santa Maria and its particularities

However, the reality found in relation to the Japanese Association of Santa Maria has singularities that distance the theory from practice and distance the investigator from the document, either because of the characteristic of the Japanese community being closed, or because of the language in which the minutes were written, or by the direction given to this association over the years. All of these elements led to the understanding that the association has different historical moments. Such moments will be analyzed in Graph 1. These contrast with the same time spaces found in commemorative books in other cities, which can result in a constant experience in most associations or be a specific singularity of the studied group.

The commemorative books used to establish a certain comparison between the Associations of different locations, are from the States of São Paulo, Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná, related to the state celebrations and the celebrations of the 50 and 100 years of Japanese immigration in Brazil. Graph 1, below, shows that, with due reservations, the Japanese colonies and, in turn, the associations in these locations have similarities, as they can be divided into different historical moments. For a better understanding of Graph 1, the following periods were used: Ascension, stability, decline and recovery.

The period of ascent is different between localities because it is related to the moment of arrival of Japanese immigrants in each city, their organization and establishment. For example, immigrants arrived in São Paulo in 1908, fifty years before Rio Grande do Sul, so that the associations were founded in the early years of immigration, reaching their stability when in Santa Maria the Japanese had just arrived. As Graph 1 shows:

Graph 1 – Historical periods of the Japanese associations (original in SILVA, 2019, p. 136)



(Translation of the words in the chart – Period of the Associations, Historical Moment of the Associations, Year of Arrival of the Japanese in the cities. Ascension, Stability, Decline, Recovery)

The period called stability was longer, in the places where immigrants first settled. However, everyone reached that second moment, still with *Isseis* in the governing body of their entities, between the 50s and 70s. This period also coincides with the stability of the *Nihonjinkai* in Santa Maria, which formalized the entity in 1978 and until the 1980s still organized its main events in the city.

The decline is common in the four states compared, and in the others where there are Japanese, but which are not present in Graph 1, due to the *Decasséguí* Movement, which started in 1990, when young people from the *Nikkei* community returned to Japan in search of work, leaving Brazil at a time of economic recession. However, in the State of Paraná, for example, before the 90s the Japanese community was already in its 4th generation (*Yonsei*), while in Santa Maria the young people who went to Japan as *Decasséguí* were *Nisseis*, that is, second generation, Japanese children. The city under study is currently in the third generation of Japanese-Brazilians (*Sansei*), but most of them no longer reside in the city. The yellow dotted linear line represents that the city under study did not reach the period of stability, it remained in the period called decline, maintaining the ascension and stability in an affective “place of memory” within the colony.

Given that the third generation, grandchildren of Japanese, no longer live in the city under study and the *Nisseis* do not show interest in continuing the *Nihonjinkai*'s activities, Santa Maria has not yet passed into the fourth historical period of the associations, the resumption, but it could be reinvention. Other Japanese colonies in Brazil are experiencing this moment of resumption and maintaining the Japanese-Brazilian identity, which transits between “being Japanese”¹¹ and being Brazilian.

This moment called resumption or reinvention is related to the feeling of belonging of the youngest to their ethnic group, which has not yet occurred in the city studied, where the third generation considers itself Brazilian. This relationship or feeling of Japanese-Brazilians and Westerners with Japan is worked out by Lourenção (2010, p. 6), in which “it is less subject to a working condition and more to a nebula of ideas that gravitate around the constitution of ‘becoming Japanese’. Now, at issue is not really the real proximity to Japan, but the ideational proximity” or the representation of

¹¹ Lourenção (2010).

what appears to be “Japanese”, according to Chartier (1989), which can be a point of convergence for ‘continuing to be Japanese’ or ‘maintaining oneself as Japanese’ in the light of Chartier’s representation (1989; 1991).

Perhaps, cultural manifestations undergo a “reinterpretation”, when they are “re-signified” according to the culture of the dominant group. Such an observation admits an “acquisition” of cultural aspects of the encompassing society in that which was called the “acculturation” process, which suggests that there is no loss of culture or super positioning of one over another. It is demonstrated, therefore, that different customs can coexist in the formation of Japanese-Brazilian identity and its representation of what has been called Japaneseness here.

The process that Japanese immigrants and descendants went through to identify this hyphenated and negotiated identity, according to Lesser (2001), took place in a similar way in different Japanese colonies. The guiding thread for maintaining this Japanese-Brazilian identity is the association, as a space for coexistence and memory. That is how it happened in the three states, with which the *Nihonjinkai* studied was compared. However, the memories of Japanese entities in São Paulo, Paraná and Mato Grosso, are documented and institutionalized through commemorative books, but, above all, in the minutes referring to Japanese-Brazilian associations, written in Portuguese because they are formed by different generations of Japanese-Brazilians. The data collected to organize Graph 1 confirms this. In the commemorative books, much data was found from these minutes.

Chart 1 (below) shows the fact that there are different moments between the Associations according to the city and the year of the arrival of Japanese immigrants, however, the case under study has important singularities that justify the fact that they do not fit into a common denomination with other states. The first and one of the most relevant singularities is that: being formed by *Isseis* today, the association in Santa Maria is called *Nihonjinkai*, as it was for immigrants in the pre-war period.

Chart 1 – Temporal Characteristics of the Japanese Associations (MORAES, 2012, p. 44)

Japanese Associations – Temporal characteristics			
Term Used	Goals	Structure	Associative Characteristics
Pre-War			
<i>Nihonjinkai</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Survival in the face of the unknown; – Organize schools and provide Japanese education for children <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Fraternization between members – Promote improvements in infrastructure of the colonies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Financial help – Supply the grouping with information from Japan, through magazines and newspapers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – President, directors and those responsible for specific matters; – Boards composed of older men; – Formation of boards such as the <i>fujinkai</i> of women and the <i>seinenkai</i> of young people who were subordinate to the general board (SAKURAI, 2010); – Patriarchal: precedence of men over women and old people over young people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – From <i>Issei</i>s to <i>Issei</i>s, ethnic group; – Dual character: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Towards the society of origin, promoting the Japanese standard of conduct – Regarding the receiving society, it is about economic relations
Post War			
Japanese-Brazilian Cultural and Sports Association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Fraternization and sociability among members; – Westernize the Japanese community – Exclusive Association of <i>Nissei</i>s space for preparation for integration into Brazilian society; synthetically, providing subsidies for social ascension. – Dual orientation: Learning to live like a Brazilian with a view to social ascension; Being accepted into the Japanese community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Similar to those of the pre-war in the organizational structure; – <i>Nissei</i>s associations: Board composed of young men. – Timid change in mentality at the beginning and later change: The former young <i>Nissei</i>s take over leadership of the colony. – monopoly of the <i>Issei</i>s representation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – “From” <i>Issei</i>s and descendants “to” <i>Issei</i>s and descendants – Ethnic group; – <i>Nissei</i>s: “From” <i>Nissei</i>s “to” <i>Nissei</i>s – Ethnic group

Current and Future			
Japanese-Brazilian Cultural and Sports Association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Conservative: Maintaining the ethnic community; promoting and maintaining the Japanese culture of parents and grandparents – Progressive: Promotion of a new perception of Japanese culture for young people; Increased participation of women and non-descendants, especially in the governing body 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Conservatives maintain a similar scheme to those of the pre-war; – Progressives: Young people's precedence over old people; equality between men and women to participate in a governing body; insertion of non-<i>Nikkei</i> elements – Monopoly of representation of <i>Nisseis</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Conservatives: From <i>Nikkei</i> to <i>Nikkei</i> – Ethnic group, however with a slight opening to non-descendants in the associative, non-directive body; – Progressives: Out – Grouping of cultural interest. (Loses its ethnic aspect) – Openness to non-descendants in both the associative and management bodies

Source: MORAES (2012, p. 44).

The chart by Moraes (2012) shows in the first place that the name *Nihonjinkai*, was used, as previously said, in the period before the war and later changed to the Japanese-Brazilian Cultural and Sports Association, maintaining this name until today. The study was carried out in the state of São Paulo, where there are several Japanese associations, due to the large number of immigrants received since 1908. The denomination was the first difference found, because in the city under study the group that makes up the governing body and the members still refer to the association as *Nihonjinkai*.

The only minutes registered in a notary in Santa Maria, dated 1983¹², have as denomination: Japanese-Brazilian Society of Santa Maria. There is no registration of a Japanese-Brazilian Association in the city's registry offices and the Commercial Board of RS and the only document found has

¹² It appears that the statutes and the foundation were registered in another city. In that period it was not mandatory to register in the host city.

the name of a company, however these Brazilian names do not influence the Japanese who make up the group under study. They continue to call it *Nihonjinkai*.

The chart was divided into three historical moments: Pre-War, Post-War and Current / Future, and the differences found therein also point out that, in the Post-War period, when Japanese immigration takes place in the studied city, the associations were founded by *isseis* and their descendants, for *isseis* and *nisseis*, their board of directors was composed of men, but in that period the youngest members already joined the governing body, taking the leadership. The case under study indicates that since its founding a little more than five years ago, only the oldest, *isseis*, men made up the governing body, and in this case the *nisseis* still do not belong to the board nor to the group of associates.

In the Current and Future Period, Moraes (2012) indicates that the grouping of *Nikkei* is due to cultural interest, ceasing to have ethnic aspects. This characteristic also does not apply to Santa Maria, given that there are no Westerners participating in the association, and even if the *Nihonjinkai* does not act with an interest in demarcating differences or maintaining ethnic identity, the fact is that only Japanese participate.

Occasionally some Westerner participates in events. They participated in the association's election lunch in January 2017. In May 2016, *Fujinkai*'s Mother's Day lunch was attended in POA [Porto Alegre], as this department does not hold its own events, even though it has a coordination that is part of the board of the *Nihonjinkai* in SM. The aforementioned events are current, but at the time of the *Nihonjinkai*'s rise, Brazilians who welcomed immigrants participated in the events, for example, the doctor Telmo Corseiul, a pediatrician who assisted immigrants, without charging consultations, became a reference in the community. The relation between the Japanese and the doctor was due to the Japanese children studying at the same school as the doctor's son. He, among other Brazilians participated in the Japanese events, like the *undokais*. They are remembered by the community and in the private collections you can find photos and memories kept of that time.

There was a moment, considering an overview of Japanese-Brazilian associations, when the *Seinenkai* (youth association) were able to become independent of the *Isseis*, as the young people had become aware that they were Brazilians, and so they gradually took over the direction of the clubs.

“*Nissei* was able to give it another orientation, in a way updating its activities.” (CARDOSO, 1959, p. 329).

[...] the teenager fresh out of a traditional peasant family and heir to strange cultural standards must overcome many barriers until he can properly adjust to certain routine conditions of urban life. The Japanese family, offering, as we have seen, some incentives for adjustment, fails as an integrating agent; the youth group starts to exercise this function, bringing together the generation afflicted by common problems and trying to offer solutions. With its functional transformation, the *seinenkai* has become an institution capable of responding to the needs of integrating young *nisseis* into the wider society (CARDOSO, 1959, p. 330).

The youth and their activities – *Senenkai, Nihongo gaku, Undokai and Engekai*

According to the above, it is understood that the *nikkei* youth department of Japanese associations are called *seinen-kai*. Initially, the *seinen-kai* were open to the exclusive participation of men, and only after did associations for young women begin to appear. Today, in the cities that maintain the associations, the group is heterogeneous, consisting of both boys and girls. In this department, activities were carried out such as: the practice of sports such as baseball, soccer, futsal, table tennis, indoor games and others, the organization of *taiko* groups (art of playing the drum), spiritual guidance through membership in some philosophy of life, such as *Seicho-no-ie*, even simple meetings in bars or participation in typical parties like *Bon-Odori* (an event that honors ancestors).

The *seinenkai* were spaces where young people could socialize. Over time, youth associations showed incompatibility with the general boards of associations, which would trigger a conflict between generations (SAKURAI, 2000; CARDOSO, 1959). According to Handa (1987), youth departments or associations established in the pre-war era were not expected by *isseis*. According to the author, the determination of the elders was that young people and *nisseis* should do their utmost to raise as much resources as they could to return to Japan in the shortest time possible.

One of the biggest concerns of migrants was that the meeting of young people could generate escapes, after all it was the youngest who had the best knowledge of Portuguese and still exercised a function of connection between Brazilians and Japanese, and for that reason it would be good to “keep them conservative”, in the interpretation of Handa (1987, p. 283).

Young people participated in the *kaikan* (physical space of the association) to do manual activities: cleaning and carrying objects (YOGUI, 2010).

Japanese civil and community life took place in the same way in different places, for example, all colonies installed a *kyōkai* or *nihonjinkai* to deal with community affairs; a *kaikan*, or auditorium, which consisted of a hall or shed as the seat of the community; and *nihongakkos*, elementary schools in Japanese. These associations not only helped to organize immigrants, but also played a role in maintaining Japanese culture.

Saito (1961), notes that Japanese immigrants have in common with European immigrant groups, such as Germans and Poles, the certainty that the school would be one of the essential institutions in building a community. However, for Europeans, the church was the institution that acted in an associative and integrating role, but for Japanese associations and schools fulfilled that role.

Nissei should receive a Japanese education in order to become a Japanese. It was the school, therefore, that fulfilled the role of educating *nissei* according to the principles of Japanese education, an attitude resulting from Japanese militaristic and nationalist politics, as well as the Japanese people's self-image of superiority (CARDOSO, 1959, p. 321):

Its main function was to teach Japanese, to inform the student about Japan, to develop a sense of patriotism and civility, and to complement the role of the family in imposing rigid discipline and an awareness of racial and cultural superiority.

The future of the Japanese-Brazilian community would be in the young people and in their retransmitting the values of Japanese culture. However, as the perception of Japanese culture is different for this group, the solution would be to welcome young people open to new perceptions.

In the case under study it was no different. At the beginning of the association or the Japanese-Brazilian Society, as it was officially registered in a registry office, children and young people had space, participated in community and city events, such as the celebration of the 15th anniversary of immigration, 50 years of immigration, city birthdays and Friendship Fairs and above all the ever-remembered *undokai*. However, as the children grew up and as in the early 1990s many of the young people went to work in Japan as a decasségui, the youth department had no follow-up and the association went through a period of decline in its activities. This fact is found in the immigrants' narratives:

“We preserved [sic] over 50 years. We are very united in relation to other locations. In the past, we held a Sports Gymkhana (Undokai) and a Performing Arts Festival (Engekai). After the decasségui movement (work in Japan) started, the community dispersed...”¹³

For Sakurai (2010), the *fujinkais* (women's association) instituted a space where there was a considerable active voice of women in the larger organization, however, according to the norms of the time, such as cooking or dancing. And in that sense, they only separated themselves from the image of a submissive woman. However, according to Yugui (2010) it only worked for women to serve tea and coffee, do kitchen and cleaning services.

The entities face difficulties to “adapt to the new social contexts” (KEBBE, 2010, p. 123). The author classifies three factors: the “insertion of generations of younger descendants, who have a different perception than parents and grandparents regarding ‘Japanese culture’” (Idem, p. 123); “The more active participation of women in decision-making positions” (Ibidem, p. 123), because even today it is difficult to observe women in management positions of entities¹⁴ and *fujinkai* who have expression in the direction of the entity's policies.

In addition, there may be generation conflicts in the *fujinkai* if there is no flexibility between the youngest and the oldest women. The youngest group renounces the entity because the former does not get used to the guidelines; and finally “the selective admission of non-descendants in the associative and / or decision-making frameworks” (Ibidem, p. 123). After all, the participation of non-descendants in these departments is not encouraged. All these factors mean that the younger generations and these groups already mentioned do not identify with the *kaikan* and their guidelines, thus reducing the membership of the entities.

One of the reasons why the *Fujinkai* is no longer active in the city under study is that the *Nisseis* (Second Generation) did not take up the idea and activities and non-Japanese women (like those married to *Nisseis* men, were also unable to participate) . So that, on the one hand, there was an empowerment of the Japanese women to assume the direction so that it

¹³ Talk of M.N. in 2008.

¹⁴ In this sense, Santa Maria can be considered an exception, since only the first generation serves on the association's board. In the governing body today, there are four women and one man, who is the vice president.

does not end, on the other hand, the age and traditions that came with them from Japan did not allow an opening to the *Gaijin*¹⁵, not even for their daughters-in-law. This does not mean that this will not happen yet, since the desire that the association not close is common to all. It may be that the third generation will still wake up to this and that the *Nihonjinkai* can reinvent itself.

Studies indicate the changes that the *Fujinkai* department has undergone in recent years in general. In the group under study there was always this division, of a group of women. However, like the other departments of the association in the city, there was also a period of ascension and stability, which is indicated in the photos of the family collections, by the participation in the Friendship Fairs, demonstration of Japanese cuisine, presentations of typical Japanese dances.

Final Considerations

Since the beginning of Japanese immigration in Brazil, immigrants have this characteristic of being associativists. There were always Japanese associations where there was a group of immigrants. And there have always been changes in the associative models. Depending on the time and period of migration, the associations served certain objectives common to the community. Tanaka (1998) and Handa (1987) quote a phrase that represents the Japanese immigrant's association with "when three Japanese people come together, they organize an association".

The ethnic group, closed in their colonies, also had a significance of being a "security band", a term used in Saito (1961). "The *Nihonjikai* gave evidence that a new cultural language with Japanese roots adapted to the Brazilian reality was emerging" (SAKURAI, 2010, p. 111).

The *Nihonjinkai* was initially organized among the nearby colonies, then became more sophisticated and became formal organizations with positions and hierarchy (SAKURAI, 2010). There were elections for all positions, starting with the president and leading positions that would be responsible for specific departments (ISCHIDA, 2010). The boards were composed of men (older, following a patriarchal model), and the *Fujinkai* boards for women and the *Seinenkai* for young people who were subordinate

¹⁵ Non-Japanese people, Brazilians, foreigners.

or dependent on the general board, but who had their specific boards (SAKURAI, 2010).

The Japanese social order of the communities had some singularities that they sustain, such as the precedence of the elderly over young people and the patriarchal relations between sexes that were transmitted in groups of young men and women, an aspect that was sustained for a long time within Japanese associations (SAITO, 1961).

In the Post-War period, in which the association under study is inserted, a new development in the structure of communities begins, according to Saito (1961), or the reorganization of the old *Nihonjinkai*. In other words, Santa Maria, could have entered this new process, however, due to a mentality close to or similar with the pre-war immigrants, the associative model was the patriarchal one. However, nowadays women are on the board – older women, those who are first generation immigrants or *Issei*. Thus, there was a change in the terminology used to name the associations, the *Nihonjinkai* came to be called “Japanese-Brazilian associations” with cultural and sports implementation (SAKURAI, 2010). “It is the members of *Seinenkai* that set the tone for the practices that manifest the community spirit going forward” (SAKURAI, 2010, p. 113). Informal solidarity practices continued to happen, and support entities for the elderly were also created, which count on donations for survival, if necessary.

A process of disintegration of the ethnic community begins with the *Nisseis*. They start to form their own space, identifying more and more with the encompassing society, thus, their associations start to have different specificities.

What happened in Santa Maria, initially, is similar to other states, but it has more similarity to the pre-war period. Even today, only immigrants coming directly from Japan are part of the *Nihonjinkai*. Approximately five years ago, only women became part of the governing body. Currently, the presidency of the association is carried out by a woman, Mrs. S. who is 85 years old. The governing body currently has five positions: presidency, vice-presidency, treasury, secretary and ladies’ department or *Funjinkai*. Of these positions, only the vice president is occupied by a man, the rest is composed of women, which is due to the fact that the men are older and do not feel in physical and health conditions to remain in the positions.

The *Nihonjinkai* in Santa Maria has only 15 members, all of them from the first generation. Neither their children nor their grandchildren are

dependent on them in the association as in other groups. Everyone pays an annual fee, which is stipulated in the amount of R\$150.00. As there are no more events organized by the association or by the society (as registered in a registry office), the governing body in agreement with its members intends to spend the amount in cash on a trip for the group members. As it is a group of elderly people the idea is to travel to the “hot springs”.

Even though it is not an activity linked to the association, the group of Japanese usually meets weekly, every Sunday, in the afternoon to play cards. The card game afternoon is always held at the home of one of the members, but the last ones have always been at the home of the K family due to health reasons of the matriarch, who can no longer leave home. The card game chosen to brighten up Sunday afternoons is the “pife”. Each member of the group takes a plate of sweets or snacks and usually stays from 15h to 22h approximately. The *Nihonjinkai* in Santa Maria, although with few associates, is still affiliated with Enkyo-Sul, based in Porto Alegre and with each important event of Enkyo¹⁶ or when, perhaps, a death occurs in the community, the president is in charge of passing on the information to the members. It works as follows: The president calls the person in charge of each area of the city. There are three areas that comprise all the neighborhoods where there are Japanese people. In the Camobi neighborhood, Mr. S. is responsible, in the Center, Mr. K., in the Pinheiro Machado neighborhood, Ms. N., and each of them, in turn, passes on the information to the Japanese in their locality, in terms of commemorative events or religious ceremonies.

So the empirical experience of living with immigrants in Santa Maria / RS allowed making this relationship and, thus, based on the relationship with the documents used, constructing to what extent the *Nihonjinkai* contributed to the maintenance of immigrant memory and ethnic identity. Besides this and above all, boxes of photographs from family collections were used as a source, revealing that in addition to the association, the family nucleus is fundamental for maintaining the Japanese-Gaucho identity.

Thus, an emphasis was placed on the history of Japanese-Brazilian society in Santa Maria / RS, in the few activities still carried out today and

¹⁶ Japanese-Brazilian Beneficent (in Japanese サンパウロ日伯援護協会) is a private, non-profit association that operates in the areas of health and social assistance. It is also known as Enkyo, short for its Japanese name “Engo Kyōkai”.

in some rites that were maintained by the members of the association, both the first generation Japanese and the other *Nikkei*. This was a fortuitous theme of in-depth research, relating it to other historiographic concepts, including the categories “memory” and “narrative” closely related to the successions of generations. The events and rites held by the Japanese in Santa Maria / RS take place in the domestic and family sphere, with no more events organized by them open to society.

Unlike other associations in other states in Brazil, *Gaijins* or Brazilians do not belong to the group or the governing body, nor to the members. An inference of this study is that the *Nihonjinkai* contributes to the maintenance of memory to the extent that the Westerners’ feeling of Japaneseness manifests itself and that the Japanese within their possibilities contribute to research such as this. And, on the other hand, that, in the domestic sphere, they maintain customs such as gastronomy, religious rites and the Japanese language so that, who knows, the desire to recover the culture of their grandparents may appear in the third generation, and thus the *Nihonjinkai* may go back to the historical steps commented on throughout the text, finally moving to a period of Resumption or Reinvention.

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The war outside and the war inside: the Brazilian participation in World War II

Cyro Porto Martins¹
João Vitor Sausen²

Introduction

The Brazilian historical experience made the southern borderlands into places of special interest, through long years of wars, external threats and regional disputes over the hegemony in the Platinean America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) [The America of the La Plata River region]. Thus, in 1942 Brazil declared war on Germany and took part in the Second World War, and by doing so, the country faced the presence of a significant amount of population related to enemy countries, as well as the location of some of them in borderlands.

In this panorama, the Brazilian participation in the Second World War can be summarized as a series of internal policies to neutralize the “internal threats”, economical actions to work along with the Allied Nations against the Axis, and the formation and sending of an Expeditionary Force to fight on the European Continent. Thereby, the Brazilian participation in the Second World War was not only the summoning of troops and their incorporation into an external army, but a complex amount of strategies like a puzzle, which demonstrated sensitive areas and the presence of possible hostile populations inside the Brazilian territory.

At the same time, Brazil was governed by a dictatorship known as *Estado Novo*, which was conducting policies to nationalize the alien populations living inside of this territory. Therefore, the borderland question

¹ History Degree student at the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM, Brazil), and scientific researcher with the support of a ProbiC/FAPERGS scholarship; Member of the Research Group CNPq História Platina: sociedade, poder e instituições. E-mail: cyroporto@gmail.com.

² Master's Degree in History student in the Post-Graduate Program in History (PPGH) of the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM, Brazil), having the support of a CAPES/DS scholarship and advised by the Professor PhD. Maria Medianeira Padoin; Member of the Research Group CNPq História Platina: sociedade, poder e instituições. E-mail: sausenjoao.vitor@gmail.com.

and the search for an economic and military projection of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship guaranteed a national significance of the southern regions. Based on this perspective, some aspects of the Brazilian participation in the Second World War will be reported in the present work, such as the nationalization campaign, the borderland threat, the sending of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force and the Italian campaign. Therefore, to do this, examples of events that took place in two locations in or near the borderland will be used: the city of Santa Maria and the colony of Porto Novo.

International affairs and regional issues

In the first half of the 19th century, a series of conflicts and independence processes turned the Platenean Region [La Plata River region] into a battlefield. The 1810's were demarcated by the independence of the provinces of the La Plata River (that composed the Viceroyalty of the La Plata River), and by the Portuguese monarchy established in the city of Rio de Janeiro (after fleeing from the Napoleonic troops that invaded Portugal in 1807). In the same decade, the disputes over the projects about the future of the provinces of the La Plata River collided with the Portuguese territorial expansion, which coveted the *Banda Oriental*. The result was an initial campaign that ended inconclusively, and a conflict against a confederation of Platenean provinces led by José Gervásio Artigas, won by the Portuguese and that ended with the annexation and the renaming of the region, as province *Cisplatina* (DORATIOTO, 2014).

By the next decade, the Platenean region was again a battlefield. The Brazilian War of Independence (1822-1824) and the *Cisplatine War* (1825-1828) resulted in the emergence of two independent countries and the end of the presence of the Portuguese Empire in South America (Brazil, by 1822, and Uruguay, by 1825) (DORATIOTO, 2014). However, the establishment of independent states did not represent an end of the conflicts. Thus, cannons, in the name of different projects, resounded through the decade of the 1830's for the future of the States established in the previous decade. This way, the *Guerra dos Farrapos* (1835-1845), the Uruguayan Civil War (1839-1851), and a series of Argentinean Civil Wars all during the 19th century, made having peace in the Platenean Region something difficult (CERVO, 2008).

A point of confluence in these conflicts came in the decade of the 1850s. In 1851 the Platine War started (1851-1852), in which the Brazil that

was emerging from its Civil Wars during the two previous decades, the *Blanco* and *Colorado* projects for Uruguay, and the Federal and Unitarian projects for the provinces of the La Plata River came into confrontation. In this way, the Civil Wars were melded into a war that ended with the formation of the Federal Republic of Argentina (1853-1861), a Colorado government in Uruguay and some kind of Brazilian regional hegemony (Doratioto 2014). However, peace could not last. In the decade of the 1860s, again internal projects and regional disputes over the hegemony of the Platenean region turned into an Argentinean-Brazilian intervention in Uruguay (1864-1865) that led to the long Paraguayan War (1864-1870), after the answer of the Paraguayan dictator Francisco Solano López (HEINSFELD, 2007).

From the almost 6 years of war emerged two regional powers: Argentina and Brazil, which soon were involved in two territorial disputes. The first one was over the *Chaco* region, and the second one, about the *Misiones/Palmas* (HEINSFELD, 2007). In the first one, Argentina claimed its rights over the entire region of *Chaco*, against the Paraguayan rule, and through the United States arbitration, the country only received a small part of the claimed territories. On the other hand, in the *Palmas* issue the Argentineans claimed their rights over a significant part of the Brazilian states of *Paraná* and *Santa Catarina*, but were again frustrated with the North American arbitration, in 1895 (HEINSFELD, 2007).

All those conflicts and territorial contentions, added to disputes over the regional hegemony between Argentina and Brazil, turned the Platenean Region into a strategic region, which was or could be at war constantly. This way, the borderland regions in southern Brazil were places of interest and of big importance to the Nation-State, which reflected in the establishment of big military contingents and policies directed to the security of the border. Moreover, as a place of strategic importance, it had to be safe of all threats, including the internal ones.

In addition to that, in 1937, president Getúlio Vargas established, through a coup, a dictatorship, against a supposed communist plot, named “The Cohen Plan”. Thus started the period known as the Brazilian *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), a “new State”, by the command of Getúlio Vargas, in which civil freedom was abolished and a dictatorship was installed (KONRAD, 2010). During the *Estado Novo* period (1937-1945), ethnic minorities, social movements, the press, among others, were systematically repressed and censored by the government in the name of the “national”,

thereby being imposed a new order, in the style of the dictatorships of that time (CARNEIRO, 1999).

Therefore, one decree of law, published on March 28, 1939, was directed to land concessions and means of communication and industries located on the borderland, and established several rules over the populations that could buy land near the borderlines. In the second article it was established that “(...) public lands situated on the first thirty kilometers from the border will be split in lots and distributed (...)” and could only be conceded to “(...) heads of families that fulfill the following criteria: a) be born Brazilian, married with women born Brazilian; b) be fit for agricultural labor”. In addition, no concessions under 150 kilometers from the border would be granted without proper authorization from the National Security Council (ESTADOS UNIDOS DO BRASIL, 1939)³. This small fragment reveals the desire to fill the borderland mostly with Brazilians, which is complemented with other definitions found in the decreed law, such as the regulations about education on the borderland.

Concerning these aspects, the decreed law established the need of at least 80% Brazilian born inhabitants in the population centers, along with the prohibition of teaching in no other language than Portuguese, besides the prohibition of foreign language teaching to all children under 14 years (ESTADOS UNIDOS DO BRASIL, 1939). Based on these regulations, we can observe that the borderland was seen as a place that should be inhabited mostly by Brazilian born people, and remain as a nationalized territory, due to its geopolitical relevance. Even in the lands that were not close to the border the aspect of the foreign presence was a matter of importance. It was in the center of the attentions when Brazil resumed its participations in wars.

In 1918, Brazil declared war on Germany and was the only South American country to take part in the First World War and by doing so, a considerable population living inside of its territory became a “possible threat”. Therefore, the authorities directed policies to repress or to reduce the internal threat. Clodoaldo Bueno (2008) informs that the policies included a Law of War that allowed the government to decide over the

³ From the original Portuguese language: “(...) as terras públicas compreendidas nos primeiros trinta quilômetros contados da linha da fronteira serão divididas em lotes a serem distribuídos (...); “(...) a chefes de família que satisfaçam as seguintes condições: a) sejam brasileiros natos, casados com brasileiras natas; b) tenham aptidão para os trabalhos agrícolas”.

future of properties of the subjects of Germany. 24 years later, Brazil again declared war on Germany and took part in the Second World War.

The Brazilian international affairs in the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s were turned to both the United States of America and Germany. However, when the global conflict started, Brazil sought to maintain its neutrality, as well as the commercial relations with both nations. This position ended with the combination of a progressive approximation to the American country, the fortification of the relations at the start of the war, and the Japanese attack on several Yankee possessions in the Pacific, which made the Brazilian government, after a careful political calculation, break its diplomatic and commercial relations with the Axis, in January 1942 (MROS, 2019). What followed was a German retaliation on Brazilian naval activities (with the sinking of several ships), which led to a popular pressure that ultimately led to the state of belligerence toward the Axis on the 31st of August, 1942 (BUENO, 2008).

According to Günther Richter Mros (2019), both the First and the Second World War, offered Brazil an opportunity to insert the country in a panorama of transformation of the international system with a possibility to gain a more relevant role. In the same process, and in both wars, still according to Mros, Brazil fought Germany, a country which the author sees as the “ideal enemy” by the identitary construction of that period. The participation in both wars offered proper conditions to reinforce the internal cohesion, and it was done by an approach to a Latin identity based on ethnical mixture and in direct opposition to the German identity (with a base on “purity”) (MROS, 2019). In the same way, Germans were seen as a danger in the first half of the 20th century (GERTZ, 1991), which motivated state policies to nationalize immigrants of that descent or citizens of Germany (NEUMANN, 2003).

Therefore, the war was inserted in a context where nationalization policies were already directed to populations that were seen as alien to the nation. Even more, groups such as those of German, Italian or Japanese language or with nationalities such as Hungarian or Romanian became enemy presences on the Brazilian territory, and even worse, located on the borderlands, by consequence, became “internal enemies” in strategic zones, a threat which needed to be neutralized by state policies.

Terminating the “internal menace”

“Newspapers talked a lot about the eminence of war on Europe; but Europe was far from Porto Novo, so what did it matter to the inhabitants of the woods?” wrote a German amateur historian in 1951 about the rumors of war in 1938⁴. The woman, Maria Rohde, was writing from the perspective of a German immigrant who was living in a colony named Porto Novo. Not only did the conflict affect multiple populations around the world, but also in Brazil, the war served as an amplifier of the current nationalization policies.

With the generalized crisis occurring after the end of the First World War (1914-1918), and the rise of fascism in Europe, a fertile terrain was set for a new conflict (VISENTINI, 1989). Thereby, the invasion of Poland by Germany in September 1939, and the consequent declaration of war of France and the United Kingdom on the invaders, culminated into the biggest conflict known until then. In this context, by the decade of 1940, the Brazilian diplomacy oscillated between cooperating with Germany and the other countries that formed the Axis (notably Hungary, Italy and Japan), and the Allied Nations (France, United Kingdom and later the United States of America) (VISENTINI, 1989).

By the end of 1941, the war and Brazilian diplomacy took a different path. The Soviet Union had been at war with the Germans since 1940, and the Empire of Japan tried to take control over the Pacific Ocean and the Far East (VISENTINI, 1989). However, the Japanese interests clashed with the North American position on the Pacific, which resulted, in December 1941, in the Japanese attacks on several Yankee possessions, including Pearl Harbor, a strategic point. This action drove the United States of America into the war, and made several American nations take a position in the international scenario (MROS, 2019).

The attack generated strong reactions in the American countries. In this scenario, based on the ideas of pan-Americanism, in which an attack on any American country is interpreted as an aggression to the entire continent, several States broke international relations with the countries of the Axis in the Chancellor’s Conference that took place in the city of

⁴ Translated from the Portuguese version: “Os jornais falavam muito da eminência de uma guerra na Europa; mas a Europa estava longe de Porto Novo, então, o que isso interessava aos moradores das matas?”. In: ROHDE, 2011.

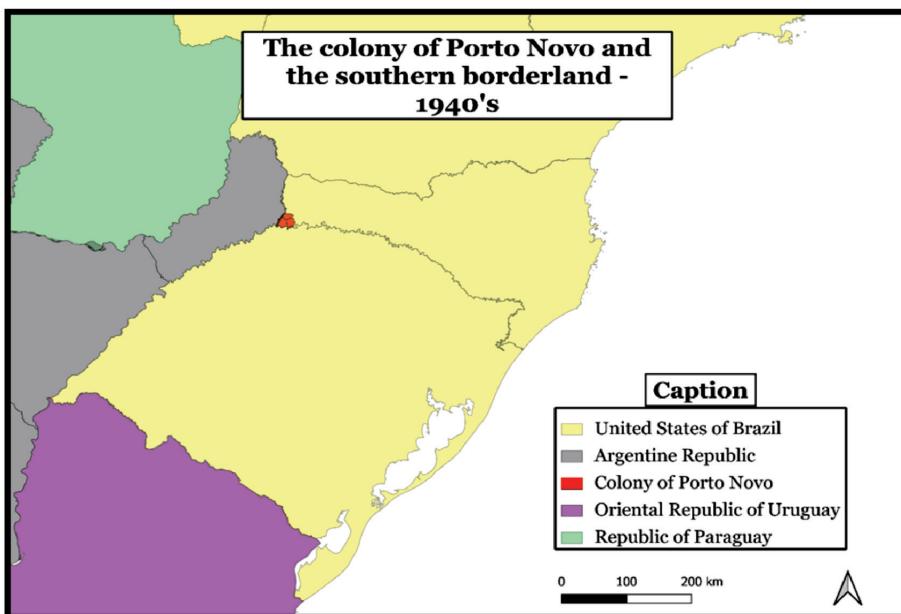
Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of Brazil, in January 1942 (LIMA, 2019). Brazil, different than Argentina and Chile, decided to follow the decisions of the majority, and broke its diplomatic relations with the Axis (BUENO, 2008).

Thus, the rupture of the diplomatic relations and the declaration of war of Brazil related to the Axis powers, that happened a few months later, occasioned several changes to the national policies. Nevertheless, the Brazilian geographic importance as well as the national government interests in the economic and military sectors emphasized the approximation to the United States of America. Inserted in this perspective were the Brazilian authorization for the usage of military bases of the North and Northeast of the territory by the United States Army, in exchange for the supply of raw material to the Allied Nations (FERRAZ, 2005). According to Francisco Ferraz, the Brazilian interests were not only military but also economical, as the country was in need of heavy industries (FERRAZ, 2005). In this area, the United States of America helped by financing the construction of a steel plant in Volta Redonda, in the state of Rio de Janeiro (BUENO, 2008).

With the intensification of the nationalization campaign after the declaration of war and the participation in the conflict, several consequences were felt on the borderlands and the regions nearby. Due to this, the fear of the German and Italian communities along with the North American concern about the German influence on the south of the country, were weights that pressed for stiff policies toward those groups (FERRAZ, 2005). Thus, the borderland became ever more important, especially in regions inhabited by descendants of citizens born in the countries of the Axis.

According to Francisco Ferraz, the North American authorities believed that the danger laid in the North and Northeast, where a German attack was expected. On the other hand, the Brazilian authorities, based on the historical experience, believed that the danger laid in the south, through a possible Argentinean invasion, supported by the German and Italian colonies (FERRAZ, 2005). Therefore, by painting some nationalities as enemies, the Brazilian government had reasons to use more aggressive methods to integrate the non-national populations living inside its territory. So, the Brazilian participation in World War II started deep policies of nationalization that served, according to Günther Mros, as a possibility to reinforce or to create an internal cohesion (2019).

In this sense, one significant event, which is related to nationalization policies in times of war, took place in Porto Novo⁵, a colony mostly inhabited by German speakers, in the state of Santa Catarina (see the map below). This colony emerged in 1926 from a project to build a colonization effort only for German speakers of the Catholic faith (MAYER, 2017). Under these guidelines, this colony received several nationalities, including Austrians, Germans, Romanians, Russians, Swiss and mostly Brazilians, German or Portuguese speakers (SAUSEN, 2019). This way, just from the guidelines to form a colony *only for* German speakers, the project ended up bringing together *mostly* Germans speakers, and not a homogeneous population (SAUSEN, 2019).



Source: Map of own construction by using the free software QuantumGis3, and the free cartographic layers of Argentine, Brazilian, Paraguay and Uruguay available on the following websites: Argentina: <[https://www.ign.gob.ar/NuestrasActividades/Informacion Geoespacial/CapasSIG](https://www.ign.gob.ar/NuestrasActividades/InformacionGeoespacial/CapasSIG)>. Access on: September 10, 2020, 10h35; Brazil: <<https://mapas.ibge.gov.br/bases-e-referenciais/bases-cartograficas/malhas-digitais>>. Access on September 10, 2020, 10h36; Paraguay: <<https://data.humdata.org/dataset/paraguay-administrative-level-0-boundaries>>. Access on: September 10, 2020, 10h36; Uruguay: <<https://data.humdata.org/dataset/uruguay-administrative-level-0-boundaries>>. Access on: September 10, 2020, 10h34.

⁵ In current days “Porto Novo” is only a historical region, composed by the towns of Itapiranga, São João do Oeste, Tunápolis, and a piece of the territories of the town of Iporã do Oeste.

The multiple composition of nationalities in Porto Novo generated contradictory reactions from the Brazilian authorities during World War II. From this perspective, it is important to relate an important event, which was announced previously. In February 1943, local authorities ordered the removal of all foreign populations living in Porto Novo, but that only meant those who were related to the Axis. Therefore, all citizens of Germany or Romania had to, in 10 days, get rid of all of their belongings and prepare to migrate to a distance of 150 km from the border (ROHDE, 2011).

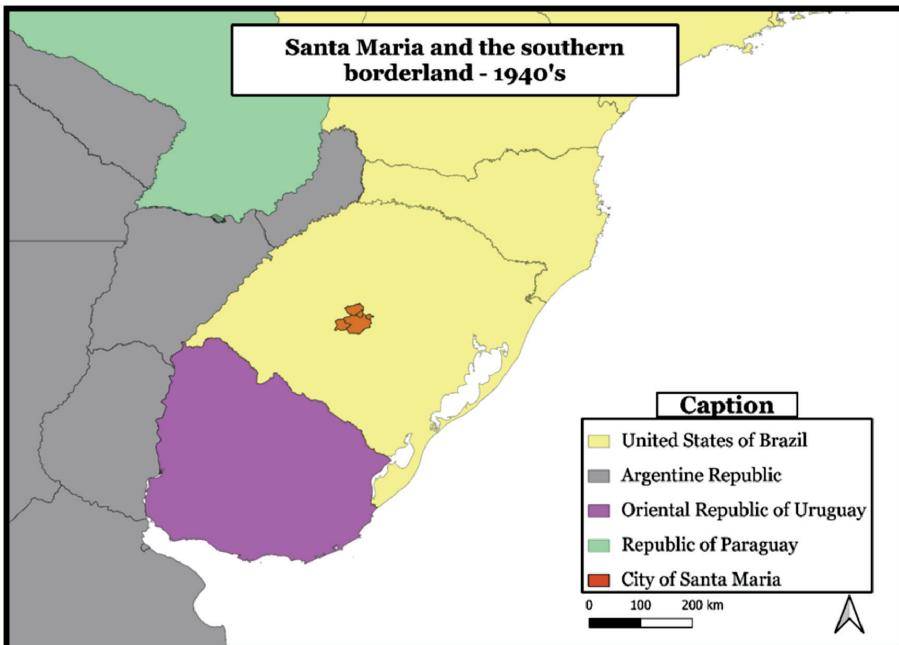
A significant amount of the population living in Porto Novo were attached not only to one nationality, but also to several. Two personal cases will be mentioned as an example.

Maria Rohde, who several years later reported the forced migration in a book published in the German language in 1951, was born in the German Empire (1871-1918), had North American citizenship, and Brazilian-born children. Her uncles were born in Switzerland. Her brother-in-law, Carlos Schickling, who worked as a surveyor in Porto Novo, and had medical care in Germany before the war, was incorporated into the Luftwaffe and died on the Russian front (ROHDE, 2011). However, due to all these national combinations and family ties, Maria Rohde was spared from the migration order and allowed to stay, only due to her North American citizenship (ROHDE, 2011).

Anton Ruscheinski, on the contrary, was born in Romania, as a son of Russians, brother of Romanians and lately also from Brazilians, and he was the only one of his family forced to leave Porto Novo. His brothers that were married to Brazilians were spared, and his parents too, due to their Russian nationality (Soviet Union), a friendly country in the war (JUNGBLUT, 2011). In spite of the contradictions, the forced migration, named as "*Caravana da Morte*" (Death-Caravan) by the locals, after two waves of expelled persons, was reverted by political articulations in the hands of colonial leaderships (ROHDE, 2011). This way, the foreigners could return and stay in Porto Novo.

Another significant location for this presentation is the city of *Santa Maria*. Located in the central region of the Brazilian state of *Rio Grande do Sul* (see the map below), this city had its origin linked with the disputes of the borderline demarcations between the crowns of Spain and Portugal in the 18th century. Previously the region was inhabited by natives and was the place of a series of immigration processes that brought a diversity of

languages and persons, which characterize the city of Santa Maria. Moreover, since its foundation, in the 18th century, until the first decades of the 20th century, the location was witness to a series of conflicts and disputes, linked to internal and external processes.



Source: Map of own construction by using the free software QuantumGis3, and the free cartographic layers of Argentine, Brazilian, Paraguayan and Uruguayan available on the following websites: Argentina: <[https://www.ign.gob.ar/NuestrasActividades/Informacion Geoespacial/CapasSIG](https://www.ign.gob.ar/NuestrasActividades/InformacionGeoespacial/CapasSIG)>. Access on: September 10, 2020, 10h35; Brazil: <<https://mapas.ibge.gov.br/bases-e-referenciais/bases-cartograficas/malhas-digitais>>. Access on: September 10, 2020, 10h36; Paraguay: <<https://data.humdata.org/dataset/paraguay-administrative-level-0-boundaries>>. Access on: September 10, 2020, 10h36; Uruguay: <<https://data.humdata.org/dataset/uruguay-administrative-level-0-boundaries>>. Access on: September 10, 2020, 10h34.

Therefore, the “Guaraní War” (1753-1756), in the 18th century can be seen as one of the first conflicts that the region witnessed. As a Guarani resistance against the Portuguese incorporation of the *Misiones Orientales*, by the Treaty of Madrid (1750), which was an exchange of territories as well as an establishment of borderlines between the Crowns of Portugal and Spain, the conflict had in Santa Maria a place of support for the Portuguese-Spanish troops (SANTOS, 2010). Before that, the region had

its own *Mision: São Cosme e São Damião* dismantled because of the risk of the attacks of Portuguese *bandeirantes*⁶ (SANTOS, 2010).

However, the conflicts over the border demarcations between the Iberian Empires lasted even after the independences of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and were inherited by the countries who emerged from this process (DORATIOTO, 2014). In this sense, all along the 19th century, the region of Santa Maria witnessed a series of processes in which the local place and the country were inserted, like the disputes for the conformation of Platenean States [States along the La Plata River], as well as the disputes over the configuration of the Brazilian Imperial State.

In this way, the conflicts that occurred all during the 19th century, in Brazil and in the neighboring regions, turned Santa Maria into a strategic region. Thereby, the *Guerra dos Farrapos* (1835-1845); the Uruguayan Civil War (1839-1851); the Platine War (1851-1852); and the Paraguayan War (1864-1870) took place on the borderlands or inside the province of *São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul*⁷, where Santa Maria was located (Dalmolin 2006). Due to all these conflicts, its strategic importance, and according to Cáitia Regina Dalmolin (2006, p. 38), the wars, the military characteristics of the place were strengthened.

By 1885, a railroad was built in Santa Maria. With the goal of connecting the city to Porto Alegre, the capital of the province, the railroad had a place of importance in the formation and population increase of the city. In this way, the commercial development linked to the railway made the city a place of national economic importance, which had a deep relation with the rail connection between Santa Maria and São Paulo, city that in the end of the 19th century became the main economic hub of the country (PADOIN, 2010). After the Brazilian republican coup, in 1889⁸, the place gained a recognition of its economic importance, linked to the increase of railroads, and the strategic geographical position, near the borderlands with Argentina and Uruguay, places of special interest after the turbulent century.

⁶ Slave-traders and adventurers who tried to capture Indians from the Jesuit Missions (Santos 2010).

⁷ Current Brazilian state of *Rio Grande do Sul*. Until 1889 Brazil was subdivided administratively into provinces, and after the republican coup that took place in that year, the provinces were transformed into states.

⁸ After the military coup Brazil was reconfigured and the State renamed as “Estados Unidos do Brasil” (United States of Brazil”).

With the sinking of passenger and merchant ships by the fascist powers, “*quebra-quebra*”⁹ movements were generated against several commercial and industrial businesses owned by persons related by citizenship or descendants of immigrants from the countries that were part of the Axis. According to Fachel, the sinking of Brazilian ships was the justification for the outbreak of the “*quebra-quebra*” movements (apud LIMA, 2019), which took place in an intense form in Santa Maria. In the city, many railroad workers destroyed several stores owned by German and Italian descendants. These movements, along with the public comotion and the North American diplomatic pressure lead the country to declare war, through the Decree N°10.358, of August 31, 1942 (ESTADOS UNIDOS DO BRASIL, 1942).

Even with the economic interests, the military situation was of great importance to the political leaders of that time. In this perspective, the city of *Santa Maria* was considered a place of strategic importance, in the period between the years of 1942 and 1945¹⁰. Near the borderland with Argentina and Uruguay, the city had an important role as a railway junction, as well as its significant military contingent placed in the region.

Both examples, *Porto Novo* and *Santa Maria*, are important to analyze the geopolitical relevance reserved for the borderland in that period. As crucial locations for the Nation-State, they were to have the threats neutralized or reduced, such as the foreign presence, as well as be able to count on a significant military presence, able to give a quick answer to any hostile attempt.

The preparation to fight in Europe and the Italian campaign

The preparations to send troops to the Mediterranean Theater of Operations in the war lasted from 1942 to 1944. For the efforts of war the *Força Expedicionária Brasileira* (Brazilian Expeditionary Force, FEB) was created in 1943, through an initial project to create an army Corps with approximately 60 thousand men and women (Ferraz 2005). Nevertheless, due to a series of conditions, such as the difficulty of recruitment and the

⁹ Popular Brazilian term to describe the acts of protest through vandalism that aimed at destroying private or public properties.

¹⁰ Nowadays, according to José Odim Degrandi and Rogério Leandro Lima da Silveira (2010) one of the biggest military contingents in the country is established in the city.

internal and external context, the army Corps was reduced to an Infantry Division, which corresponded to almost 25 thousand men and women. The lack of soldiers is explained by the big social differences that afflicted the country, which severely reduced the number of those fit to serve.

The difficulties in forming an army Corps reflected on the capacity of the country to form its own military contingent, which was composed by approximately 90 thousand men (FERRAZ, 2005). Furthermore, the problems in the military conscription reflected the reality of an Army that was lacking equipment, weapons, combat vehicles, artillery, and other elements that hindered the formation of an army Corps and even “to defend the border against the traditional ‘potential Platenean enemies’”¹¹ (FERRAZ, 2005, p. 44). Moreover, the concerns about the North American military bases and a possible German attack were also elements that complicated the formation of an Expeditionary Force (FERRAZ, 2005).

However, even if these elements were of great importance, Francisco Ferraz points out that the conscription had specific physical and psychological criteria, such as “(...) to have a height of 1.60 meters or more, a minimal weight of 60 kilograms, and at least 26 teeth”¹² (2005, p. 46). Still “(...) the results of the physical and psychological exams revealed an alarming picture of the Brazilian sanitary situation. Sub-nutrition, chronic and parasitic diseases, circulatory, pulmonary and dermatological pathologies, characterized the expressive portion examined (...)”¹³ (FERRAZ, 2005, p. 47). In addition, there was also a fleeing from the regular military, even the paid ones, when confronted with the possibility of going to the war (FERRAZ, 2005). All these conditions reflected on there being only 25 thousand men and women that were conscripted. From this amount, the city of Santa Maria, due to its important geographical position, and its significant military contingent, sent about 270 military (FRÖHLICH, 2011).

During the trainings, the FEB was prepared for modern tactics of war, together with the North American Army. In this preparation, the usage

¹¹ Translated from the original Portuguese language: “(...) para a defesa das fronteiras contra os tradicionais ‘inimigos potenciais’ do Prata” (FERRAZ, 2005, p. 44)

¹² Translated from the original Portuguese language: “(...) possuir altura igual ou superior à 1,60 metro, peso mínimo 60 quilos e pelo menos 26 dentes” (FERRAZ, 2005, p. 46).

¹³ Translated from the original Portuguese language: “(...) os resultados dos exames físicos e psicológicos desnudaram um quadro alarmante da situação sanitária da população brasileira. Desnutrição, doenças crônicas, parasitárias, patologias circulatórias, pulmonares e dermatológicas caracterizam expressiva parcela examinada” (FERRAZ, 2005, p. 47).

of new weapons and the change of the military doctrine from the French to the North American was important for the modification of the Brazilian Army configuration. From this perspective, by observing the causes that led the United States of Brazil to send troops to the war, Rogério Lima believes that it was an opportunity to modernize the Brazilian combat forces, and be ahead of the other South American forces (LIMA, 2014, p. 50). In a close analysis, Jorge Minella points out that the Brazilian participation in the Second World War was linked to an economic and military projection on the South American Continent, associated with the United States (apud LIMA, 2019).

Once defined, the landing of the men and women (mostly as nurses) of the FEB and the Brazilian Air Force (FAB), occurred, as a first group, in July 5 1944, in the region of Naples, Sicily, and thereafter by five groups until 1945. Moreover, the Expeditionary Forces were commanded by the general Marcarenhas de Moraes, born in the town of *São Gabriel*, that is located in the region of *Santa Maria (Rio Grande do Sul)*, and who was incorporated into the North American Fifth Army, to be part of the chain of command.

At the Mediterranean Theater of Operations, the Brazilian Expeditionary Force took part in the taking of a strategic terrain known as the *Monte Castelo*, in February 1945. In addition, *Monte Castelo* became the largest symbol for the actions of the FEB, such as denotes Francisco Ferraz (2005). Besides this, the Brazilian participation in the Second World War had another act of relevance. The Brazilian general Mascarenhas de Moares accepted the surrender of the 148th German Infantry Division, imprisoning about 15 thousand soldiers, a significant number close to the 25 thousand soldiers that composed the FEB.

Even though the few 25 thousand men and women that composed the FEB did not represent a military division that could make a significant change to the war, its importance cannot be ignored. The taking of *Monte Castelo*, and the defeat of the Germans in the Gothic Line¹⁴ confronting the Allied Nations, represented an important moment for the Nazi defeat in the Second World War. However, before returning, the Brazilian Expeditionary Force was dismantled by the Brazilian dictatorial government, and all medals gained by the soldiers were confiscated (MROS, 2019).

¹⁴ The defensive line elaborated by the German Army in Italy.

Without the proper recognition of their participation and importance on the European Front, at the end of the war, and upon the victorious return of the *pracinhas*, as the soldiers of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force became popularly known, they were transformed into symbols of resistance against dictatorial regimes and Getúlio Vargas, in a process that ended the *Estado Novo* Dictatorship (FERRAZ, 2005).

Final considerations

Seeking an international insertion, as well as to secure the border, the Second World War afflicted Brazil in several different ways, besides also offering a series of possibilities to the authorities that ruled the country through a dictatorship. In this way, the repressive Brazilian regime, known as *Estado Novo*, in a quest for industrialization and the creation and propagation of a national identity, was responsible for modifying the lives of groups and individuals during that period.

To a country of a significant population originating from migration processes, the war showed and reinforced the presence of various citizens and descendants of persons who came from the enemy nations. Therefore, the presence of enemy related people inside the territory, and in strategic zones, such as the borderlands, represented an enormous threat in the eyes of the authorities. Accordingly, for this situation, the country and the population directed several actions to repress these groups.

Nevertheless, those initiatives were already inserted in a bigger panorama of nationalization policies, directed to create a homogeneous Brazilian population, by accepting the mixture of several groups. In spite of this, these initiatives added to the war policies, revealed a great amount of cases in which families were already a composition of several nationalities or origins that resulted from the migration processes. This can be seen in individuals such as Maria Rohde or Anton Ruscheinsky, whose personal trajectories made them threats or safe to stay on the borderlands, by a simple examination of their national relations.

Therefore, the consequences of the participation in the global conflict were felt inside the territory, in a war fought on two types of fronts. One of them was dealing with internal menaces that represented the presence of populations related to the enemy countries, especially close to the southern borderlands. The other one was the Italian front, to which the Brazilian

government sent an Expeditionary Force composed of 25 thousand men and women, which returned victorious, but dismantled.

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Nationalism beyond “nationality”: a historical explanation for a political practice used during the period of the *Estado Novo* [New State] in Brazil (1937-1945)

*Bruna Lima*¹

Introduction

This chapter presents part of the results of the thesis entitled “Borders between the regional and the transnational in the economic development policy of Brazil and the case of the Cyrilla Factory in Santa Maria, RS, Brazil”² carried out in the Doctoral Program in History of the Postgraduate Program in History, of the Federal University of Santa Maria (PPGH / UFSM), in the Research Line “Borders, Politics and Society”, with a CAPES Social Demand scholarship and a Doctoral Exchange Program scholarship abroad, also granted by CAPES and carried out at the Universidad de Buenos Aires (Argentina). In addition, this research is also linked to the Research Group (UFSM / CNPq) “História Platina: sociedade, política e instituições” [Platenean History: society, politics and institutions].

In this case, we brought a specific approach to nationalism that serves to understand political aspects of the *Estado Novo* period in Brazil (1937-1945), with a view to the entry of transnational beverage companies in Brazil, as in the specific case of Coca-Cola, which was the target of our analysis, along with elements that caused restrictions to national industries, whose owners were immigrants from Axis countries, during the Second World War (1939-1945). This elaboration was carried out based on a case study, which dealt with local / global aspects, involving the history of the Cyrilla Beverage Factory, located in Santa Maria, RS, Brazil, in addition to a complex and varied documentation³.

¹ Professor of History/Municipal City Hall of Marcelino Ramos, RS, Brazil. Doctor in History (UFSM). E-mail: bruna.lima90@hotmail.com.

² Thesis orientated by Prof. Dr. Maria Medianeira Padoin and co-orientated by Prof. Dr. Paulo Gilberto Fagundes Visentini.

³ Details regarding the study involving the Cyrilla Factory can be found in Lima (2019).

For this chapter we will focus only on the interpretation of what we define as nationalism beyond the national (borders), from sources such as minutes of the Third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, part of the legislation that regulated the production and circulation of drinks in Brazil, during this period, in addition to other documentation that will be explained throughout this chapter. This set of documents, together with the theoretical and bibliographic framework, will help us to understand this interpretative form, which, as we will see, expands the idea of nationalism in the period, so that it came to be thought of (as going) beyond the national borders.

In this sense, it is worth mentioning that we will bring an idea of border referring to a contact space and a perception, which involve economic relations, exchange of ideas and tensions in the relations between states, expressed mainly through alliances, agreements and disagreements. Thus, the idea of border, in this work, is related to a transnational term, in the sense that we understand transnational companies as those that operate across state borders and, also, as agents of economic integration between States.

Pan-Americanism and development as elements of expansion of the idea of national

To understand the idea of nationalism propagated by the Brazilian government during the *Estado Novo* in Brazil, it is necessary to identify the role assumed by the ideology of Pan-Americanism, as well as the importance that the Third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics took on in this context, directly influencing the construction of an idea of nationalism, based on the perspective of continental cooperation and solidarity, also applying the ideas of a developmental nature, assumed by the government of Getúlio Vargas, during this specific phase of his government.

We recall that, in this period, the question that involved the idea of economic development, was aligned with a perspective of legitimization of the government, considering that Getúlio Vargas remained in power, through a coup, in 1937, giving rise to an anti-democratic, authoritarian and repressive government which lasted until 1945.

In addition, this issue that involved the idea of economic development was also related to a decision-making stance that aligned Brazilian support

to a certain group during World War II, according to the political and economic advantages that could be obtained. This occurred, considering that due to the proportion assumed by this conflict, it guided and influenced international relations not only between the countries directly involved, but also among those who expressed and / or could come to express support, in the most diverse ways, to those involved. It is precisely at this point that we begin to draw a relationship between nationalism, Pan-Americanism and development⁴.

The idea of a policy aligned with a Pan-Americanist bias, which began to be practiced at the end of the 19th century, originated, and was the result of a set of Pan-American Conferences, which took place between the years 1889 and 1954. These conferences were considered the origin of the great diplomatic assemblies of the continent and their objectives were, among other issues, about the union of the American nations, through the political strengthening and through trade in America (DULCI, 2008)⁵.

Thus, the term Pan-Americanism started to be disseminated, in order to designate a set of policies that aimed at encouraging and bringing together American countries, with the United States as the main leadership, based, above all, on an idea of cooperation and continental solidarity, which would serve to establish certain relations between these countries.

At that moment, we can say that Latin America was conceived as an extensive area of interest. However, it was sometimes thought of as homogeneous during the Second World War, being the subject of fierce disputes between the United States and Germany.

This idea of homogeneity was perceived and brought to this work, through the analysis elaborated by Dulce (2008), when referring to newspaper clippings that mention the expression “the countries to the South of us”, so that “to the South, according to the perspective of some of these newspapers, would be the countries that made up the ‘rest’ of America “, which, according to her, could be attributed to two factors. The first one would be “a lack of interest of the United States in differentiating countries

⁴ Regarding the studies that address Brazil's position in relation to the Second World War and the discussion regarding financing for the construction of a national steel industry, an element that was part of these negotiations, we highlight: Cervo (2008), Corsi (2000) and Flag (2011).

⁵ As noted in Lima (2019) and Lima; Maciel and Padoin (2017), during this period, the following Pan American Conferences were held: Washington (1889-1890), Mexico City (1901-1902), Rio de Janeiro (1906), Buenos Aires (1910), Santiago de Chile (1923), Havana (1928), Montevideo (1933), Lima (1938), Bogota (1948) and Caracas (1954).

below the border, in seeking the specificities of each nation” and also, as a second factor, which would be the “interest in forming a bloc, understanding that ‘the countries to the south of us’ were essentially agrarian, uncivilized, with a very close colonial past, perfect countries to which to channel North American industrial production through trade reciprocity treaties” (DULCE, 2008, p. 37-38).

Despite this perspective, Pan-Americanism, both in its ideology and in its practice, was adapting to the circumstances and specificities demanded by the different Latin American countries within and taking advantage of this context of World War II. In the case of Brazil, for example, it was adapting itself even to the paradigm shifts in foreign policy⁶. This scenario, in turn, ended up inclining, not only Brazil, but most Latin American countries to declare support to the United States, due to an idea of solidarity, cooperation, protection and reciprocity that would be established among the countries of the continent.

Therefore, we emphasize that the occurrence of consultation meetings between the ministers of foreign affairs of the American republics, were thought of in 1938, during the Eighth Pan-American Conference, held in Lima, when it was established that “in case of war, to discuss the position of the continent, a mechanism for mutual consultation would be put in place, with the convening of meetings of the American chancellors, capable of speeding up decision-making in the face of conflict” (SILVA, 2012, p. 6).

It was in this sense that between January 15 and 28, 1942, in Rio de Janeiro, the Third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics took place, with the purpose of reaffirming continental solidarity and combating what would be a possible Axis penetration in Latin America (SEITENFUS, 2003). This meeting was officially convened at the request of the Chilean minister, due to the attack

⁶ The idea of a paradigm shift in foreign policy was brought up by Cervo (2008). According to him, from 1930 onwards, there was a “change in the model of international insertion”, based mainly on four main elements: “the inconvenience of prolonging the previous model of agro-export”; the “awareness that the crisis of capitalism has awakened from experiencing a transition phase that allowed development to be converted into a synthesis objective of foreign policy”; the “conviction that diplomacy can be used to achieve results”; and, finally, the “conditions for the efficiency of a development-oriented diplomacy”, the latter element of which included “decision-making autonomy, cooperative action, flexible foreign trade without doctrinal ties, subordination of security to economic ends and the concomitance of good relations with large neighbors” (CERVO, 2008, p. 44-45).

by Japanese forces against the United States, on December 7, 1941⁷, when, from the deliberations resulting from this meeting “the formalization of North American hegemony took place, with the control of several economic, commercial and subversive activities” (FACHEL, 2002, p. 65).

Brazil's alignment with the United States took place officially during this Third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics. Despite the officiality of this decision, the Brazilian government only really took a more effective stance of alignment with the United States and repudiation of the Axis countries, when episodes involving the torpedoing of Brazilian ships by the German government, emerged as elements that served to justify this approach and refute / hostilize / destroy any possibility of influence of countries linked to the Axis in Brazil.

We can consider that this issue involving the Axis penetration in Latin America, appeared as a latent concern, considering not only the commercial influence that Germany exercised among some Latin American countries, but also the possibility of support that this country could receive, due, among other factors, to the number of immigrants living in certain regions of Brazil.

In Brazil and, even more specifically in Rio Grande do Sul, the demonstration of concern about possible support to Germany can be seen through the work of Lieutenant Colonel Aurélio da Silva Py, published in 1942 and which, despite committing and promoting some exaggerations in order to maintain his political prominence, influence and power, monitored and detailed the existence of a possible Nazi conspiracy in Rio Grande do Sul⁸.

It was in the face of this whole dispute scenario, which involved the United States, Germany and the Latin American countries, that some elements called our attention. Among them, we highlight the occurrence of movements that destroyed industries, commercial establishments and even

⁷ Fonte: Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty. Códice 30.12.9.

⁸ Regarding the discussion that involves the exaggeration on the part of the government and, above all, Aurélio da Silva Py, regarding the attempt to demonstrate the existence of a solid, extremely well-articulated, Nazi organization in the south of Brazil, it was dealt with in the historiography by Fachel (2002), when he found that “the perception that the fears about Nazism, militarily articulated in Latin America, was an American exaggeration, coincides with other authors, such as Gertz. Even though it was not real, the ‘German danger’, from a military point of view, was important to promote this fear for the success of economic activities of the United States. The reversal of the commercial, technological and financial flow, which until 1939 showed a favorable growth for Germany, is also explained by this war situation” (FACHEL, 2002, p. 53).

residences of immigrants from countries of the Axis, supposedly as an act of vengeance, due to the torpedoing of Brazilian ships by Germany in 1942, which became known and were approached by historiography as anti-Axis riots. Through this approach, we try to understand these episodes, as something broader and more complex, involving elements that go beyond the ethnic question. Because of this, we also perceive them from a perspective that involved elements associated with the ideas of development and Pan-Americanism, which served as a basis for identifying the existence of a differentiated element that involved the idea of nationalism in this period in Brazil.

In this sense, we defend the idea that after the decisions were taken, or at least made official, at the Third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, the meaning of the term nationalism started to take on a new contour, covering all countries that followed and were in accordance with the provisions of an American “union”. This point assumed total importance within the context of the *Estado Novo* in Brazil, mainly as a way of repudiating what could be foreign to America and these States that were united by common goals and ideas.

Thus, in view of this perspective, we can explain that the destruction events that occurred in 1942, facilitated agreements for the establishment of transnational beverage companies, originating in the United States, considering that, with this perspective, the United States would no longer be a foreign nation. At the same time it allowed the destruction of establishments that were not national within this perspective, that is, all those that were external to the bond of union established by Pan-Americanism, and the simple fact that a person came from a nation under the influence of the Axis would already be configured as something anti-national.

This perspective is supported by historical sources. In this case, we will initially point out, as an example, an order from the Brazilian Embassy to Berlin, dated November 10, 1941, in which there is reference to a fragment of the President of the Republic's speech, with the Ministry of War, in which such a perspective is evidenced: “no invader will touch Brazilian soil without receiving the just punishment. Internally, those who, through intrigue, slander, intend to weaken or divide us will be treated with rigor. The historical phase that we are going through does not allow dissent and innocuous debates”. Following the same speech he also declared that:

Our policy of open continental solidarity will remain uniform and invariable. We will remain loyal to our commitments. There can no longer be any doubt about the unity of action in the Americas, which has moved from the domain of conventions to that of reality. Wherever any American nation is, the sister nations of the hemisphere must be, and we will be among them, ready to engage in common defense⁹.

As we can see, both the issue of continental solidarity and the rejection of “foreigners” can be seen in the previous fragments. Another example that illustrates this idea is found in a 1942 publication of the *Correio do Povo* newspaper, containing an excerpt from an interview of the journalist L. Josefson, from *O Globo* with General Cordeiro Farias, an intervener in Rio Grande do Sul at the time.

This interview had as its theme precisely the positioning of Brazil with regard to the treatment given to supporters of the Axis in the state, demonstrating its perspective in relation to the situation of Brazil in the war and the impressions of the intervener in relation to the occurrence of a Chilean military mission, held in Porto Alegre. We observe, in the following fragment of the newspaper, how the idea of expanding the national, through Pan-Americanism was present:

General Escudero and the other Chilean officers – says the gaucho intervener – were highly devoted to the Pan-Americanist cause and, especially, very friendly with Brazil. As, by the way, it has already been made known to us that Brazil and the cause of the Americas could always count on the support and sympathy of the Chilean people, army and governments¹⁰.

This same newspaper, moreover, reported on the request to create what would be called a Pan-American Army. This was a proposal from a group of former military chiefs, sent to President Getúlio Vargas and Oswaldo Aranha, and which also contained in its ideas the issue of continental defense as something that was, or at least should be, present among the continental nations and have as one of its principles to combat any type of Axis influence in the region. According to the newspaper’s publication, for the creators of this project:

This organization [Pan-American Army], which would be formed through open volunteering in all continental nations, would be used to decisively combat totalitarian forces in all its forms. The fight against the fifth column

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Fonte: Desmantelada a máquina totalitária em todo o Estado do Rio Grande do Sul. *Correio do Povo*, 02 de julho de 1942, p. 8. Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Santa Maria (AHMSM) – grifo nosso.

would be one of the main tasks of the new army, which would also be available to fight outside our borders, if circumstances required¹¹.

In the documentation available in the archives of the National Archives, referring to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, we found, among other documents, a Memorandum dated June 18, 1942, in which aspects were mentioned that also provide us with evidence to support this conclusion. Such evidence comes from the excerpt of a speech given by Oswaldo Aranha, contained in this memo, in which he made a reference to how much Brazil was willing to cooperate with the United States.:

I know that the heart of Brazil is all turned to the United States. Our interests have always been common, our mutual affection has always been profound. Today when history itself begins a new phase, our objectives are identified to the point that I feel entitled to speak now on behalf of the people of both our countries, on behalf of your people as well as mine, when talking of this family of nations to which you have just referred – the United States and Brazil – we are closer to each other and we have a marked preference for each other. What else is it possible to say? What more needs to be said at this moment? We no longer speak: we act. The products of our industry, the great wealth of our natural resources are yours – they are all yours, for the fight against common enemies. Brazilian ships give absolute preference to your war needs. Our effort is more than supplementary to yours. I need an even stronger word than ‘cooperation’. Our effort is your effort¹².

This fragment of the speech by Oswaldo Aranha, used in the referred Memorandum helps us to understand how the national issue was being pointed out. It is evident that by declaring support for the United States in the Second World War, it would already, by itself, justify cooperation actions between countries. However, what draws attention in this fragment is how the reference to an identification between Brazil and the United States is highlighted in the political speech of Oswaldo Aranha, which indicates, above all, his understanding of the definitions of Brazilian politics.

Furthermore, in this speech, we can see that there is an alignment of interests that goes far beyond cooperation, as suggested by the minister himself, to the point of making his nation directly available to the interests of the United States. There is, in this sense, what we can understand as expansion of what would be national, when at this moment we observe

¹¹ Fonte: Sugerida a criação de um exército pan-americano. Correio do Povo, 17 de julho de 1942, p. 3. Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Santa Maria (AHMSM).

¹² Fonte: Arquivo Nacional. Códice: Lata 341, p. 1-2.

that there is such a strong alignment with the United States, that the interests merge and the national expands.

This idea of unity and, above all, of nationalism beyond nationality, which included defending the interests not only of Brazil, but also of the American continent through Pan-Americanism, was reinforced with the occurrence of Pan-American Conferences and Meetings of consultations between chancellors. An example of this can be seen in the documentation that preceded the Third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, in which chancellors or representatives of State request the Pan-American Union to hold the meeting, in view of the attacks that the States were suffering, already demonstrating not only continental solidarity, but also the intention of cooperation.

According to the material, it was clear that these attacks, in addition to the Pan-Americanist influences, were not taken only as a type of aggression directed just at the United States, as we had mentioned until then, but rather at all American countries and, therefore, the need for these countries to organize themselves to produce some kind of response. In this regard, we highlight the document that preceded the Third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, in which the Pan-American Union was requested to have said meeting, due to the course that the Second World War was taking.

This document started with the claim made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile, Juan B. Rossetti, on December 9, 1941, addressed to the Directing Council of the Pan-American Union, and followed with the claim of the United States government, made the following day. The following fragments contain, respectively, part of the two claims:

As a result of the unjustified aggression suffered by the United States by a non-American power and, in view of the provisions of resolutions XV and XVII adopted at the Consultative Meeting in Havana, in July 1940, I come to Your Excellency to consult with other American governments on the advisability of urgently calling for a third consultation meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, to consider the situation produced and to adopt the most appropriate measures that claim the solidarity of our peoples and the defense of the hemisphere.

The republics of this continent, in the international conferences that were held in Buenos Aires, Lima, Panama and Havana recognized, in a spirit of solidarity, that a threat to peace, security and territorial integrity of any of these republics is the responsibility of all. In Resolution XV, approved by the representatives of the American Republics at the Consultation Meeting that took place in Havana in July 1940, entitled 'Reciprocal Assistance and

Defensive Cooperation of the American Nations', the Republics of America declared that any attempt by a non-American state against the integrity or inviolability of the territory, against the sovereignty or political independence of an American State, will be considered as an act of aggression against an American State, it will be considered as an act of aggression against the States that sign this declaration and also added that, in the event of an act of aggression by a non-American State against an American State, “the States signatory to this declaration shall consult with each other to define the appropriate measures”¹³.

These two fragments allow us to observe that the Pan-Americanist policy led by the United States in relation to Latin America was, at least in part, being implemented. In the first claim, for example, solidarity and defense of the continent are emphasized, demonstrating a feeling of unity. However, in the case of Chile, it is interesting to consider its geographical position, because, as it is located in an extreme strip, occupying a good part of the coast of the continent, this positioning is presented as strategic. In the second claim, the spirit of solidarity, that a threat to peace, security and territorial integrity of the American republics is treated as a problem for all these countries, which must think of collective strategies and not in isolation.

In this sense, we see the evidence of the idea of a nationalism that goes beyond the national border, if we take into account, for example, Brazil. This is because it is the form of a broader nationalism, not restricted to closed borders, but with borders that go beyond the limits of the concept of a closed national state within its territory. In other words, an identity of

¹³ “En presencia de la injustificada agresión de que han sido víctimas los Estados Unidos por parte de una potencia no americana y, teniendo en vista lo dispuesto en las resoluciones XV y XVII aprobadas en la Reunión Consultiva de La Habana en el mes de julio de 1940, ruego a Vuestra Excelencia consultar a los demás gobiernos americanos sobre la conveniencia de convocar con toda urgencia una tercera reunión de consulta de los Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores de las Repúblicas Americanas, para considerar la situación producida y adoptar las medidas más adecuadas que reclaman la solidaridad de nuestros pueblos y la defensa de lo hemisférico/Las repúblicas de este Continente, en las Conferencias Internacionales que se han celebrado en Buenos Aires, Lima, Panamá y la Habana, han reconocido, dentro de un espíritu de solidaridad, que una amenaza a la paz, la seguridad o la integridad territorial de cualquiera de estas repúblicas es de la incumbencia de todas. En la Resolución XV, aprobada por los representantes de las Repúblicas Americanas en la Reunión de Consulta que se verificó en La Habana en julio de 1940, titulada “Asistencia Recíproca y Cooperación Defensiva de las Naciones Americanas”, las Repúblicas de América declararon que todo atentado de un Estado no americano contra la integridad o la inviolabilidad del territorio, contra la soberanía o independencia política de un Estado americano, será considerado como un acto de agresión contra un Estado americano, será considerado como “un acto de agresión contra los Estados que firman esta declaración” y agregaron también que en caso de cometerse un acto de agresión por parte de un Estado no americano, contra un Estado americano “los Estados signatarios de la presente declaración consultarán entre sí para concertar las medidas que convega tomar”. Fonte: Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty. Códice 30.12.9, p. 7-8.

belonging to the American continent, with a perspective of territory also expanded, as a “bloc” of states. According to this perspective, we defend the idea that a union through Pan-Americanism had opened the way for mobility between these states to be facilitated. This union would also be a way to expel everything that would be foreign, considering it a threat to the whole continent.

These ideas that indicate the notion of a broader nationalism and the break with diplomatic relations that in some way threatened the American States can also be reinforced through the following fragments contained in the minutes of the Third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics:

- I. The American Republics reaffirm themselves in their declaration, to consider any act of aggression by an extracontinental state against one of them as an act of aggression against all of them, as it constitutes an immediate threat to America's freedom and independence.
- II. The American Republics reaffirm their complete solidarity and their determination to cooperate together for their mutual protection until the effects of the present aggression on the continent are gone.
- III. The American Republics, following the procedures established by their own laws and within the position and circumstances of each country in the current continental conflict, recommends the severance of their diplomatic relations with Japan, Germany and Italy, as the first of those States attacked and the other two declared war on an American country.
- IV. The American Republics declare, lastly, that, before reestablishing the relations referred to in the previous paragraph, they consult with each other so that their resolution has a solidary character¹⁴.

At the Third Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, therefore, when support for the United States was defined, this idea, related to nationalism beyond nationality, demonstrated so far, becomes more clearly observed.

¹⁴ I. *Las Repúblicas Americanas se reafirman en su declaración de considerar todo acto de agresión de un Estado extracontinental contra una de ellas como acto de agresión contra todas, por constituir una amenaza inmediata a la libertad e independência de América.*

II. Las Repúblicas Americanas reafirman su completa solidariedad y su determinación de cooperar todas juntas para su protección recíproca hasta que los efectos de la presente agresión al Continente hayan desaparecido.

III. Las Repúblicas Americanas, siguiendo los procedimientos establecidos por su próprias leyes y dentro de la posición y circunstancias de cada país em el actual conflito continental recomienda la ruptura de sus relaciones diplomáticas com el Japón, Alemania e Italia, por haber el primero de esos Estados agredidos y los otros dos declarado la guerra a un país americano.

IV. Las Repúblicas Americanas declaran, por último, que, antes de restablecer las relaciones a que se refiere el párrafo anterior, se consultan entre sí, a fin de que su resolución tenga carácter solidário (ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, 1942, p. 4-5).

We tie up this idea that has been brought up to now with a source that refers to the dissatisfaction of industry owners who reported the existence of a differentiation in relation to the treatment given to national companies and supposedly foreign companies, linked to the beverage industry in Brazil, despite the existence of legislation regulating this sector. According to these owners, Brazilian industries were supposed to comply with certain requirements, while industries supposedly “from outside” Brazil did not always need to adapt to certain standards.

And, it is against these industries, with pride in the ability and tact of the Brazilian industry, and capable of freeing us from the competition of similar aliens, that the public authorities, speciously oriented, in a regulatory legislating delusion, have tried to strike blows on blows, being warded off with difficulty by the tenacity and patriotism of those who believe and fight for our gradual economic emancipation¹⁵.

It is worth noting that the claim brought by these producers makes reference to Decree Law No. 6425, of April 14, 1944 legislation that regulated guaraná-based drinks and which caused a lot of dissatisfaction considering that the beverage production processes based on this fruit would be affected, making it impossible, in some cases, to stabilize the product. This unfeasibility in the production of the product can be interpreted as a way of restricting the scope of certain industries, and many of these companies would not be able to adapt to certain standards. It is important to point out, in fact, that many of these beverage companies that were already in Brazil had immigrant owners of the Axis, proving our idea of exclusion of what would not be national, either through the destruction through rioting, or even by the legislation corresponding to this sector and inclusion of transnational companies, such as Coca-Cola, for example, which started to operate in Brazil in 1942.

This issue, which involved ideas of nationalism during the *Estado Novo* in Brazil, deserves to be highlighted precisely because, the idea [propagated] of nationalism was not a nationalism restricted to a nation in itself, as something isolated, but a nationalism that included the American countries participating in Pan-American Conferences. Thus, when American industries were installed in Brazil in this period, it reinforces the non-

¹⁵ Fonte: A indústria nacional do “guaraná” e a guerra contra a (...) que vem se fazendo de um quinquênio a esta parte, p. 1. Recorte de jornal sem identificação. Acervo da Fábrica Cyrilla.

contradiction of the government's economic policy actions, considering that it was not exactly hurting a nationalist discourse, since national, in this case, also included the United States.

Conclusion

Based on what was exposed, we came to the conclusion that a different idea of nationalism was elaborated during the *Estado Novo* period, considering three main elements: nationalism, Pan-Americanism and development, which served as a basis for thinking about how the idea of a "flexible nationalism" was being built. Through this thought, it was possible to unite "friendly nations", aligned with Pan-Americanism, and to control their relationship with "foreign nations", which would be the nations external to the American continent, in this case, the European countries linked to the Axis, during The Second World War.

For the construction of this elaboration, we used the idea of "border", taken as a broad concept, not only related to geographical or territorial limits, but also linked to ideological issues. This, bearing in mind that Pan-Americanism served as a way to subtract American relations with foreigners, with regard to the ideological alignment to such a proposal, bringing nations that had the same orientation closer together, by reducing the heterogeneity between them and fostering common values, including the need for unity, against external enemies.

In other words, from the analysis that we developed, we realized that issues related to national borders gained different outlines during the period studied. This became evident when transnational companies from American countries, as in the specific case, Coca-Cola, started to establish themselves in Brazilian territory, due to the validity of Pan-Americanism, the idea of which started to guide the relations established between Brazil and other countries, also serving as a strategy to guarantee the support of Latin American countries during World War II, besides allowing a greater influence of the United States in these countries. We emphasize that Coca-Cola at this moment, and as always, maintained its image totally linked to the United States and associated with democratic values and freedom, so that, for Pendergrast (1993), opening paths for Coca-Cola was practically synonymous with establishing a good relationship with the United States.

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Reflections on patrimony and its relations with memory and identity: Case analysis in the city of Santa Cruz do Sul, RS

Guilherme Dias¹
André Luis Ramos Soares²

Patrimony, Historical inventory, and Registry

Cultural Patrimony can be defined as a set of properties, tangible or not, which due to their singular character, their historical, artistic and anthropological representativeness whose relevance to certain groups guides the selection of the property left as a legacy of one generation for future generations.³

However, preservation is seen as a responsibility of the State, as part of a policy to protect property considered relevant and containing social and political objectives, therefore, it is possible to relate the protection of property as part of an identity formation policy. According to Fonseca:

The constitution of national historical and artistic patrimony is a characteristic practice of modern states, which through certain agents recruited from among the intellectuals and based on specific legal instruments delimit a set of property in the public space. Due to the value attributed to them, as cultural manifestations and as symbols of the nation, these properties are worthy of protection, with the goal of their protection for future generations. In this sense, the preservation policies propose to act, basically at the symbolic level, aiming to reinforce a collective identity, education and the formation of citizens. This is, at least, the discourse that usually identifies the construction of these properties and the development of public preservation policies (FONSECA, 2005, p. 21.)

When the author states that the patrimony protection discourse associates the practice of preservation as a way of reinforcing a collective identity, with an educational function and as part of the formation of citizens,

¹ Author. PhD in History by the Federal University of Santa Maria.

² Author. Professor of the History Department, of the Postgraduate Program in History and the Postgraduate Program in Cultural Patrimony of the Federal University of Santa Maria.

³ Similar definitions can be found by authors such as CANDAU, 2014; CHOAY, 2001; CHUVA, 2009; FONSECA, 2005; MENESSES, 2012; MEIRA, 2004.

it refers to some relationships that are repeated in the bibliography about patrimony and given as certain, such as the relationship between patrimony and memory and the relationship between patrimony and identity. However, although present in official speeches and many academic works, when analyzed in more detail, these relationships do not explicitly present themselves.⁴

In Brazil, the preservation of patrimony at a national level is linked to the emergence of the Getúlio Vargas' Estado Novo with its need to form a national identity which supposedly would overcome regionalisms. According to Silva:

The national identity sought by the Estado Novo was centered on the feeling of belonging to the same culture – the national culture – homogenized through language, symbols and national representations, and whose creation was the “mission” of the intellectuals. During this period, there was an intense debate around national issues in defining a new profile for Brazil and Brazilians, who were then perceived as lagging behind Europe and the United States (SILVA, 2000, p. 16).

It is worth mentioning that the discussion about a national identity had been taking place since the week of Modern Art in 1922, in which the search for a Brazilianness was under discussion in intellectual circles. However, since this discourse came from an elite and not from the State, it was only with the coup d'état of Getúlio Vargas and the inclusion of these intellectuals in the government (poets, artists, musicians, writers), that the search and invention of this “national identity” were partially accomplished.

In 1937, the Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional [National Historical and Artistic Patrimony Service] – SPHAN was created, with the mission of legislating, inventorying, and protecting the properties considered national patrimony, the historical inventory process was the main action, anticipating the restoration and the subsequent use of spaces as a way of promoting the conservation of the properties.

We highlight the presence of the modernist Mário de Andrade who collaborated in the creation of SPHAN by elaborating a preliminary project known as the 1936 preliminary project, which served as a basis, after some adaptations, for the agency's policies and actions in the subsequent decades.

⁴ In the survey conducted in the municipality of Santa Cruz do Sul, residents answered a questionnaire and were interviewed in order to demonstrate this conclusion. The results of the research in the city will be analyzed in the third part of this article.

Although in its preliminary draft, the valorization of cultural properties of immaterial nature was expected, the actions of the organ privileged property of material nature linked to the Minas Gerais Baroque that marks the first decades of SPHAN's action under the command of director Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade. The years that followed the foundation of the organ until 1968 became known as the heroic phase and privileged what the critics called the patrimony of Pedra e Cal [Stone and plaster]. Even though the dialogue between Rodrigo and Mário de Andrade existed, the law that was approved was very distant from the draft, especially with regards to the inclusion of several manifestations of a popular character.

The Decree-Law No. 25 of 1937, after some adaptations and changes regarding the preliminary project, gave rise to SPHAN:

National and artistic patrimony is the set of movable and immovable properties in the country whose conservation is of public interest, either because of its link to memorable facts in Brazil or because of its exceptional archaeological or ethnographic, bibliographic, or artistic value (IPHAN, 2006, p. 99).

Decree-law No. 25 of 1937 further establishes that the mentioned property will only be considered patrimony if they are inscribed in one of the four inventory books "Archaeological, ethnographic and landscape; Historic; Fine Arts and Applied Arts" (*Ibidem*, p. 101).

The character of the historical inventory will follow three distinct routes, being: voluntary, compulsory, or official; in the first case, the owner of the property asks that the property be registered in one of the inventory books; compulsory inventory occurs when it is contrary to the owner's will; official inventory affects property belonging to the union, states or municipalities.

In the first years of SPHAN's action, the heroic phase, its policy, and actions focused on the preservation of the property of material nature. "From 1937 to 1946, SPHAN, applying inventory, legally protected more than 40% of the entire collection of property registered until 1997" (CHUVA, 2009, p. 147).

The heroic phase of SPHAN made an effort to preserve a large number of properties and guarantee their permanence for future generations, however, there was a hiatus related to immaterial or intangible property which generally represented the most humble strata of society. Therefore, its elitist character marks a criticism of the heroic phase.

After Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade's retirement in 1968, a new phase, known as the modern phase of SPHAN, begins. The new phase is marked by the expansion and diversification of protected properties and the distribution of responsibility for the protection of properties at the federal, state, and municipal levels. About this change Chuva highlights the following:

In fact, from the 1970s and 1980s, the social domains that could generate patrimony significantly expanded. This process was based on an anthropological concept of culture, based on the everyday life and emphasizing the procedural perspective of culture, in which a greater variety of historical times and sociological environments come to be considered, as well as the manifestations of cultural activities, revealing the particularities of ethnic groups (CHUVA, 2009, p. 45).

A new perspective of culture influenced the processes of historical inventory and allowed different categories of property to be considered worthy of preservation. With this other groups would be contemplated with the historical inventory of property representative of their legacy.

In this new context, it is also worth mentioning two meetings held to expand and plan preservation actions in collaboration of the Union, states, and municipalities, approved by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – UNESCO.

In the first meeting, held in Brasilia in 1970, the need for collaboration in the protection of patrimony at the municipal, state, and national levels was defined, and so was the need to create state patrimony protection bodies for states that did not yet have them. The document resulting from the meeting in the federal capital became known as the Brasília Commitment and represents very well the changes in the perspective of SPHAN in the modern phase, that is, not only the expansion of the concept of culture and patrimony but also the expansion of the agents responsible for its protection.

Another document resulting from a similar meeting, held in Bahia in 1971, named Salvador Commitment, makes a series of recommendations about the valorization of patrimony and the involvement of the universities, museums, and schools as part of the patrimony appreciation project.

It is recommended that, within the scope of the Brazilian universities, study centers dedicated to the investigation of the natural collection and cultural value be created in their respective areas of influence, with the planning, in the national sense, of the Department of Cultural Affairs of MEC [Ministry of Education], through six specific bodies.

State governments are recommended to include in secondary education a complementary course in Brazilian studies and museology that allows graduates to provide services in museums in the interior where there are no professionals of higher education (IPHAN, 2004, p. 146).

The meetings in Brasília and in Salvador are representative of this new phase of the preservation policy, with the expansion of the powers involved, entities, and the elaboration of policies aimed at protecting this broad spectrum that makes up the patrimony at its different levels.

The Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Estadual [State Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute] – IPHAE is responsible for the protection of patrimony in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Its origin is linked to actions taken before the meetings in Brasília and in Salvador. According to Frinéia Zamin, state policy began to be structured in a more centralized way in 1964, the year in which the Diretoria do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico do Estado [State Historical and Artistic Directorate] was created, which undergoes a series of changes until “an executive decree –11/90 changes the name from CPHAE to IPHAE. The executing agency of the actions towards patrimony then moves from coordination to institute and remains so until today” (ZAMIN, 2006, p. 49).

Next, we will analyze an historical inventory process carried out by IPHAE in the city of Santa Cruz do Sul in 1991, which is the result of this new conjuncture of national policies and of a broader conception of patrimony taking into account ethnic groups.

Historical inventory process in Santa Cruz do Sul

The city of Santa Cruz do Sul, located approximately 150 kilometers from the state capital, Porto Alegre, has two properties listed by IPHAE, the Old Banco Pelotense building and the forum of justice building. In the inventory process of the first property, the ethnic criterion guided the valuation of the property, while in the second the architectural issues stood out. We will therefore analyze only the historical inventory process of the building of the Old Banco Pelotense.

In the inventory process of the property, associating the property to an architect of German origin was essential to guarantee its appreciation as relevant patrimony to the history of the city and the history of the state. The simple association of the property with Germanic culture, something

that the city celebrates in its traditional events,⁵ overcame the aesthetic and architectural issues in what we call logic of the process.

The request for inscribing the former Banco Pelotense⁶ building in a historical inventory process was made by an entity called the Fundação Pró-Cultura of Santa Cruz do Sul, which seeks to develop projects and events related to the area of culture involving dance, theater, music and patrimony preservation. According to the documentation presented in the historical inventory process, in addition to registering patrimony the foundation also wishes to transform the building into its headquarters,. We highlight the following:

It is also urgent to expand the physical space of PRÓ-CULTURA. For this reason we suggest that the building in question be destined to host the PRÓ-CULTURA Association of Santa Cruz do Sul, which, due to the scope and repercussion of its activities, is willing to manage, maintain and conserve the property, as well as create possibilities for the population to better enjoy this context, culturally so important for the memory of the municipality and the state of Rio Grande do Sul (Process nº 061100-SEDAC / 91-6, p .03).

The future actions of the foundation in the name of the city's culture would guide the historical inventory process, provide for the need for a headquarters and associate the property with the German-born architect Theodor Wiederspahn who, supposedly, is the author of the architectural design of the property (supposedly since the authorship of the architectural project is not proven in the documentation presented in the historical inventory process).

Being the supposed author of the project, of German origin, the property undergoes a new meaning which links the culture to this group, and which guides the valuation of the property and the justifications for its registry.

From the main justifications present in the process,⁷ we highlight excerpts from the application for historical registry that was prepared by the Fundação Pró-Cultura of Santa Cruz do Sul. The document, which, in addition to addressing historical aspects related to the region's economy and architectural aspects, appeals to the reference value for collective

⁵ Oktoberfest held since 1984, the Cuca Festival held since 2000 and the Rio Grande do Sul beer festival since 2012.

⁶ The property was later headquarters of the bank of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, Banrisul.

⁷ There are different documents that make up the historical inventory process, in this case the process includes the inventory request, registration of the property in a notary's office, opinion from IPHAE technicians and other attached documents.

memory and associates the building with German culture. The document emphasizes that:

For almost 70 years the building has beautified the city center as a rare example of good architecture that has perpetuated itself over the years and that is also part of the collective memory of all residents of the municipality. Its preservation reflects an invaluable appreciation by the competent bodies for memory and tradition, which has in the old building, a living testimony of the economic, cultural, and social strength that has always characterized the city whose landmarks we are committed to bequeathing to future generations (Case nº 061100-SEDAC / 91-6, p. 06).

The existence of the property for seventy years is treated as a reference in the urban landscape and thus associated with collective memory in an effort to justify its importance to the community, and there is no attempt to quantify or illustrate the importance of the property through documents or testimonials. The connection between the building and German culture is documented in a report attached to the historical inventory process resulting from a cooperation project involving the city hall SPHAN (Fundação Pró-Memória) and the German government, emphasized in the inventory request.

The building was recently declared of inestimable architectural and artistic value in study carried out by the extinct Fundação Pró-Memória and the city hall, together with the government of the Republic of Germany, including the presence of the German architect Udo Baumann who coordinated the realization of the project (Process nº 061100-SEDAC / 91-6, p. 06).

We will highlight below some aspects related to the Old Banco Pelotense building presented in a document attached to the process entitled “Memories of Santa Cruz” prepared by the Brazil/Germany Technical Cooperation Agreement, whose objective was to document the elements representing German architecture present in the municipality of Santa Cruz do Sul.

In the introduction, Architect Udo Baumann explains the need to value architectural elements of historical value, reminding us that it is a Brazil/Germany cooperation agreement, in which the architecture valued here has a connection with German history and culture. According to the architect:

Although it is common knowledge that, with the inventory of historic architecture, the danger of demolition grows, this was the path adopted; an unavoidable measure, since the then valuable architecture received no consideration from the master plan in force in the city. I hope that together

with the exhibition of photographs from July 18 to 25 of 1987, there will be a revaluation of the excellent architecture of Santa Cruz do Sul.

The city is not a museum, nobody encourages or expects it, but at the same time, it should try, through changes in its master plan, to preserve and cultivate its identity (Case nº 061100-SEDAC / 91-6, p. 21).

In the introduction of the document, the architect already expresses his concern with the disappearance of architectural elements of historical value: he expresses his discontent with the city's master plan and also links the preservation of architecture with the preservation of identity.

The regional director of SPHAN, at the time, Architect Luis Antônio Volcato Custódio, relates the architectural legacy to German immigration, so we can conclude that when it comes to memory and identity, it is the memory and identity of this group that is preserved. According to the director:

This collection of fundamental reference of German Immigration in our state, being presented through its most representative elements, in the urban area, and summarily documented in the rural area, through a sample that reveals its quantity and importance and demonstrates the need to continue studies that have been started (Case nº 061100-SEDAC / 91-6, p. 22).

The architectural elements inventoried by the project are interpreted as references to memory and identity and representatives of German architecture. In the documentation, we also find texts by the Municipal Mayor, the Municipal Secretary for Education and Culture, and the Municipal Secretary for Transportation and Tourism. In these texts, the authors reinforce the importance of German colonization for the state and the municipality, as well as highlight the importance of preserving the properties linked to this culture as important testimonies that shape memory and identity.

We highlight a fragment of the text of the Municipal Secretary of Transport, Sport and Tourism, Mr. Ademir Müller, where he reports on the events that take place in the city that are linked to German culture:

Oktoberfest – Festival of joy, today is already an event that crosses the border where we can reach the markets of Uruguay and Argentina in the coming years. Oktoberfest is considered the biggest German event in the south of the country, a festival of joy and movement with lots of draft beer, fun through music, and the tasting of excellent German cuisine. Also, Santa Cruz do Sul is being “put on display”: its diversified park, tobacco companies, the culture of the people, all help to reaffirm the municipality as a regional hub (Case nº 061100-SEDAC / 91-6, p. 25).

In the previous fragment, the secretary highlights the relevance of Oktoberfest, its tourist potential, the fact of celebrating German culture. Further along in the document, again German culture appears celebrated in another event, according to the secretary:

Another event of great importance is the German Immigration Week, held annually in July, this year in its 10th edition, which is part of a program where the customs of our ancestors are valued, aiming at reconciling the rural with the urban population. In this year's program, in addition to inter-district bowling, target shooting, and boules, we have the important participation of the Fundação Nacional Pró-Memória which is bringing, for everyone's appreciation, an exhibition of photographs of German architecture in the municipality of Santa Cruz do Sul and lectures on it. The importance of this participation comes in line with the tourism policy adopted by the current administration of the Municipal Secretary of Tourism, which is the appreciation of the cultural legacy that our ancestors from Germany left in this region (Case nº 061100 / 91-6, p. 25).

The document prepared by the secretary (no title) associates the survey of German architecture in the Santa Cruz do Sul region (material) with an appreciation of German culture (immaterial) as a way to substantiate the justifications for the valuation of properties of the region. The document argues that if there is a connection with German culture, this is sufficient to guarantee the patrimonialization of the property and its subsequent valorization and celebration as a formative element of identity and memory.

The internal logic of the historical inventory process relies on this perception, architectural valorization, in addition to the technical aspects, through its connection with an ethnic group. The document analyzes properties belonging to Viação Férrea, the Santa Cruz do Sul Forum, and the Banco Pelotense building. About this last property it reads:

The building built by Schutz & Hoelzel, opened in 1922, serving as headquarters for the Banco Pelotense. On 01/07/1931 the Banco Pelotense goes into liquidation. On 07/04/1932 the State Government of RS installs in the majestic building a branch of the Bank of the State of RS, belonging today to the Secretariat of Finance. The Bank building is a representative of late historicism in Santa Cruz do Sul. The architecture is beautifully composed around the main entrance that opens to the corner. It reminds us of the architecture of Theo Wiederspan, from Porto Alegre (like the Edifício Ely), and it is a common type of architecture in Germany. It must be preserved for artistic and urbanistic reasons (Case nº 061100-SEDAC / 91-6, p. 33).

On March 18, 1991, Ordinance No. 05/91 inscribes the building of the former Banco Pelotense, and the building becomes part of the set of properties registered by the State and as such it is considered worthy of

preservation and conservation, thus serving as a reference to the memory of future generations to have access to them.

Based on the existing documentation, the registration process took place through the valorization of an ethnic group, linked to the German memory and culture, already celebrated in the municipality at festivals and events, now needing a material property that represents that culture, in this case, the building of the former Banco Pelotense, which realizes these desires. Its inclusion as patrimony was guided by the relationship with the German culture through its supposed architect and its inclusion in the architectural inventory.

The data presented below were collected as part of a research⁸ carried out in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, where questionnaires and interviews were applied in cities that, like Santa Cruz do Sul, the relationship between a listed property and a particular culture, ethnicity or reference to a certain group of immigrants, justified the historical inventory process of different properties. The survey was conducted in the following cities: Bento Gonçalves, Erechim, Farroupilha, Flores da Cunha and Nova Prata, where the listed properties were valued for their relationship with Italian immigration and culture; Itaara (Santa Maria), with a listed property linked to Jewish immigration and São Leopoldo, Santa Cruz do Sul and Iotti with properties related to the German immigration and culture.

The relationships with the patrimony

To understand the relationships between patrimony, memory, and identity, and if they are configured in the same way as they were conceived in its historical inventory process in 1991, we applied a hundred questionnaires in the city of Santa Cruz do Sul in April 2019, where the residents answered questions about the conservation of buildings and public spaces, points of reference in the cities, perception about what is considered patrimony and finally, they were questioned about the existence of any patrimony in the municipality.

Thus, with the answers tabulated, our goal is to seek to highlight the relationship of residents with the patrimony and with their city. It is not our intention here, to discredit or delegitimize the importance of the patrimony

⁸ Which resulted in a doctoral thesis entitled: Historical Patrimony From the perspective of ethnic groups in Rio Grande do Sul (1980-2000), Dias, 2019.

as a developer of memory and identity, but what we seek is to critically analyze the data collected so that in the future we can improve the discourse about this relationship since we find the existence of divergences between the official discourse and the perception of a part of the population.

To avoid using graphs and tables in this article, we will describe some answers. About 80% of the people who answered the survey considered life in the municipality to be good or very good. Of the total, just under 50% consider themselves or identify themselves ethnically with the Germans and more than 50% claim to know at least a good part of the municipality's history.

These first answers seek to highlight the perception of the city by its inhabitants, as well as their knowledge about the history of the city and their identification with a certain ethnic group. No specific question about the local history was asked in the questionnaire, but we point out the perception of each and we understand that the answers may not represent a real dimension of the knowledge of each person. However, it would be expected that the group that identifies with the Germans and that claims to know a good part of the local history should also recognize the local patrimony.

When asked: which item do you consider most representative as a patrimony? a) an old building; b) the home of someone important; c) a public building (museum, library, city hall); d) a natural element (hill, forest, river); e) someone's knowledge.

The question seeks to demonstrate which would be the concept of patrimony most cited by the inhabitants. Each option involves a classification or inventory criterion adopted for inventory by the state. For example, marking the option "an old building" means that that person associates patrimony with something aged. In this case, it is the value of oldness which associates the antiquity of the property with the value of the property (as if being old were enough to justify the listing). In choosing to mark "the home of someone important" the valuation of the property is not due to the property itself, but because the owner is considered a personality with local or state relevance. Thus, in preserving the property, part of the history of its owner is preserved. In Santa Cruz do Sul, 40% of the people considered a public building (museum/library/city hall) as the most representative of patrimony.

In the city of Santa Cruz less traditional definitions of patrimony such as: "a natural element" and "the knowledge of a person" (which are

associated respectively with natural patrimony and intangible patrimony) totaled more than 40%. Given these percentages, one concludes that in general, a good part of the inhabitants has a less traditional conception of patrimony, which is unrelated to "stone and plaster."

With the open question: Do you know of any patrimony in your city? If you do, which or which ones?⁹ We seek, through the number of affirmative responses to measure how the listed property can influence the memory and identity of residents.

The building of the former Banco Pelotense, listed by IPHAE in 1991, was not mentioned in most of the responses, which may indicate that there was not the recognition expected by the creators of the historical inventory process. From this, we will highlight some issues related to the patrimonialization process, understood as:

In the case of patrimonialization processes, the association proceeds in such a way that culture, people, and place are identified through patrimony symbols: monuments, squares, streets, buildings, historic centers. In short, the architectural ensemble and the urban fabric are seen as symbols of the association of culture (history), people, place (TAMASO, 2012, p. 26).

Patrimonialization, therefore, would be the relationship of recognition, interaction, and appreciation of the patrimony, with the group it represents, or even the recognition of its relevance by other groups. In short, it would be a consequence of the historical inventory process, a development that leads to valuation and its relationship with memory and identity.

When asked about the existence of any patrimony in the city or something that they consider patrimony, about 35% cited the listed patrimony, while more than 75% did not remember or did not mention the property. This does not exactly mean that they do not know about the building of the Banco Pelotense, only that they did not remember or did not consider the property as a patrimony of the city. In this way, we can at least infer that in the city of Santa Cruz do Sul the relationship between the residents and the listed patrimony does not happen in the way the historical inventory process was thought to work, or even according to the definitions of patrimony.

⁹ In this question there were no answer options. We expected that the resident's relationship with the listed property would be remembered and reported in some way. With the answers we can see which events, places and properties were most remembered.

The relations between identity and culture were addressed by Estevão Martins in his work Culture and Power. For the author, the individual trajectory, added to the references of the group or society, give evidence to the relationship of the individual's belonging to them. According to the author:

The personal identity, by which the individual is objectively established, is the subjective synthesis of the particular components of his personal history with the historical elements of the group and the society he belongs to, expressed by the relationship of belonging to this or that community. The historical conformation of societies presents itself to the citizen of the present time as a range of cultural alternatives (MARTINS, 2007, p. 54).

In this perspective, we can relate the data presented above, where the majority did not recognize the listed property, with the existence of other patrimony, places, or practices that can be more easily remembered and cited as so, which according to Martins is "a range of cultural alternatives." (Ibidem)

Considering the 35% (of the total) who recognized the listed building, the group that identifies with German culture¹⁰ was the one that listed the property the most, but it was also the one that most failed to mention it, so we can see that the relationship between the listed patrimony and the group does not proceed in the way that the organizers of the historical inventory process saw it, given the small percentage of people who recognized the listed property as patrimony.

When asked about an event¹¹ that they consider typical or traditional of the city, the association with German culture and colonization in the region (present in the historical inventory process) appears in about 90% of the responses. In this case the most cited event was the *Oktoberfest* of Santa Cruz do Sul. This recognition of the immaterial property was already an indication presented in the question about what was more representative as a patrimony, where about 40% demonstrated a very traditional notion of patrimony associating it with natural and cultural elements, disconnecting the notion that to be patrimony it needs to be in stone and plaster.

From the large percentage of responses citing *Oktoberfest*, we can see that other groups that do not identify themselves as Germans¹² also

¹⁰ 50% of the people who answered the questionnaire said they identified themselves ethnically and culturally with the Germans, about 13% recognized the property.

¹¹ Question with open answer.

¹² Italians, Portuguese, Afro-Brazilians, Indians and others.

remembered and cited the typical festival. Thus, we can affirm that the valorization of the immaterial does not occur only for those who identify themselves with a determined ethnic group.

Events related to German culture were also remembered by the other groups, in a much more expressive quantity than the listed property, so we can say that the relationship with culture and memory and identity presented in the historical inventory process does not occur in the way that was expected by its creators since what was most recognized and remembered by the residents were the properties of immaterial nature.

Conclusion

Patrimony as an element of the past, representative of the legacy of previous generations to future ones, is often seen, in the historical inventory processes and official discourse having a direct relationship with the memory and identity of a group, at least it has been conceived in this way. However, the research in Santa Cruz do Sul showed dissonances between the creators of the historical inventory process, the official point of view of the technicians represented by IPHAE, and the data collected through questionnaires answered by the residents of the municipality.

In the justifications for the historical inventory process for the Banco Pelotense building, the association of the property with the figure of Theodor Wiederspahn, who was thought to be the author of the project, guided the narrative in the process and made possible the connection between the German culture, the patrimony (listed property), identity and memory, based on the history of German colonization in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

The relationship between memory and identity can be defined as:

The memory, while modeling us, is also shaped by us. This perfectly sums up the dialectic of memory and identity that come together, nurture each other, support each other to produce a life trajectory, a story, a myth, a narrative. In the end, only forgetfulness remains (CANDAU, 2014, p. 16).

In this sense, historical patrimony can be seen as an alternative to avoid forgetfulness, as a support for memory and by extension as a form of identity, or rather, identities, since its materiality and sometimes monumentality can serve as inspiration while it also serves as a subterfuge to avoid forgetting.

The data collected by the research in Santa Cruz do Sul, are inserted in the context of the modern phase of IPHAN, marked by the expansion of

the concept of patrimony and the contemplation of different groups in the patrimony mosaic, under the responsibility of the states and municipalities, since the registry of the property took place under the authorization of a state agency (IPHAE) advised by the municipal government and the Fundação Pró-Cultura of Santa Cruz do Sul.

However, if we take into account that the criteria adopted in the registration process, plus the deliberate effort to associate the property, whose architectural design is unknown, to the German culture already celebrated in the municipality, guaranteed its registration as a patrimony, even though the property was not configured as a remembrance or an item to be pointed out by the residents.

Figure 01 – Old Banco de Pelotas



Source: Dias, 2019, p. 68.

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The memory of university education in Santa Maria – RS, Brazil, and the contribution of the institutions managed by the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity

Luciana Souza de Brito¹

Introduction

This research is linked to the reflections produced for the development of a thesis with the Postgraduate Program in History at the Federal University of Santa Maria – PPGH / UFSM and aims to present elements on the memory of university education in the city of Santa Maria, RS, Brazil, considering the contribution of the institutions maintained by the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity, which was created in 1835 in Heythuysen, in the Netherlands, by Mother Madalena Daemen. In this context, it can be said that some fragments were previously published in other forms of scientific production (articles and annals of events, as well as complete or summarized works), since it is an exciting topic and one that is not finished in view of the little visibility of productions on it.

The methodology used characterizes this research as a bibliographic study, as it is supported by bibliographic and documentary research, based on the documents present in the archives of higher education institutions managed by the Franciscan Sisters.

Initially, the aim was to identify the antecedents of university education in the city to find out which Universities were pioneers in offering courses, as well as the areas of knowledge served. Thus, it can be said that the first higher education institutions in Santa Maria were the Faculty of Pharmacy and the Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences. From these, other institutions were created, among which, those that were under the

¹ Professor of the Archival Science Course at the Federal University of Rio Grande – FURG, Doctoral in History at the Federal University of Santa Maria, Brazil. E-mail: lucyanabrito@yahoo.com.br.

management of the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity, through its sponsor, the São Francisco de Assis Charitable and Literary Society, North Zone (SCALIFRA-ZN).

Considering a chronological sequence of creation, the identification of the following institutions under the management of SCALIFRA-ZN was reached: the Imaculada Conceição Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Languages (FIC), the Nossa Senhora Medianeira Faculty of Nursing (FACEM), Franciscan Faculties (FAFRA), the Franciscan University Center (UNIFRA), and the Franciscan University (UFN).

It also sought to address the participation of the Franciscan Sisters in the constitution of the University of Santa Maria (USM) in 1960, which is currently called the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM), which was created based on a set of institutions under the specification of private and aggregate faculties.

Thus, when perceiving this scenario about university education, we sought to deepen discussions about what is meant by memory and how it can be understood with reference to the documentary collections present in the institutions managed by the Franciscan Sisters. In view of the above, it was sought to show that the documentary sources present in the archives of higher education institutions can be used as evocative of memories, and that they may contribute to the understanding of how higher education was created and constituted over the years in Santa Maria, RS.

The aspects presented here are preliminary considerations, which can and should be expanded in the future, as the researches for the elaboration of the thesis are still in progress and the theme does not end with the elements highlighted in the text.

The Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity: a synthesis of the constitution and the installation in Santa Maria, RS, Brazil

The background of the activities of the Congregation goes back to 1827, when Catarina Daemen met with Ana Maria Verkroulen, Gertrudis Kirkels and Maria Catarina Deckers to form a religious community to live in communion and share their way of life (ACKERMANS; OSTERMANN; SERBACKI, 2000).

From this preliminary constitution, Catarina Daemen's intention was the foundation of a convent, a fact that became possible as of 1830, when

the revolution in Belgium was installed and the new Constitutional Charter guaranteed the free practice of religion to citizens, as well as the restoration of many convents. Ackermans, Ostermann and Serbacki corroborate stating that “With the constitution of total religious freedom, it became easy to found monasteries and convents: only episcopal approval was required”².

In light of the above, in 1834 Father Pedro van der Zandt sent a letter to Bishop of Liège, Dom Cornélio van Brommel, asking for authorization for the foundation of a convent and a boarding school. As the response was delayed, he authorized Catarina Daemen to go personally to the Bishop. This request was refused, justified by the absence of conditions for carrying out the endeavor, since, when asked, Catarina Daemen answered only “God will provide”.

Even though her request was denied, Catarina Daemen idealized a new residence for the community, seeking to increase the number of students. During a walk she saw a residence known as “Kreppel” and imagined its transformation into a convent (COOLS; WINPERSEE, 1966; BRITO, 2010).

The move to Kreppel takes place after joining the group of two young women from Baexem, in the Netherlands, who were in possession of savings. These amounts, added to a loan from Mr. Cillekens' shop, represented half the amount needed to acquire the residence. With this new configuration Catarina Daemen goes once more to Liège and receives authorization from Bishop Dom Cornélio van Brommel to start her community.

Thus, the date of creation of the Congregation is considered to be May 10, 1835, the same day of the opening of the convent in Kreppel, which was called the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity. On November 11, 1835, Vicar General Kerkhoffs' reply was received, containing his formal approval, in view of the Bishop's absence.

The work of Catarina Daemen, who adopted the name of Madre Madalena, with the coordination of the Congregation, lasted five years and in 1840 she left the position in favor of Sister Teresia Royackers. After her departure Mother Madalena resided in the house of Heythuysen for eighteen

² ACKERMANS, Gian; OSTERMANN, Ursula; SERBACKI, Marly. **Chamadas pela bondade de Deus**. História das Irmãs Franciscanas da Penitência e Caridade Cristã no século XX. Trad. Benícia Flesch. Estados Unidos, Stella Niagara: Irmãs Franciscanas da Penitência e Caridade Cristã, 2000.

years, passing away on August 7, 1858 (ACKERMANS; OSTERMANN; SERBACKI, 2000).

Considering these events, it can be said that the Congregation had a wide expansion and worked in different countries. In chronological terms, according to Barin (2006), from its creation in Holland (1835), it started to develop activities in Germany (1852), Poland (1870), Indonesia (1870), Brazil (1872), United States (1874), Italy (1954), Tanzania (1959), Libya (1979), Mexico (1990), Guatemala (1995), East Timor (1996), Philippines (2001).

In this context, in Brazil, the arrival of the Franciscan Sisters occurred at the request of Father Guilherme Feldraus, a Jesuit, who lived in the region of São Leopoldo in the state of Rio Grande do Sul and served the community of German immigrants established in the locality.

This process was carried out by means of two requests, the first in 1868 was denied because the request of only two sisters would not be enough to constitute a religious community according to Mother Aloísia Lenders, superior of the Congregation at the time. In 1870 the request was successful, which was influenced by the policies of the German State, when the "Kulturkampf" in Germany began to prevail, which was translated into practice by laws, decreed by Chancellor Otto van Bismark, restricting the actions of religious women in schools, even causing them to close (BRITO, 2010).

Thus, the activities of the Franciscan Sisters in Brazil began in 1872, in the city of São Leopoldo, RS. Between 1876 and 1903 new communities were created in Porto Alegre, Estrela, Pelotas, Jaguarão, Rio Grande and Santa Maria, motivated by requests from the respective cities.

The year 1903 highlights the civil constitution of the São Francisco de Assis Charitable and Literary Society, with the function of managing the goods and properties of the Brazilian mission, which until now had been registered in the name of one of the sisters. This institution was later divided into the São Francisco de Assis Charitable and Literary Society – Central Zone (SCALIFRA-ZC), in the city of São Leopoldo, RS and the São Francisco de Assis Charitable and Literary Society – North Zone (SCALIFRA-ZN), in Santa Maria, RS.

Still in 1903, on September 2, the first group of Franciscan Sisters was installed in the city of Santa Maria, RS, initially to work in the health field, at the Hospital de Caridade. Two years later, at the request of the

The memory of university education in Santa Maria – RS, Brazil, and the contribution of the institutions managed by the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity

population, another group of sisters was received to attend activities in the field of education, at the Sant'Anna Highschool.

New communities were created with different institutions which are listed below with information about the respective year of foundation, up to the involvement of the Congregation in university education: São Vicente de Paulo Orphanage / São Vicente de Paulo Education (created in 1914 and elevated to a community in 1916), Women's School of Arts and Crafts (1923), Padre Caetano Nursing Home (1926), Casa de Saúde Hospital (1932), Santo Antonio Highschool (1952) (BRITO, 2010).

From this juncture, the trajectory of the Franciscan Sisters in the municipality of Santa Maria is delimited, as they initially worked in the health field, and then started activities in the area of basic education, in an expressive manner, meeting the demands of the local community. It can be said that all this experience in the field of health and education favored its performance also in the field of higher education years later.

Background on the context of higher education in Santa Maria, RS

As for the understanding about the development of activities in university education, these started in 1931, but the prominence begins from the 50's when a series of activities are developed that together will boost the creation and expansion of university education in the city .

The first initiatives related to the constitution of university education in the city have their genesis in the installation of the Faculty of Pharmacy, which was instituted on September 30, 1931 and had as its first director dr. Francisco Mariano da Rocha and vice-director dr. Severo do Amaral. Dr. Antonio Xavier da Rocha (secretary), dr. Valentim Fernandez (secretary), and dr. Alfredo Ribas dos Santos (librarian) were members of this first directorship (ISAIA, 1985).

Prof. José Mariano da Rocha Filho joined the faculty of the institution in 1937, assuming the direction of the same in 1945. In this context, as responsible for the Faculty, prof. José Mariano da Rocha Filho sought solutions to the institution's financial problems and, thus, a campaign was initiated aiming at the incorporation of this Faculty from the interior of the State, into the University of Porto Alegre, the only one existing in the State of Rio Grande do Sul at that period (ZAMPIERI, 2011).

Regarding the campaign for the incorporation into the University of Porto Alegre, this was carried out through news published in newspapers

requesting the support of the community, among them 'Jornal A Razão' and 'Diário do Interior', both from Santa Maria – RS (ROCHA FILHO, 1985). In this context, the movement towards the interiorization of higher education, which sought to establish universities outside the context of capitals, was also reported in other journals such as 'Diário de Notícias', 'Correio do Povo', 'Jornal do Dia', all from Porto Alegre – RS (BARICELLO, 2000).

In May 1948, in order to support this incorporation, a meeting was held with representatives of all social classes interested in the theme, and at the suggestion of prof. José Mariano da Rocha Filho the Pro-Higher Education Association (ASPES) was formed, with him being elected its first president (ROCHA FILHO, 1985).

Still in 1948, on December 4, three faculties (the Pharmacy of Santa Maria – RS, the Law and Dentistry of Pelotas – RS) were incorporated into the University of Porto Alegre, which was renamed the University of Rio Grande do Sul, based on the bill approved by the Legislative Assembly. Barichello says that

Shortly afterwards, by Law 1,166, dated July 1950, the state law was ratified at the federal level, definitively incorporating the faculties of the interior into the University of Rio Grande do Sul. When law 1254, of December 4, 1950, federalized the University of Rio Grande do Sul, courses in the interior of the state became part of the federal education system³.

Thus, subsequently new initiatives in the educational sector, referring to higher education, were carried out in the 1950s. In this context, the Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences was created, which was created in 1953 and maintained by the Congregation of the Marist Brothers, through the Southern Education Society (SOME). Isaia (2006) shows that there were antecedents in the process of constituting the Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences, the first step being an awareness campaign, carried out by three students of the Accountant Course at Colégio Santa Maria, in 1944. Next, in 1946, teachers supported students in this process, which constituted the Pro-Faculty Commission for Political and Economic Sciences. However, considering the graduation of the group of accountants in 1946, these efforts were interrupted, being resumed only in 1952, when

³ BARICELLO, Eugenia Mariano da Rocha. **Universidade e Comunicação:** Identidade Institucional, legitimidade e territorialidade na cena da nova ordem tecnoeducacional. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2000, p. 170.

Antônio Isaia assumes the direction of the Union of Accountants of Santa Maria. A new meeting was held between the Union of Accountants, the Charitable Association of Accountants and ASPES seeking to resume discussions on the creation of the Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences in Santa Maria.

The formal opening session of the Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences took place on December 19, 1953, chaired by the rector of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), prof. Elyceu Paglioli. Subsequently, on December 29, 1954, Decree no. 36,680 was published⁴, which authorized the operation of the Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences.

In 1954 another institution was created, the Faculty of Medicine. This subject was discussed by the representatives of the legislative power of the City Council, on May 4, 1954, in which alderman Patrício de Oliveira Flores “presented a suggestion that the City Council, on the opening date of the medical course, promote a solemn session to celebrate the event”⁵.

The opening ceremony of the Faculty of Medicine, according to records in Minutes no. 180/1954⁶ of the City Council of Santa Maria, was held on May 13, 1954. During this juncture, throughout the month of May several telegrams of congratulations and manifestations were forwarded to the City Council regarding the creation of this institution of teaching in the municipality. The Faculty of Medicine was legally created and integrated into the University of Rio Grande do Sul through Law no. 2,712⁷ of January 21, 1956.

In 1955, two new institutions were created, the Imaculada Conceição Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Languages (FIC) and the Nossa Senhora

⁴ BRAZIL. Decree no. 36,680 of December 19, 1954. Authorizes the operation of the economic sciences course at the Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences of Santa Maria, State of Rio Grande do Sul. Available at: <<https://www.lexml.gov.br/urn/urn:lex:br:federal:decreto:1954-12-29;36680>>. Accessed on: 19 sep. 2019.

⁵ CÂMARA MUNICIPAL DE VEREADORES DE SANTA MARIA. Minutes of meeting n. 180, of May 4 of 1954, p. 1.

⁶ CITY COUNCIL OF SANTA MARIA. Minutes of meeting no. 180, of May 4, 1954. Santa Maria.

⁷ BRAZIL. Law no. 2,712 of January 21, 1956. Federalizes the Paulista School of Medicine, creates the Faculty of Medicine in Santa Maria, integrated in the University of Rio Grande do Sul, and makes other provisions. Available at: <<https://linker.lexml.gov.br/linker/processa?urn=urn:lex:br:federal:lei:1956-01-21;2712&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww2.camara.gov.br%2Flegis%2Ffed%2Flei%2F1950-1959%2Flei-2712-21-janeiro-1956-355071-publicacaooriginal-1-pl.html&exec>>. Accessed on: 10 out. 2019.

Medianeira Nursing School (FACEM), both maintained by SCALIFRA-ZN, belonging to the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity. Both Faculties will be dealt with more in depth in the sequence, considering that they are part of the cutout of this work.

Thus, the theme of the constitution of higher education institutions in the municipality was also discussed in other plenary sessions of the City Council of Santa Maria. Minutes no. 167⁸, referring to the meeting of December 14, 1953, brings a summary of the speech of one of the aldermen of the house, in which the

Alderman Helio H. dos Santos addressed the issue of university education in Santa Maria, going back to years past when a group of selfless Santamarienses started a movement to endow the city with faculties, highlighting that in relation to the Faculties of Political and Economic Sciences and the Faculty of Philosophy, the manifestations of Dean Paglioli could not be considered other than expressing support for the creation, since they will be private and do not belong to the University of Rio Grande do Sul, formulating votes for such incorporation to occur, stating that the superior of the Franciscan Sisters and the Director of Colégio Santana are worthy of congratulations, as is the Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences that will operate alongside Colégio Santa Maria; [...]⁹.

At the same meeting, alderman Walter Cechella expressed his congratulations on the creation of the Imaculada Conceição Faculties of Philosophy, Science and Languages and Political and Economic Sciences in the city. Alderman Antonio Lozza, on the other hand, registered his full support for the congratulations proposal, recalling that he was one of the authors of the request in 1928, for the creation of the Faculty of Pharmacy, at the request of dr. Francisco Mariano da Rocha (CITY COUNCIL OF SANTA MARIA, 1953).

It is relevant to point out that the context of higher education in Santa Maria has continued to evolve, and over the years new universities and educational institutions have been created. However, it was decided to present a timeline for the creation of the first Faculties of Santa Maria up to the creation of the institutions managed by SCALIFRA-ZN, which will be detailed below.

⁸ CITY COUNCIL OF SANTA MARIA. Minutes of meeting no. 167, of December 14, 1953. Santa Maria.

⁹ CÂMARA MUNICIPAL DE VEREADORES DE SANTA MARIA. Meetings of meeting n. 167, Dec 14 of 1953, p. 1.

The constitution of the institutions managed by the Franciscan Sisters

This unit aims to present elements on the creation of university education institutions maintained by SCALIFRA-ZN, from the 1950s to the present day, but in addition, it aims to demonstrate the participation of this Congregation in the constitution of the University of Santa Maria.

Thus, the first institution created in 1955, under the maintenance of SCALIFRA-ZN was the Imaculada Conceição Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Languages The initial contributions to the creation of the FIC stem from initiatives promoted by different people, who were interested in the development of university education in the city. Isaia (2006) highlights that those who were instigators of this process were: prof. José Mariano da Rocha Filho (director of the Santa Maria School of Pharmacy), Mr. Tarso Dutra (federal deputy), Brother José Otão (director of the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul – PUCRS), Brother Faustino João (director of the Faculty of Philosophy at PUCRS), and Sister Consuelo¹⁰ (member of the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity).

About the creation of FIC, between 1953 and 1954, several news items were published in the local circulation newspaper ‘A Razão’, about the negotiations and referrals to the Ministry of Education, which addressed the growing expectations of the Santa Mariense community for the installation of the referred educational institution.

In this context of expectations and discussions on the constitution of the Faculty of Philosophy, on December 19, 1953, a meeting was held by ASPES and SCALIFRA-ZN, in which the Franciscan Sisters granted authorization for the creation of the Faculty, placing under their responsibility its maintenance and aegis of the Imaculada Conceição. After the agreement for creation by the Congregation, during 1954 Sister Consuelo made several trips to Rio de Janeiro, capital of Brazil at the time, to request authorization for the first courses to operate. The reports by Marques and Dalpian (2008) corroborate this statement when mentioning the importance of the participation of Sister Consuelo in the process of authorizing the courses after her designation, by SCALIFRA-ZN, to carry out these activities.

¹⁰ Sister Consuelo whose baptismal name was Carmen Silveira Netto was born on March 16, 1914, in the city of Cruz Alta – RS.

The first FIC selection process was approved on March 21, 1955, through Opinion no. 40/55¹¹ of the University Education Commission of the Ministry of Education. Decree no. 37,103¹² of March 31, 1955 authorized the operation of the FIC, with the beginning of classes taking place on April 27, for the Pedagogy and Anglo-Germanic Languages Courses, date on which the inaugural class was given by Brother José Otão, Dean from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), with the title “Historical evolution of the Faculties of Philosophy and its value as sources and culture”.

Considering the context of the creation of university education institutions in the city, on May 16, 1955, the Ministerial Order no. 144¹³ was published by the Minister of Education, containing a favorable opinion for the functioning of the Nossa Senhora Medianeira Nursing School, second institution under the maintenance of SCALIFRA-ZN, with the offer of the Nursing Course.

Regarding the creation of the Nursing School, it can be said that its context of creation goes back to 1941 when the Nursing Service Attendant Course was created, at the Hospital de Caridade. The second fact refers to the creation of the Faculty of Medicine (in 1954), linked to UFRGS. In this context, the course aimed to train professionals to work in the health field, as well as meet the demand for professionals in view of the shortage of people with specific training to work at the Hospital de Caridade de Santa Maria.

In this sense, Zampieri states that the reasons for the establishment of the Faculty of Nursing in the municipality stem from “[...] the need for a qualified nursing service for the hospital field in Santa Maria [...]”¹⁴.

From the identification of the need to establish a Nursing School, a request was sent to the Franciscan Sisters. Thus, SCALIFRA-ZN, maintainer

¹¹ BRAZIL. **Opinion n. 40 of March 21**, 1955 of the University Education Commission of the Ministry of Education. Authorization for the operation of Pedagogy and Anglo-Germanic Languages courses.

¹² BRAZIL. **Decree no. 37,103 of March 31**, 1955. Grants authorization for the operation of courses indicated. Available at: <<https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1950-1959/decreto-37103-31-marco-1955-332706-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>>. Access on: 22 sept. 2019.

¹³ BRAZIL. **Ordinance no. 144 of May 16**, 1955. Creates the Nursing Course of the Nossa Senhora Medianeira Nursing School.

¹⁴ ZAMPIERI, Renata Venturini. **Campus da Universidade Federal de Santa Maria: um testemunho, um fragmento**. 2011. 220p. Dissertação (Mestrado em Arquitetura) – Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, RS, 2011. p. 96.

The memory of university education in Santa Maria – RS, Brazil, and the contribution of the institutions managed by the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity

of the Franciscan Sisters, agreed with the creation and maintenance of the School of Nursing in the city of Santa Maria.

It is important to note that on September 10, 1968, the Institution changed its nomenclature from School to Nossa Senhora Medianeira Nursing College (FACEM), through Decree no. 63,231¹⁵.

Like FIC, FACEM developed its activities over the years, until in 1995 the two institutions were unified to form the Franciscan Faculties (FAFRA), in view of the educational situation of the time that favored this process and considering the optimization of resources. However, it is necessary to highlight the role of the Franciscan Sisters in the constitution of another institution, prior to FAFRA. In this sense, it addresses their participation in the creation and development of the University of Santa Maria (USM), in the 1960s. The background to the creation of the USM goes back to its idealization on the part of prof. José Mariano da Rocha Filho. Regarding this process, Barichello states that

In 1959 there was a great movement towards the creation of the University of Santa Maria. Several higher education courses were already in operation in the city – Pharmacy, Medicine, Dentistry, Polytechnic Institute, Imaculada Conceição Faculty of Philosophy Sciences and Languages, Nossa Senhora Medianeira Faculty of Nursing, Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences and Faculty of Law – all implemented by the Santamariense Association of university education, with the exception of the Faculty of Pharmacy¹⁶.

ASPES' participation is highlighted by Barichello (2001) as a motivator in the process of constituting the institutions and the development of higher education in Santa Maria. Thus, in order to create the USM, several efforts were made. The legislation in force at the time foresaw the need for a Faculty of Philosophy, to meet the provisions of the Statute of Brazilian Universities, with a view to the creation of a new University (BARICELLO, 2001). Thus, the USM was created from the joining of the Faculties of Pharmacy, Medicine and Dentistry, as member faculties, the Polytechnic Institute and also private educational institutions: Faculty of Law and Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences (maintained by the Marist Brothers), and by the Imaculada Conceição Faculty of Philosophy,

¹⁵ BRAZIL. Decree no. 63,231 of September 10, 1968. Changes the denomination of higher education institution. Available at: <<http://legis.senado.gov.br/legislacao/ListaTextoSigen.action?norma=485860&id=14312540&idBinario=15703674&mimeType=application/rtf>>. Accessed on: 28 mar. 2019.

¹⁶ BARICELLO, Eugenia Maria Mariano da Rocha, op. cit. p. 172.

Sciences and Languages and Nossa Senhora Medianeira Faculty of Nursing (maintained by the Franciscan Sisters), as aggregates.

It is evident that the creation of the USM was only possible due to the aggregation situation of the member and private Faculties. The author Bernardi (1981) emphasizes this issue, as it highlights the existence of the Faculty of Philosophy and the need for a joining of 4 or 5 Faculties to form a new University.

In view of the above, the University of Santa Maria was created on December 1, 1960, by Law no. 3834-C¹⁷, where articles 1 to 14 specifically address the creation of the University of Goiás and articles 15 to 19 deal specifically with USM. President Juscelino Kubtichek presided over the official act of creation of the USM and the University of Goiás in the city of Goiânia, in a public square. The fact was widely reported because it marked the creation of the first federal university in the interior of Brazil.

On this aspect, prof. José Mariano da Rocha Filho recalls that

On December 18, 1960, at the official act of creation of the University of Santa Maria, in Goiânia, the main authorities that were part of the management of ASPES attended. This caravan was constituted by Dr. Miguel Sevi Vieiro, Mayor, Dr. José Dutra, Judge of Law and Director of the Forum, the representatives of the academic centers of the Faculties of Medicine and Pharmacy, the journalist Robson Flores and the alderman Antonio Abelin, representing the City Council, as well as me and my wife¹⁸.

The formal installation of the University took place on March 18, 1961, the date on which an expressive schedule of activities was carried out in the municipality, starting with a mass at the Diocesan Cathedral, the presentation of the Smoke Squadron of the Brazilian Air Force, the inauguration of plaques at the Faculties of Pharmacy and Medicine, a barbecue at the Estancia do Minuano (for authorities and guests) and the closing with a solemn installation session at the premises of Cine Glória Theater (MORALES, 2008).

The relevance of bringing the aspects related to the creation of the USM is significant because although the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity has not acted as maintainer of the

¹⁷ BRAZIL. Law no. 3834-C of December 14, 1960. Creates the Federal University of Goiás and provides other measures.

¹⁸ ROCHA FILHO, José Mariano da. Anotações para a História da Universidade Federal de Santa Maria. *Revista Ciências Sociais e Humanas*, Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Santa Maria, jul/dez 1985, p. 74.

USM, it had a fundamental role in its constitution based on the actions of FIC and FACEM as aggregates.

In view of this historical trajectory of the constitution of higher education in Santa Maria, another institution that has an important role and is also maintained by the Franciscan Sisters concerns the Franciscan Colleges (FAFRA), which was created on November 14, 1995, through the Ordinance no. 1,402¹⁹. The preliminary facts that motivated the unification of the two institutions derive from the educational context of the time. In the 1960s, Brazil had a great growth in the offer and implementation of university education institutions, considering the interiorization of education, that is, the implementation of institutions outside the capitals of the Brazilian states. However, between 1975 and 1985 there was an opposite movement, in which several institutions were unified (BATISTA, 1993). Faced with this scenario, FIC and FACEM, as well as other educational institutions, began to study ways to unify their activities.

In addition to this educational context, other reasons led to the unification, in which the possible strengthening of FIC and FACEM is evidenced with the optimization of financial and human resources in a single institution.

After the creation of FAFRA, it developed activities seeking its growth with the offer of new courses, with an emphasis on *stricto sensu* postgraduate courses between the years 1995 and 1996. One recognizes that FAFRA's actions did not last long, since they occurred from 1995 to 1998, however, it is pertinent to state that this period was conducive to the strengthening and growth of the institution aiming at its transformation into a Franciscan University Center.

The constitution of the Centro Universitário Franciscano accompanied the Brazilian legislation regarding higher education, since from Law no. 9,394/96²⁰ Decree no. 2,207²¹ of April 15, 1997 was instituted,

¹⁹ BRAZIL. **Ordinance no. 1,402 of November 14, 1995 from the Minister of Education and Sport.** Approval of the unified regulations of FIC and FACEM, which are now called Faculdades Franciscanas (FAFRA).

²⁰ BRAZIL. **Law no. 9,394 of December 20, 1996.** Establishes the guidelines and bases of national education. Available at: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/LEIS/L9394.htm>. Accessed on: 3 May 2019.

²¹ BRAZIL. **Decree no. 2,207 of April 15, 1997.** Regulates, for the Federal Education System, the provisions contained in arts. 19, 20, 45, 46 and § 1, 52, sole paragraph, 54 and 88 of Law No. 9,394, of December 20, 1996, and other measures. Available at: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/D2207.htm>. Accessed on: 3 May 2019.

which sought to regulate the Federal Teaching System, conceptualizing University Centers in this context. Such laws allowed the configuration of new institutions of higher education, as well as, from the repeal of Decree no. 2,207/1997 by Decree no. 2,306²² of August 19, 1997, the modification of the concept of University Center.

All of these changes in legislation favored the transformation of FAFRA into a Franciscan University Center (CEUNIFRAN) in 1998, carried out through accreditation for a period of three years, which later adopted the nomenclature of Centro Universitário Franciscano (UNIFRA). In 2004 the institution was re-accredited by the Minister of Education through Ordinance no. 1,564²³ of May 27.

A few years later, in 2018, UNIFRA was transformed again, constituting the Franciscan University. Rupolo (2018) highlights that this transition to a University was built over the years, considering the maturation of the institution as a University Center and that this change represents a new challenge that the institution set itself.

Thus, on March 22, 2018, by Ordinance no. 259²⁴ the Franciscan University (UNIFRA) was accredited by transforming the Franciscan University Center (UNIFRA) for a period of ten years. Later the institution adopted another nomenclature – Franciscan University (UFN), considering that there was already a higher education institution that was using the acronym UNIFRAN, registered at the Ministry of Education, the University of Franca, since 1994.

It can be said, therefore, that UFN is the result of the constitution and evolution of the first Faculties created in Santa Maria, having SCALIFRA-ZN as their maintainer, which were developed and transformed until its structuring as a Franciscan University.

²² BRAZIL. **Decree no. 2,306 of August 19, 1997.** Regulates, for the Federal Education System, the provisions contained in art. 10 of Provisional Measure No. 1,477-39, of August 8, 1997, and in arts. 16, 19, 20, 45, 46 and § 1, 52, sole paragraph, 54 and 88 of Law No. 9,394, of December 20, 1996, and provides other measures. Available at: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/d2306.htm>. Accessed on: 3 May 2019.

²³ BRAZIL. **Ordinance no. 1,564 of May 27, 2004.** Accreditation of the Franciscan University Center and approval of the Institutional Development Plan and Statute of the institution.

²⁴ BRAZIL. **Ordinance no. 259 of March 22, 2018** from the Ministry of Education. The Franciscan University – UNIFRA is accredited, due to the transformation of the University Center – UNIFRA. Available at: <<https://www.santosjunior.com.br/Legislacao/portaria25922032018.pdf>>. Accessed on: Feb. 28, 2019.

In view of this situation, we sought to present the resources for the creation of all the institutions that were managed by the Franciscan Sisters (FIC, FACEM, FAFRA, UNIFRA and UFN), but also about the University of Santa Maria, currently the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM), which was created from the contribution of the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity, and other institutions that were added to the University. It was thus sought to unveil the participation of the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity in the constitution of higher education in Santa Maria – RS, in order to provide resources for the construction of memory on university education in Santa Maria.

Contributions to the memory of university education in Santa Maria from the trajectory of the institutions managed by the Franciscan sisters

From the approach of the formation trajectory of higher education institutions maintained by SCALIFRA-ZN in Santa Maria – RS, it is necessary to understand how this history can be used as a record for the memory of university education in the municipality.

Conceptually, the term memory was approached by different authors with different biases, approaches and theoretical references. Thus, initially we sought to briefly discuss some concepts related to the definition of the term ‘memory’, in order to understand how this term can be characterized and applied to the research context.

The author Izquierdo²⁵ presents memory as “[...] the acquisition, conservation and evocation of information. The acquisition is also called learning. Evocation is also called remembrance. Memory can only be evaluated through evocation”. Thus, considering this understanding, it also affirms that memory can be characterized in different types, in which the duration can be immediate: (lasting seconds / minutes), short (lasting one or six hours) and long-lasting (lasting many hours or days).

Another author who conceptualizes the term is Dantas²⁶, who states that memory consists of “[...] the selective process of retention and

²⁵ IZQUIERDO, Iván. **Questões sobre memória**. 5. reimpr. São Leopoldo: Editora UNISINOS, 2013, p. 15.

²⁶ DANTAS, Fabiana Santos. **Direito Fundamental à Memória**. Curitiba: Juruá, 2010, p. 52.

continuous use of ideas, impressions, images, knowledge and experiences acquired and lived previously". That is, if compared with the previous concept, it presents a greater detail about the term, because in addition to the information, it places an example of a document, such as images, which consist of a type of information support, in addition to reports and experiences that can be evoked. Based on these two concepts, we also have the definition given by Candau²⁷, for which memory is "[...] a continually updated reconstruction of the past, more than a faithful reconstruction of it".

Considering the definitions presented by these three authors, another element to be presented refers to the classification given by Maurice Halbwachs (1990), in which memory can be individual and collective (or social). Therefore, when trying to define individual memory, it can be said that it corresponds to the individual's personal experiences acquired during his life. In this way, individual memories are all experiences and baggage that the individual brings with them, which are shaped by emotions, by the level of consciousness and condition of the individual. For Candau²⁸ "Through memory, the individual continuously captures and understands the world, manifests his intentions in this regard, structures it and puts it in order (both in time and space), giving it meaning".

On the concept of collective memory, Halbwachs (1997) *apud* Ricoeur (2007), highlights that there is no collective memory without the union of individual memories. In this sense, author Candau corroborates this position because he says that

In the end, collective memory follows the laws of individual memories that, permanently, more or less influenced by the frameworks of thought and experience of global society, come together and divide, meet and lose [...] multiple combinations that form thus, more or less stable, durable and homogeneous memorial configurations²⁹.

Thus, for a collective memory to be built, individual memories must first occur. Candau³⁰ points out that "[...] there cannot be the construction of a collective memory if individual memories are not opened to each other aiming at common goals, having the same horizon of action".

²⁷ CANDAU, Jöel. **Memória e identidade**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2012, p. 9.

²⁸ CANDAU, Jöel. op. cit. p. 61.

²⁹ CANDAU, Jöel. op. cit. p. 49.

³⁰ CANDAU, Jöel. op. cit. p. 48.

Thus, often, so that memories, whether individual or collective, can be produced there is a need to be operated from a trigger, which can be an event, an experience or even a glimpse of some document, and / or photography, etc. In this way, it is further understood that

Memory, as a narrative social construction, has a relationship of mutual constitution with identity since it gives the feeling of continuity and coherence of a person or group in their reconstruction of themselves³¹.

However, this relationship with identity, and the possibility of reconstructing oneself occurs based on the understanding of how this memory was formed, constituted and interpreted. The purpose of this work is to consider the trajectory of the educational institutions maintained by the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity as fundamental elements for the recovery of the memory on university education in the municipality of Santa Maria.

In this sense, it is understood that one of the evidences that allow this approximation are the documents present in the archives of these educational institutions, considering the plurality of information present in them. When trying to characterize a file, among other aspects, Farge places elements that seek to present its function

The file acts like an unveiling; summed up in a few lines, not only the inaccessible but also the living appear. Fragments of the truth hitherto retained are visible, blinding in clarity and credibility. Undoubtedly, the discovery of the archive is a manna offered, fully justifying its name: source³².

Thus, used as a source of research, as a social function, the archives of educational institutions have many possibilities of use, in addition to the administrative, legal or evidential functions for which they were initially created and used.

Considering these issues, Brito and Blaya³³ state that collective memories “[...] can be formulated and understood from the perspective of

³¹ TORNARY, Maria Laura; VEJA, Natalia. Entre la memoria y la historia: deslindes conceptuales y cuestiones metodológicas. In: ALONSO, Luciano; FALCHINI, Adriana. **Memoria e Historia del pasado reciente**: problemas didácticos y disciplinares. Santa Fé, Argentina: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 2009, p. 55.

³² FARGE, Arlette. **O Sabor do arquivo**. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2009. p. 15.

³³ BRITO, Luciana Souza de; BLAYA, Carlos. O acervo fotográfico do Centro Universitário Franciscano e a preservação de sua memória institucional. In: FRAGA, Hilda Jaqueline de; SCHIAVON, Carmem Gessilda Burget; GASTAUD, Carla Rodrigues (Orgs.). **Patrimônio no plural**: práticas e perspectivas investigativas. Porto Alegre: Selbach & Autores Associados, 2018, p. 257.

the documentary production of an institution (textual, iconographic, audiovisual documents, etc.), becoming in this context part of its history".

Given the above, in the specific case of this study, the use of documents present in the archives of university education institutions, managed by the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity, in Santa Maria, RS, is approached as historiographical sources.

It is understood that such documents may come to evoke collective memory, because when they act with this function they help to build a narrative, a story about the institution of which they are part, but also provide resources for the understanding of the local context about university education. Consequently, as highlighted by Tornary and Vega (2009), history uses memory as a source. However, we must remember that

Memory and its uses are not the necessary prelude to history, just as it does not directly legitimize it. In order for memory (individual, collective, lived or inherited) to transcend its limitations and be the starting point of a story, it is necessary to operate the phenomenon of its historicization, that is, its objectification and rationalization in a contrasted knowledge subject to a method that its producer can publicly account for³⁴.

Given the above, it is considered that the memories that can be evoked based on the reading and interpretation of the documents of the educational institutions managed by the Franciscan Sisters, contribute to the construction of a narrative about university education in the municipality of Santa Maria, between the 1950s to the present day. And, based on these memories, there is an interpretation of how higher education was constituted in the city, especially with regard to the offer of courses and developments resulting from the Franciscan Sisters' performance in the educational sector so that it could have its development and growth.

Thus, these documentary sources constitute important records on the educational context in the period mentioned, since from these it is possible to cross-check information with other sources, with a view to historiographical construction on the theme.

Final considerations

The reflections presented in this work allow us to infer that the memory of university education in the city of Santa Maria, RS, can be evoked from

³⁴ TORNARY, Maria Laura; VEJA, Natalia. op. cit. p. 62.

documentary sources of university education institutions. In this specific context, there is a delimitation constituted by the university education institutions managed by the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity, which are part of the development and growth of university education in the municipality from the 1950s to the present day.

It is considered that from the trajectory of constitution and evolution of FIC (created in 1955), FACEM (created in 1955), FAFRA (created in 1995), UNIFRA (created in 1998) and UFN (created in 2018), there is a set of information on university education that can be used in scientific studies at different levels and contexts, aiming at expanding and renewing discussions on the theme.

As an example of a theme to be studied, from the documents of these archives, one has the perception of characteristics about the courses offered over the years, which allows observing how certain areas of knowledge were installed and developed in the city, in order to understand aspects of building a trajectory on university education.

In the archives of these institutions, it is also possible to collect elements about the number of teachers in the institutions, their relationship with the subjects taught, thus understanding the percentage of labor allocated to courses and the training of students by period. It is also possible to conduct different demographic surveys in order to understand the percentage of students, female and male teachers present at the institution, increasing gender studies, among many other aspects. Finally, the possibilities for studying this theme are wide and varied.

It should also be remembered that in addition to the institutions maintained by SCALIFRA, the Franciscan Sisters also had an expressive participation in the constitution of the Federal University of Santa Maria, which contributed in the 1960s to the interiorization of university education, bringing a University out of a capital.

In view of the above, it is understood that the relevance of this research consists in trying to demonstrate that over the years, the Franciscan Sisters have systematically contributed to the development of the area of education, especially in university education in the city of Santa Maria, since the years 1955 until today.

In addition, the potential for using documents present in the archives of educational institutions as sources for evoking memories and

historiographical construction is reinforced and highlighted considering the theme of university education in Santa Maria – RS, since they present documents and peculiar information that is not present in other collections.

Thus, it is understood that the present research is characterized as a possibility to disseminate the study theme on the Franciscan Sisters and the institutions managed and / or supported by them and to present some of the initial results raised on the trajectory of university education in Santa Maria, considering the assumptions of creation and development of the institutions present in the municipality.

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A japanese in Santa Maria, RS: a brief essay of an unknown character

André Luis Ramos Soares¹
Tomoko Kimura Gaudioso²

Introduction

Japanese immigration to Brazil is widely studied in the states that have the greatest demographic contingency of these immigrants and that, after the celebrations of the immigration centenary, received special attention. In a recent national panorama, some states in which the visibility of Japanese immigration is still low, such as Rio de Janeiro and Santa Catarina (CARNEIRO; TAKEUCHI, 2010) were approached. Few papers refer to the Japanese who arrived in the southern Brazilian region after the resumption of diplomatic relations between Brazil and Japan in 1952. It is important to highlight that there are several ways to classify the migratory movement, and therefore, we chose to divide the movement in before and after World War II (SAKURAI, 2009, p. 31), considering the different processes between the two moments, with very different characteristics regarding the promotion of investment, the enterprises involved in the process and the destination and training of immigrants before and after the event (*idem*, p. 38).

After World War II, Japan's situation was not the best. The population that returned from the war added to demographic growth, associated with the lack of agricultural production, created a delicate situation for the country. War-torn Japan needed to disperse its growing population, which was far greater than the capacity of the domestic supply of food and other limited resources. Not only was the ratio of devastated land much higher than expected, but the cultivable areas were compromised. Aligned to this,

¹ Professor of the History Department and of the Graduate Programmes of History and Cultural Patrimony – Universidade Federal de Santa Maria. Coordenador of the Cátedra da Unesco de Humanidades: Fronteiras e Migrações. E-mail: alrsoaresson@gmail.com.

² Professor of the Modern Languages Department of the Language Institute of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, director of the Memorial da Imigração e Cultura Japonesa of UFRGS. E-mail: tomokogaudioso@yahoo.com.br.

the contingent of more than five million people who had occupied areas since 1933 in China and southwest Asia, returned to a material and morally devastated country.³

Thus, after the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, which gave Japan independence, the country made some specific treaties with the governments of Latin American countries to send immigrant colonists who would work for agricultural development. The first post-war immigrants arrived in Brazil in 1952, in Paraguay in 1954, in Argentina in 1955, in the Dominican Republic in 1956, and in Bolivia in 1957.

After the end of the war, Japan needed to reset its economy and deal with the high unemployment rate. Within this framework, emigration was suggested as a way out of the crisis. The Japanese government created an infrastructure under the command of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to enlist and select emigrants, not only for Brazil but for other countries in Latin America (KODANA; SAKURAI, 2008, p. 26).

Immigration was seen, once again, as a possible way out for several people to rebuild their lives outside Japan. Between 1952 and 1961, when immigration resumed in the post-war period, about 55,000 Japanese left their country towards Brazil, although Tokyo's government had abandoned the *dekassegui*⁴ policy as of 1927 to encourage "emigration for permanent fixation".

However, it is important to note that, in several Japanese reports, and specifically in our case study, regarding the 1957 immigration led by Mitori Kimura, all immigrants were unanimous in saying that their condition as "temporary" was a common voice, and at no time did the testimonies related to travel speak of permanence for more than five years in Brazil.

In turn, the Japanese Immigration Service reported, in March 1968, that more than 615,000 Japanese and their descendants resided in Brazil. If the numbers corresponding to the end of World War II are taken into account, around 250,000, the data from the late 1960s represents a considerable increase in this contingent.

Concerning the southern state, the official year of the arrival of Japanese people in Rio Grande do Sul is 1955, and in August 1956 the

³ Source: Available at: <<https://doors.doshisha.ac.jp/duar/repository/ir/16731/007001040007.pdf>>. Accessed on: May 10th, 2020.

⁴ Dekassegui can be translated as a temporary worker outside his/her region. There are dekasseguis within Japan. The term was enshrined due to the large number of "temporary immigrants" who never returned.

direct immigration wave begins when a group of 23 young single men arrives at the port of Rio Grande. It should be noted that the information about the Japanese who arrived in RS through other states is not significant or clarified, and the information remains fragmentary and mismatched due to the “invisibility” of the Japanese people in the south of the country.

A little biography

Thus, among thousands of immigrants, few are those about whom the biographical exercise spent a breath, and, except for the “pioneers” or “explorers”, there are few publications about the prominent Japanese.⁵

It is worth remembering that microhistory operates with a reduced scale of observation, an exhaustive exploration of sources, ethnographic description, and concern with a literary narrative. In this sense, it contemplates, above all, themes related to the daily life of specific communities – referred to geographically or sociologically –, to the extreme situations and biographies linked to the reconstruction of microcontext or dedicated to extreme characters, usually anonymous figures, figures that would certainly go unnoticed in the crowd (GUIMARÃES, 2003, p. 317).

Among these “anonymous subjects”, we chose a character who, we believe, should be rescued from the “historiographic limbo”, be it for his participation in events of significance for Japanese communities in three different states, or at least because the facts are still vivid in the memory of others involved. It is not a biography in the traditional sense of the word, but a patchwork scattered in an incomplete puzzle without references, in which a set of brief news, oral history reports, and some newspaper articles helped to reconstruct, creating meaning to a labyrinth through which, gathering data from chaos, we seek to get to know the life of the immigrant and the events in which he was involved.

For a long time considered by historians as a minor genre, biography has regained its prestige in recent years. The recent production of biographies, although heir to a long tradition, poses (or replaces) problems that are at the center of the contemporary historiographic debate: the relations between the person and society, unity and fragmentation, narration and explanation, public and private, among other issues (SCHMIDT, 2000, p. 13).

⁵ This fact is due to several factors that will not be explored in this text, however, two factors can initially justify this, the collective spirit, by which the family and the village are valued more than the individual person, and the initiative in exceptional cases, in which management positions (presidents, heads, community leaders etc.) take control or direct groups of people.

Hence, it is relevant to start a brief justification of the reason that led to this research. Interested in Japanese immigration in the state of Rio Grande do Sul stemming from the existence of a Japanese colony in the city of Santa Maria, we revive the history of thirty-three Japanese families who migrated directly to RS in 1957, to the farm of the former ambassador, João Batista Luzardo, in Barra do Quaraí, southwestern border of the state of RS with the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, approximately 717 kilometers from the capital Porto Alegre.

The person responsible for immigration, that is, the person who brought the Japanese from Kumamoto and other provinces in Japan was Mr. Mitori Kimura. However, as the research deepened in newspapers (SOARES; SOUZA, 2008) we noticed that Kimura's story was intertwined with those of other characters, some with more visibility within the migratory, state, national and international framework. Thus, using the memories of immigrants, newspapers of the period, as well as the scarce documents scattered throughout the country, we sought to give visibility to this migrant.

Therefore, resorting to oral history and other types of documents proved to be relevant and fundamental due to the scarcity of other sources that could assist us in reconstructing the character and his time.

In addition to interfering in the concept of historical character, the option for Oral History enables the study of people's social life and works with the issue of everyday life, showing the history of ordinary citizens in a routine explained in the logic of the collective life of generations who live in the present (ROSA, 2007, p. 4).

First steps or a timeline

For the construction of this article, we prefer to work with a direct chronological line, so as not to risk confusing instead of clarifying. Although the narratives of the interviewees, newspapers, and documents refer to different times and different spaces, we intend to present, in a linear way, something that, in the memories and their speeches, are never linear, which forces us to make several digressions, advances and complements to make sense of Mitori Kimura's biography.

As previously stated, Mitori Kimura arrives in Brazil at the age of 13, in 1930, that is, during the period when the Japanese entry into Brazil is most intense (PEREIRA; OLIVEIRA, 2008). Initially focused on agriculture

in the city of Promissão, like all immigrants of the time, it is likely that, as an athlete and sportsman⁶, he quickly became involved with the youth group and the youth association – the *Seinenkai*⁷ of Marília, SP, where he lived.

Apparently, due to his leadership, he was appointed vice president of the Youth League of All of Brazil, which gave him visibility in the community. This fact was accompanied by Kimura's insertion in the Japanese community's courier service, an outstanding function, according to his DEOPS file:

Record: FP094890, Box: 162, Name: KIMURA MIDORI, History: The filed person is the head of the Japanese post office that was turned into a commercial office at Rua Prudente de Moraes, 196. See pages 29 of the record No. 8342. Axis sympathizer, same reference.⁸

According to some testimonials from people linked to Mitorii Kimura, his popularity and ability to dialogue with all segments of the community made him, in addition to being popular, an important person to help resolve issues related to problems among the Japanese. With the advent of the Estado Novo and the closure of the Japanese Colony Association in 1940⁹, the Japanese colony had less and less information about the war, which made his role within the colony's post office even more important. Naturally, in a community where illiteracy rates were close to zero, at the same time that rates among Brazilians were close to seventy percent (FERRARO, 2002, p. 28), reading newspapers or periodicals of any kind, or even letters and reports, were fundamental within the community.

Since 1942, in this context, several organizations appeared seeking to unite Japanese and combat the lack of information and the dissemination of misinformation. The origin of these organizations is uncertain, as mentioned by Rosangela Kimura:

Cependant, l'origine de la Shindô Renmei est controversée; il existe, au moins, trois versions sur la fondation de l'organisation: dans La première, la Shindô aurait eu ses débuts en 1942 à Marília (état de São Paulo). Dans une autre (la plus probable), cela aurait eu lieu entre 1944 et 1945, et l'organisation avait

⁶ Mitorii Kimura fought sumo and was a 100-meter runner, Interview with T.N. on March 2, 2011. Santa Maria, collection of the Japanese Immigration and Culture Memorial.

⁷ Seinen-kai is literally translated as "youth association".

⁸ Record also in FP051789, available at: <<http://www.usp.br/proin/inventario/detalhe-ficha.php?idFichaPolicial=51789>>.

⁹ Source: <http://www.nikkeymarilia.com.br/site/p_subcategorias.asp?cat_pai=13&m=1&tit=1&pag=2>. Accessed on: March 4, 2011.

eu le nom de Kodôsha (Mouvement Unificateur) en février 1944, peu avant de devenir Shindô Renmei. Enfin, dans la version « officielle » diffusée par certains dirigeants de l'organisation – dans un effort de la légaliser face aux autorités brésiliennes, l'organisation aurait été créée juste après la fin de la guerre, soit en août 1945 (2008, p. 132).

The emergence of the *Kodosha* – unifying movement – as well as the *Shindo Renmei* cannot be associated with the post-war movement when the Japanese community was divided between Makegumis¹⁰ and Kachigumis¹¹. It is very likely that the creation of these organizations was linked to the prohibition of teaching the Japanese language in schools, and consequently the prohibition of teaching the “Japanese spirit” (*Yamato Damashii*) and the traditional Japanese culture.

As quoted by one of the leaders of *Shindo Renmei*, the objective of this society is to preserve traditional values in Japan, as stated by Colonel Kikkawa, one of the organization's mentors and leaders:

Shindo is a society to cultivate the *Yamatodamashii*, the Japanese spirit, and to unite the Japanese, without criticizing or belittling the emperor's name, as the defeatist Japanese do. We want to ask the authority to ban the propaganda that some patricians do uselessly within the colony, preaching defeatism (MORAIS, 2000, p. 117).

It should be noted that the primary purpose of these organizations was to maintain Japanese cultural values, since, among immigrants, there was still the intention to return to the homeland, and this would only be possible with children educated in this spirit. Those who passively accepted the insertion in the Brazilian society were declared “enemies of the country” and, therefore, criticized by others. It is important to highlight that, contrary to what can be imagined, the associations, before the end of the war, were not divided between victorious and defeatists, but aimed at preserving a Japanese cultural unity, given that the vast majority of immigrants still thought to return to Japan, and nothing was more shameful than to not present the cultural values of their ancestors.

It is precisely in Marília that there was the largest number of members of *Shindô Renmei*, and consequently the group of “victorious”. It must be clarified, however, that many of the affiliates or even the Japanese classified

¹⁰ Makegumi: Defeated or enlightened, those who accepted Japan's defeat in World War II.

¹¹ Kachigumi: Victorious, those who did not accept Japan's defeat.

as “defeatists” simply did not accept how the disclosure of the end of the war happened, as well as the subsequent humiliations.

We must also keep in mind that the vast majority of Japanese who were associated with *Shindo*, were not “fanatics”, “crazy”, far from it! In reality, they were immigrants educated from paradigms that were totally different from the Brazilian culture, experiencing a crucial moment in the history of their lives, due to the hardships of war and post-war. In this gloomy universe, there were few “safe” references, *Shindo Renmei* appears at a moment announcing being the carrier of the answer to a series of doubts that seemed unquestionable. The question remains: What fault did most of these Japanese immigrants have for simply believing in Japan’s “victory”? (DEZEM, s.d.)¹²

From the records of DEOPS-SP, what we perceive is that Mitori Kimura was accused of being a “sympathizer of the axis”. But what that really meant is hard to say. In an interview with Mr. T.N. from Santa Maria, a person who knew Mitori Kimura closely, he says the following: “Whenever there is a fight, I would flee to his house, the kachigumi, right? He [Mitori] doesn’t like that, ‘stepping on the flag of the country’, to live like this in the country, he knows why that one, makegumi, does everything the way that only makes money.”¹³

Mitori Kimura’s position seems clear: he did not like people stepping on the Japanese flag. For DEOPS, this was a sign that he was a kachigumi, a victorious. However, what can be seen is that, in fact, few Japanese with respect for their homeland would accept this type of humiliation. The practice of *fumi-ê*, stepping on the image, was a common practice of psychological torture to identify “victorious” who did not believe in the Japanese defeat. However, what led Mitori Kimura to be repeatedly arrested, tortured and to have his nails pulled out was the fact that, probably, in all conflicts involving Japanese in Marília, the police directly held the leaders accountable, and in the case of Kimura, being president of the Youth Association was reason enough.

This is corroborated by the fact that DEOPS considered “Japanese associations as subversives and continuants of the 1950 *Shindô Renmei*”, the

¹² Shindo Renmei: A brief history. Rogério Dezem is the author of the book: *Shindô Renmei: Terrorismo e Repressão. Modulo III – Japoneses*. Available at: <http://artigos.netsaber.com.br/Resumo_artigo_13023/artigo_sobre_shindo_renmei:_uma_breve_historia>. Accessed on: March 2, 2011.

¹³ T.N.’s interview to André Soares on March 1, 2011, collection of the Japanese Immigration and Culture Memorial of RS.

Zempaku Seinem-Renmei, “Youth League from all of Brazil”, a society of which Kimura was vice president in 1940 (DEZEM, 2000, p. 193).

The following is presented in this same record:

Entity: *Zempaku (Zenaku) Seinem-Renmei* (Youth League from all of Brazil). Leaders: Yendo Brothers (Yendo House, Rua Conde de Pinhal). Ps. Among its main leaders, we highlight elements that were once from *Shindô-Renmei* as Midori Kimura, co-author of a death crime mandated by *Shindô-Renmei*, the Youth League from all of Brazil has its headquarters or main nucleus in Marília – SP (1950) (DEZEM, 2000, p. 193).

In a way, it seems that being linked to an association was enough reason to suspect that the “element” was “subject of the axis”. Thus, Mitori Kimura could be classified as a “victorious”, because in addition to being linked to an association, he did not admit the *fumi-ê*, the practice of “stepping on the image”, in this case, the flag of Japan. However, when we asked T.N. about the possibility that Mitori might have stepped on the flag, he replied: “he doesn’t like it. *Nobody likes it, right?*”. In other words, which minimally patriotic person would accept such humiliation?

Another factor that may have contributed to his incarceration was the fact that he joined the community of Marília as one of the teachers of the Japanese language school, as of October 1950.

New life in the post-war

After the end of the conflict and the release of all those involved in the process, the next step in which we find Mitori Kimura is in the implementation of the colony promoted by Yasutaro Matsubara, in the city of Dourados, MS. The state of Mato Grosso and the creation of agricultural colonies were part of Getúlio Vargas’ plan, even during the Estado Novo, to promote a sense of ‘Brazilianess’ through a “march to the West”:

The newspaper “O Correio de Marília”... was the disseminator of many advertisements, always conducting interviews and reports with the prosperous traders and farmers in the region. The State of Mato Grosso in the 1954 Christmas edition was symbolically built as a place to be tamed, explored, colonized, civilized by *Japanese-Bandeirantes* (SILVA, 2010, p. 3).

The change of location should not be seen as a strange fact, considering that several people and families, after the end of the conflict within the Japanese community, welcomed the change of atmosphere and a new beginning was desirable, preferably in a place where the old disputes could be definitively buried (ASSOCIAÇÃO, 2008, p. 219). Furthermore, “being

a pioneer” was also part of the imagination of immigrants, who saw borders as the ideal place to restart their lives, expectations, and possibilities for success.

At the time that the Colônia Agrícola de Dourados was being implemented, a land project to settle 10,000 northeastern families on plots of 30 hectares each, Mr. Yasutaro Matsubara arranged with President Getúlio Vargas to allocate 1,000 plots to Japanese immigrant families. Vargas authorized up to 5,000 immigrant families to enter several federal and state colonies. [...] Mr. Matsubara, who lived in the city of Marília, in the state of São Paulo, had deep ties of friendship with the then President and, obtaining the rights to use 1,000 lots, passed them on to the Japanese government (ASSOCIAÇÃO, 2008, p. 195).

It is very likely that Matsubara met Mitorii Kimura while still in Marília, because while the first one traveled to Wakayama province in Japan to pick up the families from his native province, it is Kimura that he left at the Dourados Agricultural Colony for the initial activities, of opening trails for transportation, building housing sheds, etc. In the history of the colonization of Dourados, some “pioneers” report Kimura’s role in the process of establishing migrants:

Mr. Kimura was the representative of Matsubara among the colonists and was in charge of trying to solve the problems that arose. Difficulties were always resolved in groups. For a certain number of families, there was a representative, who met each month with the other representatives and the 3 representatives of the ships (which arrived: Naya, Taniguchi, and Ono), along with Kimura and made the decisions (RACHI; INAGAKI, 2003, p. 141).

Kimura’s role is still perceived as more than a “foreman” in the establishment of the Matsubara colony, according to the testimony of another “pioneer”:

When he entered the colony, there were already families, the first to arrive, that had rice about two feet high. Therefore he stayed for only two weeks. Concerned about the great distance from the school, he asked to change to a lot closer to the school, request that was accepted, thus receiving a lot in a higher area, number 57, thanks to the mediation of the supervisor, Mr. Mitorii Kimura. The supervisor was a kind of guide and interpreter for the Matsubara Colony, and at the beginning of 1954, Mr. Kimura was replaced by Mr. Sakaguti (RACHI; INAGAKI, 2003, p. 133).

He himself had received a lot of Matsubara for his settlement, but we do not know the plans that led him to become an entrepreneur of direct immigration. From the lot received, Kimura donates his own to *Nihonjinkai* to build the sports field.

Guide, interpreter, responsible, foreman, among other denominations, made Kimura a character that marked some of these residents, as the testimonies attest fifty years later. It was no different in Santa Maria, when he himself decided to bring immigrants directly from Japan for an unsuccessful experience in Uruguaiana, as we will see below.

Immigration to Fazenda São Pedro, RS

We do not know the details of how Mitori Kimura became an entrepreneur of direct immigration. What we do know is that 50 families who came to Brazil in *Afurika Maru* had two different destinations. Seventeen families would go to Colônia Dal Justina, at the farm of the same name, in the region of Santa Rosa, now called Ernestina, while the rest would go to Uruguaiana. In the case of Uruguaiana, thirty-three families were willing to plant rice as an objective, and the location was the São Pedro farm, owned by the former ambassador João Batista Luzardo.

We don't know for sure why the Japanese were hired at this farm. However, the news in the newspaper '*São Paulo Shinbun*' points out that João Batista Luzardo's son saw an advertisement about the Japanese work capacity. We believe that he must have sought out his political allies, such as the mayor and former governor of the State of São Paulo in 1957, Ademar de Barros, to mediate the negotiation. Ademar de Barros was a serious defender of the Japanese immigrant arm, acting in their favor when he was an intervener in the state of São Paulo, during the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas. It was likely Ademar de Barros who arranged the procedures to bring the Japanese through the friend and president of the Association of Japanese Youth in São Paulo, Mr. Mitori Kimura.

According to the newspaper '*Correio do Povo*', dated April 7, 1977, Mitori Kimura stated:

I myself went to speak with the then governor of the state, Ademar de Barros, to bring Japanese people to Uruguaiana and I received his permission. I went to Japan and selected 33 families that really worked with farming and brought them to Rio Grande do Sul. During the trip, there were almost no problems and we officially disembarked in Brazil on April 2, 1957, at the port of Rio Grande.

While São Paulo and Paraná were no longer so interested in immigration, Rio Grande do Sul was a state with a small population and a very receptive state, as it had already shown with other immigrants.

Mitori Kimura, who already had experience in receiving immigrants, as in fact occurred in the settlement of the compatriots in the Matsubara Farm, in Dourados, MS, was chosen to introduce the Japanese to the São Pedro farm, located in the municipality of Uruguaiana,. In response to the request by Fazenda São Pedro for sending workers for the rice field, addressed to the office of *Nihon Kaigai Ijukyokai Rengokai* (- Federation of Provincial Migration Associations) popularly known by the name w m TS 海協連 (*Kaikyoren*), in São Paulo, an agency linked to the Japanese Government to boost immigration, founded in January 1954, Mitori Kimura was sent to Japan to recruit the Japanese. As a result, because Mitori was from the Kumamoto Province, 29 families plus three families linked to the first came from that province to that farm, besides a family/individual from Hyogo, Toyama, Kagawa, Okayama, Tokyo, Shizuoka, Miyazaki provinces, totaling 36 families composed of 196 individuals (KAIGAI, 1966, p. 11).

According to the interviews, it was Mr. Daysaku Oosawa who brought the money to Uruguaiana, and the fate of these immigrants remained to be defined. We don't know what drove Mr. Oosawa to Santa Maria. However, in the newspaper "A Razão", there is a clue that may indicate the reason for choosing this city. According to the newspaper "A Razão" of January 23, 1958:

The fact that there are already Japanese living in Santa Maria and that together with the Methodist Home has been undertaking a major project in the city's so-called Green Belt, it is believed that lawmakers will have no difficulty in finding concrete data for localizing new immigrants.

On March 21, 1958, the train bringing immigrants arrived. The transfer was the result of several negotiations that started months earlier. The acting mayor at the time was Colonel Deocleciano Dornelles. It was to him that Mitori Kimura went to explain the situation in which the Japanese were in Uruguaiana. It is also Dornelles who made the formal request to the – INIC (National Institute of Immigration and Colonization) to help with transport costs. On March 8, 1958, a telegram of thanks from the Consul General of Japan in Brazil to the acting mayor for the attention paid to Mr. Oosawa and for his efforts to place immigrant families was published in the "A Razão" newspaper.

It is the newspaper "Correio do Povo", dated April 7, 1977, which clarifies:

I couldn't take it anymore – says Kimura – to see the families that I had brought going through so much misery and suffering exploitation. Then I

spoke with the Consul, who at the time was Daisako Osawa, and with references from him, I went to Santa Maria, where I looked for the vice mayor, who was exercising the position of mayor, Colonel Deocleciano Dornelles, and explained our whole situation.

On February 16, 1958, the same newspaper presented the Japanese's willingness to work in Santa Maria. Mr. Daysako Oosawa carried out the appropriate negotiations to bring immigrants into dignified conditions and conditions different from those faced in Uruguaiana.

Again, no accessible documents were found that accurately report what happened. According to the article, it seems that Mr. Daisaku Oosawa was the one who took the bombastic news to be disseminated in the city of São Paulo, in 1957: 33 families were going through difficulties, with debts to pay and in a work system that we know today as a settlement or a debt bondage.

Published in the *São Paulo Shinbun* newspaper, a campaign to raise 100 thousand cruzeiros (equivalent to one hundred contos de réis, as the currency had recently changed its name) was carried out to cover the debts and expenses of families to leave Uruguaiana (4 thousand cruzeiros per family, since of the 33 families, 8 had already sought another placement, leaving 25 families in Uruguaiana).

It is important to note that the newspaper "A Razão" when announcing the possible departure of Japanese immigrants to the city of Santa Maria, did not mention the reasons why the immigrants broke the contract with the São Pedro farm in Uruguaiana. Likewise, the problems faced with the contract, as well as the campaign promoted by *São Paulo Shinbun* were not mentioned.

On February 26, the arrival of immigrants was already agreed upon. After the arrival of the INIC president to the city, on March 3, the procedures for transportation, establishment, and the families that would receive the immigrants were more clearly drawn. Among others, we can mention the families of Luiz Aita, Gilberto Binato, Darcy Medeiros D'Ávila, and Luiz Antônio Borges.

If, on the one hand, solving the problem of immigrants' debts in Uruguaiana was solved by financial support from São Paulo, mobilized through the campaign carried out in the newspaper '*São Paulo Shinbun*' and made possible by the representative of the Japanese consulate, Daysako Oosawa, it is very likely that the issue was followed up by the official media in Brazil.

All this work was carried out in conjunction with the National Institute of Immigration and Colonization – INIC, created in 1954 and directed by Walter Cechella in 1957, which helped provide employment opportunities for these immigrants through interested families in Santa Maria. We believe that it was the acting mayor who managed to divide the travel expenses (Uruguaiana – Santa Maria) between INIC, and the other part paid by the immigrants' employers in Santa Maria.

It is also possible that the Japanese coming to Santa Maria was part of a state government plan, called "Green Belt", as previously mentioned. This project consisted of reducing the costs of agricultural production through the implantation of farmers in the vicinity of the city, reducing the costs of transport, and, finally, of the production chain.

The immigrants report that, upon arriving, they were received by the bosses and soon started farming, supplying the city with vegetables and other products that were not part of the gaucho habits. Production was split with 50% going to property owners and 50% going to the Japanese farmers. If we remember that Walter Cechella was, after the 1960s, managing director of Caixa Rural de Santa Maria and, having been a professor of economics at the Federal University of Santa Maria – UFSM, we can imagine that the introduction and stimulation of horticultural production also had his intervention.

It is not known how immigrants went from being hired in the fields to independent agriculture, but the process must have been similar to what happened in São Paulo. As published in the southeast region, we assume that:

They started to install a tavern, for example, to start a new activity, completely different from farming. Then, accumulating capital and commercial experience, they pass the grocer and retail store phase, in which foodstuffs and other articles of daily use, small agricultural implements, are sold (CEHIJ, 1992, p. 84).

After the legal contract, signed in Japan, for which immigrants had to dedicate themselves for four years to farming and agriculture, many Japanese people started looking for other alternatives like the service area, as happened in the state of São Paulo.

Injustice or not?

Santa Maria, June 23, 1972. Three pages of '*São Paulo Shinbun*' are dedicated to the 15 years of the Japanese immigration to Santa Maria. At

the festivity, held at the Augusto restaurant, one of the most traditional and well-known establishments in the city, the colony's prosperity, integration with the Brazilian community, the recognition that they are no longer *dekasseguis*, but immigrants are celebrated. They were no longer temporary workers who had come to enrich themselves, but families who had their children in the Brazilian school, lived with nationals and had integrated themselves into the local landscape.

Santa Maria, May 7, 1958. The newspaper "A Razão" reports the Festival of Japan at the city's centenary celebrations. At the central stage of Praça Saldanha Marinho, at 8 pm "the people of Santa Maria will have the opportunity, tonight, to watch and appreciate all the delicacy of popular Japanese music, all the beauty and the color of oriental clothes and the soft charm of the *geishas*". In the program, several songs and dances of Japanese folklore.

In a gala Japanese evening outfit, the coordinator and then president of the community was Mitori Kimura, the same person who brought immigrants to the city. What happened after arriving in Santa Maria is still filled with gaps.

As we put it before, after the end of the contract that fixed them in agriculture, many took the path of markets and autonomous establishments. The fruit, vegetable, and poultry markets supported many families until the emergence of a large scale supermarket of foreign capital. Many families settled in Santa Maria, after some attempts in other cities, since one of the focal points of Japanese culture is the importance given to education, and the municipality had, since the early 1960s, a public university.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Santa Maria was the pole of several competitions, promoted by the Japanese-Brazilian Association of Rio Grande do Sul, or the Japanese-Brazilian Society of Santa Maria. There were gatherings such as *engeikai* (performing arts festival), *undokai* (Japanese sporting competition), with the creation of the Japanese-Brazilian Society of Santa Maria (recognized among the Japanese community as Santa Maria Nihonjinkai), founded in 1978, ladies' club, youth club, each with specific activities, holding social gatherings, tournaments, competitions and other forms of socialization, entertainment, and perpetuation of Japanese culture. In 1981, the municipality of Santa Maria considered the Japanese-Brazilian Society of Santa Maria a public utility for the municipality.

The Japanese government has always recognized citizens who, in some way, have boosted or helped improve the conditions of the Japanese

community outside the country of origin. For example, among those mentioned in this article, Dr. Walter Cechella, representative of INIC, received the commendation of the Grand Officer of the Order of the Rising Sun, granted by his Imperial Majesty Emperor of Japan, Hiroite, in 1961. Likewise, the doctor Telmo Corseuil (who attended the Japanese free of charge in the 1960s'). These recognitions are offered by the Japanese government to those who contribute significantly to the development of Japanese communities or "colonies".

As for Mitori Kimura, the community also mobilized to honor him. However, because of the involvement with DEOPS in São Paulo and the not explained relations of his alleged involvement with *Shindo Renmei*, his honor was denied. In his place, Mosei's brother Kosei Kimura was honored. It was Kosei who created (1973) and was president of Santa Maria Nihonjinjai for several years. Mitori returned to the state of São Paulo, and died in the 1990s'.

Final considerations

In this brief text, we show a part of the biography of a little-known character from the Japanese immigration in the state of RS. Mitori Kimura's biography can be an example of "nanohistory", in which an unknown character who is involved in several stages of the migratory processes as far away as Marília, in São Paulo, Dourados in Mato Grosso do Sul and two cities in the state of Rio Grande do Sul (Uruguaiana and Santa Maria) and even being one of the main protagonists of the dissemination of Japanese people in the interior of Brazil, still goes unnoticed among so many other immigrants and their life trajectories.

Even having crossed the paths of relevant characters in the history of the country or the states (such as Yasutaro Matsubara, Ademar de Barros, Getúlio Vargas or João Batista Luzardo), there are still many gaps to be filled regarding his participation in other achievements linked to the Japanese communities.

It was not our intention to produce an "authorized" or "unauthorized" biography but to highlight the relevance of seemingly anonymous characters who contributed to a relevant and little-known historical process such as the Japanese immigration far from the large demographic contingents of Japanese origin, as is the case of the states of São Paulo, Paraná and other densities such as the colonies of Tomé-Açú in Pará and Amazonas.

In other previous works, we considered aspects of social and collective memory (SOARES; GAUDIOSO et al., 2008), in which we discussed the ways that these memories are pronounced in immigrants. Here, we just wanted to record how the biography of a single member of the Japanese colony can be involved in several national and controversial scenarios, such as participation in *Shindo Renmei*, the colonization of two experiences of immigration companies, and a path full of misfortunes and misinterpretations. In the future, we intend to broaden the discussion of an immigration history in which the apparently irrelevant sides allow us to glimpse the forgotten memories and the specters of unknown ghosts that hover around unwritten pages of history.

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In Search of the Platinean Region

Maria Medianeira Padoin¹

Cláudio Kuczkowski²

Introduction

The present reflection aims to understand how the topics related to the Platinean region have been approached academically, with particular attention to the theses developed in the Graduate Programs in History – doctorate level – in Rio Grande do Sul, between 1986 and 2016. Chronologically it goes back to the creation of the doctoral program in History at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul, in 1986, – the oldest of the three programs – and extends until 2016, covering the development of doctoral programs in the same area at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (1995) and the University of Vale do Rio dos Sinos (1999). Thus, we start from the idea that the object of historical study is maintained over time through the constructions and reconstructions of meaning carried out in historical narratives.

The research methodology consists of five stages: 1st) statistical survey of the total number of works defended within the scope of the proposed clipping, from which is produced the result of 442 theses; 2nd) categorization of the studies to be considered in the sphere defined as Platinean, from which results the initial number of 59 theses; 3rd) establishment of the criteria to be observed in the texts, first individualized and, in a second moment, in the grouped comparisons; 4th) reading and writing based on categorization developed specifically for this purpose, and 5th) crossing of data and information and, from this point, the comparative analysis and structuring of the narrative. Thus, based on these designs, we seek to understand how the research shows the representation of the Platinean region over the centuries.

¹ Doctor in History (UFRGS) – Full Professor at the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM / Brasil). E-mail: maria.m.padoin@ufrgs.br.

² Doctor in History (UFSM) – Professor at the Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology of Rio Grande do Sul (IFRS/Brasil). E-mail: claudiokuczkowski@yahoo.com.br.

The conception of the Platinean Region from which the analysis starts has its assumptions linked to the spatialities of the so-called Platinean basin – the Rio de la Plata and its tributaries – but, specifically, to the environments that were historically forged, when not determined, by the presence of this fluvial condition. Thus, in a pragmatic way, the Platinean region corresponds approximately to the region of the “*Virreinato del Río de la Plata*”, created in 1776 which covered the current territories of Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay and parts of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, in addition to “some territories on the oceanic coast of Chile, the current Chilean territory west of Tierra del Fuego and the territory of Puno (which belongs to Peru)”³.

The general purpose is not to seek a concept for the Platinean Region – since the empirical material is also not suitable for this purpose – but to understand the meanings attributed to the expression in its practical uses, in the set of researches directed toward the theme and, from these conformations, verify the existence or absence of patterns, continuities / ruptures of use, so that, as a result of the mapping, it is possible to identify new spaces for studies on the theme, as well as to recognize in the themes already explored the presence of any patterns or trends.

The Platinean Region in Latin America

By isolating the Latin American theme from the total body of theses, an amount of seventy-two investigations is obtained, a number that can be reduced to fifty-nine when dealing, even if generally, with discussions related to Platinean themes. Within this integrality, four investigations do not mention the Platinean spaces in any way and another nine are characterized by allusions to the matter, despite the approaches pointing in different directions. Thus, in a macro reading, the works can be classified in at least two groups: on the one hand, the theses which dedicate efforts primarily to themes related to the Platinean region and, on the other, investigations that deal with it in a peripheral way, since the object studied is mainly limited to spaces, times and themes different than this regionality without, however, losing sight of possible historical interconnections between the main theme and the Platinean Region, given the systemic character of the analyses.

³ PADOIN, Maria Medianeira. **Federalismo Gaúcho:** fronteira platina, direito e revolução. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 2001, p. 19.

The works related to the first case appear in the sequence of the text, respecting other classifications and connections to which they were submitted for examination purposes. The theses that endorse the allocation in the second group can be viewed – together with their corresponding authors, years of defenses and institutions – in the table below.

Table 01 – Theses with Latin American themes and indirect relation to Rio de la Plata

1. <i>El Liberalismo en Iberoamérica. Un Pensamiento “Fuera” de Lugar: El Caso de la Constitución Política del Imperio de Brasil</i>	FLORES, Alberto Vivar	1999	PUC
2. <i>América Latina periférica: O desenvolvimento latino-americano na concepção de Prebisch/CEPAL (1948-1981)</i>	KOLING, Paulo José	2004	PUC
3. <i>Espelhos de Cronos. A relação entre passado e futuro no discurso bolivariano (1811-1930)</i>	BITTENCOURT, Paulo José Sá	2006	UNISINOS
4. <i>Trincheiras ideológicas: o debate entre os jornais peruanos El Comercio e La Tribuna</i>	NASCIMENTO, Jorge Luiz do	2010	UFRGS
5. <i>A teoria do subimperialismo em Ruy Mauro Marini: contradições do capitalismo dependente e a questão do padrão de reprodução do capital</i>	LUCE, Mathias Seibel	2011	UFRGS
6. <i>A classe trabalhadora no Processo Bolivariano da Venezuela. Contradições e Conflitos do Capitalismo Dependente Petroleiro-Rentista (1989-2010)</i>	FERREIRA, Carla	2012	UFRGS
7. <i>O Discurso Jornalístico e o Processo de Marginalização Social do Exército Zapatista de Libertação Nacional e do Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra</i>	ANTONI, Edson	2012	PUC
8. <i>Questão de Cuba: a política externa independente e a crise dos mísseis</i>	DOMINGOS, C.	2014	UFRGS
9. <i>Discursos políticos do ministro Oswaldo Aranha e a defesa do Pan-Americanismo no período do Ministério das Relações Exteriores (1938-1944)</i>	PEREIRA, Luiz Felipe Schervenski	2016	UNISINOS

Source: elaborated by the authors (2020).

In order to have an idea of the ways in which the Platinean region is considered in investigations of a character less directly related to the theme, in addition to the titles themselves already allowing it to be perceived, one can, for merely illustrative and random purposes, mention the study of the bachelor student in Sacred Theology, Alberto Vivar Flores, who discusses the problem of “out of place ideas” – the lack of originality or authenticity in liberalism “theoretically articulated in the Political Constitution of the Brazilian Empire” (FLORES, 1999, p. 16). It stipulates, as a historical landmark of reference, namely for the verified case, the “[...] historical process that goes from Illuminism or the Reformation of Marqués de Pombal (1750-1777) to the

elaboration and promulgation of the Political Constitution of the Brazilian Empire (25th of March of 1824)”, however, there are lectures that temporally go back to even some classic philosophy in Antiquity.

The thesis addresses among other concepts (Old Regime, Illuminism, Liberalism) that of Latin America (FLORES, 1999, p. 23-25). It states that, for purposes of instrumental communication language, the expressions Iberoamerica and Latin America are used, as well as their correlates, as synonyms. Thus, “*Iberoamérica* or *'Latinoamérica'*, for us, exists as such and when we speak about it, we mean, using the words of the Domenech abbé: [...] *le Mexique, l'Amérique Centrale et L'Amérique du Sud* “. The basic presupposition is that:

[...] it is the Brazilian social reality that, in the end, by demanding an original transformation that, albeit alienated, is carried out with ideas from outside, nevertheless, ends up imposing itself, giving such ideas a final touch; thus constituting, in the case of the Liberalism which we intend to deal with, a ‘sui generis’ Liberalism, which we dare to call ‘Brazilian Liberalism’ (FLORES, 1999, p. 127).

At the origin of the research problem, he explains that he came across different opinions on the topic, particularly when it comes to the study of the History of Philosophy in Latin America and / or Brazil. Exemplifying these positions would be, in the readings of the author, at the level of Hispano-America, Juan Bautista Alberdi (1842) and, at the level of Brazil, Sylvio Romero (since 1878) – “*who, by historicizing thought in Latin America, were alerting to the problem of its authenticity or originality*”. In the footsteps of these precursors, the thinking of some others would originate, as was the case with Roberto Schwarz, in Brazil –, when dealing with the “*out of place ideas, wanting to insist, with that, on its lack of originality*”; others, “*in reference to the same intellectual context – as is the case of Raymundo Faoro – to specifically put out the following question: 'Is there a Brazilian political thought?'*”; and, even, “*there were even those who invented a "Philosophy of Liberation" (Enrique Domingo Dussel) with a view, on the one hand, to abolish, once and for all, that lack of originality [...]; on the other, to inaugurate, for the first time, an authentic, proper and original philosophy in this part of the planet*” (FLORES, 1999, p. 15).

Flores’ main argument can be seen in the excerpt:

[...] both Brazilian thinkers and politicians do not follow to the letter the writings of, for example, John Locke (1632-1704), Montesquieu (1689-1755) or Rousseau (1712-1778), that is, the creators of ‘ knowledge formulated from experience ‘: but, drawing inspiration from them through a bookish

culture, they only try to put into practice a Political Philosophy, let's say, of a liberal type; whose extension and limits will be marked, much more than it seems, by the fabric of interests of the social reality in question; which gives it, thus, without any consideration, its peculiar originality (FLORES, 1999 p. 123).

The main interest of the work is guided by the use of first-hand sources, “*as we believe it must be in any historical investigation*”. Together, it recognizes that access to such materials often occurs through historiography, published texts, already established etc., and, consequently, it is important to also have contact with these materials, precisely because they help “*to clarify the historical framework reference of our study*”. In addition to a work with dates or in the establishment of chronologies (even the option for one or another form of temporal predisposition – linear, cyclic, intercyclical, etc.), the thesis is committed to the historicization of what it calls “Brazilian liberalism”, in which the relation to the social and political conditions of the analyzed event finds its temporality and possibilities of reframing (FLORES, 1999, p. 20).

The thesis is structured in three main parts, with Liberalism as the theme of convergence. In the first part (History of Philosophy in Latin America/Ibero-America and/or in Brazil), it is about, on the one hand, discussing the manifestations of “*Imitation, adoption, adaptation or transplantation of what has been called ‘out of place ideas’*” and, on the other hand, “*Recognize it, initially, as a problem and a defective character of what has been identified as ‘Latin American / Ibero-American Philosophy’ and/or ‘Brazilian Philosophy’ by the same authors who wrote its history*”. In the second part, Liberalism is thought in the context of the independence processes, related to events in the Iberian Peninsula. Thus it is, “*that we see ourselves in the need to expose the contemporary historical process of Liberalism in Spain and Portugal, with a view to finding the possible motives, influences or reasons that will unleash the historical process of Liberalism in Brazil*” (FLORES, 1999, p. 21-22).

The last part seeks to identify the various forms of manifestation (faces) of Modern Liberalism “*with which, due to the powerful influence of the French Revolution, it was presented in Latin America; of course, with the clear intention of revealing – as we imagine – despite the phenomenon of ‘out of place ideas’, ‘the originality of Brazilian Liberalism’ that we set out to investigate*” (FLORES, 1999, p. 21-22). The tripartite structure of the work is summarized, in a simplified way: the issue of the history of the philosophy of Iberian America, the

Iberian roots of the Brazilian constitutional movement and Brazilian liberalism and the imperial political constitution. It elaborates the text in a staggered way: for each new topic it does a historical search into the beginnings of Western history / philosophy. For the specific topic of the investigation, it carries out, for example, a search on how the constitutional movement arose with the French Revolution (especially between 1789 and 1824), and in the constituents of 1812 (Spain), 1822 (Portugal) and 1824 (Brazil).

With regard to Platinean spaces, direct references are reduced to explanations about the expulsion of Jesuits from the American continent (Rio da la Plata, 1735; Paraguay, 1755; Brazil, 1759) and the consequent loss of the hegemony of Scholastic Philosophy in Latin America (FLORES, 1999, p. 41), the quote from the manifesto of D. Pedro I in defense of the union “from Amazonas to the Platinean region” (FLORES, 1999, p. 302) – an idea that is repeated in an excerpt in the sequence (FLORES, 1999, p. 430-431) – the registration of Portuguese troops stationed at Cisplatinia during the so-called wars of independence (FLORES, 1999, p. 307) and in a bibliographic reference, to be included: “Brazil and the Platinean Region up to 1828” by J.A. Soares Souza.

The primary point to be observed, both in the commentated thesis and in the others, is not the use of one or another expression of specific referential annotation. It consists in realizing how much the Platinean region is involved in the ordinary structure of the narratives. On the other hand, it means to affirm that Ibero-American liberalism – applied to the Brazilian case, to the particularity of the 1824 Constitution – implies all manifestations, significantly political, of a broader scenario that is now called Platinean. The same can be said for topics such as the peripheral condition of Latin America and the conceptions of Latin American development by Argentine Raúl Prebisch within the framework of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the sub-imperialism in Ruy Mauro Marini or even the goal of an independent foreign policy in Brazil and the missile crisis in Cuba. The general sense seems to indicate a strong tendency of intermingling between entities separated for research and / or even didactic purposes, a recurring strategy in studies involving the “Prata”, “Mercosul”, “Southern Cone”, “South America” and “Latin America”.

The political dimension of the Platinean region

With regard to research with greater specificity about the Platinean region, one can think of some forms of grouping such as thematic, chronological, dimensional etc. In this regard, the fact that any and all categorization adopted is intended to gather data and information, enabling observation, and that, in different proportions, all the studies visited have interdimensional overlapping, with compartmentalization being only a methodological resource.

Taking as a guideline the traditional division of trends of predominance of studies in the singular dimensions (political, economic, social, cultural), we have the first perspectives with which to build arguments to meet the purpose of the inspection of the set. One starts with the panel that presents the highest concentration of theses, the investigations tending toward the political issue.

Table 02 – Theses inclining toward the political dimension

TITLE	AUTHOR	YEAR	PLACE
1. <i>Guerra Irregular em Espacios Andinos y en la Pampa Gaucha: El Caso de La Banda Oriental del Uruguay (1808-1820)</i>	PÉREZ OCHOA, Eduardo	1995	PUC
2. <i>A Diplomacia Marginal. Vinculações Políticas Entre o Rio Grande do Sul e o Uruguai (1893-1904)</i>	RECKZIEGEL, Ana Luiza Setti	1997	PUC
3. <i>O federalismo no espaço fronteiriço platino. A Revolução Farroupilha (1835-1945)</i>	PADOIN, Maria Medianeira	1999	UFRGS
4. <i>O Málon de 1801: A Guerra das Laranjas e suas Implicações na América Meridional</i>	CAMARGO, Fernando da Silva	2000	PUC
5. <i>As Ações Geopolíticas do Barão do Rio Branco e seus Reflexos na Argentina</i>	HEINSFELD, A.	2000	PUC
6. <i>A Fronteira Brasil-Uruguai: Estado e movimentos espontâneos na fixação dos limites do Rio Grande do Sul</i>	GOLIN, Luiz Carlos	2001	PUC
7. <i>A Guerra do Paraguai e as Relações Luso-Brasileiras na Década de 1860-1870</i>	SILVEIRA, Mauro	2001	PUC
8. <i>Redes de Cidades: Cooperação, estratégias de desenvolvimento, limitações constitucionais e divergências – o Caso da Rede Mercociudades</i>	MENEGHETTI NETO, Alfredo	2002	PUC
9. <i>De volta a fronteira – uma incursão aos fundamentos da cultura política sul-rio-grandense referente ao século XIX: A infiltração rio-grandense no estado oriental e a formação da identidade política regional</i>	CARNEIRO, Newton Luis Garcia	2003	PUC
10. <i>As Políticas Externas do Brasil e da Argentina: O Paraguai em Jogo (1939-1954)</i>	MORAES, Ceres	2003	PUC
11. <i>Didadura e Resistência Democrática: República Oriental Del Uruguay: 1968-1985</i>	VILLALOBOS, Marco Antonio	2003	PUC
12. <i>A Trama da Integração: Soberania e Identidade do Cone Sul. 2004</i>	CARVALHO, Haroldo Loguércio	2004	PUC
13. <i>A pré-história do Mercosul: cooperação entre Brasil-Argentina – 1979-1991</i>	SIMÃO, Ana R. F.	2004	UFRGS

14. As concepções de revolução produzidas pela Internacional Comunista e por seus organismos da América do Sul para as colônias e semicolônias, especialmente para a América Latina	HENN, Leonardo Guedes	2005	Unisinos
15. Os institutos de estudos econômicos de organizações empresariais e sua relação com o Estado em perspectiva comparada: Argentina e Brasil, 1961-1996	RAMÍREZ, Hernán Ramiro	2005	UFRGS
16. Como el Uruguay no hay... Terror de Estado e Segurança Nacional. Uruguai (1968-1985): do Pachecato à Ditadura Civil-Militar	PADRÓS, Enrique Serra	2005	UFRGS
17. O mergulho no seculum: exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial	BARCELOS, Artur Henrique F.	2006	PUC
18. Trajetória Político-Ideológico da esquerda Uruguai: 1964-2004	CABRAL, José P.	2006	Unisinos
19. Fomes, pestes e guerras: dinâmicas dos povoados missionais em tempos de crise (1610-1750)	BAPTISTA, Jean Tiago	2007	PUC
20. Participação política nos discursos oposicionistas a Getúlio Vargas e Gabriel Terra	RANGEL, Carlos Roberto da Rosa	2007	UFRGS
21. A contribuição da Igreja Católica para a Formação do Neozapatismo e do Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra	SILVA, Émerson Neves da	2008	Unisinos
22. "... bajo su Real Protección": o Império Português rumo à Banda Oriental (1808-1812)	COLVERO, Ronaldo	2009	PUC
23. América Latina entre inclusões e exclusões: escolas, ensino de história e identidade em tempos de ditadura militar	SILVEIRA, Marise da	2009	UFRGS
24. Guerra do Paraguai: um conflito anunciado (1852-1864)	REYNALDO, Ney	2009	Unisinos
25. A construção da Memória: os monumentos a Bento Gonçalves e	FUÃO, Juarez J. José Artigas	2009	Unisinos
26. Memorias de la diáspora: narrativas identitárias de los uruguayos en Brasil (1960-2010)	GONZÁLEZ, Ana María Sosa	2011	PUC
27. Um estudo comparativo das práticas de desaparecimento nas ditaduras civil-militares argentina e brasileira e a elaboração de políticas de memória em ambos os países	BAUER, Caroline Silveira	2011	UFRGS
28. Ancaos en Brasil: a presença argentina no Rio Grande do Sul (1966-1989)	FERNANDEZ, J.	2011	UFRGS
29. Crimes de Fronteira: a criminalidade na fronteira meridional do Brasil (1845-1889)	FLORES, Mariana Thompson	2012	PUC
30. Brasil e Argentina no Oriente Médio: do Pós-Segunda Guerra Mundial ao Final da Guerra Fria	PREISS, José Luiz da Silva	2013	PUC
31. Intelectuais e exílios confronto de resistências em revistas culturais: encontros com a civilização brasileira, Cuadernos de Marcha e Controversia (1978-1984)	COUTO, Cristiano Pinheiro de Paula	2013	UFRGS
32. Índios Fronteiriços: a política indigenista de fronteira e políticas indígenas na Província de Mato Grosso entre a Bolívia e o Paraguai (1837-1873)	ALMEIDA, Marlly Auxiliadora de	2013	UFRGS
33. Dos levantes de Castela às revoluções comuneras do Paraguai: apropriações e ressignificações de um conceito em três atos	CERVEIRA, Luis Alexandre	2014	Unisinos
34. Democracia e Concerto Americano: a visão de O Cruzeiro sobre a Argentina nas relações interamericanas (1946-1966)	DALMÁZ, Mateus	2014	PUC
35. Catolicismo e Cruzada. Revistas católicas e o imaginário anticomunista no Brasil e Argentina (1960 – 1967)	BETT, Ianko	2015	PUC

36. <i>Dámaso Antonio Larrañaga: a biografia de um cura em tempos de independência no Prata</i>	BIDINOTO, Lauro Manzoni	2015	UFRGS
37. <i>Transportando fortunas para povoar deserta e inculta campanha: atuação política e negócio dos brasileiros no norte do Estado Oriental do Uruguai (ca. 1845-1865)</i>	MENEGAT, Carla	2015	UFRGS
38. <i>Andrés Lamas e a atuação da Legação Oriental na Corte imperial brasileira: escravidão e relações internacionais (1847-1869)</i>	LIMA, Rafael Peter de	2016	UFRGS

Source: elaborated by the authors (2020).

Altogether, there are thirty-eight works allocated in this dimension, of which more than half can also be understood in, at least, one other dimension without major difficulties in the diagnosis. The figures indicate, in principle, that of the fifty-nine theses related to Platinean themes, approximately 64% tend toward discussions involving priority power relations and the like, although they can be grouped by means of several other mechanisms. The numbers and respective examples help to understand the conformation revealed through the association of research.

Table 02 reveals the preferences between the different study themes. Pay attention to the three with the highest volume. The simple observation of the list makes it possible to identify the presence of the border element in, at least, fifteen of these theses, taking into account the due proportions of the emphasis and the character of more or less evidence of the concept. In the most elucidated group, some that exemplify it are: “*A Fronteira Brasil-Uruguaí: Estado e movimentos espontâneos na fixação dos limites do Rio Grande do Sul*” [The Brazil-Uruguay Border: The State and spontaneous movements in setting the limits of Rio Grande do Sul], “*De volta a fronteira – uma incursão aos fundamentos da cultura política sul-rio-grandense referente ao século XIX: A infiltração rio-grandense no estado oriental e a formação da identidade política regional*” [Back to the border – an incursion into the fundamentals of the political culture of Rio Grande do Sul regarding the 19th century: The infiltration of Rio Grande do Sul in the eastern state and the formation of regional political identity], “*Crimes de Fronteira: a criminalidade na fronteira meridional do Brasil (1845-1889)*” [Border Crimes: crime on the southern border of Brazil (1845-1889)] and “*Índios Fronterizos: a política indigenista de fronteira e políticas indígenas na Província de Mato Grosso entre a Bolívia e o Paraguai (1837-1873)*” [Border Indians: the indigenous border policy and indigenous peoples' policies in the Province of Mato Grosso between Bolivia and Paraguay (1837-1873)]. On the other

hand, for a less manifest relationship: “*A Diplomacia Marginal. Vinculações Políticas Entre o Rio Grande do Sul e o Uruguai (1893-1904)*” [*Marginal Diplomacy. Political Links Between Rio Grande do Sul and Uruguay (1893-1904)*], “*As Ações Geopolíticas do Barão do Rio Branco e seus Reflexos na Argentina*” [*The Geopolitical Actions of the Baron of Rio Branco and their Reflections in Argentina*], “... *bajo su Real Protección*”: o Império Português rumo à Banda Oriental (1808-1812)“ [“... under his Royal Protection *bajo*”: the Portuguese Empire in the direction of the Eastern Region (1808-1812)] and “*Transportando fortunas para povoar deserta e inculta campanha*: atuação política e negócio dos brasileiros no norte do Estado Oriental do Uruguai (ca. 1845-1865)” [*Transporting fortunes to populate a deserted and uncultivated plains area*: political action and business of Brazilians in the north of the Eastern State of Uruguay (ca. 1845-1865)].

The second element of greatest recurrence among the theses directed toward political matters points to what can be called, even if in a generic way, geopolitical issues. The tendency is to reproduce a format seen in the previous item, that is, the subdivision into two groups: 1) research that explains the link to the subject and, 2) studies which cover the topic, although they may be restricted to examining cases and / or particularities inserted in the broad framework of International Relations. The first can be seen in “*As Políticas Externas do Brasil e da Argentina: O Paraguai em Jogo (1939-1954)*” [*The Foreign Policies of Brazil and Argentina: Paraguay at Stake (1939-1954)*] and “*Democracia e Concerto Americano*: a visão de O Cruzeiro sobre a Argentina nas relações interamericanas (1946-1966)” [*Democracy and the American Concert*: O Cruzeiro’s vision of Argentina in inter-American relations (1946-1966)]. With regard to the second association, “*A Trama da Integração: Soberania e Identidade do Cone Sul*” [*The Plot of Integration: Sovereignty and Identity of the Southern Cone*] and “*A pré-história do Mercosul: cooperação entre Brasil-Argentina – 1979-1991*” [*The pre-history of Mercosur: cooperation between Brazil-Argentina – 1979-1991*].

The third and last range of works listed in the taxonomy referring to the constituents of the theses enmeshed in political themes deals with themes dear to the so-called new history. These are the concepts of identity, memory, imagery and even discussions in the sphere of the history of concepts. This is what happens in “*As concepções de revolução produzidas pela Internacional Comunista e por seus organismos da América do Sul para as colônias e semicolônias, especialmente para a América Latina*” [*The conceptions of revolution produced by*

the International Communist and its South American organizations for colonies and semi-colonies, especially for Latin America], “*América Latina entre inclusões e exclusões: escolas, ensino de história e identidade em tempos de ditadura militar*” [*Latin America between inclusions and exclusions: schools, teaching history and identity in times of military dictatorship*], “*A construção da Memória: os monumentos a Bento Gonçalves e José Artigas*” [*The construction of memory: the monuments to Bento Gonçalves and José Artigas*], “*Memorias de la diáspora: narrativas identitarias de los uruguayos en Brasil (1960-2010)*” [*Memories of the diaspora: identity narratives of the Uruguayans in Brazil (1960-2010)*], “*Intelectuais e exílios confronto de resistências em revistas culturais: encontros com a civilização brasileira, Cuadernos de Marcha e Controversia (1978-1984)*” [*Intellectuals and exiles confrontation of resistances in cultural magazines: encounters with Brazilian civilization, Cuadernos de Marcha e Controversia (1978-1984)*], “*Dos levantes de Castela às revoluções comuneras do Paraguai: apropriações e ressignificações de um conceito em três atos*” [*From the uprisings of Castile to the comunera revolutions of Paraguay: appropriations and resignifications of a concept in three acts*] and “*Catolicismo e Cruzada. Revistas católicas e o imaginário anticomunista no Brasil e Argentina (1960 – 1967)*” [*Catholicism and the Crusades. Catholic magazines and the anti-communist imagery in Brazil and Argentina (1960-1967)*].

In addition to the classification systems adopted here, many others could be added and, depending on specific interests in the resource of data crossing, could corroborate in the elucidation of properties consistent with the previously elaborated questions and, also, provide samples that only the archetypal appreciation makes possible. As an example, it would be enough to take as a reference the research dedicated to war themes. The subgroup with this characteristic immediately includes at least four investigations: “*Guerra Irregular em Espacios Andinos y em la Pampa Gaucha: El Caso de La Banda Oriental del Uruguay (1808-1820)*” [*Irregular War in Espacios Andinos y la Pampa Gaucha: The Case of La Banda Oriental del Uruguay (Eastern Bank of Uruguay) (1808-1820)*], “*O Málon de 1801: A Guerra das Laranjas e suas Implicações na América Meridional*” [*The Malon of 1801: The War of Oranges and its Implications for Southern America*], “*A Guerra do Paraguai e as Relações Luso-Brasileiras na Década de 1860-1870*” [*The Paraguayan War and Luso-Brazilian Relations in the 1860-1870s*] and “*Guerra do Paraguai: um conflito anunciado (1852-1864)*” [*The Paraguayan War: an announced conflict (1852-1864)*]. In the same vein, now determining the regional as a

criterion for agglomeration, there is a preponderance of themes involving comparisons between two or more fractions of the Southern Cone (multiple perspectives from Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay), significantly with border approaches (Chile does not appear in any specific thesis).

The economic dimension of the Platinean Region

The conjunctural survey of research aimed at matters of greater specificity in economic sciences also makes it possible to identify some endogenous characteristics from the scenario itself as well as, later, in relation to other dimensions. A synthetic chart, of a comparative nature, provides resources for the recognition of studies with a strong economic connotation, allows analogy – by recurrence – with the political dimension chart and, finally, authorizes the introduction of thematic, temporal and spatial directions of the whole set.

Table 03 – Theses with inclinations to the economic dimension

1. <i>Crescimento Econômico e Crise na Argentina de 1870/1930: a Belle Époque</i>	LENZ, Maria Heloisa	2001	UFRGS
2. <i>Redes de Cidades: Cooperação, estratégias de desenvolvimento, limitações constitucionais e divergências – o Caso da Rede Mercocidades</i>	MENEGHETTI NETO, Alfredo	2002	PUC
3. <i>A Pecuária no Processo de Ocupação e Desenvolvimento Econômico do Pantanal Sul-Mato-Grossense (1830-1910)</i>	ESSELIN, Paulo Marcos	2003	PUC
4. <i>Os institutos de estudos econômicos de organizações empresariais e sua relação com o Estado em perspectiva comparada: Argentina e Brasil, 1961-1996</i>	RAMÍREZ, Hernán Ramiro	2005	UFRGS
5. <i>Atividades Mercantis do Rio Grande de São Pedro: Negócios, Mercadorias e Agentes Mercantis (1808-1850)</i>	BERUTE, Gabriel Santos	2011	UFRGS
6. <i>Crimes de Fronteira: a criminalidade na fronteira meridional do Brasil (1845-1889)</i>	FLORES, Mariana Thompson	2012	PUC
7. <i>Brasil e Argentina no Oriente Médio: do Pós-Segunda Guerra Mundial ao Final da Guerra Fria</i>	PREISS, José Luiz da Silva	2013	PUC
8. <i>Compatriotas franceses ocupam a fronteira: imigração e comércio na Fronteira Oeste do Rio Grande do Sul (segunda metade do século XIX)</i>	VOLKMER, Márcia Solange	2013	UFRGS
9. <i>Transportando fortunas para povoar deserta e inculta campanha: atuação política e negócio dos brasileiros no norte do Estado Oriental do Uruguai (ca. 1845-1865)</i>	MENEGAT, Carla	2015	UFRGS
10. <i>Vida independente, ainda que modesta: dependentes, trabalhadores rurais e pequenos produtores na fronteira meridional do Brasil (C. 1884-1920)</i>	LEIPNITZ, Gunter Tlaija	2016	UFRGS

Source: elaborated by the authors (2020).

Initially the regionality served by these studies is considered. Uruguay and Argentina occupy, together with Brazil (especially in its southern part) the top of the list. In fact, Uruguay, in its different historical periods, covers a substantial fraction of these. Of the total, there are twenty mentions directly involving the region, pre and post independence (Eastern Bank of Uruguay and the Eastern Republic of Uruguay). Argentina ranks second in the ranking of countries with the highest appearance. Namely, at least thirteen studies are dedicated to the region, although not always covering it entirely, as occurs with “A importância do negro na formação da sociedade portenha, 1703-1860” [The Importance of the Black People in the Formation of the Portenya (Buenos Aires) Society, 1703-1860]. Or the inverse also is true, both for Uruguay and for Argentina, that is, both are included in research of greater scope, as happens in “Redes de Cidades: cooperação, estratégias de desenvolvimento, limitações constitucionais e divergências – o Caso da Rede Mercocidades” [Networks of Cities: cooperation, development strategies, constitutional limitations and divergences – or the Case of the Mercocities Network] and “As concepções de revolução produzidas pela Internacional Comunista e por seus organismos da América do Sul para as colônias e semicolônias, especialmente para a América Latina” [The concepts of revolution produced by the International Communist and by its organizations of South America for the colonies and semi-colonies, especially for Latin America].

The exceptions are Bolivia and Paraguay. However, the elaboration of a conjunctive table of the distribution of the theses on studies referring to the Platinean territories requires certain precautions. Taking as a reference the case of the current Bolivian territory, having verified its partial presence in the condition of object of study, there are at least ten participations tangential to it. The subjects range from “Em tudo semelhante, em nada parecido: Uma análise comparativa dos planos urbanos das missões jesuíticas de Mojos Chiquitos, Guarani e Maynas (1607-1767)” [In everything similar, in nothing alike: A comparative analysis of the urban plans of the Jesuit missions of Mojos Chiquitos, Guarani and Maynas (1607-1767)], by Ione Aparecida Martins Castilho Pereira, to “As Bienais de Artes Visuais do Mercosul: utopias e protagonismos em Porto Alegre – 1997-2003” [The Biennials of Visual Arts of the Mercosul: utopias and protagonisms in Porto Alegre – 1997-2003], by Bianca Knaak, covering other general topics, such as “A Trama da Integração: Soberania e Identidade

do Cone Sul” [The Plot of Integration: Sovereignty and Identity of the Southern Cone], by Haroldo Loguércio de Carvalho, and “A Pecuária no Processo de Ocupação e Desenvolvimento Econômico do Pantanal Sul-Mato-Grossense (1830-1910)” [Livestock in the Process of Occupation and Economic Development of the Pantanal Sul-Mato-Grossense (1830-1910)], by Paulo Marcos Esselin.

The precaution to be taken in these opportunities is associated with the generalizations that the simple detection of expressions related to a given theme may raise. At the time of asking about the amount of research carried out, covering singularly Bolivian themes, the results showed a substantial decrease, leading to only three immediate titles: “Cristãos e Infiéis nos espaço de fronteira, Chiquitania / Bolívia e Pantanal / Brasil: conflitos, reciprocidade, mestiçagem e mobilidade social (1770-1800)” [Christians and Infidels in the border spaces, Chiquitania / Bolivia and Pantanal / Brasil: conflicts, miscegenation and social mobility (1770-1800)], by Ariane Aparecida Carvalho de Arruda, “Índios Fronteiriços: a política indigenista de fronteira e políticas indígenas na Província de Mato Grosso entre a Bolívia e o Paraguai (1837-1873)” [Frontier Indians: the indigenous border policy and indigenous policies in the Province of Mato Grosso between Bolivia and Paraguay (1837-1873)], by Marli Auxiliadora de Almeida, and “Territorialidades Chiquitanas em Comunidades Rurais da Província de Velasco, Bolívia (1953-2006)” [Chiquitan Territorialities in Rural Communities in the Province of Velasco, Bolivia (1953-2006)], by João Ivo Puhl.

Naturally, due to occasions of greater thematic scope (spatial, temporal and / or material), circumstances of non-exclusive involvement arise, with the content becoming only part of the subject, in a broad sense. Model circumstances of these characteristics occur in “O mergulho no *seculum*: exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial” [A dip in the *seculum*: exploration, conquest and spatial organization in Jesuit Spanish colonial America] by Artur Henrique Franco Barcelos and “A cosmologia construída de fora: a relação com o outro como forma de produção social entre os grupos chaquenhos no século 18” [Cosmology built from outside: the relationship with the other as a form of social production among Chaco groups in the 18th century], by Guilherme Galhegos Felippe.

The explanation for the minimization of analytical values of equal adoption can be found in the number of integrative works from more than

one region and / or country, causing the repetition / falsification of many of the references obtained from this form of organization. The very notion of Brazil (colonial, imperial, republican), as a unit, can be relativized. The largest portion of research is directed to the south of the country and can be represented by the eleven in which Brazil and Uruguay are interrelated, in the ten connecting Brazil and Argentina, to the detriment of only three communicating, individually, Paraguay and Brazil : “Guerra do Paraguai: um conflito anunciado (1852-1864)” [Paraguayan War: an announced conflict (1852-1864)], by Ney Iared Reynaldo, “A Guerra do Paraguai e as Relações Luso-Brasileiras na Década de 1860-1870” [The Paraguayan War and the Luso-Brazilian Relations in the 1860-1870s], by Mauro César Silveira, and “As Políticas Externas do Brasil e da Argentina: o Paraguai em Jogo (1939-1954)” [The Foreign Policies of Brazil and Argentina: Paraguay at Stake (1939-1954)], by Ceres Moraes.

In the two hegemonic cases (Uruguay and Argentina), it is important to highlight the particularizing properties assumed in each study. A first conformation, for both of these countries, occurs from dualities; the vast majority, from comparative perspectives. Illustratively, “Cidade e Patrimônio: estudo dos inventários de preservação do patrimônio cultural edificado das cidades de La Plata e Caxias Do Sul – 1986” [City and Patrimony: study of the inventories of preservation of the constructed cultural patrimony of the cities of La Plata and Caxias Do Sul – 1986], by Marcelo Caon, “De volta a fronteira – uma incursão aos fundamentos da cultura política sul-rio-grandense referente ao século XIX: a infiltração rio-grandense no estado oriental e a formação da identidade política regional” [Back to the border – an incursion into the foundations of the Rio Grande do Sul political culture referring to the 19th century: the infiltration of Rio Grande do Sul in the eastern state and the formation of the regional political identity], by Newton Luis Garcia Carneiro, “Transportando fortunas para povoar deserta e inculta campanha: atuação política e negócio dos brasileiros no norte do Estado Oriental do Uruguai (1845-1865)” [Transporting fortunes to populate a deserted and uncultivated plains area: political action and business of Brazilians in the north of the Eastern State of Uruguay (1845-1865)] by Carla Menegat, “A Diplomacia Marginal. Vinculações Políticas Entre o Rio Grande do Sul e o Uruguai (1893-1904)” [Marginal Diplomacy. Political Links Between Rio Grande do Sul and Uruguay (1893-1904)] by Ana Luiza Setti Reckziegel, for Uruguay, and “As Ações Geopolíticas do

Barão do Rio Branco e seus Reflexos na Argentina” [The Geopolitical Actions of the Baron of Rio Branco and their Reflections in Argentina], by Adelar Heinsfeld, “Brasil e Argentina no Oriente Médio: do Pós-Segunda Guerra Mundial ao Final da Guerra Fria” [Brazil and Argentina in the Middle East: from Post-World War II to the End of the Cold War] by José Luiz da Silva Preiss, “Catolicismo e Cruzada. Revistas católicas e o imaginário anticomunista no Brasil e Argentina (1960-1967)” [Catholicism and the Crusades. Catholic magazines and the anti-communist imagery in Brazil and Argentina (1960-1967)] by Ianko Bett, and “A pré-história do Mercosul: cooperação entre Brasil-Argentina – 1979-1991” [The pre-history of Mercosur: cooperation between Brazil-Argentina – 1979-1991] by Ana Regina Falkembach Simão, as relates to Argentina.

A second configuration, not computed for one or another of these spaces in particular, is verified by the confluence between them and some other region or matter. This is exemplified by: “Compatriotas franceses ocupam a fronteira: imigração e comércio na Fronteira Oeste do Rio Grande do Sul (segunda metade do século XIX)” [French compatriots occupy the border: immigration and trade on the West Border of Rio Grande do Sul (second half of the 19th century)] by Márcia Solange Volkmer, “O federalismo no espaço fronteiriço platino. A Revolução Farroupilha (1835-1945)” [Federalism in the Platinean border area. The Farroupilha Revolution (1835-1945)] by Maria Medianeira Padoin, and “Intelectuais e exílios confronto de resistências em revistas culturais: encontros com a Civilização Brasileira, Cuadernos de Marcha e Controversía (1978-1984)” [Intellectuals and exiles confrontation of resistances in cultural magazines: encounters with Brazilian Civilization, Cuadernos de Marcha and Controversía (1978-1984)] by Cristiano Pinheiro de Paula Couto.

Finally, a third format adopted in the work involving Argentina and Uruguay, to remain in the predominance among the theses, is the choice of themes covering exclusive problems of one or another space, in isolation. Characterizing this way of proceeding, we have research by Maria Heloisa Lenz, “Crescimento Econômico e Crise na Argentina de 1870 1930: a Belle Époque” [Economic Growth and Crisis in Argentina from 1870 to 1930: the Belle Époque]; Jorge Christian Fernandez: “Anclados en Brasil: a presença argentina no Rio Grande do Sul (1966-1989)” [Anchored in Brazil: Argentina's presence in Rio Grande do Sul (1966-1989)]; José Pedro Cabrera Cabral: “Trajetória Político-Ideológico da esquerda Uruguaia: 1964-2004”

[Political-Ideological Trajectory of the Uruguayan Left: 1964-2004] and Marco Antonio Vargas: “Ditadura e Resistência Democrática: República Oriental Del Uruguay: 1968-1985” [Dictatorship and Democratic Resistance: Eastern Republic of Uruguay: 1968-1985].

The social dimension of the Platinean region

From a perspective of greater endeavor in the social aspects in the academic research, as some of the titles pointed out above demonstrate – and as referred in the following table – it becomes viable to recognize, that, aside from the very small number of works carried out singularly on this dimension, how the social dimension finds itself essentialized, from the perception of the researchers, in all and any research theme.

Table 04 – Theses with inclination toward the social dimension

1. <i>A importância do negro na formação da sociedade portenha, 1703-1860</i>	GOMES NETO, Álvaro de Souza	2002	PUC
2. <i>Fronteras Étnicas en el corazón de América del Sur (1776-1820)</i>	BLANCO, Fernando	2004	UFRGS
3. <i>O encontro entre os guaranis e os jesuítas na Província Jesuítica do Paraguai e o glorioso martírio do venerável padre Roque González nas terras de Néstu</i>	OLIVEIRA, Paulo Rogério Melo de	2010	UFRGS
4. <i>Anclao en Brasil: a presença argentina no Rio Grande do Sul (1966-1989)</i>	FERNANDEZ, Jorge	2011	UFRGS
5. <i>A classe trabalhadora no Processo Bolivariano da Venezuela. Contradições e Conflitos do Capitalismo Dependente Petroleiro-Rentista (1989-2010)</i>	FERREIRA, Carla	2012	UFRGS
6. <i>A cosmologia construída de fora: a relação com o outro como forma de produção social entre os grupos chaquenhos no século 18</i>	FELIPPE, Guilherme Gallegos	2013	Unisinos
7. <i>Compatriotas franceses ocupam a fronteira: imigração e comércio na Fronteira Oeste do Rio Grande do Sul (segunda metade do século XIX)</i>	VOLKMER, Márcia Solange	2013	UFRGS
8. <i>Cristãos e Infiéis nos espaços de fronteira, Chiquitanía/Bolívia e Pantanal/Brasil: conflitos, reciprocidade, mestiçagem e mobilidade social (1770 – 1800)</i>	ARRUDA, Ariane Aparecida Carvalho de	2015	PUC
9. <i>Vida independente, ainda que modesta: dependentes, trabalhadores rurais e pequenos produtores na fronteira meridional do Brasil (C. 1884-1920)</i>	LEIPNITZ, Gunter Tlaija	2016	UFRGS
10. <i>Andrés Lamas e a atuação da Legação Oriental na Corte imperial brasileira: escravidão e relações internacionais (1847-1869)</i>	LIMA, Rafael Peter de	2016	UFRGS

Source: elaborated by the authors (2020).

Within this framework of interests in the social element, in addition to concentration in the same university, themes related to migrations, to

some specific ethnic groups and to classes of workers, above all the poor, predominate. In all cases, the concepts of “the other” and “conflict” appear emphatically. In the field of historical studies on the Platinean region, this dimension appears to receive the least coverage in specialized works. Álvaro de Souza Gomes Neto’s thesis, “A importância do negro na formação da sociedade portenha, 1703-1860” [The importance of blacks in the formation of the Buenos Aires Society], illustrates, quite accurately, the condition of framing the social dimension.

The title of this historian’s thesis synthesizes the understanding presented in the development of the work, as a hypothesis, which states: “what we propose to demonstrate is precisely the degree of extreme importance that the black element had in the process of building Buenos Aires society, not only as a work tool, but also as a necessary part in the formation of the social [dimension]” (GOMES NETO, 2002, p. 12). The general conditions of the black person, slave or free man, in the construction of the urban society of Buenos Aires are examined, and “the difficult relations that existed in the Buenos Aires society, during the process of integration of the black people, in their social framework” (GOMES NETO, 2002, p. 3).

The fundamental assumption of the investigation is the existence of incongruities between certain speeches and the practice, in relation to the “uncomfortable” presence of blacks in Argentine society. The disturbance occurs “in an obscure and veiled way, disguised in attempts to forget, and materialized in the physical distancing of any and all signs that one day blacks were an integral part of social relations in Buenos Aires”. The author explains that, when asked about the “presence of blacks in Argentina”, the answer of “people who consider themselves educated” is usually: “There are not and there have never been blacks in Argentina”. However, in the patriotic celebrations of the schools, black people are always remembered” (GOMES NETO, 2002, p. 9). Even so, on occasions of recognition, the “black” theme usually comes “accompanied by the conviction of its little importance, the small number, the insignificant contribution that the black race gave to this society and the good treatment that blacks received throughout time”.

The issue is more complex when one observes the almost nonexistence or recognition of historiography about the real numbers of blacks who made up Argentine society. “The few works in the line of Quantitative History

demonstrate that the presence of blacks in Argentina was, in fact, much broader than until now the majority of historians, both Argentine and Brazilian, has proclaimed". Among most historians, Argentines and Brazilians, the numbers appear, according to Gomes Neto, more as a repetition than true verifications. Among the few works to recover these data are those by Lyman Johnson, who "has two works in the area of demographic quantification, with specifics in the black population, but restricted to Buenos Aires, based on the 1744, 1778 and 1810 censuses", and, "for the Argentine northwest, only the research done by Florencia Guzmán stands out" (GOMES NETO, 2002, p. 11).

The text, as a whole, has, in particular, touches of economic and demographic history, although not in a declared way. The parallels with Chile, Uruguay and Brazil are also frequent, with the use of the works: "Historia de Chile" [The History of Chile] by Leopoldo Castedo; "El negro uruguayo" [The black Uruguayan] by Paulo Carvalho Neto; and "Capitalismo e Escravidão no Brasil Meridional" [Capitalism and Slavery in Southern Brazil] by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, respectively mentioned in the work. It is research that has a double functionality: providing a study on an adverse topic, including to Argentine historiography (*locus* of examination) and indicating (only by its very existence) future comparative possibilities with studies of this nature in relation to other countries, regions and / or cities (in addition, of course, to the comparative notes already made by the author).

The cultural dimension in the Platinean region

The last dimensional grouping, according to the initial proposal of the text, is research of a cultural nature. Once again, due to the complexity of the analysis, most of these investigations can be thought of, also, from other dimensions. The reason for being located in the present association is found in the fact that the argumentative basis of these studies is based on concepts arising from the so-called cultural history. These are the cases of discussions around the notions of "identity", "territoriality", "imagery", "patrimony" and "representation".

Table 05 – Theses with an inclination to the cultural dimension

1. <i>Representações das identidades nacionais argentina e brasileira nas canções interpretadas por Carlos Gardel e Carmen Miranda (1917-1940)</i>	KERBER, Alessander M.	2007	UFRGS
2. <i>As Bienais de Artes Visuais do Mercosul: utopias & protagonismos em Porto Alegre (1997-2003)</i>	KNAAK, Bianca	2008	UFRGS
3. <i>A construção da Memória: os monumentos a Bento Gonçalves e José Artigas</i>	FUÃO, Juarez J.	2009	Unisinos
4. <i>Memorias de la diáspora: narrativas identitarias de los uruguayos en Brasil (1960-2010)</i>	GONZÁLEZ, Ana	2011	PUC
5. <i>Territorialidades Chiquitanas em Comunidades Rurais da Província de Velasco, Bolívia, 1953-2006</i>	PUHL, João Ivo	2011	Unisinos
6. <i>Representações Culturais na Bienal de Artes Visuais do Mercosul: o estatuto da fotografia e a expressão do sujeito social</i>	LUZ, Patricia C. Varella da	2012	PUC
7. <i>Estátuas Andarilhas. As Miniaturas na Imaginária Missionária: Sentidos e Remanescências</i>	AHLERT, Jacqueline	2012	PUC
8. <i>Em tudo semelhante, em nada parecido: Uma análise comparativa dos planos urbanos das missões jesuíticas de Mojos Chiquitos, Guarani e Maynas (1607 – 1767)</i>	PEREIRA, Ione Aparecida M. C.	2014	PUC
9. <i>Dámaso Antonio Larrañaga: a biografia de um cura em tempos de independência no Prata</i>	BIDINOTO, Lauro	2015	UFRGS
10. <i>Cidade e Patrimônio: estudo dos inventários de preservação do patrimônio cultural edificado das cidades de La Plata e Caxias do Sul – 1986</i>	CAON, Marcelo	2016	PUC

Source: elaborated by the authors (2020).

A general overview of the table of the cultural dimension converges on recognizing quite a variable range of themes. At the same time, given the small number of surveys in this perspective, it points out the voids to be filled by future surveys. If, on the one hand, the counterparts “Carlos Gardel and Carmen Miranda”, “the monuments to Bento Gonçalves and José Artigas”, “the urban plans of the Jesuit missions of Mojos Chiquitos, Guarani and Maynas” and “the inventories of constructed cultural patrimony of the cities of La Plata and Caxias Do Sul” inspired theses on different themes, spaces and times, on the other hand, one can imagine the amount of investigations that are still waiting to be carried out based on only the comparative resource. For the moment, think about the immensity of biographies (and why not suggest trajectories or prosopographies) to be explored in the historical research involving Rio de la Plata, like what was developed around the figure of Dámaso Antonio Larrañaga.

The thesis “*Representações das identidades nacionais argentina e brasileira nas canções interpretadas por Carlos Gardel e Carmen Miranda (1917-1940)*” [Representations of Argentinian and Brazilian national

identities in the songs interpreted by Carlos Gardel and Carmen Miranda (1917-1940)] of the historian Alessander Mário Kerber, satisfactorily illustrates these plausibilities. The study has the central objective of “analyzing and comparing the representations of Brazilian and Argentine national identities, through musical sources of two artists who became idols and representatives of these respective nations: Carmen Miranda and Carlos Gardel”. The theme can be understood, too, from the emphasis of what it does not intend to be, that is, “a biography of both artists for comparison”. Biographies are used as sources, but the center of the analysis “is about the identity negotiations existing in Brazil and Argentina of the period and in the participation of these two artists, through their music, images and performance mediated by radio, cinema and the phonographic industry in this process” (KERBER, 2007, p. 12).

The established cuts are justified by the fact that “Carmen and Gardel were the most successful popular singers, within their respective countries” and, “[...] they also had great international success [...]”, temporally, between “the dates of 1917 and 1940 (the main milestone of the beginning of Gardel’s career and the final milestone of Carmen’s career in Brazil)”. A little like in the biographies, the careers of the characters studied are determinants of the chronological outline. However, it adds: “[...] they also approach the demarcation of a very defined period of history: the Between-Wars (1918-1939)”, a period defined by Eric Hobsbawm (*Nações e nacionalismo desde 1780 [Nations and nationalism since 1780]*) as “the climax of nationalisms in the world between 1918 and 1950”, besides, “Brazil and Argentina had, despite their differences, comparable processes of historical formation”. In addition, another justification presented by the author, in relation to the clipping of the object, is the fact that the beginning of the careers of the artists (Carmen and Gardel) was marked by the destruction of oligarchic states and the “adoption of symbols of popular identities as national representations” (KERBER, 2007, p. 27-28).

From the warning about “the fact that Carmen Miranda was, essentially, an interpreter, while Gardel was a composer and interpreter”, Kerber enunciates the “documentary corpus” directed to the condition of interpreters, attributing to the characters the position of “holders of symbolic power” (BOURDIEU, 1989 apud KERBER, 2007, p. 16). In previous searches, Kerber notes the existence of a large number of studies on the subject, more specifically in the form of biographies, which, in the author’s

opinion, provides “evidence of their (Carmen and Gardel) importance within the Brazilian and Argentine social imagery.” After listing some texts on the subject, the author recognizes the contribution of each one in the production of “different views on the object”, however, he encourages the care of “taking into account that they were produced, in large part, without academic concern” (KERBER, 2007, p. 20-22).

The pre-existence of similar studies is confirmed when Carmen and Gardel are taken separately. In the case of Gardel, Simon Collier – “Carlos Gardel: su vida, su música, su época” [Carlos Gardel: his life, his music, his time] – is pointed out as being “the main academic reference”; and about Carmen, this responsibility falls on Tânia Costa Garcia [with] – “‘it verde e amarelo’ de Carmen Miranda (1930-1946)” [‘green and yellow it’ by Carmen Miranda]. To a large extent, these models also cover other theses, that is to say, a certain topic is studied, for example, in Brazil or in another academic degree and, subsequently, the comparison is made in relation to other countries, regions, times or periods, characters, etc.

The idea is that the “documentary corpus” (the songs) constitutes “a relevant object for a study that aims to analyze the theme of representations about Brazilian and Argentine nations in the period” (KERBER, 2007, p. 11). Based on this characteristic, “[...] the main sources used for this research are the songs recorded by Carmen and Gardel, which number 281 and 930, respectively”, followed, “as secondary sources”, by analyses of the “films that had the participation of both, which give us important subsidies on the performance of these artists”. In addition to the afore-mentioned songs and films, the thesis makes use of “testimonials and photos” by Gardel and Carmen, which became public and “were elements that composed their images, sources that often altered or added meaning to representations present in their music and films, as well as photographs taken of both and published in magazines or on movie posters” (KERBER, 2007, p. 17-19).

Final considerations

The predominant macro-thematics in the aggregate of the works are fundamentally two: respectively, 1) what could be called geopolitical actions and, 2) those of the border, with the possible intertwining of both needing to be considered. The first permeate approximately sixteen theses, which corresponds to 27.11% of the total works. In second place, there are investigations in which the object of work crosses through the concept of

border. Of the fifty-nine theses, the number of studies with this purpose is fourteen, meaning a percentage of 23.72 of the amount of investigations on the Platinean region. In a third position are the missionary / Jesuit themes and some political and social movements, in both cases with about 12% of the totality of theses. The theme of dictatorships in the Platinean region ranks fourth in the arrangement by materials, followed by discussions related to identity, memory and territoriality.

Despite other taxonomic perspectives, there would be opportunities to think of them in more typologies. One of these occasions would occur through association around a set of ideas, along the lines of what happens in “Trajetória Político-Ideológico da esquerda Uruguaia: 1964-2004” [Political-ideological trajectory of the Uruguayan left: 1964-2004], “Intelectuais e exílios confronto de resistências em revistas culturais: encontros com a civilização brasileira, Cuadernos de Marcha e Controversía (1978-1984)” [Intellectuals and exiles confrontation of resistances in cultural magazines: encounters with Brazilian civilization, Cuadernos de Marcha e Controversía (1978-1984)], “Espelhos de Cronos. A relação entre passado e futuro no discurso bolivariano (1811-1930)” [Mirrors of Chronos. The relationship between past and future in the Bolivarian discourse (1811-1930)], “Dos levantes de Castela às revoluções comuneras do Paraguai: apropriações e ressignificações de um conceito em três atos” [From the Castile uprisings to the Paraguayan *comunera* revolutions: appropriations and reframing of a concept in three acts], “A teoria do subimperialismo em Ruy Mauro Marini: contradições do capitalismo dependente e a questão do padrão de reprodução do capital” [The theory of sub-imperialism in Ruy Mauro Marini: contradictions of dependent capitalism and the question of the pattern of capital reproduction], “Catolicismo e Cruzada. Revistas católicas e o imaginário anticomunista no Brasil e Argentina (1960-1967)” [Catholicism and the Crusades. Catholic magazines and the anti-communist imagery in Brazil and Argentina (1960-1967)], “As concepções de revolução produzidas pela Internacional Comunista e por seus organismos da América do Sul para as colônias e semicolônias, especialmente para a América Latina” [The conceptions of revolution produced by the Communist International and its South American organizations for the colonies and semi-colonies, especially for Latin America], “O Discurso Jornalístico e o Processo de Marginalização Social do Exército Zapatista de Libertação Nacional e do Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra” [The

Journalistic Discourse and the Social Marginalization Process of the Zapatista National Liberation Army and the Landless Rural Workers Movement] e “A contribuição da Igreja Católica para a Formação do Neozapatismo e do Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra” [The Catholic Church’s Contribution to the Formation of Neozapatism and the Landless Rural Workers Movement].

In other perspectives, themes are explored in lesser quantity, hence the imposition of expanding notions in order to include them in clusters. Illustratively, for the notion of war, the following converge: “Guerra Irregular em Espacios Andinos y em la Pampa Gaucha: El Caso de La Banda Oriental del Uruguay (1808-1820)” [Irregular War in Andean Spaces and the Pampa Gaucha: The Case of the Eastern Bank of Uruguay (1808-1820)], “O Málon de 1801: a Guerra das Laranjas e suas Implicações na América Meridional” [The 1801 Málon: the War of Oranges and its Implications in Southern America], “A Guerra do Paraguai e as Relações Luso-Brasileiras na Década de 1860-1870” [The Paraguayan War and Luso-Brazilian Relations in the 1860-1870s] and, “Guerra do Paraguai: um conflito anunciado (1852-1864)” [Paraguay War: an announced conflict (1852-1864)]. With regard to integration: “Redes de Cidades: cooperação, estratégias de desenvolvimento, limitações constitucionais e divergências – o Caso da Rede Mercocidades” [City Networks: cooperation, development strategies, constitutional limitations and divergences – the Mercocities Network Case], “A Trama da Integração: Soberania e Identidade do Cone Sul” [The Integration Plot: Sovereignty and Identity of the Southern Cone] and “A pré-história do Mercosul: cooperação entre Brasil-Argentina – 1979-1991” [The pre-history of Mercosur: cooperation between Brazil and Argentina – 1979-1991].

ECLAC and some economic issues close the list of content that can be directly associated. In this sense, “Comissão Econômica para América Latina (CEPAL): Uma visão Crítica do seu pensamento – O Caso Brasileiro” [Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC): A Critical View of Its Thinking – The Brazilian Case], “Uma análise da construção do pensamento neo-estruturalista cepalino: as contribuições da crise e do pensamento liberal à redefinição do papel do Estado na América Latina” [An analysis of the construction of CEPAL’s neo-structuralist thought: the contributions of the crisis and liberal thought to the redefinition of the role of the State in Latin America], “América Latina periférica: O desenvolvimento latino-americano na concepção de Prebisch/CEPAL

(1948-1981)” [Peripheral Latin America: Latin American development in the conception of Prebisch / ECLAC (1948-1981)] and, “Os institutos de estudos econômicos de organizações empresariais e sua relação com o Estado em perspectiva comparada: Argentina e Brasil, 1961-1996” [The economic studies institutes of business organizations and their relationship with the State in a comparative perspective: Argentina and Brazil, 1961-1996], for macro conceptions, incremented by: “Atividades Mercantis do Rio Grande de São Pedro: Negócios, Mercadorias e Agentes Mercantis (1808-1850)” [Mercantile Activities of Rio Grande de São Pedro: Business, Merchandise and Mercantile Agents (1808-1850)] and “Transportando fortunas para povoar deserta e inculta campanha: atuação política e negócio dos brasileiros no norte do Estado Oriental do Uruguai (1845-1865)” [Transporting fortunes to populate a deserted and uncultivated plains (region): political action and business of Brazilians in the north of the Eastern State of Uruguay (1845-1865)], in reduced spaces.

In addition to these, in the item exception regimes mentioned above: “*Memorias de la diáspora: narrativas identitarias de los uruguayos en Brasil (1960-2010)*” [Memories of the diaspora: identitarian narratives of the Uruguayans in Brazil (1960-2010)], “*Como el Uruguay no hay... Terror de Estado e Segurança Nacional. Uruguai (1968-1985): do Pachecato à Ditadura Civil-Militar*” [Like Uruguay there is no other ... Terror of State and National Security. Uruguay (1968-1985): from Pachecato⁴ to the Civil-Military Dictatorship, “*Anciados en Brasil: a presença argentina no Rio Grande do Sul (1966-1989)*” [Anchored in Brazil: the Argentine presence in Rio Grande do Sul (1966-1989) and “*Ditadura e Resistência Democrática: República Oriental Del Uruguay: 1968-1985*” [Dictatorship and Democratic Resistance: Eastern Republic of Uruguay: 1968-1985]. Among the other investigations, it is still feasible to approximate “*Cidade e patrimônio: estudo dos inventários de preservação do patrimônio cultural edificado das cidades de La Plata e Caxias Do Sul – 1986*” [City and patrimony: study of inventories of preservation of constructed cultural patrimony in the cities of La Plata and Caxias Do Sul – 1986] and “*A construção da memória: os monumentos a Bento Gonçalves e José Artigas*” [The construction of memory: the monuments to Bento Gonçalves and José Artigas], for the memorialistic evocation, in addition to mentioning a work developing the

⁴ Pachecato – name of period of time when Uruguay was governed by Pacheco Areco.

concept of liberalism, another in the field of historiography, a biography / trajectory and one about the black social element.

Finally, given the limits of this space, it remains to be stated that it is essential to develop other strategies to investigate the current conditions present in the studies on the Platinean region. The time frame needs to be expanded to the present; it is necessary to include the two new universities in Rio Grande do Sul that already have their first results in terms of investigative work at the level of doctorates, namely, the University of Passo Fundo (UPF) and the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM); it is important to increase the number of research studies extending the analyses to master's dissertations and / or to the various specialized journals; comparisons of the results of these surveys should be made with educational institutions inside and outside Brazil, such as the components of the Asociación de Universidades Grupo Montevideo (AUGM); deepen in detail the areas of concentration and lines of research of all graduate programs involved, with the purpose of knowing their respective scope and relationships, among so many other possibilities. The expectation is that the formation of panoramic frameworks of the themes explored so far on the Platinean region will allow the development of systematic and more vigorous studies – perhaps in networks – in the desire to optimize results and stimulate the implementation of new perspectives, both methodological and in content.

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This book brings together articles authored by Brazilian and foreign researchers who have been working on various themes and study objects within the CNPq/UFSM/Brazil Research Group: Platinean History: Society, Power and Institutions and emerges as a direct product of the research experiences developed within the space of interaction and exchange of knowledge which this group has propitiated.

With the present work, we seek to invite the reader to know some of the research results of the Platinean History Group, whose genesis strengthens the importance of joint work between doctors, masters and undergraduate students in a space experienced through a constant construction of ideas, reflections and knowledge production.



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