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A Hidden Immigration:
The Geography of Polish-Brazilian Cultural Identity

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Geography

by

Anna Katherine Dvorak

2013

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Hidden Immigration:

The Geography of Polish-Brazilian Cultural Identity

by

Anna Dvorak

Doctor of Philosophy in Geography

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Stephen Bell, Chair

Around two million people of Polish descent live in Brazil today, comprising approximately one percent of the national population. Their residence is concentrated mainly in the southern Brazil region, the former provinces (and today states) of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul regions. These areas were to large extent a demographic vacuum when Brazil began its history as a nation in 1822, but now include the foci of some of this huge country's most dynamic economies.

Polish immigration played a major role in adding new elements to Brazilian culture in many different ways. The geography of some of these elements forms the core of the thesis. At the heart of this work lies an examination of cultural identity shifts from past to present. This is demonstrated through a rural-urban case study that analyzes the impacts of geography, cultural identity, and the environment. The case study is a rural-urban analysis of two particular examples in Paraná, which will discuss these patterns and examine migration tendencies throughout

southern Brazil. As a whole, this thesis aims to explain how both rural and urban Polish-Brazilian cultural identities changed through time, linking these with both economic and demographic shifts.

The dissertation of Anna Dvorak is approved.

Susanna Hecht

William Summerhill

Stephen Bell, Committee Chair

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2013

Dedicated to my inspirations: my mom, Stephen Bell and Ks. Zdzisław Malczewski

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Introduction

Around two million people of Polish descent live in Brazil today. These people form approximately one percent of the national population. Their residence is concentrated mainly in the southern Brazil region, the former provinces (and today states) of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul, regions which were to large extent a demographic vacuum when Brazil began its history as a nation in 1822, but which now include the foci of some of this huge country's most dynamic economies. It is frequently claimed that Curitiba, the capital city of the state of Paraná, is today home to the largest urban population of people with Polish cultural roots outside of Poland itself, excepting only the much better-known Chicago.

Polish immigration played instrumental roles in adding new elements to Brazilian culture on many different levels. The geography of some of these elements and how they are reflected in evolving Brazilian landscapes forms the core of the thesis. Further in the thesis there is a discussion on different land management techniques and how they affected the environment. On account of poor management of land and lack of education or awareness about agricultural techniques, how soils became easily exhausted is an illustration of evolving Brazilian landscapes.

This study examines the cultural practices and ethnic identity of the Polish settlers in two different environments, rural and urban: Santana and Curitiba, respectively. The choice of study sites was selected based on the number of Poles in each location, Polish imprints in the

landscape, the stark differences in cultural practices and their evolution over time, and personal fascination after visiting both of these places.

The thesis discusses migration patterns, and how geography affects Polish components of cultural identity that Polish-Brazilians embrace most. Was their initial plan for immigration permanent or temporary? What sectors of the economy are they involved in today? In a comparative approach, I examine both case studies, Santana and Curitiba and look at how Polish identity shifts in a larger urban setting. It takes on different forms.

The research methodology of this work includes personal unstructured interviews, family archive documents, photographs, and private records. An important component of the research methodology for this analysis is an annotated translation (Kula, Assorodobraj, 1986) of letters written by Polish immigrants in Brazil (and the United States) sent home to Poland (1890-1891), *Writing Home: Immigrants in Brazil and the United States 1890-1891* but also a few obtained from private family archives. These letters help demonstrate how historical, physical, and social obstacles contributed to a stronger Polish community/identity and express Polish immigrants' initial experience.

One of the recurrent themes throughout these letters, diaries, and personal documents is the values Polish immigrants cherished most that give insight about the meaning of Polish and Polish-Brazilian identity, how it changed, and how it differed in Curitiba and Santana, an isolated village South of Curitiba where everyone speaks Polish as their first language and practices Polish traditions. The letters describe characteristics of the socio-cultural life in Brazil to which adjustment through assimilation was supposed to be made by Polish immigrants. Letters also reveal Polish immigrants' own expectations of how these adjustments were to be

accomplished. Therefore, these letters provide insight into the value system and the strengths and weaknesses of Polish cultural background.

The letters in *Writing Home* accompanied by currencies, steamship tickets, and information leaflets, were written by emigrants from “Congress Poland” who settled mostly in southern Brazil. On account of emigrants’ lack of education, many of the letters were written by others (literate immigrants) and not the signatories.

Many emigrants came from the province of Płock on the Prussian border. The push factors included seeking escape from the two tribulations of Russian rule and rural poverty. Often the letters were confiscated by Tsarists’ censors, on account of emigration from that part of Poland being illegal. Authorities tried to prevent a ‘concealed rush’ across the border to German-occupied Poland and German ports. Therefore any letters that expressed favorable thoughts on Brazil, or any that openly encouraged or assisted people to emigrate, along with contents like ship tickets or money, were immediately confiscated.

Josephine Wtulich expressed in the introduction of *Writing Home* that “immigrants come with the expectation of retaining some of their cultural habits while surrendering others” (Kula, 1986, 33). Some of the letters express which “cultural habits” in particular were practiced as well as lost. This thesis will discuss how these changes affected Polish identity.

An important issue to consider in the research methodology is altered Polish names in official documents during this time (Gluchowski, 1927, 20). Some of these names include Smolka, Wilks, and Bogdans, officially entered as “Germans.” In addition, it is important to mention that statistical records regarding immigration in southern Brazil do not distinguish the presence of Poles as being significant; neither do they show the areas that they settled. This is

because they were not only given German names, but they were also considered among the immigrants from “Slavic” origin that included Russians, Yugoslavians, and others of lesser statistical significance. In fact, it was common for Polish immigrants to arrive in Brazil under Austrian, German or Russian passports and citizenship, and were recorded as so in governmental records and statistics (Wachowicz 1981). In particular, Poles from “Congress Poland” were put in the same column as Latvians and Germans from the Volga region. Emigrants from the Poznań area, as well as Prussia, were entered as Germans, and Poles from Galicia were entered, along with Italians and Dalmatians, (today Croatians) as Austrians.

Only through a close examination of the provincial emigration officers’ lists of names could one obtain clues about the approximate number of Polish emigrants in Brazil. It is certain, however, that the inflow of immigrants reached such great numbers that the government of Brazil had difficulties coping with it. The authorities in charge of the organization of the movement were not prepared and could not meet the simplest needs of the arriving masses of immigrants, not having prepared an adequate amount of lodgings in the country, nor secure adequate stores of food as well as medicines.

Most Polish immigrants came to Brazil with their families as small-farmer colonists, concentrating their settlements in the south of the country, where they formed part of broader currents of European and other colonization responsible for the formation of a series of distinctive cultural landscapes. After the Germans and the Italians, the Poles are the third largest non-Portuguese European ethnic group to populate southern Brazil. Germans and Italians have been the subjects of extensive studies, beginning in the nineteenth century. Yet the movement of people from Eastern Europe to Brazil, especially from Poland, has not yet reached a similar

degree of attention to that of other immigrant groups, including the Japanese (Bassanezi, 1996). As one Brazilian author has phrased it (Decol, 2004), the movement of Eastern Europeans remains “a hidden immigration.” While the German subcultures of southern Brazil, as one example, have a truly developed literature, including on such themes as dialects, rural economies and institutions, Polish-Brazilian culture remains significantly understudied. In addition, it has thus far been the subject of only minimal attention from English-language scholars. Jeffrey Lesser’s 1994 study of Poles in southern Brazil does form a significant exception. Yet this work is focused primarily on Jewish issues more than Polish culture viewed broadly.

In Roche’s study (Brazilian translation 1969) of the German immigrants in Rio Grande do Sul, a great deal is revealed about the establishment, structural obstacles and other factors that affected the progress of European colonization in southern Brazil. In Roche’s first publication of *La Colonisation Allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul* in 1959, he included a wide variety of methodologies and source materials such as census data, parliamentary documents, assembly debates, parish records, and newspapers and journals. Much like this thesis shares the aim of finding the meaning of Polish-Brazilian identity, Roche aspired to explain why and how German-Brazilians became who they were in Brazil. Roche examines how German-Brazilians interacted with local Brazilians and how they perceived Brazilian society. He explored the cultural, social, and economic ties German-Brazilians had with Germany from 1824 to the mid twentieth century. The themes of Roche’s work overlap with this study in his analysis of patterns of assimilation and the meaning of ethnic identity to a European immigration group in southern Brazil.

The Jewish component of German immigrants who immigrated to southern Brazil has also been given attention. There have been several studies on Jewish Germans (Blumenthal, 2001) and even more specifically Jewish German women (Morris, 1996) immigrating to southern Brazil. The German subculture of southern Brazil, including their dialects, economic means, and institutions has an extensive literature starting in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, in the 1930s this subject received even more attention with literature focusing on the sociological and anthropological aspects with the development of these fields. Anthropological points of view were expressed by Maack (1999) and Willems (1940).

Although Polish settlements have been discussed largely in the context of southern Brazil, it is crucial to point out that most Polish immigration took place in Paraná. Paraná is the province and later state that until this day contains the largest population of people of Polish descent in Brazil.

This study examines Polish cultural identity and the corresponding lifestyles Brazilian-Poles currently engage in, in Curitiba and Santana. Historically, it is important for one to consider whether their initial plan for immigration was permanent or temporary. In a comparative approach, both case studies, Santana and Curitiba are examined in the context of how Polish identity has shifted in a larger urban setting. It takes on different forms. This thesis concludes with recent immigration, Polish movements as well as organizations, and Polish contributions throughout Brazil.

The cultural practices, the historical processes, and economic decisions of both the peasants and Polish immigrants in Curitiba from 1871 to the present are the subjects of this study. The economic processes in which the Polish peasants and Polish people living in Curitiba

are engaged will be discussed in the context of change. Furthermore, the dissertation addresses how Polish peasants did not become articulated into the broader social, economic, and most importantly cultural systems in which the Polish immigrants in Curitiba did. This study analyzes cultural differences between Polish immigrants living in both places through a historical lens and economic conditions which in turn affected their relationships and way of life.

Not only are the peasants connected to their Polish roots and culture more closely because of their isolated geographic location in Santana, but this study will also show how a strong sense of community, subsistence agriculture and the corresponding lifestyle leads to stronger cultural practices than the lifestyle and economic activities that the immigrants in Curitiba engage(d) in. On account of their assimilation on all levels (economic, cultural, and practical), people in Curitiba are less connected to their Polish ancestry and practices which in turn affects their ethnic/cultural identity.

Chapter 1 establishes the general context of land and settlement in the colonies of southern Brazil, before providing a brief review of the historical geography of Polish immigration to Brazil within the broader whole. This introduction establishes the particular importance of Paraná and outlines how I analyze Polish-Brazilian cultural patterns within examples of both rural and urban settings within the state. The central research questions, touched on in the first chapter, of this work are: what is the meaning of Polish-Brazilian cultural identity, how has it evolved, and how does it vary in different geographic environments, specifically rural/urban settings?

The chapter discusses land policies such as the latifundia, social relations, and the distinctiveness of southern Brazil, both physically as well as socially in the context of policies.

Chapter 2 is on sending conditions for emigrants from Poland. What were the push factors that caused Poles to emigrate to Brazil? This chapter includes thorough discussions on the history of political changes taking place in each of Poland's partitioning powers. A widely held belief in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century was that "Polishness itself was to disappear from these lands" (Snyder, 131) on account of political turmoil taking place in the land that once belonged to Poles. Chapter 2 is particularly important for understanding how Poles were affected by these kinds of notions both physically and socially and how transformations in the country's political past shape(d) Polish identity.

Chapter 3, on the other hand, is on pull factors, incentives given to European immigrants from Brazil. I use historical data, including private archival documents from the ancestors of immigrants in Curitiba and Santana.

Chapter 4 is the rural-urban case study, comparing and analyzing the meaning of Polish identity in two different geographic settings, Santana and Curitiba, respectively. This chapter also examines questions of migration. What explains the pattern of rural-urban migration especially in the direction of Curitiba (to where most of the immigrants from rural communities like Santana migrated)? This study analyzes the urban expression of a Polish-Brazilian culture.

Knowing the language of my subjects helped me to familiarize myself with Polish folk knowledge and cultural traditions, key components discussed in Chapter 4. I used primary materials from the city (Curitiba), public archives of the state of Paraná and university (Federal) archives. These primary materials include photographs, newspapers, immigration documents, personal documents and letters. My research methodology includes archival research on historical Polish immigration in Curitiba at the Universidade Federal do Paraná including

articles, immigration reports and documents, letters, photographs, and charts as well as intensive participant-observation unstructured interviews with Polish people active in the Polish community in Santana and Curitiba.

The first set of qualitative methods relied on participant-observation as the initiation of data-collection and the creation of a model for understanding Polish cultural practices. The initial couple months of research spent in Curitiba allowed me to build a basic framework of relationships between Polish communities. This also permitted a timeframe for other relationships to become better established: my personal reading of the cultural landscapes and understanding of patterns of Polish immigration. As my observations became manifest-and as greater trust was built between myself and the community with which I was working -I deepened my understanding of the community, immigration, and cultural practices. This is where the interviews have come to play a role in my research. The themes of the interview process revolved around cultural traditions, economic activities, language, and perceptions of identity held by Polish people living in Santana and Curitiba.

Chapter 5 discusses where Polish-Brazilian culture sits in general today. Here the study discusses the significance of movements such as BRASPOL, a Polish-Brazilian movement to represent Polish cultural identity in Brazil, founded in Curitiba in 1990. How is Polish culture expressed in Brazilian landscapes today and where? Brazilians of Polish descent are beginning to move beyond their initial main cultural hearth of the three southern states. Where is Braspol strong and why? Some of these shifts reflect changes in cultural identity from past towards the present and possible perspectives about the future. What is Polish-Brazilian culture and how does it express itself.

Chapter 1 Land and Settlement in southern Brazil

“In the nineteenth century there was almost unbounded optimism about the possibilities of these unpopulated regions...a glowing future by European settlement[s]. Only in the temperate south [of Brazil]...was this promise fulfilled” (Blakemore, 3). The ‘empty’ lands of southern Brazil served as a major compelling factor to European immigrants and this was one of the most important needs and characteristics southern Brazil used to attract newcomers.

Historically, most of the land in Brazil had been organized either as large estates, plantations, or ranches. The introduction of European immigrants to southern Brazil, and their establishment in turn on the land in small farming communities, had a significant impact on modifying the physical landscape and generally the land system used throughout this region of Brazil. In particular, the number of holdings increased while the size of farms decreased. However, more important was the diffusion of the system in which a single man (the farm operator) came to perform the role of laborer, capitalist, and manager. Another factor that influenced the increase in the amount of holdings and decrease in average size of land is policies (mainly related to inheritance).

Before southern Brazil was developed by Europeans as an agricultural region, livestock herding took place in order to supply the mining regions with meat, transportation and draft animals which had prevailed until this time. Although European immigrants introduced the diffusion of many new agricultural methods which they used in Europe, in areas of sparse

settlement which preceded compact colonization, immigrant groups such as the Poles and Germans used fire agriculture, an old method, as the prevailing mode of farming (Smith, 1963, 371). In addition, the introduction and diffusion of the advanced plow in southern Brazil is a consequence of the establishment of Polish, German and Italian colonies during the nineteenth century. Not only did the introduced turning plow lead to agricultural progress in southern Brazil, but also the four-wheeled farm wagon and the use of horses as draft animals are considered to have changed agricultural practices throughout the country.

In the late nineteenth century, Brazil made even stronger efforts than the US in bringing European immigrants. Many European immigrants made note of this in their letters back home. In a letter to his mother, Edward Bartz writes “I do not want to talk anyone into coming to America,” (Kula, 185, 1986) and this was partially connected to the lack of immigrant programs and policies that immigrants needed in the United States. On the contrary, in Brazil European immigrants expressed in letters many of the unexpected allowances they were receiving. In a letter to his wife and children, A. Bakalarski expressed how even “the post office had to reimburse the money” to immigrants for postage (Kula, 69, 1986). Policies within Brazil defined immigration trends and an understanding of these policies will be discussed as they are essential to understanding the immigrant experience.

The core of European-Brazilian culture was undoubtedly small-farmer colonization in the country’s south, where Polish immigrants formed part of a much broader wave of social and economic transformation. Leo Waibel, a German geographer, pointed out (1955) how Brazil’s economic booms in the past had all involved plantation zones, whose inner dynamics did not offer much for understanding small farmer colonization, central to much of the country’s south.

Elites in particular promoted the immigration of free labor from Europe to Brazil and they had most success within these relatively empty lands of the south. In particular, southern Brazil was more receptive as well as accessible to European immigrants than any other part of the country. While the population of Brazil as a whole increased fivefold between 1872 (when the first national census took place) and 1950, the number of inhabitants in southern Brazil increased approximately tenfold (Azevedo, 1960).

As European immigration increased, agricultural frontiers expanded. However, these agricultural settlements in Brazil differed depending on the region. These differences not only arose from varied physical conditions but also political factors which were many times associated with the physical order of the settlement. For example, the type of agricultural system in Brazil “persists in some places because it is economically best for all concerned, while in other places it is a device employed by the landowners for maintaining an essentially aristocratic system based upon land” (Bowman, 1931, 303).

In this same vein, Thomas Skidmore discusses in Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought how the elite in Brazil believed they would ultimately reach contemporary European standards and hence counter European criticisms about Brazil, by developing “whitening” as an ideal. This traces back to when Brazil-Europe relations changed after the abolition of slavery in Brazil on account of Brazil’s desire in improving its social status. In particular, after Brazil gained independence in 1822, the slave trade began to dwindle and after 3 years of restrictions, it could no longer meet the existing demand for labor. Brazil’s “ventre libre” (free womb) law passed in 1871, gave the newborn children of African slaves freedom, further resulting in a decrease in the labor supply. Although this resulted in small immigration

campaigns, the number of immigrants increased gradually, only reaching about 34,000 a year (Lasocki, 22, 1967). After the abolition of slavery in 1888, the imperial government of Brazil made an official effort to openly welcome immigration. The priority was European immigration so that the economic and cultural status of the country could improve.

The Brazilian elite became highly imitative and respectful to European culture and social models, feeling the need to examine its own heritage and ethnic situation. However, Brazil was not celebrated for progressive social relations. Authorities of the Brazilian Empire (1822-1888) sought to improve social relations by reforming domestic policies and practices but achieved limited success. Were Brazilians inferior to their European counterparts? Was there a way to make Brazil more ‘modern’ and a way for the country to progress? For elites, the answer was selective promotion of northern European immigration.

The “whitening ideal” was incorporated into European immigration policies. In fact, “the harder Brazilian intellectuals tried to inform themselves about the latest ideas from Europe-for them the citadel of culture and progress-the more they heard about the inherent inferiority of the black” (Skidmore, 1993, 10).

In Europe, these ideas were supported and further encouraged Brazilians to impose these notions and apply them to policies. In France, Arthur de Gobineau imposed historical theories that were supported by the “scientific” anthropology and anthropogeography. This was demonstrated not only through policies but also the national census, whereby Fernando de Azevedo expressed faith in whitening through showing how “aryanized” the 1920 census was (Skidmore, 1993, 65). Furthermore, the 1940 census was broken down by race. Brazil’s

population was growing “whiter” (Skidmore, 1993, 70). This led to much support for the elite consensus that the African and indigenous component would inexorably decline.

Hopes for improvement included more roads and expanded trade. Such enterprises could have only been accomplished through the help of European farmers, settlers familiar with agriculture experienced in farming outside of Brazil, yet used to this way of life and the willingness to continue it. Immigration of other non-European professionals was not welcome in Brazil. The elites were convinced that “the country’s industry could employ only a small number of professional men” (Lasocki, 19, 1967).

Brazilian elites began to re-establish a relationship with Europe, sending advertisements that emphasized the ‘beauty’ and ‘European-ness’ of the country. Brazil sought to reinstate their former European ‘occupiers’ through heavy promotion of European immigration to their lands. New campaigns and promotions of European immigration to southern Brazil, to “whiten the country” were prevalent once again in the years in between the end of the “Brazilian fever” and the new intensification of European emigration at the beginning of the twentieth century.

It is important to point out that the three southern states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul have been developed into the most distinctive cultural landscapes in Brazil (Dickenson, 1982). The following map demonstrates cultural distinctiveness by showing the various colonial zones in southern Brazil.

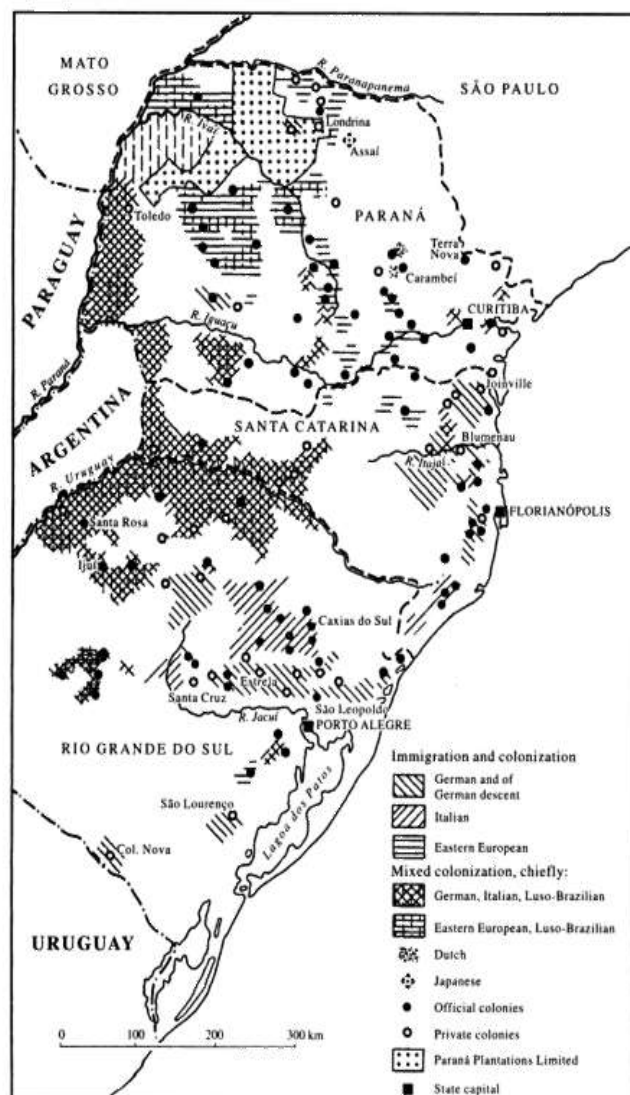


Figure 1. Colonization zones in southern Brazil JP Dickenson, 1982

Figure 1 reveals that German settlement in Rio Grande do Sul, generally stayed below 500-600 meters, the lower limit of the Paraná pine, a pattern governed by the colonists' perception of the fertility of soils. The Italians settled on higher grounds beginning in the 1870s. Furthermore, "beginning in the 1890s, the extension of railways across the Planalto took colonists, by now of much broader origins, into further untapped zones of virgin forest" (Bell, 1998). As demonstrated, most of the European colonization occurred on forested lands, reflecting the generally higher initial fertility of their soils.

Most importantly, Figure 1 shows how Paraná had more Eastern Europeans than Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. The Poles made up a significant portion of those Eastern Europeans and played a crucial role in the cultural and physical changes of Paraná's landscape. The government as well as wealthy private citizens indeed made many efforts to attract these European immigrants to inhabit the vastly unoccupied areas of southern Brazil.

Despite Brazil's efforts at initiating mass immigration to the south, private entrepreneurs and agents did not follow government and planters' conditions and needs so many contracts were broken. Consequently, a solution to the problem was presented to the government. The project's main goals were to "organize a propaganda for immigration, help immigrants in coming over from their place of residence in Europe to their future settlements in Brazil [and] to organize a land survey" (Lasocki, 22, 1967). The government agreed and these principles were applied from 1886 until 1914. This resulted in a massive flow of immigration from Europe, transforming southern Brazil in many ways.

Despite this massive flow of immigration, Warren Dean's *Rio Claro: a Brazilian plantation system, 1820-1920* (1976) focusing on coffee plantation labor, quite different then the

small farmer colonization of the south, points out how the failure of the sharecropping system in São Paulo gave Brazil a poor reputation in parts of Europe. This caused the German government to halt emigration to Brazil which permitted other European populations to emigrate in their place. This happened previously when Prussia banned emigration to Brazil in 1859 through the Heydt Rescript. During this time Poland was under the domination of the expansionist power of Prussia. Dean discusses (1976) the effects of the Heydt Rescript. As a result of the halt of Prussian emigration to Brazil in 1859, the amount of immigrations did not increase until the mid 1860s and it was “not until the late 1880s that the flow of immigrants provide[d] a work force sufficiently large” (Dean, 103). Dean expresses how frustrating this experience was for the immigrants as they “found it difficult and expensive to plead on their own for redress from the local justices of the peace” (Dean, 104).

Nevertheless Brazil’s immigration policies focused on populating the country with Europeans, placing particular emphasis on the ‘empty lands of the south’ with the use of planned colonization. The two methods that could be attributed to colonization of these ‘new lands’ were state colonization and private colonization (whether facilitated by a private company or private person). According to Lasocki (1967, 42) the two methods of state colonization include “embryonic colonies” and the “state itself [which] colonizes the undeveloped lands” (43). Embryonic colonies have their own subventions and capital where a state sets up the settlements on foreign lands. The state’s role included creating an institution for colonization, defending the colonies against foreign attacks, supplying means of communication and subsidizing private farms for a long period of time. Long-term outcomes of government colonization policies are demonstrated by the high number of small-holding agricultural producers visible throughout

southern Brazil. Some of these producers became suppliers of regional and national market networks.

Many have pointed out that the local economies and societies that emerged from colonization programs in southern Brazil were different in several ways than those in other parts of Brazil. First of all, the areas of government-sponsored settlements (official colonies) had more equitable land distribution. These settlements also received larger transfers of money from the central government and the colonists generally had a higher level of human capital than the typical Brazilian backlanders (*caboclos*) (Waibel, 1950).

In his study on latifundia and land policy in Brazil, Warren Dean examines the evolution of land policy during the Empire, a time that paralleled the gradual success of abolition as well as the growth of export trade. The government of Brazil sought to deal with land concentration and to control the great power of land owners. The failure of these efforts demonstrates the difficulty of reform in a political system ruled by the landed elite.

Dean points out how Brazil from the beginning of its colonization, was gradually parceled out into estates of large size. The latifundium served as a principal institution in southern Brazil for more than a century. These systems were granted arbitrarily and often corruptly. On account of the many undefined boundaries, many properties overlapped so owners frequently encroached on adjacent holdings. Consequently land rights became the cause of animosities and violence and land reform did not gain much success.

Jean Roche, a French geographer, discusses the role of institutions like Brazilian consulates, which in 1865, offered to cover the additional transport costs to Brazil in order to attract immigrants who would otherwise have gone to the United States (Roche 1969, 101).

Furthermore, he examines the role of policymakers in the processes of immigrant incentives including subsidies. Subsidies were given to immigrants for services such as hostelling, food while in transit and financing the acquisition of seeds. However, these subsidies were reduced and/or cut every few years on account of the hesitancy experienced by policymakers about the budget process (Roche 1969, 123).

The Brazilian government subsidized the settlements of (non-Iberian) European immigrants in the rural areas of southern Brazil between 1824 and 1918, paying particular attention to the state of Rio Grande do Sul. During the first experimentation with official settlements, the government granted European immigrants support, including free transport from a European port to a colony, 77 hectares of land for each family, livestock and cash support for one year (Roche 1969, 95). Before the Farroupilha Revolution (1835-1845) interrupted immigration for ten years, nearly 5,000 colonists arrived to the São Leopoldo colony. During the period following the resolution of the Farroupilha Revolution through World War I, Rio Grande do Sul became one of the largest immigrant receiving areas in Brazil.

Nearly two hundred years after the first group of German immigrants settled in São Leopoldo in 1824, the state of Rio Grande do Sul became one of the most prosperous and developed states in the Brazilian federation. The relative success of southern Brazil's economies will be discussed in the context of processes of economic development, factors that have held back other parts of Brazil in comparison to the south, and the impacts of various waves of immigration, focusing on Polish immigrant contributions.

Government sponsored programs gave an initial benefit to immigrants which contributed to making southern Brazil more productive. One example of how Europeans made Brazil more

dynamic was through using their higher education and acquired capital from Europe. European immigrants usually started off with more human capital and were more accustomed to the idea of public instruction and formal education than local Brazilians in the 19th century. For example, studies show that European immigrants had better numeracy skills than native Brazilians (Stolz, Baten and Botelho, 2010).

Because European immigrants were not required to stay in their official colonies, the immigrants along with their children often migrated. Even though land grants in southern Brazil have proven to generate a more equitable distribution of land property, or a type of agrarian structure that is more conducive to development than the ones found in other parts of the country, colony design quickly became associated with land hunger. This caused people to migrate out of earlier colonies in the search for fresh land. The Brazilian census of 1920 reveals a stark difference in land concentration between municipalities that have official colonies and those that do not.

Roche (1954, 1969) analyzed these patterns demonstrating how this led to the depletion of land productivity and the parceling out of plots among heirs. In search of new land, the children of the first settlers moved first into the western interiors of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina and later to the plateau areas which are now in the state of Paraná. Human and social capital features were portable and followed the immigrants as well as their children where they relocated. The location of the new settlements and the organization of the communities certainly varied depending on the immigrant group.

Even though small farms were still a recent development in southern Brazil in the early twentieth century, there were areas in the European settlements where inheritance, as previously

mentioned, had brought about excessive subdivisions of the land. In fact, Smith observed that “unless migration from the farming areas is heavy, such cases will increase rapidly, for these peasant families are large” (Smith, 1963, 341). However, many young people had already started finding their way to bigger towns and cities such as Curitiba or pushing the agricultural frontier forward in their homelands. Emilio Willems examines how “the division of the property has come to the point that the *sítios* no longer can sustain the large families, making it necessary for the children to seek work in the local factories” (Willems, 1940, 43). Furthermore, he discusses the results of this by stating that “the fragmentation of holdings accompanied by erosion and economic, physical and moral impoverishment of the population is slowly but irresistibly proletarianizing hundreds of rural families.”

Taking into account increased industrialization and migration to the cities, southern Brazil’s quick increase in high fertility of population and equality of inheritance resulted in the rapid increase of farms. However, without the spread of farms being accompanied by the spread of education, agricultural skills, and professional knowledge, this sheer division in agricultural land may not have brought the best potential benefits to the region.

Lynn Smith, an authority on rural Brazil, believed that the improvements of transportation and communication, diffusion of new agricultural systems in settlements throughout the south and emphasis on education were key principles and a model for the rest of the country: “the nation-wide diffusion of knowledge concerning life in south Brazil...will increase the wants of millions of Brazilians” (Smith, 624).

Smith emphasizes how “fortunate” Brazil was to follow the models introduced by Europe including animal traction, the plow, and the four-wheeled farm wagon which are all “integral

parts of the cultural heritage” (Smith, 620). The Brazilians of Polish descent “help[ed] greatly to diffuse better farming methods throughout the length and breadth of the republic, to spread the knowledge that will sound the death knell of primitive fire agriculture” (Smith, 620).

The Brazilian colonial and imperial economies were mainly constituted by two sectors organized in a dual structure: One represented the large-scale mono-crop commercial agriculture, dominated the cultivation of commodity goods for foreign markets including sugar, coffee, and cotton and the other was represented by subsistence agriculture which produced a limited surplus of foods for local consumption in rural settlements (oriented towards commercial agriculture). The priority was to supply the needs of the population segments needed in the various agricultural activities, and only secondarily the inhabitants of the urban centers (Topalov, 1978).

Regardless of which structure immigrants became a part of, they contributed to the transformation of forest landscapes into cultivated lands. The colonies were located in remote and isolated areas (away from Brazilian society) which allowed them to retain their local traditions including their languages and even local dialects of origin. This is demonstrated in the following map:

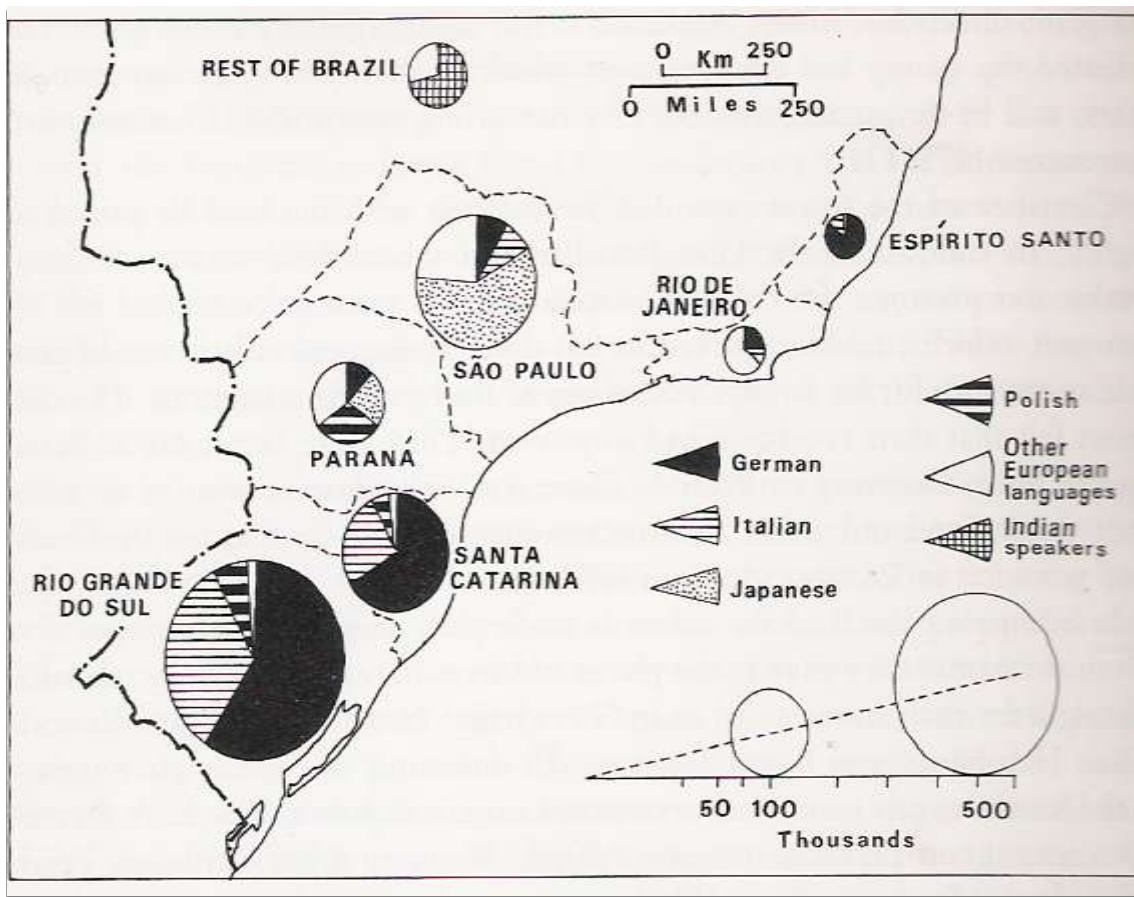


Figure 2. Southern Brazil: Numbers of people in southern Brazil at the time of the 1950 census who spoke a first language other than Portuguese. JP Dickenson, 1982, 72.

Living in isolation contributed to European immigrants creating replicas of the communities from which they had come, and strengthened these by encouraging other migrants from their homelands to join them. Colonization began with Germans settling in São Leopoldo (in the valley of the Rio dos Sinos) in 1824 (Bell, 1998, 18). Shortly thereafter Germans settled below 500-600 meters in Rio Grande do Sul, where settlement patterns were controlled by colonists' perceptions of the fertility of soils. Both provinces, Rio Grande do Sul and Santa

Catarina, had “colonies [that] consisted of large blocks of land pierced by trails cut into the forest” (Dickenson, 70).

Roche discusses the incentives that encouraged German immigrants (land, cash, and livestock) as well as the combination of push factors that caused them to immigrate. Furthermore, he discusses events such as the Farroupilha Revolution, which affected government sponsored German settlement projects which caused a reduction in benefits/incentives. For instance, in 1854, government incentives were weakened by legislation determining that lots would no longer be granted to German immigrants, but sold to the German settlers with subsidized credit, while the transportation from the port of Rio Grande to the *colônia* remained free (Roche 1969, 102).

The Italians began to arrive in the 1870s and settled on higher ground. Beginning in the 1890s, the extension of railways across the Planalto took both Germans and Italians into further “untapped zones of virgin forests” (Bell, 1998, 18). Colonies were both official and private. European immigrants practiced family-based agriculture. However despite local successes, there were issues with sustainability, mainly linked to land use practices.

In a study on Italians, Azevedo discusses how the immigration of Italian farmers and artisans to southern Brazil took place later than German immigration. In 1875, Italian immigrants from the northern regions of Italy started to settle on the plateaus and in the mountains beyond the area occupied by the German colonists (Azevedo, 62, 1960). Between 1875 and 1914 about 74,000 Italians entered southern Brazil and settled in a small zone in which a very small number of Brazilian farmers (no more than two or three percent of the total number of farmers in southern Brazil) were found (Azevedo, 1960).

As illustrated, from Germans to Italians to later the Japanese (Lesser, 1994), there have been extensive studies on these immigrant groups in southern Brazil. However, Polish immigration in Brazil did not receive significant attention until Lesser's study on Polish Jews in 1994. Polish immigration played an instrumental role on many different levels. Today, over two million Poles live in Brazil, comprising one percent of the country's total population.

Polish immigrants' initial reaction about southern Brazil was that this land was strange. However, once they settled together in isolated communities, the potential for keeping their Polish cultural identity and group solidarity remained strong. A large part of how communities stayed closely connected is through the practice of subsistence farming and technological advances that helped farming settlements remain productive at the level of small scale agriculture.

Polish settlements developed slowly and many immigrants went back to Poland, sometimes expressing their dissatisfactory experiences in Brazil, not supporting it as a good immigration country (Lasocki, 20, 1967). Frequently Poles blamed Brazil's "unhealthy tropical climate" (20) to which they were not able to adjust. Furthermore, immigrants complained about the infertile lands, distance from markets, lack of roads, and difficult contracts which were part of an improper and complicated system of re-payment. These immigrants also had problems with their products being shipped to urban markets at prices they were not compensated for, making them feel as though their work was meaningless. One of the most difficult challenges was always how to move from subsistence agriculture to the market. In fact, Polish peasants' income frequently could not afford them necessary manufactured products for daily use. This situation

did not improve until World War I when communications in the country improved and Brazilian products increased in value on foreign markets, which helped the domestic economy.

However, some farmers expressed how excited they were about the potential of their new land which had fertile soil, good climate and water, and land good for familiar cereal crops (Stawinski, 1976). Although there were several obstacles, when the Polish colonists in the south transformed the virgin forest into cultivated lands they embraced their own piece of land. This land was for *their* own use: it could be worked by their own labor, and could provide sustenance for their own family. Owning land gave Polish people freedom and they felt as though their peasant lives and conditions were a big improvement from their homeland conditions in Poland: “There was for whoever wanted it, sufficient work, food and drink, without too much effort-and as for landlords, they were left in Europe!” (de Boni 1977, 41).

Polish immigrants had envisioned cultivating the same crops and a high standard of agriculture in the ideal conditions the region offered. However, their initial experience led to a sense of disappointment. In this different environment, which brought new required processes such as clearing the land, Polish immigrants were not able to use the same agricultural practices with which they were familiar. Immigrants in general, including the Poles, “copied instead the techniques and crops of the Luzo-Brazilian, growing the traditional crops of maize, manioc and beans under a system of shifting cultivation” (Galloway, 369).

Even though Polish immigrants made some “improvements in agriculture” (Galloway, 369) in rural places like Santana through gaining more access to Brazilian markets, many Polish communities still struggled to move into a fully commercial agricultural economy. Consequently, Polish colonists began to cultivate potatoes and rye to keep their cattle and to raise

hogs. Despite their efforts to integrate into the Brazilian farming system, these Polish communities continued to stay isolated with no other choice but to develop a subsistence based economy, keeping limited contact with nearby urban centers (Wachowicz 1972, Waibel, 1979).

Waibel makes note of how Germans were more adept than the Poles at controlling the integration of livestock for maintaining soil fertility. However, there were indeed instances where Waibel recorded in his field diaries how Polish farmers were doing well on account of having livestock to manure their fields. In Waibel's diaries from Paraná (1948), he does not point to particular success with any particular ethnic group. Structural conditions seem to be the key to success (with the exception of the well organized and capitalized Japanese).

According to Soares, Poles achieved high agricultural productivity in Brazil and in Paraná, both in terms of area and for the individuals engaged in this activity (Soares, 50). Soares emphasized how one of the possible reasons for why the Poles were so productive was the subtropical conditions, which after initial adjustment, were easy to work in after the harsh conditions in Poland including long, cold winters which limited the planting and harvesting cycles to shorter periods.

The Polish-Brazilian agriculturists differed from the majority of the agriculturalists in Paraná because they were able to accumulate limited capital resources and invest in modernization of production. They had access to modern agricultural technology and participated in the national economy as suppliers and consumers of various commodities which contributed to the economic growth of these communities. The population in these communities was quite stable leading to stronger Polish cultural identities. The few cases of migration that did take place were for reasons such as attraction to city jobs or urban areas, marriage, or acquiring

certain specialized skills that had no local demand. The migratory outflow patterns are assessed in this thesis in their significance as an ingredient in cultural change in Paraná.

Polish immigrants did not encounter the large landed estates of the older productive areas of Brazil including the northeast, southeast and extreme south. They primarily settled the newly incorporated agricultural lands of Brazil that were intentionally partitioned for colonization. The workable environmental conditions and initial adoption of indigenous agricultural technology and technique, contributed to an easier adjustment for these immigrants. Furthermore, the expansion in land and planting cycles, access to land ownership, and government subsidized credit lines are factors that stimulated the high productivity accomplished by the Polish colonizers starting at the beginning of the twentieth century (Lepecki, 1962).

More innovative land management techniques were introduced in the 1940s in order to further develop the settlements' agricultural market economy. Even priests were incorporated into this process. For example, Polish priests are credited with encouraging the raising of milking cows for the production of manure and incorporation of home and agricultural produced organic matter to depleted soils. Polish priests would also contribute "to the diffusion of valuable new land tilling and cropping techniques which improved agricultural production whose level was previously very low" (Soares, 52). As mentioned, these "improved" rates of agricultural production were partially related to the fact that Polish colonists were pre-adapted to the less intense environmental conditions. More importantly, as mentioned Poles immediately adopted indigenous agricultural technology which helped them quickly adjust to the new environment efficiently.

In the early 1950s, more involvement and deeper market penetration started to take place. Tractors were brought to the Polish settlements for the first time by a Brazilian government agricultural agency that loaned them to producers who only paid for diesel fuel (Soares, 55). Also during this time the Polish horse wagon which represented an earlier revolutionary form of transport (as the main form of cargo transport) used as the main form of cargo transportation, began to be replaced by larger cargo trucks as the roads were improved.

Decol (2004) specifically examines how and why the history of Polish immigration is under-represented in literature. According to Decol, the main reason is the political situation in Central-Eastern Europe during the “golden” period of immigration, when Poland was dominated by three expansionist empires: Russia, Germany, and Austria. Poland disappeared from the political map of Europe in the late eighteenth century, reappearing only after the First World War when the collapse of the imperialist powers resulted in the appearance of a handful of independent nation states, from Austria to Germany in the west and Russia in the east (Mendelsohn, 1983).

Conclusion

Many different physical obstacles affected European settlers when they arrived to southern Brazil. The initial reaction of the settlers was that this land was unattractive and

occupation of these uninhabited lands was slow. Southern Brazil held a certain geo-political significance and many were aware of its potential as an ‘agricultural/settlement frontier.’ Therefore, the colonial administration played an active role in organizing settlement areas during the mid-eighteenth century. European immigration and Brazil’s plan to ‘colonize’ the South lead to the pioneering of distinctive patterns of colonization throughout the South. These colonization processes had a major impact on the landscape, affecting the geography of southern Brazil till present day. In other parts of Brazil, earlier non-European colonial settlements were more unplanned and depended on large land grants.

In Paraná, state and private colonization companies alike planned settlements by clearing the land, building barracks, and preparing the layout of the settlements. European immigrants received farm equipment, animal supplies and seeds, and most importantly, small plots of land. These settlements contributed to the most distinct form of colonization, pioneering a form of colonization that became of even greater significance a century later. Furthermore, because this system was dependent on the work of the European immigrant, rather than slave labor, it initiated a pattern of unique European settlements. The rural, small-family European settlement became a distinct feature in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Brazil with much greater impacts that affect present day southern Brazil. These impacts include physical changes to the landscape but more importantly social influences on Brazilian culture. However, this study focuses on how a specific European ethnic group, the Poles, identity shifted based on the external influences of Brazilian culture and environment including the rural and urban setting.

Chapter 2 The Sending Conditions

Nations are “an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates preexisting cultures: that is a reality, for better or worse, and in general an inescapable one” (Khalidi, 1997, 12). Although Poland, as a nation, was obliterated several times in several different ways, Polish cultural identity has managed to not only survive the persistent changes, but these inexorable transformations have contributed to creating a stronger Polish identity. This chapter will provide background as to how Poland, once a nation, underwent several political changes that led to the eventual three major partitions and how these changes affected Polish emigration to Brazil. In analyzing the decline and disappearance as well as changing borders of the Polish state, it is crucial to understand Polish life and how it changed during the periods of the various partitions of the country. So long as different countries continued their imperialistic autocracy and imposed its practices onto its Polish territories, the future of Poland was questioned. However, how did all these changes affect Polish cultural identity? What the attitude of Brazilians towards the ‘Polish question’ was, as Poles emigrated to Brazil will briefly be examined in this chapter and discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

From the very beginning, starting in the late 1800s up to regained independence in 1919, Polish mass emigration to Brazil had not been motivated by one particular cause. It was not just conditioned by economic factors, the labor market, or by any one particular political reason, but

it was a combination of many different factors. Furthermore, Polish emigration has often been described as taking a hasty and wrong direction: “This direction and character had not and could not have been influenced much by Polish society, which had been deprived of an autonomous government and henceforth of the necessary means to conduct a rational emigration policy and an authority to give the emigrants the needed protection” (Okolowicz, 389). When Polish emigration started to turn into a mass movement, Polish society realized the potential danger of further disintegration. What made Polish emigration even more complex was that “under the peculiar conditions of Polish national life, before the war (WWI), emigration was considered a national danger even though there was not yet an official state. When the national struggle for preservation had to be carried on exclusively by social forces, not only without the help of, but against the power of state, emigration weakened more or less the resistance of the nation by diminishing it numerically, by opening inlets for foreign expansion in the western and eastern borders and loosening Polish racial cohesion in territories with a mixed population, by wasting elsewhere activities which might be used for national work” (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918, 60).

Attempts were made to control the movement of population; however, these initiatives most often expressed individual’s private patriotic or nationalistic concerns or the goodwill of a few groups of intelligentsia only and were doomed to fail because of a lack of understanding of the various problems, types and processes of emigration. For example, after the first wave of emigration in 1831, the second big wave (in 1863) brought many different possibilities and was simply unstoppable. More Polish communities began to develop in North and South America and through more direct and indirect communication with Europe, Polish communities became stronger. In this same year, 1863, the Russian government set free its peasants and started the

persecution of Catholics. Many are not aware that towards the end of the nineteenth century, two new social classes arose. One was rooted in the peasantry and the other, an industrial working class. These later became the foundation for the independence movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. A growing population of Poles experiencing adverse political and economic conditions led to this great flow of Polish emigration.

With the progress of several wars came increased opportunities not only to examine Poland's national, economic, and political rights but also the meaning of Polish identity. Russia and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey) had been competing over vows to Poland for decades. The Central Powers initiated an act on November 5 1916, which allowed a part of Poland (under Russian rule prior to the outbreak of the war) to be organized into an official Polish state. The incidents of the war as well as the pressure brought to bear by the Poles upon the government of Austria-Hungary forced the emperor to proclaim this act, despite reluctance in giving Poles any rights that could have contributed to an independent Polish state. Such a state would be unimaginable without an outlet to the sea which could have been acquired only through the occupation of Polish land, at the time held by Prussia.

Regardless of the Central Powers' initial motives in proclaiming Poland's independence and whatever plans they may have laid for its future undoing by this act of 1916, they had "put the Polish Question on an international basis and had made Russia's earlier promises for Polish autonomy under Russian sovereignty appear very insignificant" (Liwinski-Corwin, 1917, 1). Most importantly, these powers had made it possible for Poland to express the necessary demand for complete independence and to take those steps required for its own political state.

At the end of the eighteenth century Poland ceased to exist as an independent sovereign state, with its territory divided among three great powers of expansion: the empires of Prussia, Austria and Russia. The partition of Poland triggered a wave of emigration that had affected the entire country from east to west (Dembicz Smolana, 1993).

Frequent changes of borders and territories, and its disappearance from the political map throughout the nineteenth century caused millions of Poles to be expelled, voluntarily and involuntarily to places like Brazil. By the beginning of World War II, an estimated 2 million Poles lived in Germany, 1.5 million in the United States, 450,000 in France, 250,000 in Canada and 195 000 in Brazil (Davies, 1982, 279).

According to Polish historiography (Dembicz Smolana, 1993; Kawka, 1996), emigration to Latin America began to gain momentum and proportions of mass immigration during the last decades of the nineteenth century. This was mostly driven by the development of steam navigation (despite the risk of venturing across the Atlantic).

Subsidized fares made southern Brazil attractive and the only line of escape for poor rural emigrants. A crucial element in Eastern European emigration was to escape to better opportunities. Therefore, a small factor was a response to a vision of paradise in the New World, but more importantly, it was a response to the pressure of the adverse conditions in which the rural labor force of late nineteenth century Eastern Europe found itself.

Polish immigrants had little knowledge of the place or conditions of southern Brazil. For these rural peasants, knowledge of the world beyond their own local community was limited. It was the notion of open land and the existence of jobs that attracted the Polish immigrants most. The majority of Polish peasants were also illiterate and have left no written record of their

impressions. This fact makes the methodology of my work for this chapter restricted to a limited amount of sources.

Because Poland did not have any institutions to administer emigration, there is little valid data and information concerning it. Statistics for Polish overseas emigration are limited. Data for “Congress Poland” had been compiled by the Warsaw Statistics Committee and are of little value, since they are based mainly on the lists of passports (examples will be provided in subsequent chapters) and passes abroad, and as it turns out several emigrants bypassed the passport regulations or gave false information. Furthermore, it would not be valid to depend on the statistics published by the country of destination, since Brazil registered all emigrants according to citizenship, rarely according to country of origin.

In terms of peasants’ sources of information, their knowledge was based on the propaganda of government, shipping companies and colonizing agencies promoting European immigration and letters from the few literate migrants to relatives and the community at home. The recruiting agencies, as may be expected, portrayed the attraction of the new land in bright colors (Dickenson, 67). There were beautiful pictures of the open land as well as promotional literature for the literate few that omitted the obstacles of climate. These advertisements emphasized the ‘European-ness’ of Brazil. Furthermore, John Dickenson observed that they “assured potential migrants of the hospitality with which they would be received, the ease with which they would be able to repay the cost of their fares and the facility with which they would become established landowners in a fertile land with a mild healthful climate” (Dickenson, 67). Letters sent home from the pioneer migrants further stressed the distinctiveness of the new-found land and its attractions, minimizing the difficulties and obstacles to be faced.

Background: Poland's Beginnings, Foreign Influence, and the Relationship of People to their Land

Many are aware that in Eastern Europe a widely held belief was that “Polishness itself was to disappear from these lands” (Snyder, 131). This was a result of much political turmoil at the time typically associated with World War II. However, a topic that is neglected is the reason(s) for Polish emigration during the first wave to southern Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century. Although this was the time when issues in Europe escalated, Poland had always experienced political tension with constant outside forces fighting for its territory starting with the very beginning of the Polish state. Battling these persistent forces is a major element of Polish identity.

The first recorded political establishment of Poland as a nation was the conversion of its people to Christianity in the midst of a political invasion. Religion has also become a key component of Polish identity in that not only do Poles embrace Christianity/Catholicism but in the fact that Poles initially resisted religion. The first conversion took place in 963AD when the Polish Prince, Mieszko I, faced a German invasion and decided to halt what would have been a “march of ruthless extermination” by embracing and turning to Christian values (Corwin, 10, 1917).

Prior to the German invasion, Mieszko was faced with wars from his northern neighbors, the triumphant armies of Otto I of Saxony, founder of the Holy Roman Empire and conqueror of France, Denmark, Burgundy, and Bohemia. At this point, Mieszko realized his best choice was

recognizing the sovereignty of the German Emperor and further embraced this new faith of Christianity. Shortly thereafter, many monasteries were established in Poland as branches of Italian, French, and German abbeys.

The foreign methods of agriculture brought by Western Europeans influenced the productiveness of the Polish farmer and the farmers' modes of life. The use of more developed agricultural implements was introduced along with new drainage systems, better ways of building houses and planting orchards. The establishment of monasteries was accompanied by an increase in foreign laborers which were brought over to produce new agricultural practices and tools which the natives could not. However, these craftsmen were not the only foreign workers in Poland during this time. As the country shifted from its former basis to more intense agricultural practices, the changes necessitated a different and much larger labor force. This new labor force mostly consisted of German peasants who settled throughout Poland, mostly on land owned by monasteries (Corwin, 1917, 14). Although these grants of land that were given to the monasteries throughout the country did not initially include the right to settle the land, the establishment of several estates on monastery land eventually led to monasteries resorting to foreign labor to work the land. Monasteries at the time of their introduction to Poland were the only large private landowners. The utilization of these foreign laborers led to the creation of the "half free class of foreign peasants who became attached to the soil" (Corwin, 1917, 15). Through adopting the Church of Rome, Poland joined the commonwealth of the western nations as opposed to eastern Europe. This caused many Poles to become spiritually and socially separated from the rest of Slavdom.

At the same time Poland was under the heavy influence of the German immigrant, another foreign element that came to play a major role in the country and contributed to a stronger Polish identity, was fighting against such foreign influences. Jewish people were persecuted all over Europe during the Crusades and as a result fled to Poland where they were received “in the most hospitable manner” (Corwin, 1917, 40). This is rooted in the fact that Poles were able to relate to similar hardships. They settled in small towns where they engaged in commerce and banking. In general, the Jews seemed to assimilate to their new environment better than the Germans. The German town people from wealthy backgrounds were supported in their endeavors in this new country by the clergy who arrived in Poland a couple decades later in great numbers, holding high church positions. Furthermore, the German government encouraged Germans to embrace their cultural heritage and supported the spread of German characteristics throughout Poland, even if through “aggressive” means (Corwin, 1917, 40).

As a result, a strong antagonistic movement arose in Poland against the growing influence of Germany, contributing to the beginning of what became a clash of two forces. The conflict resulted in the “Polonization” of the German and other western European elements whereby Poles felt the need to more strongly embrace their cultural heritage and their dominant position in the country as landowners. Ironically, among the descendants of these German settlers were also “many of the most ardent Polish patriots” (Corwin, 40). This reflects the state building potential of the Poles and the scope of Polish influence.

On a much bigger scale, the coronation of Jagiełło in 1386 led to most of today’s Lithuania and Latvia, western Russia, all of Ukraine, and parts of Romania becoming integral parts of the Polish state. Although these extensive lands over which Poland had waged long

defensive wars became peacefully united with Poland, a strong colonization movement resumed its natural course into the sparsely settled territories of Ruthenia, Volhynia and the fertile plains between the Dniester and the Dnieper, carrying with it “advanced agriculture, industries, and prosperity, law, order, language and literature” (Corwin, 71). This process resulted in the domination of Polish culture and political system over vast territories of central and eastern Europe for another 400 years.

After the war with the German Empire, Pomerania claimed the attention of the Polish sovereign nation. Aided by the Prussians (who play a particularly important role as one of the occupying nations of Poland during the time of emigration) the Pomeranians under the leadership of Swietopelk of Nako rebelled. However, the Poles quickly ended the rebellion and Pomerania together with the cities of Naklo, Santok, Czarnekow, and Uscie were incorporated into the Duchy of Greater Poland, a Polish province established in 1138 in the regions of Poznań, Gniezno, and Kalisz.

The further extension of Polish power (to the west) or even a stronger grounding of the Poles in the newly conquered territories, became impossible on account of the war with Hungary, 1132-1135, and later with the death of Boleslav the Wrymouthed in 1138. The territory was divided into five independent principalities “with the ensuing civil strife and the disappearance of a constructive political polity” (Corwin, 44). This “disappearance” of Poland as a “political polity” lasted several centuries.

Regardless of the occupying power, Polish peasants in particular made great efforts to leave their settlements and took with them all the stock received from their landlords. These migrations became frequent and the tracts of land left by the Knights of the Cross, especially in

the lake region of Prussia and the countryside, offered opportunities to the peasants for advantageous settlements. Polish colonization of the formerly Knights of the Cross occupied regions was taking place rapidly throughout the 12th through 14th centuries. A similar colonizing movement took place in the acquired provinces of Ruthenia.

The Polish peasant was settling there on the German law basis and was bringing with him Western civilization to these remote eastern regions. Similarly, many of the townspeople and of the nobility settled in Ruthenia and developed a bond between the natives of these provinces (whose faith bound them to Constantinople) as well as the rest of the empire whose connections were with those of the west.

The German settlers in the villages had with the course of time become completely merged with the native population. The situation was different in the cities, where they stayed in large groups and were able to embrace their distinct German identity. They developed independent municipal organizations where they remained 'foreign' to Poland. In fact "they formed an anomaly in the body politic which proved dangerous in time of war" (Corwin, 63).

Under the system of *szlachta*, nobility in Poland were granted with the highest legal and economic status in the country and were given several privileges. The *szlachta* had power over the elected king (Corwin, 70). Nonetheless, Poles ranging from craftsmen to peasants, worked under a Polish landlord. This situation changed in the early 1700s when landlords in Eastern Europe, especially Poland, searched for Western European farmers because they were preferred to Poland's peasants. This was because they offered such attributes as skills in drainage and farming techniques. The Flemish for example brought a variety of irrigation techniques with them and the Germans brought different plowing techniques.

As for what the foreigners were gaining from Eastern European countries, landlords and rulers in Poland offered not only better economic terms for western European peasants, but also greater personal freedom than that accorded to local peasants. Polish landlords and rulers also preferred western European workers because they were more literate. This was especially the case in nineteenth century Germany. Germans living in the Russian Empire were more literate than the Slavs in that empire, and Germans in the Austrian Empire had an illiteracy rate of 6 percent in 1900, while Serbo-Croatians in the same empire at the same time had an illiteracy rate of 75 percent (Sowell, 1996, 4). Conversely, Poles living in Prussia had higher illiteracy rates than the predominantly German populations there.

Therefore, rulers granted western European immigrants the right to live under the laws they had been accustomed to in their lands of origin. Rulers also “recruited supporters with promises of such benefits from military campaigns in Poland” (Sowell, 1996, 36). This changed the way in which Polish peasants perceived their identity and relationship to their ‘homeland.’ Nevertheless, many Poles became closer, developing a stronger Polish identity and bonded, as they migrated and travelled to other parts of eastern Europe.

Before discussing specific push factors and Poland’s geopolitical situation, it is important to have an understanding of the general characteristics of Polish emigration. It is crucial to note first that even though overseas emigration had been occurring for a couple decades, it grew into a mass movement only in the year 1904 and thereafter. The other characteristics are as follows: More Poles emigrated from cities, towns and big villages than small villages; much overseas emigration was temporary and its motive was the search for money rather than a desire to stay and settle; manorial farmhands and townspeople emigrated on a larger scale than farmers’ sons

and young peasants who had small farms and preferred to stay in the ‘old country;’ the most numerous among the emigrants were men of 35-40 years of age; there were two seasons for the mass emigration to America: spring and fall; and emigrants from the same areas tended to settle together in southern Brazil.

Introduction to Political Push Factors: Statistics for Poland as an Emigration Country

Prior to Poland’s partitions, it had only sporadic waves of emigration (mostly for economic reasons). The majority of emigrants had no inclination to settle abroad permanently. Mass emigration from Poland started later than any other European country. The movement of Poles had its sources in Poland’s geographical position when it was left without access to great harbors. Once Poland became occupied by the three great powers, its legal and social situation worsened and Poles experienced a lower standard of education. Peasants became enclosed within the intellectual limits of their parish and experienced unbelievably poor living standards, forced to accept low wages (Okolowicz, 1914, 21).

Polish emigration started in the Prussian occupied territories of Poland. The first massive emigration took place between the years 1881-1890. After 1890, emigration in Prussian-occupied Poland decreased rapidly as more Poles immigrated to Germany. As a result of socio-economic changes taking place, emigration gained momentum in “Congress Poland” in 1876,

where Poles were settled along the Prussian border. The most intensive emigration movement from “Congress Poland” took place between 1890 and 1891.

The last occupied land that experienced a large emigration movement was Galicia. Between 1880 and 1890, Galicia was still sending out only small numbers of Poles. Emigration did not pick up until the last decade of the nineteenth century. There were several various reasons for waves of mass emigration which will be discussed specifically on a regional basis.

One of the main reasons for Polish emigration in “Congress Poland” was overpopulation. In one century, specifically 1809-1910, the population in “Congress Poland” increased by 350 %, increasing from 3,300,000 inhabitants to 12,292,200 (Lasocki, 68). The following is a table comparing population increases:

Table 1 Relative Population Increase in “Congress Poland”

<u>Place</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
“Congress Poland”	350%
Galicia	200%
Germany	250%
Sweden	230%
Italy	180%
France	140%

(Lasocki, 1967)

This rapid growth brought an increase of population density. Overpopulation does not necessarily correlate with emigration. However, some countries that have a very high population may have low rates of emigration. It was not necessarily the population rate that caused vast

emigration in Poland. Rather, a great disproportion between the population growth and the industrial and agricultural progress in Poland was one of the main contributors to emigration.

Polish industry, poor in the first half of the nineteenth century, progressed at a very slow pace. All of Poland's partitioning powers had policies that opposed any Polish initiatives related to agrarian or industrial reform in order to keep control over the Poles. Poland was transformed into a market for its own production whereby investments were restricted and Poland's growth and economy were forcibly stifled. Germany is an example of how industrialization can be a means of stopping emigration. In 20 years (1872-1891) the population increase in Germany went from 41 million to 59.5 million while rates of emigration simultaneously decreased by fivefold (Caro, 1914, 50).

In 1900, 77% of the population was living on farms in Galicia, 57% in "Congress Poland" and 54% in Poznań (Ludkiewicz, 1929, 14). In general, the number of people living on the land grew rapidly. Consequently, small peasants' properties had to be divided by inheritance shares and eventually the small farms were absorbed by larger farms. This resulted in crops becoming poorer (poorer than in Austria and Denmark). Despite the oversupply of farm labor, grain had to be imported because home production could not support the rapid increase in population.

The short working season on big landholdings along with the complete lack of employment agencies in the country held a significant influence on the increasing seasonal emigration. However, one of the main reasons for permanent emigration was the difficulty landless peasants had with obtaining possession of a piece of land in their own home country. Furthermore, there was no rationally organized parceling of land or organized colonization

processes at home and the price of land was very high. Consequently, Lasocki has argued that “hunger for the land drove Polish emigrants from their home country. Agents from abroad would spread the news, or it would reach the peasant another way, that somewhere across the ocean, in Brazil for example, every newcomer, even without cash, could own a dozen or more acres of land” (Lasocki, 73). Further reasons for emigration include “the example of neighboring countries, the slow advance of literacy, incentives for higher standard of living, to escape military foreign service, to escape a criminal sentence, to escape high taxes and other state duties, to escape religious persecution, to escape the partitioners’ colonization policy and political persecution” (Szukiewicz, 23).

Political Partitions of Poland

Power gradually shifted from the hands of the *szlachta*, who mostly resided in rural Poland to the bourgeoisie signifying changes in the economy and social priorities of the country. For one, it improved the conversion of the serfdom into a less corrupt and non-personal relationship. Even though these changes did not affirm the principle of sovereignty for Poland and did not abide by the French revolutionaries’ request to abolish all privileges to nobility, improvements were made to the rights of lower classes. The Polish government realized it needed to place more attention on foreign policy, focusing on access to the sea. However, this

became a conflict when Prussia's core interest became the same feature: access to the sea. Simultaneously, Prussia wanted to occupy the towns of Gdańsk and Toruń to make its territorial union between Brandenburg, Pomerania and Prussia complete. To make matters worse for the Poles, when Russia invaded Poland, Prussia sided with Russia in order to get paid by the second partition for her failure in France (Lasocki, 49).

The insurrection of Tadeusz Kosciuszko came as an epilogue to the Warsaw Massacre of 1794, and one year later on October 10, 1795, the third partition blotted Poland from the world map, making a major impact on Polish identity as they were left without 'their homeland.' The following map shows the respective shares of the occupied powers after the complete dismemberment of Poland:

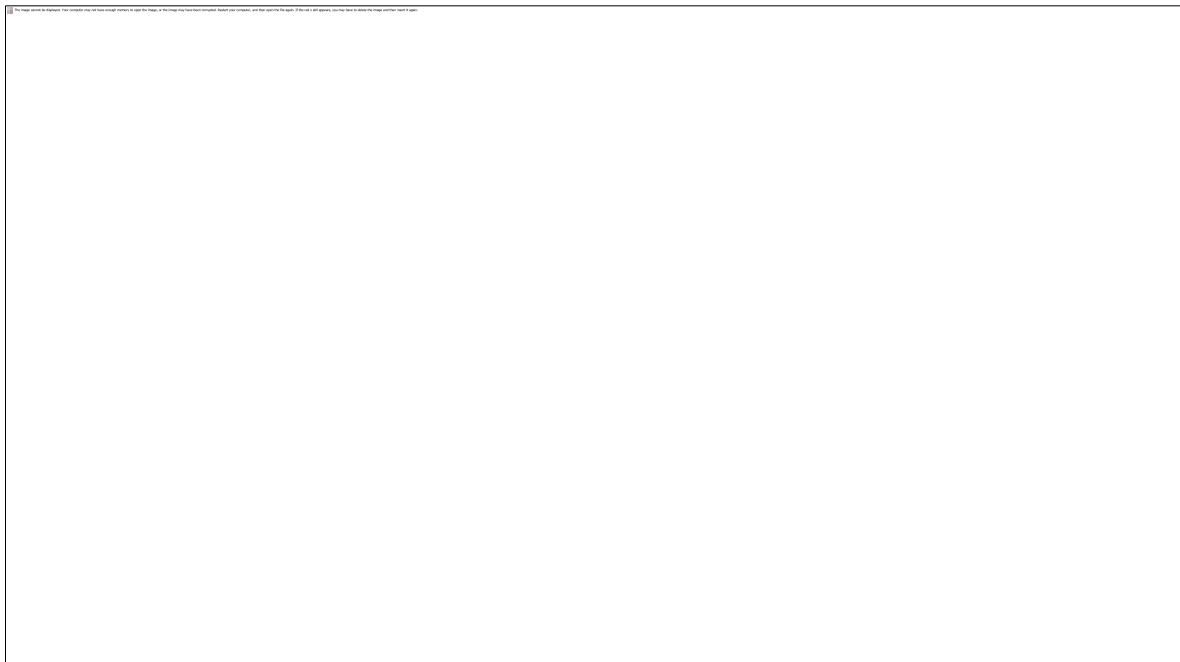


Figure 3. Poland under the occupation of Russia, Prussia and Austria 1795 (Lewinski Corwin, 1917, 354)

As thousands of Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian volunteers exiled themselves to fight for freedom for their occupied countries, Napoleon overlooked the role of Poland in the European balance of power. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a Polish state established by Napoleon in 1807 through the Treaty of Tilsit, augmented in 1809, resulted in more difficult times for the Poles. Below are the eastern portions of the country that were conquered by the armies of the Duchy after the Treaty of Tilsit.

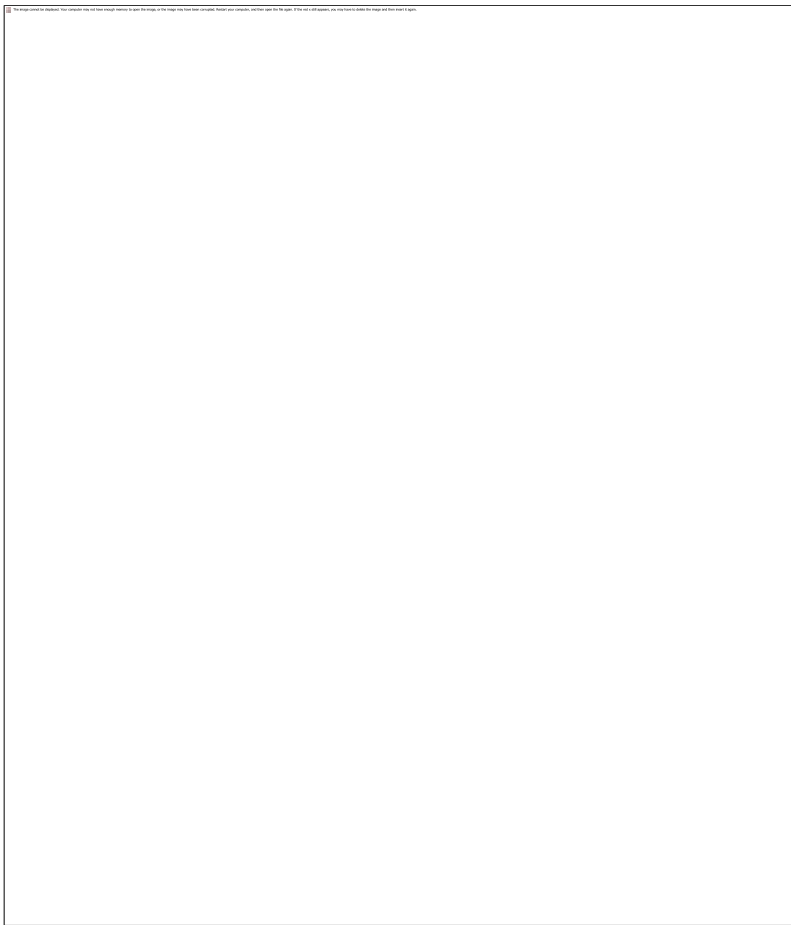


Figure 4. The Duchy of Warsaw 1809 (Lewinski Corwin, 1917, 385)

Soon thereafter, Poles lost a battle to Alexander I and questions over who controlled Poland led to several quarrels at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. After much uncertainty, powers were compromised and Napoleon's Grand Duchy of Warsaw resulted in reduced Prussian power. Poland was now called "the Kingdom of Poland" or "Congress Poland", ruled under a Russian tsar (Corwin, 150). This area included most of what was formerly the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (about 49,000 square miles), was bordered on the north and west by the Prussian provinces of East Prussia, Poznań, and Silesia, on the south by the Austrian province of Galicia, and on the east by Russia.

The fourth partition of Poland was signed on May 3, 1815, ratified by Congress (of Vienna) on June 3, 1815, and became a part of international law, changing the meaning of life and national identity for Poles forever.

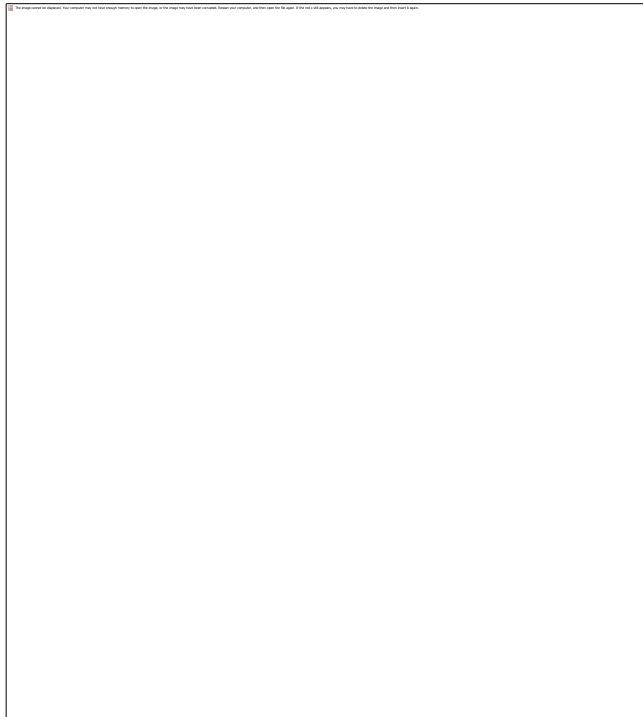


Figure 5. The Kingdom of Poland per Congress of Vienna 1815. (Lewinski Corwin, 1917, 404)

The change in social, political and (inter)national conditions for Poles were some of the main contributors of Polish emigration to southern Brazil. Therefore, it is necessary to examine Russian, Prussian, and Austrian occupations separately.

Prussian Occupation

Mainly on account of economic reasons, Polish emigration first took place in the area of Poland which was under Prussian occupation. Galicia, the Austrian part of Poland, “Congress Poland”, and the Russian occupied part of Poland, were all first to witness the movement rather than partake in it. One of the main reasons for this was that the Prussian part of Poland had enfranchised its peasants earlier (starting in 1848) than the other occupied parts. Another reason is that people’s higher education in this area contributed to a greater awareness of the processes of emigration. These had been some of the main catalysts. Some of the basic reasons, the specific set of economic and social conditions in Prussian occupied Polish territories, were connected to the growth of population. The specific figures of such growth at the end of the nineteenth century were: a rise from 571,000 to 1,312,000 inhabitants in Western Prussia and from 886,000 to 1,822,000 inhabitants in Eastern Prussia (Rutkowski, 1950, 80). The rise in population was both higher than the entire area of Prussia and higher than the entire German Reich. The population

increase was partially rooted in a decreasing death rate attributed to progress in medical knowledge.

Under Frederic Wilhelm III, Poland was annexed directly to Prussia despite a part of the Duchy of Warsaw becoming a part of the Great Duchy of Poznań. One of the most important reforms for Poland took place in 1823 with the suppression of the serfdom and the organization of a Polish bourgeoisie.

The Revolution of 1848 should have given Poles freedom from the State of Prussia; however German delegates at the Imperial German Parliament at Frankfurt confirmed that this was not necessary. It would have been unnecessary and wrong to accept Polish demands for freedom because “it was necessary to awaken a healthy national egotism without which no people can grow into a nation” (Elie, 1961, 127).

Peasants were the most oppressed group of Polish people. They were under the control of the Prussian Empire and continuously exploited. In addition, even though there were opportunities to leave the country, the bureaucratic process that took place in order to emigrate, cost the peasants a great deal. Most peasants were illiterate so they had to hire a translator and a lawyer to take care of the legal aspects of the emigration process. As a result, once peasants arrived at their country of destination, they were broke. Regardless of these obstacles, compared to the other occupier countries, Prussians were most receptive to Poles leaving their territory. This is because they required Poles to serve in their military for a couple of years, prior to departing and Prussians felt as though Poles immigrating to new lands would contribute to the disappearing of their very strong Polish roots.

The growth of population in Prussian-occupied Poland was entirely urban. The urban population was consistently increasing in proportion to the entire population of the country. In western Prussia, the proportion of settlements of over 10,000 inhabitants more than tripled in the years 1861-1910 (Grabski, 1923). In the agricultural sector, the process of enfranchisement, made possible by the end of serfdom in 1823 and officially initiated in 1848, produced large and strong peasant farms at the expense of small farms. Consequently, the small peasant was losing his holding and being ousted, becoming a hired farmhand with no land of his own.

After the enfranchisement was over, economic conditions of the small landholders were deteriorating. Small land owners could not pay enfranchisement dues, rent and the several state taxes. As subjects to large land owners, peasants were no longer able to rely on subsistence agriculture. The lifestyle of subsistence agriculture and being closely connected to one's land was a major element of Polish peasant identity and these changes hindered that lifestyle. As a result, the land belonging to the small peasant had been gradually sold to the manorial farms. The years between 1848 and 1870 formed a boom period for great landowners. Factors that helped agricultural producers included a technical reorganization of large properties, high prices of grain and wool, available labor, and the development of railroads to move products to the markets. Consequently, large landowners knew how to make great profits as opposed to the peasantry who was more interested in subsistence agriculture and selling produce at fair prices rather than making a profit. The intensification and modernization of agriculture continued until the 1880s.

The position of small property landowners in this period is demonstrated best by the fact that the price of one acre of the land of the small property holders was estimated at a value lower than one acre of the large landowner. The relation of the landless population to the agricultural

population as a whole amounted to 41% in Prussia, which is higher than in both “Congress Poland” (31%) and Galicia (26%) (Grabski, 62).

Agricultural labor was exploitable as well as poorly paid. Job opportunities were only found in large, local farms during the planting or harvesting season which led to an oversupply of labor. Furthermore, Poles were exclusively the ones who worked on farms while commerce and industry were almost entirely dominated by Germans and Jews. In 1880, the crisis of the ‘small farm economy’ took a toll. Small land ownership increased as a result of land subdivision.

The pattern grew out of a land-hunger on the part of peasantry, who were essentially forced to enlarge the farms which would otherwise not have been able to support their large families. In this period of rising population, too small an outflow of farm hands to the cities resulted in the subdivision of smaller farms. However, after the enfranchisement, big landlords could not adapt themselves to a thorough capitalistic form of agricultural production. One of the contributing factors leading to the hasty disappearance of the big landed ownership of farms was a desire to recklessly spend on consumption goods. This new practice came with the new capitalistic form of production which changed not only certain habits and lifestyle but also perceptions of work and the value of money. During the Great Depression of the 1870s, Europe was starting to experience a depression, a crisis rooted in a reduction of prices produced by the American grain and the Australian wool industry setting competitive low prices.

However, the difficulties the landless population and the small landholders had been suffering from were not the sole causes of emigration. One particular cause was the agrarian war declared by Prussia on the Polish population. In 1886 the Prussian government created a colonization foundation. In 1904 the distribution law, which allowed Germans to distribute land

among many German colonists, was passed and in 1908 the law ousting Polish peasants was passed. Prussian policies against the Poles contributed to many definitive obstacles for them. For example, Poles were not allowed to parcel land or set up new farms. This was one of the main factors for why Poles felt the need to go abroad. Along with this agrarian war, Poles were simultaneously repressed for their cultural practices. The Polish language was forbidden in schools and any public areas. Poles who were not the subjects of a German organization were deported and censorship was forced upon the press. In general, all Polish organizations and societies were persecuted (Lasocki, 83). Poles were discouraged from demonstrating any cultural characteristics.

Industrial progress in Prussian-occupied territories was also affected by the Germanization policy. Prussian authorities attempted to take over all small and medium sized factories in order to satisfy all the needs of Polish inhabitants. This was the beginning of the decline of the economically more developed Polish western borderlands. The number of looms, breweries, and paper mills significantly decreased from 1819 to 1852 (Lasocki, 84). Competition between more technically developed Prussian industry and Polish industry was a crucial factor in the industrial decline of the Polish territories of the west. Despite Prussian domination in Upper Silesia, there was marked progress in mining and industry in this region. The production of iron and steel was increasing: the number of mines grew from 18 mines in 1800 to 129 in 1873; the number of forges from 28 in 1825 to 67 in 1867 (Lasocki, 84). Industrial progress in Upper Silesia was characterized by an increase in the number of industrial workers. There were 618 workers in 1786 and 44,000 workers in 1867. In the years 1870-1915 the output of mines grew from 6 to 44 million tons, and production of the forges went up 10% (Lasocki, 1967).

There were great differences between highly industrialized Upper Silesia, agricultural Poznań as well as western Prussia areas. In the agrarian parts of the Prussian partition, the most developed of the bigger industries was sugar refining manufacturing. Although there was no textile industry, there was some industrial progress in this area. In fact, the number of industrial workers grew from 102,000 to 250,000 in the years 1875-1914 and in western Prussia from 96,000 to 250,000 (Lasocki, 85). Emigration helped solve the problem of overpopulation and “in the 1840s area emigration was greater than immigration for the first time in Poznań” (Lasocki, 85). In this same decade, emigration was greater in western Prussia for the first time, amounting to 2.6% of the population (Lasocki, 85).

Along with the constantly changing causes of emigration, the process underwent a change in its character as well as size. As mentioned, the first cases of emigration from Prussian-occupied parts of Poland took place in the 1840s when people emigrated chiefly from the Poznań area and western Prussia. Two stages of emigration were particularly characteristic for the Prussian occupied area. Initially (1840-1880), Polish emigration was to Brazil and the United States. During the second stage, in the 1890s, continental emigration to Germany began.

Polish emigrants were counted then as German emigrants and the first Polish colony in the United States was established in Texas by emigrants from Silesia in 1855. Emigration was small until 1870, after the Franco-Prussian war.

In the years 1871-1880, 14,000 Poles emigrated from the Poznań area, western Prussia and Pomerania (Rutkowski, 50). In western Prussia, the movement soon took over the impoverished district west of Vistula. After 1880 the movement was so strong that the overseas emigration from these areas alone, reached the proportion of 13 emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants

by the late nineteenth century (Rutkowski, 50). This movement did not cover the land along the lower Vistula, which was inhabited by wealthy German settlers. In the Poznań area, emigration was initiated by Germans from the Bydgoszcz regency. The overseas emigration in this particular reform was small in number but continuous in pattern. From 1881 to 1890 the emigration from these two provinces of the Prussian occupation, the Poznań area and western Prussia, were so great, that it absorbed almost the entire natural population. In western Prussia the figures were estimated 13.7/1,000 or 1.37% of the entire population, and in the Poznań area 13.1/1,000 inhabitants, 1.31% in one year (Rutkowski, 1950, 241).

The emigration from eastern Prussia was always the smallest. Even in the period of highest emigration, these territories were sending no more than 2,000 emigrants a year. In the period from 1880-1890, about 31,000 Poles emigrated yearly from the Prussian occupation (Rutkowski, 241). At the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century, there was a gradual weakening of the overseas emigration, in favor of the seasonal emigration within the borders of Germany. Instead of immigrating to the United States, Poles moved from the eastern provinces of Prussia to the western industrialized German provinces, in time creating large concentrations of Polish workers in Westphalia, the Rhineland, Berlin, and other big cities. They searched for shelter in forges and mines, and preferred to stay in large groups. However, in other parts of Saxony, they were forced to scatter as hired seasonal laborers in the German manorial farms (Okolowicz, 1914, 251).

In 1891-1900 an average of 13,000 people per year were crossing the ocean from Europe, but in 1901-1910 this figure was reduced to 5,000 people a year. At the same time, only 200 people a year went across the seas from eastern Prussia. The overseas emigration from the

Prussian partition went almost exclusively to the United States. The number of emigrants passed 600,000 while the emigration to Brazil was small.

The first group of Poles to immigrate to Brazil was from Upper Silesia in 1869. The next groups of emigrants went to Paraná in the years 1870-1876. This movement weakened after 1876 and was intensified once more in the years 1884-1887. In the next years emigrants from the Prussian occupation to Brazil decreased because mass emigration to Germany began to take place in this period.

Only Germans were to be settled on the Polish territories. The Poles had been moved out to Brandenburg and other German parts of Prussia. There was a project to mix Poles and Germans in order to Germanize Polish peasants. To achieve this result, culturally and economically, there was a tendency to settle good farmers to set an example for Poles to improve their farming standards. After Prussia was strengthened by the 5 billion gold francs levied from France as a war contribution in 1871, it tried to break by force all the anti-Prussian social tendencies of the new imperial territory. It was the beginning of the notorious Kulturkampf whereby the Polish language was forbidden and Prussian restrictions barred the use of the Polish language and cultural practices from governmental offices. Furthermore, in 1872-1873, the Polish school system was Germanized. Then, the Polish language became barred from the tribunals, the state administration and the administration of communities. People's names, place names, and community names were all being Germanized.

The Germanization process was slowed after 1885. The Kulturkampf was Bismarck's program of destroying Polish culture and all of its economic foundations. After 1885, Poles were being ousted from the Polish territories of the Prussian occupation-the so called "Prussian

oustings” (*rugi pruskie*). Among the ousted were Poles who had come to Prussia from “Congress Poland”, from Galicia and Russian Jews. Altogether, 30,000 people were ousted (Lasocki, 92).

In western Prussia and the Poznań area, an official “Commission for Colonization” was created in 1886. It was granted a sum of 100 million marks for buying Polish property, which was to be sold later, on easy terms, to German colonists. In 1895, there began a new period of “oustings” which lasted two years. The oustings also took place in Silesia. About 2,000 people had been sent off from the Poznań area.

Jewish people were migrating to “Congress Poland.” More anti-Polish laws were passed in 1896 and in this case, with Poles not acquiring ‘Prussian nationality,’ most Poles were deported abroad. The state-owned industry workers were replaced and Polish newspapers, community centers, and associations were persecuted.

In 1913 the Commission for Colonization disposed of a sum of one billion marks. By 1915 the Commission colonized 795,000 acres, a little less than 6% of the entire surface of both provinces in which it was acting. On territories of its activity settled 109,000 Germans by the end of 1907. In the period under discussion, over 40,000 Poles were deported and they, at least partly, joined the Polish emigration leaving their native country (Lasocki, 93).

Russian Occupation (“Congress Poland”)

In the 1600s, the Tsar was in a position to act as not only ruler but more importantly ‘protector’ of the Orthodox community in Poland. This particular intervention proved to be disastrous in Poland specifically where the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth had a weak state. This made the impairment of Polish independence easy for Russians to achieve, weakening Polish identity in these areas. As a result, this intervention proved to be even more profound than the secularization of East Prussia under the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns in 1525. The principle of the “*liberum veto*,” first applied in the 1650’s, made it possible for Poland’s neighbors to find an orthodox member of the *Seym*, an assembly of people who fought for Poland’s independence, to destroy it. Consequently, in this period when other Eastern European powers were modernizing their state economies and armies, Poland was left behind with no laws of protection being passed until the early 1700s (Lasocki, 47).

Furthermore, by making peace with Russia, Poland ceased to be a barrier country, instead becoming a bridge between its eastern neighbors and the West. Through the Russo-Polish alliance, Russia entered a European coalition with the intention of holding a share in the liquidation of the Ottoman Empire.

The Treaty of Andruszowo in 1667 and subsequently the Treaty of Grzymultowski in 1687 demonstrated western Russian plans. Since 1685 the *de facto* ruler of the Orthodox community in Poland had been the Metropolitan in Kiev (a resident of Russia and a subject of the Tsar) dependent on the Tsar as well as the Metropolitan in Moscow (Lasocki, 47).

After the enfranchisement of peasants, Russian occupation of Poland was officially referred to as “Congress Poland” and it was during this period that Polish emigration reached its height (Lasocki, 94). In 1857-1910 the population of “Congress Poland” increased by 179.4 % and the growth of population differed in each particular province of this Russian occupied area (Rutkowski, 229). As a result, the population density was also increasing and in 1870, the year before the first wave of Polish emigrants reached southern Brazil, the population amounted to 125 inhabitants per square mile, in 1897 to 76, and in 1913 it rose to 265 inhabitants per square mile (Rutkowski, 230).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, industrial progress was not in proportion to the growth of population in “Congress Poland.” Indeed, Polish industry did well for parts of the nineteenth century but it lost ground to Russia in the early years of the twentieth century.

Industry started to develop in this region for the first time after 1821. There were new custom duties and a union with the Russian Empire, working in favor of the Polish industrial products exported to Russian and through Russia to China. The industrial progress was backed up with grants and loans. Businessmen were being brought in from abroad. The November Uprising of 1830, an armed rebellion against the Russian Empire, brought an end to the economic boom in “Congress Poland.” As a result of the political uprising, weavers started moving out of “Congress Poland” to other parts of the country.

Although the demise of economic expansion was prevalent in areas like industry it had not affected other sectors such as education. While under the administration of (appointed) Prince Alexander Drucki-Lubecki mining and industry grew as mentioned, the Polish educational system had been deteriorating for decades. The number of schools was decreasing

and the general level of education was becoming worse. This led some students to partake in the Uprising of 1830 and consequently become persecuted at the University of Vilna for their beliefs, support of higher education, and association with a political group (Filaret) based in Moscow. These students (Mickiewicz, Zan) were imprisoned in Russia (Lasocki, 52). Soon thereafter, unsuccessful Polish insurrections starting in late 1830 led these students to Paris. It was these students, Mickiewicz's activism in particular, that paved the way to Polish nationalism in this time period (Grappin, H. 1922).

Even though Polish education had not made improvements, in 1850 Polish industry again gained some possibility of further progress. In 1850, the value of manufactured goods amounted to 11,000,000 rubles (Lasocki, 96). The mining of ore, coal, and salt was also in progress. The textile industry developed steadily and the growth of the sugar industry was satisfactory.

Another uprising took place in January 1863. The Poles failed in this uprising and Russian occupied territories were seized in the grip of Russification, implemented through police action and bureaucracy, which attempted to annihilate any Polish national character of the country. Offices, bureaucratic buildings, and central institutions were moved out of Warsaw. In 1867 Russia implemented policies that dismissed the Privy Council, the Treasury, the departments of Education and Home Affairs, and the Board of Administration. Starting in 1868, the fiscal economy of the country was subordinated to the Russian Ministry of Finances with no separate budget. In 1876, the Polish judicial system and the Polish courts were liquidated as the Russian language was introduced in the offices and courts of justice.

In the years 1867-1879, the growth of industry output was up to about 500% by value in "Congress Poland," while it was only at 192% (output value) in the Russian Empire (Lasocki,

96). The opportunity was created by a favorable policy of custom duties. It was only after 1900 that industrialization in the Russian Empire took the leadership over from “Congress Poland.” In 1900, Polish industry production made 15% of the global production of the Empire and in 1908 only 13% (Lasocki, 97).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the rate of industrial growth decreased and the labor supply grew rapidly. From 1891 to 1907, the proportion of the total population who were landless grew from 13% to 31%. Industry was not able to absorb the massive agricultural unemployment which led to some of the initial push factors for emigration. The economy of “Congress Poland,” with a high proportion of agricultural labor, depended above all on its agricultural position. After the enfranchisement of peasants took place in 1864, the situation of the general mass of peasants was improved (Lasocki, 98). However, this did not last as the new farms were too small for survival so at the beginning of the twentieth century, there were again about half a million landless families (Lasocki, 98). The process of enlarging big property at the expense of small farms was not practiced in “Congress Poland.” It was forbidden to buy land from the peasants who ‘got by’ enfranchisement.

Emigration from “Congress Poland” to Brazil started in 1890 during the first “Brazil fever” and continued as a mass movement until 1893. This emigration movement was particularly difficult because it was not planned in any way and the Russians created strict emigration laws, making it difficult for Poles to leave. Every person who wanted to leave “Congress Poland” was required to apply for a passport and get permission from governmental leaders. Besides Russia, the only other country who had a passport system at the time was Turkey. If Poles attempted to emigrate without following these requirements, they were

considered a “criminal” under the Russian “criminal code system.” Poles were generally oppressed in a hostile environment in which the Russian tsar felt the need to oppress Poles so that a Polish uprising leading to Polish independence, as in the past, would not occur in *their* lands.

One of the most important reasons for emigration from “Congress Poland” included a general draft which was introduced in 1874. People emigrated mainly to escape the hard military duty. This law also caused some to escape abroad on religious grounds. For example, the Mennonites, religious members of a humanitarian sect, were forced to emigrate because their religion forbade them to take an oath and serve in any army or bear weapons. As expected, anti-Semitism could also be counted among the political causes of emigration. There were several pogroms in Ruthenia. As a result Jews from the Russian occupation began leaving in great numbers after 1881. In 1908, according to the statistics of the Information Bureau for Jewish Emigration, 2,400 people asked for information about going abroad and 8,196 people asked in 1909. As mentioned, Jewish emigration always constituted a great part of emigration from Polish territory. However, because of specific factors and conditions, the number of emigrating Jews grew to such a proportion that it should be explained in a separate context.

The evident economic consequences of emigration in “Congress Poland” such as the declining farm labor supply, led the corresponding social circles to take action, in an attempt to hold back the emigration movement. These attempts included the press discussing difficulties awaiting emigrants in the foreign lands. Newspapers warned people about diseases, wild animals and inhumane treatment of newcomers in foreign countries. Starting in the very first year of the “Brazil fever” in 1890, one of the most popular newspapers, *Kurier Warszawski*, sent the famous

writer Adolf Dygasinski to southern Brazil to check the conditions that awaited Polish emigrants. Dygasinski disqualified Brazil as a promised land for Polish emigrants, using the term “Brazilian hell” to describe the city of Santos (Okolowicz, 389). The following year, two clergymen, Mikolaj Glinka and Zygmunt Chelmicki, were sent to Paraná, once again to ‘check the conditions.’ They found some prosperous Polish settlements near Curitiba. Nevertheless, they interpreted this prosperity as being connected to earlier Brazilian colonization efforts undertaken by the Brazilian Empire. Similar to Dygasinski’s findings on southern Brazil, they explained increases in emigration as a result of shipping companies’ false propaganda.

Chelmicki’s second expedition was looking for more strong arguments to impede emigration to Brazil. This argument may have been convincing if it did not go against shipping agents who promised to bring back to Poland any dissatisfied Polish emigrants from Brazil. Chelmicki’s expedition resulted in the discontinuance of the free ticket promotion the Brazilian government offered Polish emigrants in the second half of 1891. This was followed by civil war in southern Brazil.

In the late nineteenth century, about 60,000 Poles from “Congress Poland” landed in Brazil. However, this trend was put to a halt during the Federalist Revolution in Rio Grande do Sul, which lasted several years and spread over three other southern states. Emigration from “Congress Poland” ceased in 1895. In the years 1900-1907, about 1,000 European emigrants per year came to Brazil (Lasocki, 112). Only after 1909 did the flow of emigrants resume once again.

Despite a stronger sense of Polish nationalism and identity, administration gradually fell into the hands of the Russians and Russian became the official language of this Polish territory.

Russians took more action to increase their power like resettling several thousands of Polish families on the Volga and Kuban (Lasocki, 55). In addition, the universities of Warsaw and Vilna were suppressed as the archives and libraries transferred everything to the new Russian University located in Kiev. The Roman Catholic Church was also persecuted.

The Russification of education on all levels was especially difficult for Poles. In 1869, one of the largest high schools in Warsaw, *Szkola Główna* (main school), was closed as the Russian University opened. The Polish language was banned from all schools, public areas, courts, and official offices. Furthermore, during the agrarian reform, the Tsarist government forced Russian settlers in and made it more difficult for Poles to benefit from the changes. As a result, some of these ‘cultural’ factors help explain why emigration of the “intelligentsia” was proportionately larger from “Congress Poland” than from the two other partition territories.

The peasants’ economy was based on private land and on the land in common tenancy. Before World War I, following cessation of easements, when the peasants’ free property was enlarged (by 1,500,000 acres), the total amount of peasants’ real estate in “Congress Poland” increased by 25% between the years 1873 and 1894, and 20% between 1894 and 1909 (Lasocki, 98). More specifically, one fourth of the peasants’ farms made up only 2% of the whole cultivated area, and 65% of them, up to 12.5 acres made 16% of all the cultivated areas (Lasocki, 99).

Economic emigration started in the seventies of the nineteenth century. A prelude to mass emigration was the political emigration after the catastrophe of the January uprising against Russia in 1863. After the failure of the rising, about 7,000 of its participants, called “the young emigration” went abroad. These emigrants mostly left to France, Switzerland, and England.

Smaller groups moved to Turkey, southern Germany, Italy, Belgium, and the United States, while only a few went to Brazil.

It was during this time that Polish emigrants conceived of a plan to organize Polish colonies abroad. They considered colonizing countries like Algeria and Turkey. Few suggested the United States. However, these plans were not realized for a time. Nevertheless, a decade later it became an economic necessity to settle abroad in such number that the setting up of Polish colonies became reality. However, the direction of emigration changed.

The first serious outflow of Poles took place after a crisis caused by technological changes in the textile industry 1872-1874. The small textile manufactories were consolidating then into a big industry. Workers and craftsmen of Pabianice, Zgierz and Ozorkow, emigrated in the hope of finding new employment opportunities. Peasants started to emigrate a few years later. They first started from the border districts and followed the pattern of emigration from the Prussian occupation. Furthermore, people of these districts were closer to the big German harbors and going abroad was easier for them.

The emigration movement was strongest in the provinces of Płock, Warsaw, Suwalki, and weaker in the provinces of Kalisz and Piotrkow, spreading gradually to the other provinces. In addition, out of the great number of people who emigrated from Lithuania, a small percentage were Poles. In the years 1880-1890, emigration amounted to about 2,000 to 5,000 people a year (Szawlewski, 34). Although the main destination was the United States, waves of emigrants sporadically reached Brazil. This gradually growing outflow of emigrants continued without change until 1890. With the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century, a mass unplanned emigration started, resulting in the so-called “Brazil fever.” This “Brazil fever” was a

“mass rush, created by the unscrupulous propaganda spread by Brazilian agents, distributing Schiffkarten (ship tickets) among those willing to go, in order to attract settlers” (Szawlewski, 34).

Thousands of emigrants went to Brazil between 1890 and 1892 where they suffered many obstacles to settle in Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. The fever was described as spreading “mainly among the country people, especially in the Lublin district, and it won a considerable percentage of city proletariat in Warsaw and Lodz. The propaganda, deliberately tolerated by the Russian government, spread to such an extent that even “rich peasants sold their property, hoping to get more land in the Brazilian Eden” (Szawlewski, 34).

In 1890 about 19,323 people, amounting to 0.25% of the entire population, left “Congress Poland” (Michalski, 1911, 106). In the following years, after Poles heard about the hardships experienced by immigrants in Brazil, the outflow of overseas emigration began to decrease, giving way to seasonal emigration, mostly of farmhands, to Germany and to the Polish provinces of Prussia. In the period 1894-1897, the number of people emigrating in one year averaged 6,165 (Lasocki, 103). By the end of the nineteenth century, emigration from “Congress Poland” had become a local phenomenon, existing in the part of the country that was exposed most to foreign influence. This is rooted in the fact that the country as a whole had not been subjected to the emigration movement that was spreading throughout Europe. The propaganda of the shipping companies had succeeded only for a short period of time. As the shipping agents fell silent, other factors came to end the ‘rush’ abroad quickly. The emigration movement left the greater part of the country almost untouched. A strong resurgence of the overseas emigration movement in this region can only be noted again at the break of the twentieth century. Emigration rose relatively in

equal proportions from all parts of the country, with the exception of slightly higher rates in the northern provinces. In 1912, 5,883 people emigrated from the province of Płock; 5,331 from the province of Suwałki; and 5,831 people from the province of Lublin (Okolowicz, 1914, 28). This made 18% of the entire emigration from “Congress Poland” at the beginning of the twentieth century (Okolowicz, 1914).

It was in 1898 that the number of emigrants gradually started to increase and in 1908 it reached the considerable figure of 35,646 people per year, which made almost 0.33% of the entire population of “Congress Poland” (9.3 emigrants for 1,000 people) (Michalski, 1911, 106). This pattern was caused by the severe industrial and political depression that “Congress Poland” suffered until the outbreak of World War I.

The Poles going abroad were of more varied groupings, socially and politically, than the seasonal emigrants. The main groups consisted of members of city proletariats, middle class families, peasants leaving their lands, and small groups of factory workers. As a result of the industrial crisis and unemployment, emigration of factory workers in particular grew between 1909 and 1910. The steady outflow of emigration consisted of the landless peasants who included the highest number of emigrants by a significant amount, landowning peasants, factory workers, and other professionals:

Table 2 Polish Immigrant Occupations in 1908 and 1912

	<u>1908</u>	<u>1912</u>
Landless peasants	47%	50.7%
Landowning peasants	28%	27.1%

Factory workers	4%	3.3%
Other professions	21%	18.9%

(Rutkowski, 1950)

Even though there was an initial inter-province emigration that was prevalent within Poland's traditional borders, in 1906 a continental emigration started to Germany and in smaller numbers to Denmark, France and Czechoslovakia. At this time, people mostly emigrated from villages in "Congress Poland." Most of these emigrants could not afford transoceanic fares so they were not able to go to the United States. Consequently, seasonal emigration was often perceived as a helpful stage before going abroad, the means to earn money for a ticket.

Austrian Occupation ("Galicia")

The Austrian occupied area known as Galicia was considered the most "backward" region of the country and was the last region from which Poles emigrated (Szczepanowski, 1888, 57). In addition to the Austrian occupied areas being the most under-developed parts of Poland, they also had the most overpopulated villages. Even though many young people were out of work, there was no economic danger of young people emigrating. The big landed property owners did not need any more workers and actually promoted emigration in Galicia. As a result,

a resolution voted by the Congress of Polish Lawyers and Economists in Poznań was constituted in Lwow, the Polish Association of Commerce and Geography, whose stated purpose was to “promote the country’s economy, above all by searching for new markets for Polish industry, to collect and give accurate information concerning economical situations in other countries, and to contract direct commercial relations” (Okolowicz, 394). This program had to be fulfilled with the help of Polish emigrants and maintain an economic contact with them. At the head of the Polish Association stood count Tadeusz Dzieduszycki. The Polish Association had as its organ, *The Commerce and Geography Gazette*, which appeared in Lwow from 1895 until the end of 1902 as a continuation of the “The Emigration Review,” also established in Lwow in 1892.

The Polish Association was meant to have influence on the entire country of Poland but was compelled to limit itself only to Galicia, where it felt needed the most. The Polish Association’s main concern was emigration. Its aim was to inform future emigrants about overseas lands, especially about Brazil, and taking care of them abroad. As one of its first steps, the Polish Association sent a memorial to the parliament in Vienna, applying for a new Austro-Hungarian consulate in Curitiba requesting that “the person who was to be nominated the Austrian imperial-royal consul in Curitiba should know the Polish language” (Lepecki, 77).

The main purpose of the Polish Association soon became to accomplish the Union of Polish emigrant-settlers in Paraná. It sent its delegates to South America in order to investigate the truth about settlements in this state of southern Brazil. The first to investigate was Dr. Stanisław Klobukowski soon followed by Józef Okolowicz. However, the Polish Association had insufficient support from the public and was unable to develop its objectives and stopped trying after a few years of existence.

The next organization with the same aim and same destiny was the Saint Raphael Committee for Taking Care of Emigration. This committee's program was to influence the emigration movement with the help of the Catholic clergy, in order to prevent travelers in their decision to emigrate. However, it failed to gain the Vienna government's recognition and protection (Lepecki, 77).

Professor Jozef Siemiradzki's travel accounts helped clarify these associations' underlying intentions. Most importantly, the travel accounts helped create an atmosphere of truth concerning Polish immigration and Polish settlements in southern Brazil. As Dygaskinski and Chelmicki had previously done, Siemiradzki described the difficult traveling conditions, high death rates among the emigrants and struggles dealing with the Brazilian administration. Siemiradzki drew different conclusions than his predecessors, noting that despite emigration harming Poland, it was not possible to weaken the movement without improving the standards of living of the landless in Poland. Therefore Siemiradzki believed emigration should be organized in a way to give emigrants the best travelling conditions and protection after their arrival in southern Brazil, as well as any possibilities that would help in keeping their nationality. This suggestion led to a petition asking for a Polish-speaking person in the consulate in Curitiba, to advise emigrants about where exactly to settle. Siemiradzki's ideas also gave rise to a program of sending Polish elementary school teachers to southern Brazil. His goal was to show how false and deceiving most of the information was about southern Brazil. Siemiradzki succeeded in changing and enlightening public opinion by demonstrating how generalizations were used to portray Brazil as one homogenous country. He therefore explained how regions differed and pointed out regions that were appropriate for Polish settlements.

According to the census of 1900, Galicia's population was 7,316,000 (Bujak, 53). The population density averaged 232 people per square mile, 35 more people per square mile from 1870. The annual natural growth rate of population for Galicia was 1.7%, the highest levels being among the peasants and the lowest in the big cities (Rutkowski, 231).

The census of 1900 showed 3,989,000 inhabitants claiming Polish nationality, 3,074,000 inhabitants claiming Ruthenian nationality, and 228,000 inhabitants claiming Austrian or Germany nationality (Bujak, 67). A breakdown of nationalities should be accompanied by a breakdown of religious denominations because the lower classes often claimed nationality according to their denomination and only a small number of people who practiced Judaism had a sense of Polish nationality or used the Polish language.

Table 3 Breakdown of Religious Denominations in Galicia in 1900 (by percentage)

Roman Catholic	46%
Greek Catholic	42
Jewish	11
Protestant	0.6

(Bujak, 67)

Patterns of religious denominations were distributed to differently in different parts of the country: Roman Catholics dominated west Galicia, Greek Catholics east Galicia. Furthermore,

the total urban population increased on the entire territory from 17.1% in 1880 to 19.8% in 1910. Galicia had been much less industrialized than other countries in the Austrian empire. In fact, the industrial production was only 7.5% of the total value of Austria. Very high custom duties for manufactures on the border of “Congress Poland” were setting back any potential industrial progress in Galicia during those times.

The increase in area of the big landed property at the expense of small farmlands, a characteristic closely associated in Prussian occupied territories, as discussed, had no parallel in Galicia. In no one district of Galicia did the area of property, owned by big landlords, expand at the expense of peasants’ land. In fact by the way of cessation of easements, Galicia’s peasants received 160,000 acres of land from 1859 to 1889 (Lasocki, 117).

The area of the peasants’ farms in Galicia increased from 4,500,000 acres in 1859 to 5,200,000 in 1912 (Lasocki, 117). At the beginning of the twentieth century, most peasants owned 2 acres of land and 37% owned 2-5 acres. However, this land unit of peasant farms was constantly being diminished, “while in 1892 an average farm in Galicia had 5 acres, in 1896 it had already only 4.2 acres and in 1910 merely 3.6 acres” (Lasocki, 118). A 5 acre farm could support a family only for three months a year. This problem was exacerbated on account of low standard of agriculture and excessive exploitation of soils. In 1902, the majority of peasants’ farms (80%) worked without help of outside labor. All the tasks on a farm were being completed by the owners’ families. Only 5% of them used seasonal hired labor and about 9% had servants (Rutkowski, 303).

Another characteristic of Galicia is an agricultural system called *szachownic pol*, a chessboard of fields and scattered lots that is considered an additional cause of Galicia’s

agricultural catastrophe. An average farm in Galicia consisted of 35 separate lots. The lots were long and narrow strips of land called “string” which was a difficult shape for farmers to work with. This system of scattered lots was inconvenient to the degree that it “caused endless quarrels and lawsuits, too long walks, waste of time and material. The bad agrarian system resulted in frequent litigation of boundaries in neighbours’ quarrels concerning a balk, a pear-tree, damage done by cattle and so on” (Szawlewski, 1929, 47). In addition, there were 5.5 times more lawsuits concerning small farm matters than in Czechoslovakia, which had the same number of inhabitants. As superfluous litigation increased in the courts of Galicia so did the use of drugs and alcohol. All these factors contributed to processes of emigration.

At the time the movement started in Galicia, emigration in Western Prussia and the Poznań area was at its peak so Galicia had comparatively low rates of emigration. The first group of emigrants from Galicia went abroad in 1880 and people were emigrating only from the western districts, the province of Krakow, where the agricultural system was poorest. From 1880 to 1890 overseas emigration was directed mainly to North America and amounted to 7,000 people per year (Rutkowski, 233).

The expansion of overseas emigration from Galicia started in 1891 and between 1895 and 1896 the “Brazil fever” gained full momentum in Galicia whereby 25,000 people immigrated to Paraná (Rutkowski, 233). The “Brazil fever” that struck Galicia was of a similar (but weaker) character and had a similar origin to the “Brazil fever” in “Congress Poland.” However, after 1896 there was a decline in the general overseas emigration movement as only a small number of people, mainly Ruthenians from eastern Galicia went to Brazil.

It was only at the turn of the twentieth century that economic emigration started as a mass movement, necessary to improve Polish people's living conditions. Economic emigration spread mainly in the overpopulated agrarian districts, along the rivers. Shortly thereafter, the movement spread along the Krakow-Lwow railroad line. More Poles emigrated from Galicia than Ruthenians (9 Poles to 4 Ruthenians) (Lasocki, 121). The numbers of emigrants for every 1,000 inhabitants for the time period 1908-1910 were as follows:

Table 4 Numbers of emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants 1908-1910

	<u>1908</u>	<u>1909</u>	<u>1910</u>
Overseas Emigrants	4.9	6.5	11.0
Seasonal Emigrants	<u>17.8</u>	<u>20.3</u>	<u>20.6</u>
Total	22.7	26.8	31.6

(Caro, 233)

The Constitution of 1867 gave Galicia territorial autonomy and along with national rights for the Poles. The Polish language was reintroduced into the education system throughout Galicia in 1867, to the courts in 1868, and to all civilian offices in 1869 (Lasocki, 122). Besides the Poles, Galicia was inhabited by Ukrainians, Ruthenians, and Jews, but the Poles had 80-85% of all the seats in the local court system of Galicia.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Polish colonization of eastern Galicia took place, a movement supported by Polish "intelligentsia" and often by landed gentry. The Ruthenians, mainly priests and lawyers, tried to exclude Poles from the process of parceling, especially

Polish settlers coming from western to eastern Galicia. This provoked a new trend in overseas emigration.

The first Polish emigrants from the Austrian occupation came to Brazil in 1876 and settled in the state of Paraná. A few groups of other European emigrants followed in succeeding years: 84 people in 1878-84; 220 people in 1884; and several hundred people in 1886. After 1886, however, emigration from the Austrian occupation stopped almost completely and started again during the first “Brazil fever” (Lasocki, 122). At this time, almost all the emigrants were coming from eastern Galicia. This flow declined after 1896 but picked up again in 1909.

Prince Klemens von Metternich implemented a foreign bureaucracy appointing Baron Krieg to control it in Austrian occupied Poland, working against Polish national interests. This occupied land, Galicia, was the least economically developed part of Poland. The Austrian administration was slowing all industrial progress and oppressed the peasants, causing tension between the peasants and nobles which led to much conflict in 1846. The serfdom of the peasants finally came to an end in the “Spring of Nations” in 1848.

Poland’s borders became more ambiguous with the insurrection against Russia in January 1863. These suppressions instigated the first major waves of emigration. They started out with the ‘hope for freedom’ and continued in the ‘need for bread.’ Furthermore, in 1867, Galicia created a constitution which stated that Poles who wanted to emigrate, like Prussia, were obligated to military service. However, contrary to Prussian laws, Poles were not required to apply for a permit to leave the country.

The next step in shaping Polish emigration was a law passed in Galicia in 1896 on Siemiradzki’s initiative declaring shipping companies and other agencies’ activities in the

country to be considered illegal and punishable unless granted official recognition and authorization. Siemiradzki along with another professor, Dr. Jan Steczkowski and Prince Kazimierz Lubomirski, decided to establish their own organization, Polskie Towarzystwo Kolonizacyjne (The Polish Association for Colonization) in Lwow in 1897 as a limited profit-making company. Its aim was to settle Polish emigrants in Paraná and it leased vast areas from the Paraná government on good terms. However, it did not survive the initial preparatory stage due to lack of funds.

Another organization focusing on commercial relations with Paraná to advance Polish literacy among the Paraná settlers, Związek Kolonialny Wydawniczo-Wywozowy, The Colonial Union for Editing and Exporting, constituted in 1899 also in Lwow, saw its existence cut short for these same reasons. Its branch in Curitiba had existed for almost two years, functioning with its bookshop and one of the most popular weeklies “The Truth” (*Prawda*).

In 1907, Okolowicz became the editor of *Polski Przegląd Emigracyjny* (“The Polish Emigration Review”), a biweekly newspaper in Lwow. A few years after he became editor, it was moved to Krakow and was printed until World War I. This paper along with several endeavors of the Association of Commerce and Geography, a Polish Emigration Society, inspired *Polskie Towarzystwo Emigracyjne* in 1908. Its headquarters were in Lwow and then moved to Krakow and its aim was to organize protection for emigrants in all possible ways, regulating the emigration movement and starting emigration policies in congruence with national interests (Lasocki, 129). The board of trustees of the Society consisted of outstanding representatives from different political parties. The society had aims to “maintain several information centers for persons going abroad for settlement for temporary economic reasons

[and] to maintain several employment agencies for the emigrants as well as bureaus for free legal advice and a bureau of statistics”(Lasocki, 129).

In the cities of Krakow, Lwow, Rzeszow, Przemyśl, and Brzezany, the Polish Emigration Society maintained several employment agencies, the aim of which was protecting seasonal farm workers. These agencies were looking for labor markets outside Prussia while simultaneously meeting all the demands of the home market. The suggestion of the creation of the Polish Emigration Society led to labor contracts for the farm workers in Galicia on terms comparable to foreign ones and established in cooperation with agrarian organizations. The creation of new jobs and promoting the finding of work in the home country was intended to counteract the continental and more importantly, overseas emigration.

In 1913 the Polish Emigration Society, with the help of the Ministry of Commerce, gained a concession for its own shipping bureau. The concession went along with the “Austro-Americano” contract which, in turn gave the Society a free hand in establishing a protection of overseas emigrants in the following ways: mediation in money sending and money exchange, buying and selling real estate by the emigrants or re-emigrants; the settlement of Polish emigration centers; supplying guides and the least expensive objects needed in travel and in getting a household started; managing all financial matters; mediation in all matters of insurance; editing a paper concerning emigration problems.

Organizations in all Partitions

The Polish Emigration Society established the first “Home for Emigrants in Poland,” in the city of Krakow. This was created for Poles to have a comfortable place to stay free of charge or a symbolic fee where lectures were given as well as general information about living and working conditions in the countries of their destination.

The Polish Emigration Society also established the first Polish free library for Poles abroad. Its publishing department could pride itself on publishing a whole series of popular guidebooks, small dictionaries, calendars, and leaflets, along with its official periodical, the *Polish Emigration Review*. These publications supplied the emigrant with necessary information. One of the most useful and important documents for the Poles was the *Polsko-Amerykanski Kalendarz dla Wychodzców* (“Polish-American Calendar for Emigrants”) edited by Okolowicz in 1910. It contained relevant information, explanation about processes of emigration, advice, and tips for the Polish emigrant. It also warned against emigration agents, especially the Prussian ones, who were considered the most dangerous and threatening for emigrants. Okolowicz pointed out that Poles should not go abroad unless “forced by poverty” (Okolowicz, 20).

The Society published an *Illustrated Guidebook to Brazil* (*Ilustrowany Przewodnik po Brazylii*), written by Ludwik Wlodek, edited with two appendices: a Polish-Portuguese dictionary and a map of Paraná. The Society also made an effort to post warning bulletins which announced the newest emigration regulations. It also helped Poles abroad to subscribe to periodicals and buy books. The Polish Emigration Society enjoyed “the state Diet’s moral and

financial protection under the form of yearly subventions. It was cared for by the Polish Circle in the Vienna Parliament, which defended it many a time against the unfriendly and fault-finding Austrian authorities” (Okolowicz, 399).

However, the Society stopped its activity at the outbreak of World War I. Following its example, Towarzystwo Opieki nad Wychodzcami (the Society for Emigrants’ Protection) was constituted in 1910 with its headquarters in Warsaw. According to the proclamation published in July, its main purpose was “to control the emigration movement in order to create an emigration policy” (Okolowicz, 400). Unfortunately, the Warsaw Society’s activity, although continued until the outbreak of war, was never able to freely expand. Its expansion was held back by lack of financial means and hindered by Russian authorities. The Society’s publication *Wychodzca Polski* (the Polish Emigrant) went bankrupt in October, 1912. Any attempts to deal with the seasonal emigration were defeated by the Russian regulations. The Warsaw Society fought against the emigration to Paraná while desiring to gain control over the emigration movement from Lithuania. For this purpose it maintained a branch in Vilna and published in Lithuanian translation Okolowicz’s booklet *Wskazowki dla Wychodzcow udajacych sie do Ameryki* (Suggestions for Emigrants Going to America).

Previously, a Society for emigrant protection called “Paraná” had been founded in Warsaw with a program based on “The economic progress of the Polish colonies’ in South Brazil, as well as gaining for its members independent and influential position in the contemporary social structure of Southern Brazil” (Okolowicz, 400). This program was organized in 1905 but did not start operation until 1907. It had in its ranks young intelligentsia, mostly young technicians full of energy. These young men made the realization that at home

they would most likely remain clerks, taking part in a monotonous daily routine, without the possibility of making progress. In order for them to be independent, they sought to find territories where such aims could be achieved easily and in a relatively short time period. They believed this area could be found only in new lands or in countries newly colonized, colonized by their own Polish people. The choice of settling southern Brazil in particular is expressed through this proclamation of their future activity:

Paraná's natural wealth awaits men of enterprise. Brazilians sometimes lack initiative, and local Poles are not equal to all the tasks, therefore, professionals are necessary in many fields, people with technical education and professions, as they are difficult to be found in Paraná, whereas those living in Paraná are almost entirely unfamiliar with the economic life of the country. Lack of such men can be explained by the fact that only few agree to work in order to advance social and economic progress of the country's Polish settlement, which some day might become truly a pearl of old and battered Poland... (Okolowicz, 305).

One of the Society's main concerns was the development of industry and commerce. The organizers hoped to help advance the settlements so as to attract masses amounts of Poles, who would become a national majority. This Society however was short lived. Some principles of a planned Polish emigration policy emerged gradually from the existence and activity of the societies dedicated to the emigration problem. According to Okolowicz, the main intention was an attempt to keep the emigration movement within the normal limits of its needs, and a concern to let it offer as many advantages as possible without becoming too great a loss to Poland. He stated that the conditions in which this postulate was to be fulfilled through the following principles: "the smallest possible number of people should emigrate from Poland; the greatest possible number of emigrants should come back with their gained capital and without any

physical or moral loss; and of those who stayed abroad, Poland should lose as few as possible” (Okolowicz, 306).

The First World War stopped the emigration to Brazil as well as to other countries, and it regained momentum again only in 1919. From 1919 to 1939, the Polish emigration movement underwent various fluctuations as a product of the changing economic situation in the home country as well as in the countries receiving Polish emigrants. The intensity and direction of the outflow of emigrants changed year by year and sometimes turned into stronger waves of re-immigration.

After 1920, the population in Poland grew rapidly with high birth rates, reduced levels of emigration and returning migrants. According to the census of August 30, 1921, the population of the Polish Republic was 27,176,717 people. Between 1920 and 1924 there was an extensive repatriation movement from the Soviet Union (“Rocznik Statystyczny R.P. 1923”, 25).

An interior resettlement was necessary for the whole economy including more intensive production of agriculture and industry, new investments and necessary capitals. One of the main reasons for the outflow of Polish emigration was the countryside.

One of the main reasons for the outflow of Polish emigration was the degraded soils of the countryside resulting in poor farms that were unable to support the owners and their families. In 1921 the urban population was up to 25.5% of the whole of Poland’s population while the rural was 74.5%. In comparison to Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium, Poland had the least represented group in commerce and industry (Gadomski, 1930, 1).

In 1928, the surplus of agrarian workers in Poland amounted to about 3,000,000 people (Ludkiewicz, 1932, 89). One year later, the industrial production value per capita was: “World

total \$82; USA \$562; England \$316; France \$268; Italy \$112 and Poland \$40” (Lasocki, 141).

This figure reveals the low level reached by Polish industry. In turn, there was permanent unemployment in the cities, which accordingly could not absorb the surplus of rural labor. This was one of the main reasons for why farmhands and peasants were being driven into the ranks of economic emigrants.

The population surplus in the rural areas as well as unemployment in the cities made up what was called (by economists) the “emigration potential,” a class of people ready to leave their homeland. In the period before World War I, emigration potential was strongly counterbalanced by a high level of emigration. However the war and various emigration restrictions undermined the imbalance and as a result brought an increase in emigration potential. This situation continued throughout the inter-war period. Those willing to go were always more numerous than the available opportunities to leave the country. In a commentary responding to Szczepanowski about Polish emigration in 1900, Pankiewicz wrote in 1932 “Polish emigration a couple of decades ago, predict[ed] that those, who did not go abroad, would emigrate to Heaven, never was truer than today” (Pankiewicz, 1932, 51).

The potential of Polish emigration and the strength of the movement did not allow such factors as temporary prosperity to hinder it in any way. The only factors regulating the movement’s upper limit and destination was represented through the immigration policies of the immigration countries. The influence of these labor markets on the development of Polish emigration was the most strongly pronounced during the years of depression. The rapid growth of unemployment in Poland was followed by the equally rapid fall of emigration. The emigration of Europeans to the United States in the early 1920s was followed by the emigration of Poles

during the inter-war period, after 1930, and during the first year of the world wide economic depression. The usual trails and roads, which were normally open, closed due to the massive unemployment rates and Polish emigration was drastically limited by most of the countries which it used to turn to.

Brazil additionally started to limit the number of Polish emigrants to 152,800 from 1919 to 1930 and during the depression years, 1931-1935, it fell to 29,000 people. With Poland's new prosperity and expanding foreign labor markets during the last years before World War II, Polish emigration picked up once again, but did not reach its pre-depression levels (Okolowicz, 130).

Brazil also started to limit Polish immigration in the 1920s. Its government's far reaching help to foreign settlers was stopped in the post-war period on account of financial difficulties. The possibility of settling in distant and undeveloped lands remained, but needed capital. Instructions for Polish immigrants became less fervent in 1927: "Brazil is a field of work only for the strong, enduring, healthy, able to work hard, as for example to cut the forest, build with one's own hands and to do without any comfort. One should also have some ready money." (Pankiewicz, 1932, 140). The costs of travel, land, organization of the household, living until the cultivation of the first crops, were valued at about \$1,000 (5,000 zloty) in 1927 and over \$1,200 (6,000 zloty) in 1933.

The number of emigrants going to Brazil oscillated between 600 and 2,000 people a year in 1920-1925. In 1926-1929 it grew from 4,000 to 9,000 in 1929 (Pankiewicz, 1932). During the years of depression it fell to about 1,000 and in the period of prosperity (1926-1929), the peasants having little land were offered comparatively high prices for it with an opportunity to sell out and collect the sum needed to settle in Brazil. After 1931 a drop in land, agricultural

products and cattle prices made it impossible for Poles to obtain the needed capital, and therefore emigrate. The only positive position during this period was the approach of the State of São Paulo. Along with several farm settlers, Polish farmhands were going to Brazilian coffee plantations in this state. The São Paulo government, conforming to an agreement with the Polish government in 1927, concluded that each year was paying a transfer for about 100 families consisting of not less than four people who were able to work on the plantation.

As a result, this great Polish emigration movement was determined on the one hand by the economically and demographically conditioned oversupply of labor and on the other by the great labor market and opportunities in the immigration countries. However, the outbreak of the World War put a stop to the outflow of emigrants for five years. The end of the war brought Poland independence and sovereignty. Therefore, those who had left the country for political reasons, and those who were now returning, after their attempted emigration plans had failed, were attracted by the new Republic. The drive to come back to the homeland was the strongest in 1921 and gradually weakened to stop entirely by 1925.

The average number of emigrants leaving Poland in one year during the period 1890-1899 was 107,800 people, in 1890-1909, 750,000 people and 582,000 people in 1910-1914 (Gliwic, 1926, 427). Furthermore, official statistics indicate that in 1919-1938, 2,044,000 emigrants left Poland. In the same period 1,031,000 people re-emigrated to Poland (Gliwic, 427).

The difference between emigration and re-emigration during the inter-war period numbered 1,013,000 emigrants, amounting to 1/7 growth of the entire population increase for the period 1921-1939 which was 7,700,000 people (Gliwic, 427). The emigration movement was strongest before the depression. Before World War II the number of emigrants from Poland

grew, but did not reach the number preceding the depression; 287,000 people for the period 1935-1938. The country's economic, social and demographic structure did not change in relation to the pre-World War I period. There still existed an oversupply of labor which contributed to a potentially larger emigration movement. From the basic determinants the one that changed most drastically was the so-called external factor, the immigration countries' labor demand. The emigration potential in Poland grew, when many countries introduced immigration control policies, closing any foreign labor from their markets.

After the war, big landowners' fear of exhausting the reserve of labor disappeared as opposed to before the war when big landowners would still speak about the harmful effects of emigration on labor supply. However, once the government realized the danger of Poland's political and economic life being faced with unemployment, emigration became an escape from the economic troubles, a "safety valve" for the discontented masses: "In such conditions the possibility to emigrate represented for the country at least a safety valve, an opportunity to relax in the unfavorable economic situation" (Glabinski, 1931, 20).

From the beginning of the establishment of the Polish state, its governments, regardless of their politics or policies, demonstrated the tendency to ease the country's labor market of over-supply of labor by sending workers to foreign markets. The statesman of National Democracy, Endecia, as well as Pilsudski's followers, Sanacja, held the perception that emigration is a welcomed movement considering Poland's economy and overpopulation. The outlets for the emigration potential were examined and investigated; as were the foreign labor markets. The emigration to countries offering no employment or limited employment was

forbidden, recruitment of labor was organized, emigrants were helped with buying ship passages, and settlements as well as shipping companies were controlled.

After the coup d'état in May, 1926, minor changes occurred to emigration policies. Permanent emigration was considered the most advantageous as the first stage in Poland's fight for overseas territories as well as markets. This change in Poland's emigration policy occurred under the influence of the world-wide economic depression, which set back the movement. In view of the limited possibilities for emigration to the traditional countries, investigations were now being made in search of new territories, and a new emigration policy was being created. As Gadomski stated in 1930: "Poland as a rather weak economic organism has to pay special attention to a planned and effective battle with unemployment. Industrial workers, suffering unemployment, shall be moved to agriculture, be it at home or in new lands abroad. Whole villages can be moved abroad, when their unemployed inhabitants cannot afford land of their own" (Gadomski, 1930, 294).

Gadomski emphasized the Polish working class' potential as pioneer-settlers in the hard conditions of new territories: often pristine lands with primitive, extensive farming. One of the best options could have been to combine the struggle of unemployment at home with the general emigration policies for the state and with its agrarian as well as commercial policies. According to Gadomski, finding new land for settlement in foreign lands offered three opportunities: creating a reserve of land, on which emigrants, after the difficulties of pioneering would have a chance to flourish and prepare economically settled land for relations with the home country, maintaining a contact with the emigration, by the way of means of transportation and trade,

which would help develop the shipping industry and commerce with the home country; and the overseas settlement which could advance Polish international relations (Gadomski, 298).

The colonization project was based on a notion that each Pole abroad should be a pioneer only of a Polish style of work and of a Polish method incorporating national and economic expansion. The policy followed several lines with its aims being: send emigration to the countries which guarantee their immigrants the right to keep their nationality and cultural tradition; organize an emigration movement, most importantly, to big farming areas; concentrate Polish emigration and limit the number of countries of destination (Gadomski, 300). The majority of the authors defining principles and programs of Polish emigration policies did emphasize Brazil's special conditions as being a great advantage to the Polish program: "This policy being underestimated by our society, Polish emigration was dispersed and valueless to the home country. Only in the ageless Brazilian forests, in conditions reminding us of Piast's time, there could be shaped a type of pioneer-conqueror, showing the way Polish emigration should take" (Pankiewicz, 1929, 17). Pankiewicz went on to describe the "greatness" of Poland and how it depends on the "type" of emigrant that will "dominate" through "pioneer" strategies. He also emphasized the importance of hired labor on farmlands.

The population density of the immigration countries was taken into account during the evaluation of the potential advantages and disadvantages that countries could offer to Polish settlers. In particular, the price of land in Brazil in addition to the average travelling expenses of a family, plus the cost of a new household, amounted to \$394.00 for a parcel of 120 acres, the equivalent to the price of 2.5 acres of land in Poland. These factors served as legitimate arguments for going to Brazil, especially for the landless as well as small landowners. For the

price of an unproductive parcel of land, one could buy in Brazil a large piece of virgin soil and with hard work could eventually reach prosperity.

Despite small immediate results, Polish authorities embraced the program of an expansive emigration, hoping for more pronounced achievements in time. According to Michał Krasocki (1938, 35), Polish settlers were dispersed throughout the non-European countries as follows in 1938:

Table 5 Polish Immigrants Residing in Non-European Countries 1938

Argentina	50,000
Brazil	200,000
Paraguay	1,500
United States	200,000
Canada	60,000
Other Countries	400

Krasocki discussed how there are sectors of a country's economy, for which a settlement of emigrants is of substantial interest and benefit, and specifies the benefits gained by colonization and shipping companies. However, he emphasized the importance of the interests of the country as a whole, the interests of the national economy and emigrant's future, in deciding upon emigration policies.

A Polish delegate, Mazurkiewicz, discussed the importance of emigrant rights at a conference in Geneva in 1938. He believed that all migrations should be regulated according to the basic principles of respect for emigration and the host country's sovereignty and interests.

From an economic perspective, emigration could bring potential drawbacks for any home country. Furthermore, if a home country is experiencing economic difficulties and agrees to allow some of its population to leave, it must be certain beforehand, that it will be of some benefit to the emigrant. This certainty must be guaranteed through appropriate bilateral agreements in planning emigration.

One of the main causes that hindered the Polish overseas emigration movement was a lack of capital to organize the settlement. Therefore, one of the key issues in the Polish settlement program was to find a way to finance the settlers' emigration with the help of foreign capital. This could have potentially been solved through a program created by home countries to cover travelling expenses. The program could include a loan to the settler for traveling expenses and homesteading in the host country. The representative for Polish immigration expressed resolutions to a specialty committee at the Geneva Conference (Krasocki, 1938). The main concern was the necessity to create a special international institution for financing the settlement of emigrants. The Polish official at the conference gave proof of the Polish government's constant endeavors to solve the problem of emigration in an agreement with both the emigrants and the interests of the state.

Conclusion

Polish identity has been demonstrated through resistance to shifting political and social powers throughout centuries in Polish territories and more importantly for this study, in foreign lands, particularly Brazil starting with the first wave of emigration in the late nineteenth century. Cultural resistance could be illustrated through cultural practices such as traditions, stories, and embracing a particular lifestyle. The difference between the personal and the collective level is that personally, the individual discovers his or her cultural as well as national identity through crisis, such as all the wars discussed in this chapter. Collectively, the individual recovers and reifies his or her cultural identity through speaking the language and practicing the traditions, against imposing forces, creating a stronger sense of collective, national and cultural identity. How this identity, collectively and individually, shifted through processes of emigration and on new lands in new environments will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3 Polish Immigration to Brazil: Pull Factors

In the main, European colonization has been written up by several scholars as a success story. In Leo Waibel's "European Colonization in Southern Brazil", Waibel perceived things differently and discussed European colonists in the context of achieving low agricultural development. From personal experience in most of the colonized areas and through discussions with experienced colonists, Waibel concluded that only about 5 per cent of the European colonized areas were successfully developed in agriculture.

This chapter focuses on pull factors for Poles in southern Brazil as well as their initial (difficult) experience(s) in Brazil and how they contributed to a stronger Polish identity/community. It is important to note some of the reasons for why Waibel perceived European colonization in southern Brazil as a 'failure.' He believed three factors were responsible for the negative outcomes. The first factor was that most of the immigrants came from poor backgrounds and few were trained and experienced farmers. The second was that the government's main goal, as mentioned in the introduction, was to send people to uninhabited regions. This resulted in little attention being paid to the economic and overall well-being of the colonist. Third, Waibel believed that the holdings allotted to settlers were too small. Were Waibel's observations applicable to the case of the Poles? This chapter discusses the initial obstacles European colonists experienced, Polish farmers in particular, in southern Brazil and

how settlements developed, evolving with changing environmental and political (i.e. policies) conditions.

Small numbers of Polish immigrants with experience working on small farms found the idea of settling on a plantation appealing. Therefore, most Poles were directed to Paran  for mixed farming, where Polish *colonos* and their families were organized into nucleos that were to become models for future settlements. Additionally, many Polish artisans and “intelligencia” entered southern Brazil to work in cities like Curitiba. The news of subsidization programs in Brazil attracted both rural and urban Poles, mostly from the western provinces of P ock and Kalisz. Among these Poles who settled in Paran , between 1890 and 1891, only 20% were by background farmers (Kula, 1986, 26). Even though most Poles worked as factory laborers or artisans in the industrial centers of Poland, Ł d  and Warsaw, the majority of Poles (approximately 80%) in Paran  worked in agriculture on their own farms (Kula, 1986).

Some scholars emphasize how the first landless peasants from Poland and farm workers predominated during the years of the “Brazil fever” (Kula, 1986, 26). Some landowners (of farms typically fewer than two hectares in size) in Poland also took a part in emigrating to southern Brazil; however this category of Poles remained relatively small in size. In fact, in all districts of Poland, except Ciechan w and Sierpc, the amount of landless emigrants outnumbered the farmer emigrant as well as the farm worker emigrants (Groniowski 1971, 45).

Generally, Poles were not only coerced to the south to settle their own farms through colonization programs, but they were also reluctant to settle in any other parts of Brazil. They did not want to settle on the *fazendas* or coffee plantations because this would restrict their “freedom” which was important to their Polish identity. Poles desired to experience life as on the

Polish “folwarks” (serfdom-based farm and agricultural system). It is important to note that for some of these immigrants it is difficult to prescribe a particular motive with association to their background in Poland since many Poles used the reason of professing to be “agriculturalists” as a guaranteed entrance into Brazil.

Polish settlements in southern Brazil developed slowly and many immigrants went back to Poland, sometimes expressing their dis-satisfactory experiences in Brazil, not supporting it as a “good immigration country” (Lasocki, 20, 1967). Frequently, Poles blamed Brazil’s “unhealthy tropical climate” (20) which they had a hard time adjusting to. Furthermore, immigrants complained about the infertile lands, distance from markets, lack of roads, and difficult contracts which were part of an improper and complicated system of re-payment which will be discussed in more detail. These immigrants also had problems with their products being shipped to the cities at prices they were not compensated for; consequently making them feel like their work was meaningless. In fact, Polish peasants’ income frequently could not afford them necessary manufactured products for daily use. This situation did not improve until World War I, when communications in the country improved and Brazilian products increased in value on foreign markets, which lead to a better domestic economy. Despite all these hardships, whereby immigrants (expressed in letters) were “sweat[ing] more in a day than in a week at home” (Kula, 1986, 65) (especially through physical labor of clearing the lands), they preferred the hard work in unfamiliar surroundings to the lack of freedom and opportunities back home, which for the most was “Congress Poland”. On the other hand, many warned against coming to Brazil as "There is little pay and the work is hard" (Kula, 1986, 105).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, government policies towards agricultural colonization in Brazil were inconsistent. This was the trend until the mid nineteenth century when interest was renewed with the establishment of colonies in Espírito Santo and Santa Catarina, as the government sought to encourage settlement in what was considered “neglected areas” (Dickenson, 68). As a result, colonization schemes focused on this southern area of Brazil to confirm Brazilian occupation. However, this goal of land occupation and ‘peopling the territory’ became such a high priority that the government lost interest in the immigrants’ economic viability to this region, as Waibel (1950) discussed. Many Polish immigrants were therefore located in remote and isolated areas with limited opportunities to develop commercial agriculture until transportation access improved. This chapter discusses some of these (isolation, flawed policies) initial obstacles Poles had to overcome in order to start the development of successful agricultural settlements in southern Brazil and how their perceptions of the country and experience in this unfamiliar environment changed with time. Most importantly, these initial obstacles contributed to a greater sense of unity amid the Polish community and led to a stronger Polish identity amongst immigrants in southern Brazil.

Not only was isolation one of the major obstacles, but the lack of appropriate sanitary facilities in such a warm country resulted in the spread of epidemics. The barracks immigrants were staying in became infested with various diseases and immigrants were undernourished. Consequently many immigrants, mostly women and children, died. As a result, the Polish society decided to put a halt on further immigration, one of the many varying phases discussed in this chapter. In addition, representatives were sent to investigate shipping conditions and conditions of settlement in Brazil in order to make them generally known. This was the aim of many visitors

to Brazil including Adolf Dygasinski, Rev. Chelmicki and Mikolaj Glinka, Hempel and Lazniewski, and from Galicia, Stanislaw Klobukowski and Jozef Siemieradzki. Descriptions of their travels are the only documents of these tragic days in the history of Polish emigration.

Early History

The first recorded Pole to immigrate to Brazil was Krzysztof Arciszewski (1592-1656). Arciszewski was an admiral of the Dutch Navy who won many honors in South America while serving as a general of the Artillery of the Dutch Army, fighting for Brazil from 1629 to 1639 against the Portuguese and Spaniards. His learned profession in Poland was architecture and he indeed put his skills to great use in Brazil. Arciszewski's achievements in civilian and military architecture were especially recognized. There are still several remnants of buildings, port facilities, and city walls that he designed in Recife, Pernambuco, Bahia and Paraíba.

Arciszewski was also noted for being a skilled administrator. He became known and popular throughout Brazil for defending the local people against the exploitation of the Dutch merchants and officials. However, "Brazilian historians differ in their opinion as to the part played by our distinguished compatriot. There is no doubt, however, that on Brazilian ground he was the predecessor of many a learned and progressive politician, fighting slavery and the ruthless exploitation of Brazil by the Portuguese and Dutch trading companies" (Breowicz, 1958,

42). Until this day, he is known for fighting for Brazil, struggling against the Dutch West Indies' Governor Count de Nassau for the intrinsic good and future of the Brazilian nation.

Although in small numbers, Polish emigration en masse to Brazil started in the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the very first Poles to come to Brazil was a Polish general, Antoni Dolega-Czerwinski, one of Napoleon's soldiers. He arrived in 1820, later accepted a post in the Imperial Guard of Dom Pedro II, and decided to devote his entire life to his second motherland, Paraná. Brazil recognized his devotion and "in acknowledgement of his merits Brazil conferred upon him great honors and gave him one square mile of land in the province of Goias, which property he christened 'Polonia.' Czerwinski turned the land into a half farm, half rancho, promoted material farming and charitable work among the local people. He died as an object of general respect." (Breowicz, 1961, 42).

Another prominent architect arrived in 1839. Andrzej Przewodowski, an engineer and participant in the 1830 rising, came to Brazil from England (Nasza Ojczyzna, a monthly of the Committee for Contracts with Emigration "Polonia", Warszawa 1960, Nr. 5/46, 15). He was invited by the Brazilian government and offered a significant post in public works in the province of Bahia. He distinguished himself as a prominent architect. In the province of Bahia he constructed a 1,200 foot long bridge over the Paraquam River, between the cities of São Felix and Cachoeira, and built a navigable canal connecting the rivers of Iraipe and Itabuna. He was also the first to plan the construction of a railroad line in Bahia. Przewodowski constructed the port facilities and many buildings.

His merits to Brazil were also significant in the field of mineralogy, as he discovered oil deposits and many other natural resources of the country. For his achievements, he received one

of the highest ranks for the position of “Commander of the Cross of Christ and Rose Order” (Breowicz, 1961, 44).

Robert Trompowski, a Polish Marshall for Brazil, born in Florianopolis on February 8, 1853, also played an important role in southern Brazil. He took a part in the November Rising and his descendants became high-ranking officers in the Brazilian Army. They became highly respected by the professional military.

Hieronim Durski, a Polish emigrant from the Prussian occupation, arrived to southern Brazil on a boat that came from Hamburg, together with German immigrants, in 1853. As a 24 year old in 1848, Durski made the decision to emigrate after the fall of national hopes in the Prussian occupied part of Poland. To take up farming, Durski first settled in Santa Catarina in the colony Dona Francisca and later Joinville. He moved to Paraná in 1858, and in 1876 he moved to Orleans near Curitiba where he operated the first Polish school in Brazil. By this time, he decided to no longer practice farming and dedicated all his time to teaching Poles and Brazilians. He wrote a primer school text entitled “*Elementarz dla polskichszkol w Brazylui, w jezy kupolskimi portugalskim, uzytecznytakzedla Polaka nowoprzybylego z kraju,*” written in both Polish and Portuguese, which became a Primer for Polish Schools in Brazil and was useful to Poles who recently arrived from their country. As a founder and teacher of the first Polish school he was called “the father of Polish Education in Paraná” (Gluchowski, 1927, 12).

The first official census (questionably reliable) of Brazil which included coverage of Poles resident in the country was taken in Rio de Janeiro in 1832. It showed that the number of Poles did not exceed 2000 and gave as the profession of the majority of Poles as “Trade” (Kravshaar, 1893, 60). In a *Le Messenger* issue published on June 12, 1833, an article described

the political situation at this time in Brazil, describing the abdication of Pedro I and the accession of his son Pedro II, and how that caused many changes in the country. That was including changes in demographics and economic opportunities, which also strongly affected Poles and their future economic endeavors. The issue states:

“The Duque of Braganza was recruiting an intervention army in Portugal with the express condition of serving overseas three years” (*Le Messager des relations extérieures, journal politique, commercial et littéraire*, June 12, 1883). The article specifies that in case of the liberation of the Kingdom (of Brazil) before the end of the contract ‘it is promised to send the English back to their home country.’ It is necessary to remark that between the volunteers coming from France, ‘there was not even one Pole for a very clear reason, that they, and their officers were demanding not to be employed in any case outside the Kingdom of Portugal’” (Messager, Journal politique, Littéraire et commercial Mercredi, June 12, 1883). This restriction regarding the “intervention army” against Brazil recognizes the Poles of the time, in remembering that they were political refugees from the Polish Army after the failed November 1830 rising against Russia. Many Polish political refugees came to Brazil to participate in this rising as well as the Spring of Nations and the January Rising of 1863 against Russia. This was a rather difficult situation, politically as well as materially.

Initial Experience/Obstacles

The first Polish immigrants came to Brazil from a small city in southern Poland called Opole in the Upper Silesia region, in 1868. There were just a few families who were first to be offered free transportation to Brazil. In many letters addressed back to Poland, these emigrants emphasized how important it was for them to have “free passage” for their families and the opportunity to stay with their family throughout the entire voyage (Kula, 1986). August 1869 marks the true beginning of the Polish emigration movement consisting of mostly Polish peasants emigrating for economic pull factors as well as the political push factors described in Chapter 2. These immigrants were invited by Edmund Sebastian Woś-Saporski, a Pole from Silesia (Opole), who came to be known as the ‘Father of Polish settlers in Brazil.’ In 1867, Woś-Saporski sailed aboard the ship “Emma” to Paranaguá, where he set his main objective of the voyage. His goal was to settle in Argentina or Uruguay in order to “help his harassed fellow countrymen” (Smith, 409). After living in Montevideo for one year in 1868, he came back to Brazil and settled in Gaspar, close to the German colony Blumenau in Santa Catarina where he met Reverend Antoni Zieliński. Rev. Zieliński was a Polish parson who came to Brazil in 1865. Soon thereafter, Woś-Saporski moved to Paran  , took a state examination as land surveyor and became an engineer. His efforts in organizing a center of Polish emigration near Curitiba were great and contributed to him becoming known as ‘the father of Polish settlement in Paran  .’

In several letters written by Polish immigrants, settlers expressed how fortunate they were to make it to the pioneer fringe to settle new land as opposed to entering industry in the

United States (Kula, 1986). The first attempt at creating a colony in southern Brazil was made by 16 Polish families from Upper Silesia who came on board the ship “Victoria.” These Poles were ousted by Germans from the Opole area and came with Germans who were under the power of the Hanseatic Company in Hamburg. In many letters, immigrants also expressed how fortunate they were to be with their families. In particular, emigrants from “Congress Poland” who had the desire to establish themselves as farmers in southern Brazil, were more likely to leave and travel with families because otherwise free transportation and benefits would be denied (Kula, 1986, 7). Once they reached their *colônias*, they wrote letters encouraging their family members and friends to join them: “I ask all of you [the whole family] to come, otherwise I ask for nothing” (Kula, 1986, 43) while others pleaded “all of you [should] be with me so we can give each other a hand like a true family” (Kula, 1986, 22). These requests were honored so long as the Brazilian government prepaid the expenses (Kula, 1986, 7).

For those families who did not immigrate together, one (typically husband s advising wives) urged family members to come: “think it over well...[if you are] up to it with so many children on such a long journey. I am not talking you into it necessarily. You have your own mind” (Kula, 1986, 9).

However, this first attempt of creating a settlement failed mainly because of the harsh environmental conditions (Siemiadzki Obszene). It took place in a former Irish colony known as “Sixteen Loots” in the city of Santa Catarina called Brusque. The same settlement was previously abandoned by the Irish because of the harsh mountainous terrain, barren soil, and constant raids of the Indian tribe Botocudos. As a result, Saporski along with the Polish engineer

Andrzej Przewodowski, and Rev. Antoni Zieliński, advised the 16 Polish families from Śląsk to run away from this area.

The families became threatened by competing colonies and Brazilians who found this land valuable. They held several meetings to determine the best option for all the families. Through struggling with difficult conditions, the families bonded and made staying together their priority. They even discussed the possibility of finding better opportunities together in a bigger city.

Even though Saporski warned the men about some of the dangers they would encounter along the way, such as ‘battling the Rio Negro’, the settlers faced several more unexpected obstacles such as escaping the gun fire of Brazilian soldiers who felt that these foreign settlers ‘did not belong in their lands.’ It was only Polish men who were on this mission to start a new colony in Curitiba. They found this area to be ‘perfect’ as it was isolated by mountains and had ideal climate as well as good land.

After the Polish settlers had arrived, the process of allotting land to them was slow. When Woś-Saporski visited the newcomers and experienced the poor conditions they were living in, he started to take action to make change. With the help of Rev. Zieliński, who was very well accepted at the court of the Brazilian emperor Dom Pedro II, not only did Polish settlers acquire the lands of the settlement near Curitiba, but they also received help with moving the families who were living in Santa Catarina.

The name of the official first Polish settlement in Curitiba was Pilarzinho or *Pielgrzymka* (Pilgrimage). Soon after the establishment of Colony Pilarzinho, other Polish family members joined. In 1869, Saporski and Father Zieliński helped all the Polish settlers apply for legal status

of the settlement in this colony. Saporski presented a specific plan of colonization to the emperor of Brazil. The first of the Polish peasants arrived in late 1869 but were dispatched to the coastal districts of Santa Catarina (Smith, 409). In December of 1869, 64 more Polish immigrants arrived in Brusque and joined the small colony. By this point, there were 164 settlers in Pilarzinho. Paraná authorities, including Vice-President Ermelino de Leão, were of great help in resettling the Polish families.

In 1870, another 16 Polish families, 100 people, came from Silesia. They immediately traveled to Paraná and Santa Catarina, as the news about a planned concentration of Poles had already been heard and spread among the Silesian candidates for emigration. However, their wishes to settle in Brusque had not been fulfilled, as it was a complicated process with language barriers and other obstacles. Many immigrants expressed in letters how the lack of any knowledge of Portuguese made functioning in Brazil difficult, especially compared to other immigrants who came from Romance-speaking countries (Kula 1986).

As a result, these families were transported to the port of Itajaí instead of Brusque. Despite objections and other difficulties made by the German management of the colony, Saporski succeeded in moving them to Paraná in 1871 where many Polish settlers were already gone on their journey to ‘run away’ to the city. Many of these ‘run away’ immigrants who followed Saporski’s advise did not receive help and soon realized that their entire travel would have to be made by foot. Several still managed to write letters in the hope of sending them back to Poland. Numerous Poles made sure to emphasize that the warnings they heard in Poland against Brazil were inaccurate (Kula 1986). These warnings mostly related to Brazil’s physical environment, characterized the entire country as tropical and affected by disease. However,

many of these “warnings” were only applicable to small areas of Brazil’s tropical environment. Poles wrote about these warnings to debunk myths that put Brazil in a bad light therefore hindering the possibility of relatives coming to join them.

On the other hand, the Poles who came with the Germans (the Hanseatic Company) were under their power and were not given permission to write letters, let alone send mail. However, this was not seen as a significant disadvantage, not only because Poles continued to speak their language and engage in their own cultural practices, but also because even before the first settlers had come, Woś-Saporski and Rev. Zieliński planned to organize a Polish settlement following the German colonization example which was perceived for the most part as ‘successful.’ They chose the region of Palmeira and the Upper Rio Iguaçu in Paraná because of their moderate climate, fertile land, and open space. In his diary, Woś-Saporski describes the land along the Rio Iguaçu and Rio Negro as “almost uninhabited” (Woś-Saporski 1939, 15). Only Botocudos scoured the country hunting game in the forests. The only communication that existed with Porto Amazonas, Rio Negro and Porto União was by boats. In place of roads there were two paths “cut through the jungle-one from Palmeira through João do Triunfo to Porto União, the other from Rio Negro through Papaduva and Curitiba to the border of Rio Grande do Sul” (Woś-Saporski, 1939, 45).

In his petition to the government Woś-Saporski suggested Jasna Góra, a village near Częstochowa in “Congress Poland”, as a recruiting area in Poland and Hamburg as a port of embarkation. He made great efforts to establish many Polish settlements throughout southern Brazil. In 1871, Saporski’s request to make Pilarzinho an official Polish settlement was approved by the federal government. The 16 families were therefore relocated from Brusque to Pilarzinho.

In addition, 16 new families came from Poland to join the colony of Pilarzinho. The 32 families, which included 164 people, were the first Polish settlers in Paraná. The Poles preferred this cooler climate of the planalto to the warmer coastal areas of Santa Catarina.

In 1873 in the port of São Francisco in Santa Catarina, on the ships “Terpsychora” and “Guttenberg” the third group of Polish emigrants arrived from Western Pomerania, near Pelplin and Starogard. This group was composed of 64 families (258 people). They were brought in by a colonization company from Hamburg with the hope of settling in Dona Francisca. When the emigrants learned about the Polish center in Paraná, they refused to stay in Santa Catarina. Consequently, they sent delegates to the Paraná governor to ask for permission to settle near Curitiba. The governor of the time, Frederico Abranches, hospitable towards the Poles and respectful of the efforts of Polish settlers in Pilarzinho, assigned to them land in Anu, less than 4 miles from the city. Anu became the second Polish settlement named after a Brazilian governor, Abranches.

These results sparked the interest of private enterprise. As a result, in 1874 the colonization companies of Pereira Alvez and Bendaszewski, were created in Curitiba and obtained land grants in the seacoast area. In 1875, the number of Polish settlers grew to 274 people, as Poles from the city Śląsk immigrated to the Curitiba area helping create the colony Santa Cândida, 17 km away from the center of Curitiba. Most of these Poles were from the Prussian occupation. By summer of 1875, 64 more families from the Silesian district, Opole, came and settled in Santa Cândida.

In addition, Bendaszewski went to Poland to recruit emigrants from the Austrian occupation. As a result of this campaign, in 1875 and ‘76, numerous settlers came from the

districts of Tarnow, and Jaslo, and from near Gorlice. However, they did not settle in the hot seacoast belt, as Bendaszewski's company was liquidated before they arrived. They settled on the plain near Curitiba, as a result of the favors of the president of Paraná, Lamenth Lins, who was known as "the great friend of Poles" (Gluchowski, 1927). A new settlement was then established in the municipality Araucária. Thomas Coelho expressed how "Polish peasants from the neighborhood of Gorlice and Biecz proved to be people exceptionally worthy, vigorous and independent."

Soon they also started to settle in the neighboring municipalities. They bought the land from big landholders and enlarged their possession by many thousands of acres. They stood in a solid group together with the younger generation, worked the land and built schools, community houses, churches and stores. And all this they did by themselves (without any help of government or other outside organizations), and owed the results to their own initiative, energy and strength only-as it would be described many years later by Gluchowski, "the first Polish consul in Curitiba after 1918" (Breowicz, 1961, 54). In many letters Poles described how hard they worked in order to sustain a successful settlement. In one letter, a settler expresses how "God grants one a successful life, but one has to work hard here" (Kula 1986, 513).

The settlement of Lamenha (approximately 9 km away from Curitiba) was established in the following years with most of its inhabitants coming from Western Prussia and Western Galicia. Other new settlements were also established near Curitiba including Orleans, São Ignacio, Dom Pedro, Dom Augusto, and Rivierre. Until recently, Orleans and its neighborhood has been officially called Nova Polonia District (Gluchowski, 1927, 16). The settlers at this time in the mentioned colonies amounted to 3,850 and in 1877, 3,750 Poles immigrated to Paraná

while in 1880, 8,080 Poles immigrated to southern Brazil with 6,530 specifically settling in Paraná. Until 1890, all the Poles who immigrated to southern Brazil were from the Prussian occupied part of Poland. As settlements like Nova Polonia developed, the *colônias* set up an administrative unit resembling that of the Polish *powiat* (Polish settlement).

Five hundred fifty Poles from the Prussian partition settled near São Jose dos Pinhais in 1878, while the first Polish settlement was simultaneously being developed in the Ponta Grossa District, which was until then almost entirely colonized by Germans. Furthermore, in that same year a group of 345 Poles from western Galicia and Upper Silesia settled in Alice and Cristina. Another group of 527 Poles settled in the nearby colonies named D. Mariano, Mariano Torres, Guajuvira de Cima, Balbino da Cunha and Mem de Sá. The movement gained even more impetus after 1884. The Poles developed new settlements near Curitiba or came to the formerly established settlements.

During this same phase, new settlements were developed in the Castro region, north of Abranches (Antonio Prado), near Campo Largo and in the neighborhood of Rio Negro. Poles, therefore, took over the lands near Curitiba in Araucária. Most of the settlements were connected to the state and only a few developed out of private parceling. Brazilian statistics show that until the fall of the Empire, simultaneously with the beginning of the “Brazilian fever” in “Congress Poland”, about 8,012 Poles came and settled in Paraná, which together with the births and non-registered newcomers from other states made about 15,000 in 1889 (Ciuruś, 1977). Sixty percent of these people came from the Prussian occupation, the rest consisted of emigrants from western Galicia, and only a few individuals from “Congress Poland” (Lepecki, 1962, 66).

Polish settlements in other states were quite developed during this time. For example, the settlements of Sandweg-Indayal, developed in 1872 (100 families), and Rio Vermelho, in 1881, consisted of Poles from western Prussia and Gdańsk in Santa Catarina who worked together to create well organized settlements based on farming. These lands were also particularly significant to Poles because there were remnants left from the oldest Polish emigration movement, which had come to the Hanseatic colonies.

Two Polish settlements, comprising 300 people each, were developed in 1886 in Rio Grande do Sul, located at Santa Teresa, and Santa Barbara in northwest Porto Alegre. These Poles were sent by the settlers who had come from the Prussian partition to Brazil a couple decades before. They initially settled in Bahia and later resettled in Rio Grande do Sul.

However, it is important to mention that after 1876 the inflow of immigrants and the establishment of new colonies had slowed down, picking up again in 1884, with many new colonies being formed. In 1889 official Polish data estimated the number of Poles that settled in Paraná was 12,000, and accordingly official Brazilian evaluations estimated that in 1890-1891 about 15,000 Polish emigrants had settled in Paraná (Lasocki, 78). In particular, between 1890 and 1895, Polish settlements in Curitiba's surrounding area included more than 60,000 Poles. Most of these immigrants were not educated and the changes they encountered were not easy to undertake, emotionally and physically. However, hardships brought Poles closer together and made difficult decisions (i.e. settlement locations) easier to make. This choice was the first and most significant step; nevertheless, the decisions that followed about making their immigration temporary or permanent were even more difficult. In reality, Poles were not aware that their return to Poland would be more difficult than imaginable as it would take them years to make

enough money. For many, returning to Poland was not a possibility since they were considered “illegal emigrants” who did not have much to return to in any case.

Historical Background: Federal, State, and Private Colonization

The second period of Polish settlement in southern Brazil began in 1890. This was the year of the famed “Brazilian fever.” As previously mentioned, after the abolition of slavery in 1888, Brazil decided to start an immigration campaign to bring a large number of emigrants to provide a labor force. At the expense of the state, the Brazilian treasury promised to pay all the firms and shipping companies for each European emigrant brought over to Brazil. Thousands of Polish peasants had chosen to emigrate and rushed to get ahead of others in fear that the distribution of land in Brazil could be halted. Shipping companies, usually German-owned, were beneficiaries of this movement and were deeply interested in monopolizing it. The companies’ agents were sent all over Poland, as previously mentioned, with their propaganda.

In Poland, the “Brazilian fever” spread mostly to “Congress Poland.” From 1890 to 1891, several thousands of peasants left the country. The fever made its way to Galicia and its climax reached this partition in 1893-1896. In less than two years, 25,000 Poles left to Brazil (Siemiradzki, 1896, 76).

As discussed in the introductory chapter, several forces came to play a role in the promotion of immigration to replace the former system of slavery. One motivating factor was the creation of a new white social class to be composed of European farmers who would engage exclusively in mixed farming. Through colonization, Brazil intended to balance the monoculture of the large agricultural and animal estates in order to reduce the country's dependency on foreign markets as suppliers of such commodities as foodstuffs to the expanding urban areas. Another motivating factor, connected to this previous force, was the need for cheap agricultural labor for the plantations and the *fazendas*, which Brazil was hoping would arrive in advance of 1888, the year of the abolition of slavery.

Generally, Polish emigrants intended to settle in Paraná. However, the Brazilian immigration offices were not prepared to settle such a large number of people in Paraná so they sent the newcomers all over the country. After the immigrants arrived to Brazil, they reached their barracks and immediately became objects of propaganda by the hired agents of many different colonization companies. After 1890 colonization was not only controlled by the federal government but also by state and private companies such as railroad and train firms.

A state itself colonizes less developed lands when the land is properly parceled and sold at an auction or for fixed prices to immigrants. Brazil often practiced this method using free land grants by bringing colonists at the state expense.

According to the Wakefield Theory (Temple, 50, 2002), a state practices colonization by selling land at a high, previously fixed price, in which the money is used to bring able workers. On the contrary, private colonization is carried by profit making companies seeking the most profitable investments. In areas that had passed into private ownership, changes in agriculture

were more difficult to implement. Improvements were easier to make in the state colonized areas of southern Brazil “where the pooling of resources through the property tax and investment of the funds in education, roads, and sanitation would add greatly to the worth of the average man” (Smith, 623). Smith supported southern Brazil’s endeavors, whether state or private, as following a European model of small farms utilizing only European methods of agriculture with the use of the wheel, plow, draft animals and all other modern agricultural methods that increase production per person.

The two main methods of private colonization are speculative land investments and “railroad colonization” (Lasocki, 67, 43). The method of speculative land investments includes a company buying vast areas, parceling them, and building the main communication system. Soon thereafter, the parcels are sold to immigrants in long installments. This allows low income farmers to buy land and is the most popular system throughout Brazil. The “railroad” method of colonization entails a railroad company (granted by a state) to develop terrains for settlements that border planned railroad lines. After the completion of the railroad line, prices of land increased and companies would begin parceling and selling the lands for a profit. On state colonized lands, railroads were built by the federal government, state governments as well as municipalities. State colonization generally applies to European immigrants in the south who came to Brazil with no means of their own. Therefore, it was necessary to sell the land at low prices and for long installments as well as to subsidize immigrants in the first months of their initial settlements.

The settlements had roads, usually located near railroad stations with police protection and bridges which were built over rivers. Land was affordable for immigrants and installment

payments made it easy for them to pay. However, one of the greatest advantages of state colonization was the security of land ownership. Land ownership was guaranteed and in the case of lawsuits relating to real estate ownership, the government settled the issues and protected ‘settler’s rights’. This method, however, did have some problems. On account of the state not recognizing the vast and fertile lands as a “private enterprise” (Lasocki, 44), the settlers many times had to face the disorganization and corruption of bureaucracy dealing with the officials in charge. More importantly, the size of land parcels for sale was limited. Brazil tended to settle immigrants on small farms (25 hectares), justifying this by claiming it was “the most productive and rational” system (Lasocki, 45). Even though the ideal area was considered 62.5 acres, this size was sufficient for rational and intense farming. This did not lead to extensive exploitation practices for a period of a couple decades.

Consequently, private colonization was more beneficial in that it did not limit the area of land for sale. In fact, the only limitation was the “buying power of settlers” (Lasocki, 45). This type of colonization was organized by colonization companies, private landowners and railroad companies.

The colonization programs in southern Brazil, in particular were managed by many companies which controlled model settlements and provided full guarantees of ownership. The disadvantages of private colonization include companies (discussed in Chapter 3) and private owners charging too high land prices. Furthermore, companies aimed at making great profits from installments and there were many issues connected to legal ownership. This was because in the absence of recorders, land ownership was not registered and settlers purchasing land from

private colonizers could rarely be certain that ownership would not be questioned in the future (Lepecki, 1962).

Railroad companies would sponsor colonies and cover transportation costs for immigrants in exchange for labor in building railroads. On account of their commitment to not only building railroads but more importantly farming, settlers were provided with 25 acre lots and seeds for harvesting.

The private colonization companies were most interested in using propaganda to get immigrants to come to different states, mostly those with poor climate. The two states they focused most of their attention on were Espírito Santo and Mato Grosso. Persuaded by manipulative arguments and promises, the immigrants would agree to go to whatever places they were offered 'benefits' in and wherever they were provided with free transportation. They were, however, unaware of local affairs and did not realize the differences of climate and geography as well as the health and economic conditions of a particular region.

In this way, many Polish immigrants were scattered throughout East and Central Brazil in many small and unknown settlements, consisting of one family only, destined to fast denationalization in a completely strange environment. As these settlements started to disintegrate, the heavily concentrated Polish settlements in the south became more developed.

In the late nineteenth century, the Brazilian government decided to protect farm labor emigration going to the southern states. This awakened the interests of the European shipping companies and agencies, which started an emigration campaign on Polish territories. Brazil, serving as the primary destination for Polish emigration prior to World War I, "offered no work

in industry but exceptionally good farming conditions, especially in 1886 when the government started colonization” (Janowska, 1964, 14).

Because Poles started to come from all three annexed parts of Poland (after 1890), private companies became more successful with recruiting immigrants. A private company would make 100-160 francs per immigrant contract. Consequently, recruiting agents quickly became successful, taking advantage of this opportunity as the number of immigrants began to increase exponentially. This rate of immigration led to chaos and disorganized settlements as the Brazilian government was not prepared for immigration on this scale during the “Brazilian fever.” Lack of medical care and basic hygienic needs led to immigrants becoming victims of various contagious diseases. However, regardless of these conditions, Paraná was the most desirable place for Europeans in southern Brazil. Poles in the states of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul were experiencing worse conditions with no medical or hygienic care. This was even more difficult with the widespread advertisements of better conditions and opportunities in Paraná on the walls of their barracks. Between the years of 1890 and 1894, over 63,500 Polish settlers immigrated to southern Brazil, with around 12,000 settling in Paraná (Lepecki, 1962).

This high flow of Polish immigration is predicted to have lasted longer if Brazil would not have experienced an internal military revolt starting in 1895. That same year, the federal government also withdrew subsidies for immigrants. State and private immigration colonies continued providing aid until 1900. During this five year time period, a total of 6,600 new immigrants from Poland arrived in southern Brazil (Lepecki, 1962). Furthermore, before WWI, the amount of Polish immigration reached 120,000, out of which 50 % settled in Paraná (Lepecki, 1962). Poles especially found the land around Curitiba attractive for its good soil

conducive to growing wheat and potatoes. As they struggled to overcome some physical obstacles, the Polish community became stronger. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, it became a known fact that the Poles who immigrated to southern Brazil were lacking in general intelligence and professional skills. The most educated Poles were priests. Most (95%) Polish immigrants were peasants, 3.5 % were skilled laborers, and only 1% were traders. Only .5 % of Poles were educated (Lepecki, 1962).

Settlement committees helped in the development of colonies in southern Brazil. In Paraná, two settlement committees were formed: one active in the Iguaçu basin, in the Palmeira district, the other in the Rio Negro district. In the Palmeira district, 8,200 people settled (mainly from “Congress Poland”) from 1890 to 1895. In the Rio Negro district, 1,608 people settled in the colonies of Haypolis (later annexed to Santa Catarina) and Augusta Victoria. During this same period, several Polish settlements started in Ponta Grossa. The majority of Polish settlements near Ponta Grossa (Palmeiro and Lapa) had been established on the ruins of the formerly German colonies (from 1848). Romario Martins, a historian of Paraná, describes it as “where Germans could not earn enough for bread, fields were covered by Poles with cereals and pastures with abundance of cattle” (Breowicz, 1961, 71).

On state lands, two settlements (General Carneiro and Antonio Candido) developed simultaneously in the district of Porto União da Vitória. In 1895, the first immigrants from Eastern Galicia, a group of 350 Poles, came to Paraná. They were settled in Alberto de Abreu near Porto União (Siemiradzki, 1895, 147).

The period of the “Brazilian fever” ended with the revolution in Rio Grande do Sul. Lasting almost a year, the revolution stopped Polish immigration almost entirely as “the flowing

tide of the country people from “Congress Poland”, which had poured forth in the wide sweep, diminished suddenly and in about 1895 vanished almost completely” (Gluchowski, 1927, 21). From 1895 on, the flow of Polish emigration to Brazil decreased. Emigration from the Russian and Prussian partitions of Poland stopped almost entirely. As mentioned, only a few emigrants made their way from Galicia.

The results of the “Brazilian fever” are extremely difficult to summarize because, as mentioned, no official reliable statistics of this movement are recorded. The emigrants from “Congress Poland” had been illegally crossing the border to Germany by giving bribes to Russian border guards, where there were no passport restrictions between the particular states. It was therefore impossible to make any list of the departures. Although some emigrants were registered after coming to Brazil, the lists were incomplete because as discussed, often times Polish immigrants were entered as German subjects when they had come from the Prussian occupation. In Galicia “the Fever” struck only at the end of 1894 when 6,500 Poles immigrated (Gluckowski, 1927, 21). Judging by these statistics, Lepecki wrote: “We will be closest to the truth if we accept as the total number of emigrants from all the parts of Poland to Brazil in 1890 to 1899 at eighty thousand Poles” (Lepecki, 1962, 86).

The Second “Brazilian fever”

The years in between the end of the “Brazilian fever” and a new intensification of Polish emigration around 1907, is the period Decol describes as ‘stabilized.’ This was when Polish emigration to Brazil acquired a “new character” (Lasocki, 26, 1967). The country became an object of interest for European investment. As European capital came to play a more important role in Brazil, there once again occurred a labor crisis. Therefore, a new campaign was created in 1907, the start of the second “Brazilian fever,” when the federal authorities invited Europeans to come to Brazil. The rush to emigrate was stimulated by agents profiting on shipping tickets, by coffee plantations’ representatives and in, the case of Poland, by the so-called “Paranámen” the supporters of the idea of “founding in Paraná a great Polish center” (Losocki, 26, 1967).

Before the second “Brazilian fever,” between 1896 and 1907, 1,000 Poles per year, mostly relatives and friends of the older emigrants, settled in Paraná. Despite this low number, this period was important for Polish immigration in Brazil. Besides occasional delegates and observers such as Roman Dmowski, a significant proportion of immigrants who came to Brazil represented the ‘intelligencja.’ This fact is crucial for the cultural as well as economic development and integration of the Polish community in Brazil. It is also important to mention the people who played a big role in the Polish community and made an impact on how Poles identified with their Polish cultural heritage. Some of these important figures include Stanislaw Klobukowski, Jozef Okolowicz, Janina Krakow, S. Suchorski, Leon Bielecki, Kazimierz Warchalowski, and Kurejusz.

When the federal government and railroad companies (São Paulo to Rio Grande do Sul railroad line) felt the need to start recruiting emigrants from Poland again, the recruiting was done by various shipping agents, representatives of big coffee plantations, and by ‘Paranámen’ (people who favored the idea of creating a larger Polish settlement in Paraná). On account of competing interests, recruiters made an effort to persuade peasants to refuse work in the big coffee plantations and settle on their own farms in Paraná. An exceptionally strong campaign was organized by a group of Poles active in the Polish community including Michal Pankiewicz, Janina Jaholkowska, Michal Sekula and others. Furthermore, Konrad Jeziorowski, Dr. Szymon Kossobudzki, Roman Paul, Romualo Krzesinarski, Julian Bagniewski, and Kazimierz Rysinski played an important role in promoting Polish immigration in Paraná. As a result of their efforts and the efforts of recruiting agencies, a new tide of Polish people poured into Brazil. However, this time emigration was not as extensive as the emigration between 1890 to 1892 and 1895 to 1896. Between the years of 1907 and 1914, about 25,000 peasants immigrated, of which 14,730 (60 %) settled in Paraná (Lepecki, 1962, 88).

When the greatest flow of Poles immigrated in 1909 to 1912, Poles came from the southern part of “Congress Poland” and eastern Galicia. On a much smaller scale, the process of the “Great Emigration” of the first “Brazilian fever” was repeated. The Brazilian government, once again, had not expected such a great number of immigrants to settle the land. Even though the barracks for the immigrants on Ilha das Flores and in Rio de Janeiro had considerably improved, inland, on the settlement lands, the conditions slightly changed. As in former conditions, the settlers had to wait many months for the land to be assigned as it had been

exploited by local shopkeepers. In addition, many diseases such as dysentery and typhoid fever broke out amongst the immigrants in the primitive barracks, especially in Cruz Machado.

In another vein, in *Writing Home* (Kula, 1986) Poles wrote about how Polish immigrants from previous waves of immigration in Paraná were of great help to all the newcomers. This help contributed to a stronger and healthier Polish community. The great sense of support and unity are some of the major characteristics that define Polish culture. Poles were generally perceived as ‘hospitable’ to others but solidarity is a particular trait that characterizes Polish identity.

As it had been in the period of the first “fever”, a process of investigation was once again implemented to ‘check on’ the living conditions of the soon-to-be emigrants in Poland. Therefore, a special delegate was sent ‘on the spot.’ The representative that was assigned to investigate was Ludwik Wiodek, an associate of the Agrarian Committees of “Congress Poland,” Lwów, and Krakow (Ciurus, 1977).

A similar process was implemented once Poles developed settlements in Brazil in Ivaí, Jesuino Marcondes, Senador Correia and a few others, all of which were only 7 miles from Curitiba. In 1910, the Vera Guarani settlement was developed near Rio Claro and attempts were also made to establish a settlement in Cruz Machado. In 1911, an entirely new Polish colony was developed at Apucarana and a mixed Polish-Ruthenian-German settlement at Yapo. The railroad company (working on the São Paulo-Rio Grande do Sul line) established in this time three settlements on the railroad lands: Nova Galicia, Legru, and Rio das Antas.

There were almost no Polish settlements in Santa Catarina during this time. Instead, a large number of immigrants came to Guarani and the Erechim settlement in Rio Grande do Sul, one of the largest in Brazil (Lepecki, 1962, 95). In the years 1911-1912, the government once

again interrupted support for settlements and did not improve its incompetence. Immigrants were again not content with the conditions as land in their prospective settlements was not prepared and surveyed and state barracks that immigrants initially stayed in were crowded and diseased. Economic immigration ceased entirely in the years 1912 to 1914 (just before World War I). Nevertheless some of these settlements still received a small number of “intelligencia,” who had left Poland just prior to the war.

The only way this situation could have been changed for the Poles was through diplomatic intervention. However the Poles had no state representatives and “were also deprived of any help, from the partitioning powers’ representatives” (Lasocki, 31, 1967). It was only the representatives of Austria-Hungary that “from time to time showed some concern with the lot of the Polish immigrants, and did not discriminate against Poles from other occupation areas” (Lasocki, 31, 1967). Therefore, Poles suffered the most from Brazilian immigration policy and organizations especially compared to their Italian and German counterparts that had representatives supporting them.

Lasocki provides similar statistics and describes similar processes as Decol (discussed in the Introduction), specifically discussing how during World War I, the federal government and the state governments of Brazil interrupted support for the settlements. This resulted in a new current in immigration policy that “sprang from the idea that the Europeans ruined by the war, would seek places for mass emigration and would thus also rush to Brazil” (Lasocki, 27, 1967). On account of the notion that ‘free transportation’ and temporary subsistence credits were not necessary, the Brazilian government stopped subsidizing immigrants. Now immigrants had to come with some of their own capital and this practice succeeded in bringing active and

professional Polish immigrants who tried to increase their holdings in order not to lose their investments. In addition, the change in Brazilian immigration policy was influenced by progress in industry and architecture which allowed a higher demand for skilled professionals. The limiting factors for immigration in Brazil at the time included the government's fear of communist/socialist tendencies/beliefs among the less privileged Polish workers.

The first immigration agreement between both the Polish and Brazilian government was signed by the representative of the emigration office, Stanisław Gawronski for Poland and the representative of São Paulo Department of Labor for Brazil on February 19, 1927 (Lasocki, 37, 1967). The agreement included the following:

- Candidates for emigration shall be recruited and specifically selected by the Polish Emigration Office
- The executives of the Emigration Office shall supervise physical examinations of chosen candidates and decide whether they meet the demands of laws and regulations of federal government of Brazil as well as the government of São Paulo, with a representative of the São Paulo Department of Labor present at the control.
- Polish workers and their families should be informed about the living and working conditions in São Paulo , answer the standards of productive workers, present their morality certificate and proof of farming experience, and consist of families of at least 2 healthy people over 14 years of age and below 50.

(Garwonski, 1927, 15).

The fifth article of the signed agreement guaranteed transportation, room and board, and medical care for the workers and their families. In order to implement the terms of this agreement, Brazil appointed a representative from the São Paulo State Labor Department to serve in Warsaw and a representative from the Polish emigration office to serve in São Paulo.

The emigration office also advised emigrants to take utensils, tools, and extra clothes with them to save money upon arrival to Brazil.

The sixth article of the agreement reserved priority for the Polish shipping lines, once established for transporting emigrants, and for Brazilian lines, which could come straight to Gdańsk or Gdynia. There was a particular clause in the agreement, guaranteeing repatriation to whole families in the event the head of the family passed away or became disabled. Most importantly, the São Paulo Department of Labor promised Polish immigrants equal rights with Brazilians on the basis of the federal and São Paulo constitutions.

Polish workers could be employed only on terms stated in the contracts for “one year workers” (*robotnicyroczni*) and “seasonal workers” (*robotnicysezonowi*), the basic principles of owner-employee relationship being implicit in the contract signed by both sides. In addition, a legitimate labor contract was established. The contract could not be changed without changing the São Paulo work regulations and labor laws. The contract assured that the workers would have proper room and board with the help of owners as well as the right to buy and sell their belongings/land at their convenience. It was also made clear that they should be paid in cash. Furthermore, “an owner of a plantation was obliged to respect regulations of the health law and to give housing and implements for a nursery” (Lasocki, 1967). In terms of visitors, the emigration office delegates, a Polish physician and a priest were the only ones who had the right to visit the workers.

This labor contract and ‘items of agreement’ were based on the Polish side of the idea that the work on *fazendas* was temporary. Furthermore, there were several reports of abuse and exploitation on the *fazendas* that led to the intervention of the Polish consulate (Zubrzycki,

1988). However, during this time the colonization administration found itself unprepared to deal with the large influx of immigrants, as discussed, so the lack of adequate planning and coordination of activities lead to the detainment of immigrants in poorly equipped barracks. In the letters provided in “Writing Home”, there are several accounts not only of the harsh conditions of the environment but also the dreadful conditions of the sheds and barracks that immigrants were accommodated with, resulting in physical and mental wounds as described in many letters: this is a “poor place...one may get stuck in” (Kula, 1986, 327).

The Colonization Company, founded in 1926, guaranteed Polish workers who had worked in the same *fazenda* for a couple years and kept the terms of contract, help find the means for buying a parcel of land in São Paulo and the privilege of paying for it.

There were no basic changes in immigration policies in Brazil in the period of 1918-1938. In 1938, immigration policies were once again addressed (by the International Labor Bureau) at the Geneva Conference. Brazilian delegate Pinheiro Machado presented what he thought should be the government’s position on emigration:

“Brazil, being mainly agrarian, with rich natural resources and fertile land, offers the foreign workers exceptionally good opportunities. Its inexhaustible resources can secure the best working conditions for a population ten times bigger than the present one. But we are speaking about immigrants, who will settle on the land and will not seek to live in cities.”

The government’s part in organizing was defined by him as follows:

“The state offices’ main duty towards European emigration is not only to eliminate any unwelcomed element or people hard to assimilate, but also to organize, in all its possible aspects and with the view to bringing profit to Brazil, some help to the immigrating farmers. Established

norms for the future dispersal of foreigners over Brazil are of necessity dictated by the most essential needs of the country. Absorbed by the Brazilian environment, foreigners will become agents of the national work and production, which aim cannot be achieved if Brazil gives them unlimited freedom here, accepting their tendencies and personal habits.”

(H. Sukiennicki, 21).

Machado designed settlement centers to be located in territories suitable for Europeans in matters related to climate, geography, and soil. Schools and social institutions in settlements would be oriented around the theme of agriculture and investigations would take place in “local cultures” (Lasocki, 1967, 41). Furthermore, settlements were to be equipped with farming tools and livestock. The privileges which were to be enjoyed by immigrant farmers included “free board for 3 days after coming to the place, a right to earn money in the settlement for six months, free medical advice and care, help to buy seeds” (Lasocki, 1967, 41).

The charge for land was to be paid in installments over a period of 8-12 years. The Immigration and Colonization Board was in charge of supervising execution of all the immigration regulations, in which the minister of labor for the federal government was at the top. Even though the general policy of settlement was established and regulated by the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, each state had autonomy in its local immigration affairs. Furthermore, despite Brazilian immigration policies focusing on farming, a small percentage of immigrants found employment in trade and handicrafts. The flow of “intelligentsia”, as expected, was less numerous because it was restricted by Brazil’s regulations as well as the necessity to repeat studies in the Brazilian universities causing difficulties with the evaluation of university credits and degrees.

Changes Occurring in Polish Settlements

Teofil Rudzki was the first to send advertisements and propaganda about the medical benefits of yerba mate to Warsaw starting in 1882. Next, Rudzki established contacts with companies that were interested in importing mate tea to Poland. Although this plan had potential and was initially successful, the Tsar, who was in control of the Russian annexed part of Poland, did not allow such activity and therefore increased duties on teas from Brazil. Chinese tea, however, continued to be imported into Poland with the support of Prince Orlow, who was a relative of the Tsar.

The discovery of fertile soil in northern Paraná by a Scottish aristocrat, Lord Lovat, in 1925 resulted in the establishment of three new Polish settlements: Warta, Orle, and Nowy Gdańsk (new Gdańsk) within the huge planned area of the Paraná Plantations Limited. Lord Lovat acquired this land through applying for a permit to grow cotton. Most of the Poles who worked on these settlements were from Londrina, the original nucleus of the planned settlement.

Smith found that “Polish statistics account for the immigration of 36,159 persons between 1919 and 1935” (Smith, 409). Although this is a substantial amount, the Central Union of Poles in Brazil found a staggering 217,000 Poles (Polish immigrants and their descendants) residing in Brazil only two years later in 1937 (Smith, 409). For Paraná in particular, “Romário Martins calculates the total immigration of Poles to Paraná [for the period of 1871 to 1934]” (Smith, 409). The Polish data relative to the number of Poles and their descendants in the various states of Brazil in 1937 are the following:

Table 6 Number of Poles in Brazilian States 1937

Paraná: 92,000

Rio Grande do Sul: 83,000

Santa Catarina: 28,000

São Paulo: 12,000

Espírito Santo: 1,500

Other states: 500

(Smith, 409)

In Smith's own travels throughout Brazil, he encountered small groups of Poles in Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso which are likely to make up the five hundred Poles found in 'other states.' The overwhelming proportions of these Polish-Brazilians (80 %) were in the agriculture business and owned small farms (Smith, 1963). More specifically, Poles contributed most to the municípios of: São Mateus, União da Vitória, Araucária, Campo Largo, and Irati in Paraná; Erechim, Encruzilhada, and Getúlio Vargas in Rio Grande do Sul; and Canoinhas and Itaiópolis in Santa Catarina. The Polish colonists contributed a great deal to these places, including new agricultural techniques bringing new European skills, managerial practices, and new agricultural systems.

Within Paraná, Poles are particularly noted for the establishment of 11 settlements in the município of Lapa. One settlement, exemplary of most of these Polish settlements in Lapa is known for being a "great farming center" consisting of "around 15,000 inhabitants, all prosperous and proud of their productive lands and of the advanced and industrious community or social order that they constitute" (Smith, 412). Nearly all Polish immigration to Paraná has

been that of small farmers and the list of colonies established includes “almost three hundred names, most of which have developed into permanent settlements” (Smith, 413).

In the mid twentieth century, Poland became an importer of coffee (grown by Poles) and Saporski helped this process by spreading the news of Polish-Brazilian coffee plantations across the Atlantic into Poland.

Key Polish Figures and Positive Change for Poles in the Twentieth Century

The most common crops Poles cultivated were wheat, potatoes, and soy. Italians attempted to grow wheat, but did not reach the same scale as Poles had. Soon Poles were clearing the land, transforming natural landscapes to agricultural fields. Not only did Poles transform the physical landscape, but they also made an impact on the cultural landscape by being the first immigrant group to build chapels and churches. From 1869-1891, 724 people worked for church services and this number continued to increase at the beginning of the twentieth century. Attending church, holding Polish services, and singing Polish hymns were some of the ways Poles were able to embrace their Polish cultural practices and create a sense of ‘community.’

Even though Polish immigrants were most noted for their ‘cultural traditions’ and ‘hard work,’ they desired education and made efforts to give the best possible schooling to their

children. As Polish colonies grew to be more self-sufficient, they simultaneously became more isolated. However, regardless of their isolation, tight-knit community, and illiteracy, the Poles highly valued education and prioritized building schools and supporting teachers in their colonies.

The Brazilian government was receptive to programs that immigrant settlers wanted to open in their colonies. Any languages, educational curricula, and cultural programs were welcomed. The most difficult obstacle for Polish settlers in particular was finding qualified teachers. No one in the colonies knew Portuguese, let alone any mathematical or historical knowledge as most immigrants came from peasant backgrounds. Yet, despite all these setbacks, in October, 1876, the first Polish school in Brazil, Orleans, opened as a result of Hieronim Durski's efforts as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. Durski built the school and started writing and editing Polish books (printed in Curitiba) as well as a bilingual encyclopedia for elementary schools. This first bilingual encyclopedia, printed in Poznań, Poland in 1893 was intended for elementary school children. However, shortly after schools opened, Durski made modifications for more appropriate use by older children and teenagers. This paved the way for a better understanding of Brazil and Brazilian life in both languages. By 1914, there were 73 Polish schools with about 3,000 Polish kids attending elementary school. Despite some of the minor obstacles (i.e. hiring qualified teachers), thousands of young children were still acquiring a decent education in these schools.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, educated Poles started emigrating from the Russian occupied part of Poland. In 1904, Jan Hempel, a representative of the *Komunistyczna Partia Polski* (KPP) communist party of Poland, immigrated to Brazil to become a Polish school

teacher in Guarauno, near Ponta Grossa, Paraná. In 1905, a group of Polish intellectual figures: Dr. Szymon Kossobudzki, Juliusz Siemiradzki, Gabriel Nowicki, Mirosław Szeligowski, Antoni Rydygier, and Kazimierz Warchalowski all immigrated to Brazil in the hope of finding better opportunities. In 1908 Polish immigrants, educated teachers and illiterate farmers, alike came together to create the first official cultural Polish organization in Paraná. However, this attempt turned into a fiasco because of the varying political positions of the group members and disagreements on policies. The only other successful Polish organizations of some form that existed prior to this attempt were Polish magazines and newspapers, printed in Curitiba including *Gazeta Polska* starting in 1892, *Kurier Paranski* in 1897 and in the same year *Polak w Brazylii* (Pole in Brazil) of which Jan Hempel was the main editor. Furthermore, Jan Hempel along with a Polish barterer, Roman Paul, established N. Koperniko, one of the first Polish high schools named after the Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus. There were a few renowned Polish figures, including Konrad Jeziorowski, Michał Sekula, Julian Baginski, and Paweł Nikodem who became involved in this high school by supporting the education of Polish history and becoming active in Polish social and cultural life in Paraná. These key figures were also pivotal in the publication of “*Gazeta Polska*.”

With the outbreak of the World War I, all the Polish organizations in southern Brazil merged to take action, independently from Brazil, to raise money to send Polish volunteers to fight in the war. Many Polish school teachers decided to fight in the General Army of Haller in France, which led to the shutdown of many ‘Polish’ schools. Soon, the only Polish schools left were the ones owned by the clergy where nuns took the role of teaching. Many cultural, religious, and educational institutions soon became controlled by missionaries.

When Getúlio Vargas became president of Brazil in 1930, he implemented new policies in education and banned the use of any foreign languages not just in schools, but also in Brazil as a whole. Portuguese was the official language and the language to be spoken and taught in schools throughout Brazil. Therefore, all European immigrants who were interested in becoming educators were required to take courses to learn Portuguese. The Polish community worked together to raise funds to send 51 teachers to Curitiba to take this course. When the courses were complete they started teaching Portuguese to young Polish children, continuing to incorporate some Polish components (i.e. Polish history) they thought were important to learn.

Paweł Nikodem was specifically responsible for collecting historical facts and documents about Polish immigration in southern Brazil. In 1933, Nikodem exchanged 20 square kilometers of forested land for the ownership rights to the newspaper *Gazeta Polska*, which was then owned by a few Polish priests. After this change, the newspaper printed record breaking amounts of copies and became the most successful and widely read Polish newspaper in Brazil. The newspaper soon came to cover social, political and environmental problems in the existing Polish colonies throughout southern Brazil. Other than *Gazeta Polska*, there existed a couple of different Polish publications between 1929-1931 that were printed and distributed in Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul (i.e. *Echo Polskie*). Furthermore, in Curitiba and Porto Alegre, Polish calendars were printed with a pamphlet about Polish life and current Polish events, updates on Polish organizations and a column dedicated to Polish history, literature, and news. This publication included a professional column providing advice for farmers and exchanging experiences in the field.

In other areas, Julian Baginski, a big land owner from Cruz Machado with a background in farming, became successful by teaching the art of farming to Polish colonists. He started experimenting with different farming techniques in Poland and wished to share his knowledge with Polish colonists. Czesław Marian Biezanko also made an impact in the Polish farming community, contributing to new and improved farming techniques, and is considered to be one of the most accomplished Polish figures in the agricultural development of southern Brazil during the twentieth century. He published over 100 research papers ranging from entomology and harmful agricultural practices to the best conditions for growing various crops.

Like Waibel (1955), Biezanko started by explaining why land in Paraná had a promising beginning. While Waibel focused more on policies (i.e. 1854 land law), Biezanko is especially noteworthy for making a catalogue of all the bugs found in agricultural environments, categorizing them by their level of potential damage to the crops. With the support of the Brazilian government and ministry of agriculture, Biezanko began to cultivate soybean plantations. Although this was an innovative and potentially lucrative idea, many Polish farmers opposed it. Despite many conflicting forces, Biezanko highly advertised soy in the hope of gaining more supporters as well as buyers. However, he faced many difficulties as no one was willing to try anything new. In 1972, the government helped Biezanko, supporting his idea and the cultivation and selling of soy beans.

Chapter 4 The Effects of Environments on Cultural Identity

Even though one of the first and biggest Polish colonial settlements was “Colônia Murici” which was a settlement established on the Plateau of Curitiba “which constitute[d] a subdivision of the First Plateau of Paraná” (Soares, 59), one of the most interesting settlements which will be discussed in this chapter is Santana in the area of Paraná known as Cruz Machado. The selection of this particular settlement for my case study is based on its high degree of relative isolation. The Poles in this area have lived in relative isolation for more than a century practicing some of the most fascinating Polish traditions, living in a tight knit community where the present generation’s first language is still Polish.

The first Polish settlers arrived in what is today known as Cruz Machado in the late nineteenth century. A typhus epidemic soon followed and affected about a ten mile radius of the surrounding wilderness. The Polish settlers that survived established a small settlement with saw mills and called it Santana.

Despite Polish immigration not being as well planned and organized as the Italian or Japanese, it had played a great role in Brazil. Those who wrote from Brazil went there primarily to farm land of their own and wrote about how they found adjustment to farming in Brazil “easy” (Kula, 1986, 40). On account of 90% of the Polish emigrants in southern Brazil being farmers and settlers, the tradition of speaking Polish and practicing customs was stronger than among the emigrants in the other countries. Polish peasants were initially scattered throughout the forests of southern Brazil and were therefore not influenced by the Brazilian way of life. After a short

period of time when more and better roads were built, they made efforts to become more in tune with Brazilian culture and lifestyle. As a result, the first generation born in Brazil began speaking Portuguese, except at home, adopted local customs, and engaged in the ‘Brazilian way of life’ all the while not forgetting their Polish origin. Polish schools and organizations in Santana were centers that passed on Polish cultural traditions. Their activities (i.e. Polish schools, stores, community centers), however, were forbidden in 1938 by the nationalization decree of Getúlio Vargas, as mentioned and it was only after 1953 that they revived their Polish culture gradually. However, as one would expect, this revival of Polish customs did not reach the same degree as the pre-World War II situation.

Although most Poles had not anticipated the degree of ‘harshness’ of the land on which they would have to spend years clearing and bringing into cultivation for the first time, many letters reveal a strong pioneering element among the Polish immigrants. One immigrant observed that “Brazil would be better off because of the Polish pioneers” (Kula, 1986, 40). In turn, immigrants expected that life would be better for them in Brazil than it was in Poland despite the hardships they faced: “In the first years, we will do a great deal of work, but if God grants us health, then thank God, we expect to have a better life than a *Pan* does on a good folwark in Poland” (Kula, 1986, 60).

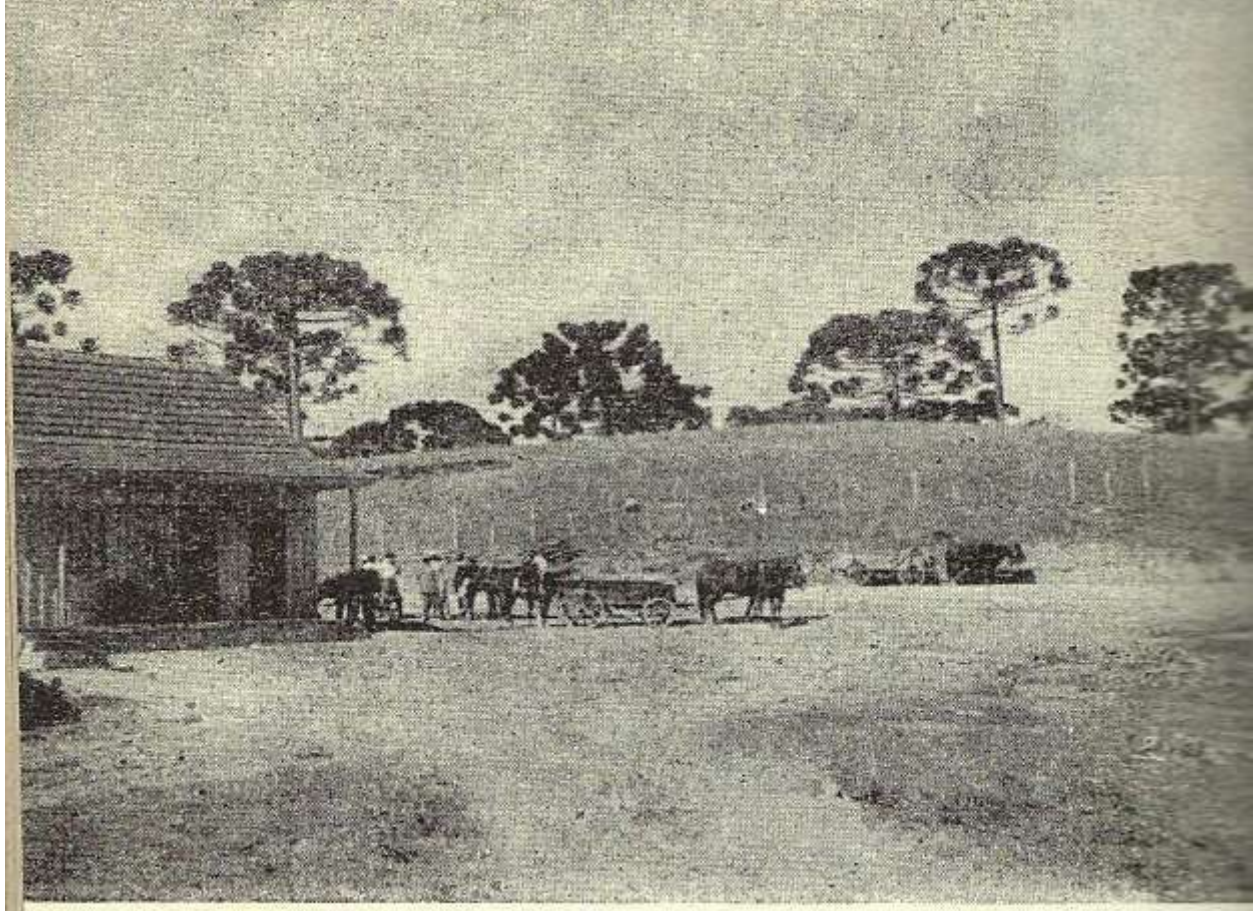


Figure 6. Polish immigrants traveling by covered wagon in Paraná (Ciuruś, 1977, 50)

Good health, family, and God were the main values respected by Poles, especially in *colônias* like Santana where immigrants were initially expecting “diseases long forgotten or unheard of in Europe...[and] harsh conditions were commonplace” (Kula, 1986, 40). These were the values they brought with them from Poland and the values that persisted, bringing the Polish community closer together, helping them overcome hardships and keep their Polish customs.

The Poles in the Cruz Machado area have lived in relative isolation for more than a century practicing several Polish traditions, living in a tight knit community where the present generation's first language is still Polish.

The first Polish settlers arrived in what is today known as Cruz Machado in the late 1880s. When a typhus epidemic affected a ten mile radius of the surrounding wilderness of Cruz Machado, it killed several Poles, including many women and children. The Polish settlers that survived established a small settlement with saw mills and called it Santana.

The emphasis in this chapter is a rural-urban comparison analysis of Polish immigrants' experiences and the meaning of Polish and Polish-Brazilian identity.

The purpose of this analysis is to raise questions about the role of (urban/rural) environment as well as corresponding lifestyle (economic activities) in shaping cultural identity.

Background: Curitiba and Santana

The beginnings of Polish settlement associated with the colonization of Santana started in the region known as Cruz Machado on December 19, 1910. At a time when the government's goal was to populate 'uninhabited areas,' the federal department, the Serviço do Povoamento do Solo, founded the official colony of Santana on July 19, 1911 (Azembski, 1966). The first Polish settlers were from the following cities in Poland: Siedlce, Lublin, Chełm, and Białystok. After

arriving to the Island of Flowers (Ilha das Flores), the immigrants who were not affected by disease (mainly typhus) and hence those who were not placed into quarantines, embarked on another trip by ship to the port of Paranaguá from where they traveled by train to Curitiba. The next destination was Ponta Grossa whereby settlers took a break before traveling to the next point, Mallet, 50 kilometers away, where colonists unloaded their belongings onto wagons. The next step of the journey entailed a few day horse covered wagon trip to the village of Cruz Machado.



Polish covered wagons in Santana

Photo Credit: Jolanta Kwasniewska

Most settlers became exhausted from traveling or reached the point of starvation. This led to the passing away of a few Polish settlers. Nevertheless, Santana symbolized a place where settlers could escape diseases like typhus.

Around 861 Polish families settled in the first colony of Cruz Machado (Azembski, 1966). Settlers in Cruz Machado were given land in a nearby colony called Serra da Esperança. Most of the territories were located near railroads which was an important and low cost form of transportation. The only other form of transportation that existed for this area was horse covered wagons on narrow dirt roads that exist until today.



Present narrow dirt roads in Santana (entrance)

Photo by Anna Dvorak

In general, the settlement process in Paraná was poorly organized and chaotic.



Santana under conditions of chaos both physically (weather conditions) and organizationally

Photo by Anna Dvorak

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the government was not prepared to settle such great amounts of people. In fact, Brazil expected to settle only 2,000 families. However, once the immigration process started, it was clear that was not going to be the case.

In Waibel's study on European colonization in southern Brazil (1955), one of the central questions is how much land was necessary to provide a decent living in this part of the country. In this particular case, the land grants, accorded by the federal government, were small in their

dimensions, comprising an area of only 25 hectares each. This meant that the settlers on individual farms lived in close proximity from the beginning, perhaps a welcome feature given their initial isolation in the forests of Paraná.



A barrack in Santana in which 25 families lived, common for all colonies in the area

Photo by Anna Dvorak

Under such circumstances, settlers felt closely connected with the land and with their neighbors, creating a powerful sense of community, one with a strong component of Polish culture. This helped the settlers work together efficiently, building cultural centers including a church, community center, and cemetery. However the first thing settlers constructed was a lumberyard so they could easily start working on the rest of the community buildings. This lumberyard was owned by the Rocco's, an Italian family, who initially helped Poles in Santana build roads to Cruz Machado and later focused on building one road from the lumber yard to

União da Vitória. The lumberyard is currently in operation (still owned by the Rocco family) and employs 50 Poles in Santana.

Most Polish immigrants were illiterate peasants who were promised the ‘perfect’ country with endless pristine land. The majority of these Poles were from the Russian partition, where they felt enslaved by big landowners and lived in poor conditions, perceiving any opportunity to emigrate as hope for the future (Kula, 1986).

Scholarly work on the presence of Polish settlers in Brazil began to be published before World War I. Although these studies were valuable in that they used original sources such as diaries, letters, and reports, as well as statistical data on immigration movements, they were subjective in their comparison of Polish and Brazilian peasants. The Brazilian peasant has typically been portrayed as being ‘lazy, inefficient, and unproductive’ whereas the Polish peasant has been depicted as ‘strong, diligent, and intelligent.’

Currently, many Poles in the Cruz Machado area remember hearing stories of how and when their ancestors arrived and saved documents with this information. The following document shows a landing date for the immigrant portrayed on the identity card whereby he arrived at the port of Rio de Janeiro in June, 1911.



Photo by Anna Dvorak



Brazilian identity card issued in May, 1972-Illiterate person

Photo by Anna Dvorak

These photos show a permanent residence card issued to a Polish immigrant, José Pazoroskiego born in Poland in 1891. According to this document, the date of arrival in Brazil is June 24, 1911. The identity card document above indicates that José Pazoroski was illiterate. The document comes from the personal collections of the Pietruszewski family. The next document is a passport from 1911 from a personal collection of the family Cieniuch.



Passport issued in 1911

Photo by Anna Dvorak

Polish immigrants' first impression was influenced by the poor sanitary conditions and lack of drinking water. Twenty people lived in one small barrack and 120 people lived in a barrack twice that size.



Kitchen used and shared by close to 50 immigrants

Photo by Anna Dvorak

On account of many people living in tight spaces, diseases, including typhus, spread more quickly (Dworecki, 1980). These unsanitary conditions resulted in many deaths. Furthermore, it was difficult to adjust to a different physical environment and therefore new systems of agriculture.

Settlers waited to be granted more land as they were told that a federal representative would come to their colony to officially confer land grants. However, this did not happen and ‘abandonment’ together with the factor of isolation resulted in mental exhaustion amongst many Polish settlers. Not only did the difficult conditions (harsh physical environment and high temperatures during the day and below 0 degrees Celsius temperatures at night) make it challenging for the settlers, but the isolated location in the middle of a dense forest also contributed to disorientation and panic.



Forest (Araucaria angustifolia, the Paraná pine) surrounding Santana

Photo by Anna Dvorak

People were afraid to leave which made the settlers feel restricted. Because Polish immigrants were limited to travel by a few primitive roads and lack of the Brazilian government keeping their promises to ‘check up’ on the settlement and grant more land, Polish immigrants felt as though they were forgotten. Despite these negative feelings, Poles knew that there was no returning back to their homeland. Some Polish families decided to look for better land south of Santana near a colony called Sedy. In addition, while most Poles stayed and waited for land grants, a few settlers moved to another colony called Rio do Bahno, 5 kilometers away. Most settlers built their own homes here after purchasing land on credit that had to be paid off in 25 years (Dworecki, 1980).

Although peasants in Poland were considered the economically poorest and least culturally developed group in the nation, in Brazil, as they were compared to local peasants referred to as ‘caboclos,’ they represented a higher agrarian culture and skill and were noted for their strong desire to own land. It was this strong desire and ambitious personality that led them to endure the exceptionally difficult beginnings in primitive conditions as well as their eventual achievement of well being in successful settlements. This led to a stronger and more valued Polish identity than peasants experienced in Poland.

In exchange for groceries, agricultural tools, and seeds, Polish settlers built several roads in Cruz Machado. Settlers all shared one horse carriage, stationed in Mallet, to bring groceries to Santana. The carriage was mainly used for the purpose of measuring land for agricultural purposes (Malciewski, 1998). Polish settlers were fortunate to be advised and taught by Juliusz Bagniewski, as discussed in Chapter 3, on how to adapt to agricultural practices in the area.

In 1912, Cruz Machado was split into two separate colonies: Patio Velho and Santana.



Entrances to Santana and Patio Velho

Photos by Anna Dvorak

Patio Velho consisted of a pharmacy, small hospital, grocery store, and slaughter house. Santana had one small grocery store and the first watermill, built on the Santana River. Two Polish engineers, Franciszek Sypniekowski and Jan Rysicz, along with Edmund Woś-Saporski, who helped them measure lands, built most of the structures, watermills and layout of agricultural lots in both colonies of Cruz Machado starting in 1912. In December, 1912, Fr. Teodor Drapiewski, initiated the construction of the first Polish chapel in Cruz Machado in Rio do Bahno, near Santana.



First Polish chapel (Rio do Bahno) in Cruz Machado

Courtesy Jolanta Kwasniewska

Under his supervision, several Polish settlers worked together to complete Chapel Maria Boża Bolesna, in 1913.



Chapel Maria Boża Bolesna

Photo Courtesy Jolanta Kwasniewska

The chapel was used for church services on Sundays and holidays, and used as a school house the rest of the week. Before the construction of this chapel, masses were performed in private homes.

The average day for Polish peasants in Santana consisted of working on their own land (i.e. cultivating crops including linen and taking care of livestock) and building roads (connecting towns in Cruz Machado such as Patio Velho, Santana, and Mallet).



A Polish couple presenting their work after a week's effort on the farm

Photo Courtesy Stadnickich family

Supplies had to be bought from Mallet although most food supplies were located in a small store in Biały Wende, 30 km away from Mallet. Before these food supply stores were established, people were killing vultures for food until they realized the meat was not edible and produced a reek smell.

Within the next couple years, peasants were finally granted more land and started feeling more “at home” (Kula, 1986, 50) in their new environment, as they adjusted to Paraná's conditions.



One of the first homes in Santana

Photo Courtesy Koczyla family

When Poles talked about their home, they did not refer to Poland in the context of the partitioning power(s), but rather called it their “motherland” (Kula, 1986). Despite the strong memory of being mistreated by masters and feeling enslaved on their own land, Poles still felt a strong attachment to Poland and expressed this connection in many letters (Kula, 1986).

Lepecki sums up Polish immigrants’ contribution by stating that

“The Polish settlers, brought into unknown and difficult conditions, proved to be excellent workers and most able in adapting themselves. They developed vast areas of land and prepared it for further progress. Their descendants live now in prosperity and apparently there is nothing standing in their way to further progress. Brazil, having shown confidence in Polish emigrants, was not disappointed. The capital of Paraná owes to them an abundance of food and labor” (Lepecki, 1962, 196).

Curitiba

Starting in the early 1900s, Poles started migrating from rural settlements in southern Paraná to Curitiba. The first article with this news, including migration statistics, came out in “*Gazeta Polska*” in 1910, followed by the organization of the “Congress of Poles in Curitiba” later that year. Among the newcomers from southern Paraná and Poland to Curitiba were many craftsmen, smiths, wheelwrights, and shoemakers, who would not only work for other Poles living in Curitiba, but also for the local inhabitants, gaining sympathy for Polish artisans and their products. It was these Polish craftsmen who introduced flax to Brazil. Polish carpenters were building better than it had ever been known in Brazil. Polish peasants introduced to the city European cereals, mills and baking bread. Breowicz explained how “One should see Polish settlements and workshops, high gables of Polish houses, the shadows of the windmills pumping water, the European fruit trees, the picket fences, the shape of the windows, farms tools, one should see the way they thresh, in order to appreciate the Polish craftsmen and peasants’ contribution in developing Brazil and building it from the very beginning” (Breowicz, 1961, 204).

The herva plantations and herva plants (first used by the indigenous) for export outside of Curitiba were often in the hands of the Polish immigrants. Poles owned some of the drying plants, shelling and grinding mills, from which the product was sent to local and foreign markets. There were Polish winemakers, fruit juice and marmalade producers in these settlements in and

near the city of Curitiba. In addition, many Poles living in Curitiba owned many furniture factories, confectionaries, brickworks, manufactures of wooden handicrafts, sewing and embroidering workshops, transport and repair shops, and several small stores and shops. The owners came from the old emigration of peasants as well as intelligentsia, which settled in Curitiba.

Lepecki stated that in the “Registro de Estrangeiros” (Bureau of Registration for Foreigners) in Curitiba there were registered 10, 034 Poles, that came in a step wise migration during the period between 1939 and 1957.

Zabko-Potopowicz found that 10,000 Poles lived in Curitiba in 1933 (Gluchowski, 1927) which comprised 17% of the inhabitants of the capital. Many Polish churches, schools, and organizations were established in Curitiba. In addition, Curitiba printed Polish newspapers and magazines that were all edited at the Polish printing houses located in the center of Curitiba. As previously mentioned, most Polish intelligentsia, including professors of universities, doctors, dentists, lawyers, and officials, lived in Curitiba. Many Polish shopkeepers and famous craftsmen also gathered there. One place Poles were not well represented was in industry.

In the neighborhood of the city, there were many Polish settlements only two miles from Curitiba. In the settlement of Bacachery, Poles had very small holdings and most of them had to take extra jobs and send family members to the factories of the inner-city.

One of the biggest Polish neighborhoods/settlements in the Curitiba area was Santa Cândida, founded in 1875 by Poles from the Opole district of Silesia. In the early 1920 the settlement had about 240 Polish families (Malczewski, 1998). West from Santa Cândida were the colonies of Pilarzinho (the previously discussed oldest Polish colony in Paraná), Barrinha,

Cachoeira, Santa Gabriela, Mala (little) Lamenha, Batiatuba, Pacatuba and Juruqui. Gluchowski (1927) found that there were 500 Polish families that lived in these settlements. Farther west there were the settlements of Orleans, S. Ignacia, Dom Pedro, D. Augusto and Rivierre. The entire district was officially called Nova Polonia and approximately 2,500 Poles lived in the district in 1923. If one were to add all the Poles living in the settlements of S. Candida, Abranches and Orleans, in the Curitiba district, and the more or less 650 people scattered over the southern peripheries of the town, “the number of Poles living outside the center of Curitiba, the so-called Quadro urbano, totals about 4,500 people, or more or less 20% of all the inhabitants of the district, the city excluded. In the whole district including the city, the Poles make up about 13,500, or over 18% of all the inhabitants” (Gluchowski, 1927 , 43).

Furthermore, about 800 Polish families lived south and southwest of Curitiba, in the S. José dos Pinhaes district. Two settlements were additionally opened by the suggestion of the Brazilian government at Muricy (320 families) and Zacharias (60 families) (Gluchowski, 1927). The state government also established a colony at Alfonso Penna (54 families) as previously discussed. The settlement of Thomas Coelho was founded 12 miles from Curitiba, to settle Mazovians (from Gorlice in North Poland) recruited by Bendaszewski. In 1885, 517 Polish families lived there, but in the twenty years between the two world wars, only 320 were left as the descendants of the original settlers who were steadily moving to new lands in the Araucaria district. Soon, Poles from Thomas Coelho had settled almost the entire Araucaria district. In 1920 the number of Poles in the district amounted to 10,000. This made up over 85% of all the inhabitants of the district (Gluchowski, 1927).

Thomas Coelho was a Polish settlement where the only language that was spoken was Polish and where settlers immersed themselves in Polish customs and traditions. This was where “the Polish emigrant in Brazil proved his best abilities as a settler” (Gluchowski, 1927, 46). Zabko-Potopowicz found that about 35,000 Poles lived in the immediate vicinity of Curitiba, encompassing the municipalities of Colombo, Tamandare, Campo Largo, Araucaria and S. José Pinhaes. Gluchowski calculated 9,000 Poles the total number of Polish people in Curitiba for 1920-1923 (Gluchowski, 1927, 47).

The second most popular crops, after herva matte that Poles grew near Curitiba were those closer to European farming customs. These crops included cereals such as wheat, rye, and corn as well as other popular crops like tobacco, potatoes, manioc, and beans. For several decades, the only fertilizer used by Polish settlers was the ashes from forest burnings.

The first to express his opinion on the positive future of Polish settlement in the Curitiba area was J. Sieradzki as he wrote:

“Having seen thoroughly almost all Polish settlement in Paraná, I can summarize my observations in few words: all over this state nobody need suffer hunger, let alone the person be industrious and farseeing; because a settler, having lived through the hard beginnings, in a comparatively short time, that is in 2-3 years of steady work, can build up a good farm and meet necessary household demands with the profit from the sale of pigs, lard, chicken eggs and herva matte. On the other hand, bitterly disappointed will be those who hope to make big money after a year in Brazil; it is a fact, that shopkeepers, craftsmen, and small businessmen earn good money, but with the risk the rest of their trade may be lost rapidly in one on the constant revolutions or bankruptcies. A farmer can make bigger profits only if living near a big city with facilities for marketing his product” (Siemiradzki, 1895, 104).

Rural versus Urban

Urbanização (“urbanization” or the growth of towns and cities) is used in Brazil to explain the planning and construction of the physical features and characteristics of a city such as public squares and parks. Generally, urbanization in Brazil involves the urban center focusing on public improvements that are physically concentrated in the central portion of the city. The areas surrounding the center are often “devoid of facilities” (Smith, 602).

The difference between the ‘urbanized’ and ‘non-urbanized’ areas in Brazil is expressed in a literal translation of the distinction used for the census: “an urbanized area is considered as that part of the territory that is served, or is due to be served, by public improvements, as well as that included in the planned zone of expansion” (Smith, 602). Furthermore, the degree of urbanization in Brazil in the various states and regions is indicative of the degree to which the process of urbanization has gone forward.

The adoption of a viable definition of ‘urban’ for the use in the 1940 and subsequent censuses of population have resulted in several comprehensive studies on urbanization and rural-urban migration patterns in Brazil. The 1940 and 1950 censuses have led to studies on the growth of towns and cities, especially in southern Brazil during the decade ending in 1950, and the publication of the 1960 census results that have served as comparable material for the 1950 census.

The general tendency of the Brazilian population to abandon its century's long practice of rural residence for life in towns and cities is best demonstrated by a study of the comparative rates of growth of the rural and urban populations during the 1950s.

Some of the reasons for rural to urban migration are: getting a city job, marrying outside the area, a combination of those two factors or getting a city job combined with obtaining higher levels of education not offered in a place like Santana.

Permanent migration, usually rural to urban relocation, has been the most common form of population movement. Poles who have migrated to Curitiba have rapidly incorporated an urban lifestyle and, as a practice, will never return to Santana. One of the reasons for why some migrants do not return is displacement from positions in the household as well as spouses finding jobs in Curitiba.

Migrants, however, did return frequently to Santana to visit relatives and friends. This demonstrates the importance of family, attachment to Santana and its values, and the significance of Polish traditions in visiting home and family, a major part of Polish identity. Despite the value of loyalty and practicing Polish traditions, few returned to live in Santana. Among these few were young people who have gone out to study and returned home after the completion of their degree or after dropping out of school or Catholic seminaries after renouncing their vows to the church. Those who dropped out of seminaries and failed to become priests often took jobs using their seminarian studies as credentials and never returned to Santana. For those who did take the vows to the Catholic Church and became priests, they were not allowed to serve in their place of birth due to the rule of the church. This was also the case for young women who joined

nunneries and took their vows as nuns. Despite the local nunnery and nun's home in Santana, nuns were not allowed to serve in the place where they were born and raised.

Another characteristic of migration is more women migrating to Curitiba than men. This is explained by women having a greater chance of marrying outside of Santana. Most women who left because of marriage became housewives however some women were able to get professional jobs (i.e. nurse, teacher) in Curitiba. Men did not have these kinds of opportunities and most did not acquire the skills that would allow them to live outside the agricultural setting of Santana.

Economy, Education, Society and Livelihoods

It has been suggested (Higgins, 1968, 223) that in the assessment of economic development for places like Santana based on an agricultural economy, market structure and accessibility to resources and the market are important elements in the growth of the local economy including its external sector. Higgins believes that internal growth, whether a rural or urban city, is dependent on resources that respond best to a changing market structure. He emphasizes shifts of activity from one region to another (Higgins, 1968, 9) which will be discussed in this section in the context of rural-urban migration patterns from Santana to

Curitiba, mainly for the purpose of job opportunities, leading to a shift in economic activities as mentioned. This section will discuss this shift and the effects it has on Polish cultural identity.

Some Poles expressed how “different” the work methods were in southern Brazil (Kula, 1986, 77), but many more discovered that work was difficult. However, few complained about the “hard work” as they found “there is plenty of milk [and honey], and beer is not lacking either, but one has to work hard for it” (Kula, 1986, 145).

Many Poles were shopkeepers, craftsmen, small businessmen and as previously emphasized, representatives of Polish “intelligentsia.” A good craftsman could gain considerable independence in Curitiba after a couple of years of intensive work. The shopkeepers had to deal with strong competition from Italians, Germans and Syrians, who had accessed the more important trades. A small shopkeeper with a capital of 300-500 dollars in Curitiba, after having learned the local way of trading, could attain considerable prosperity in a short amount of time.

Curitiba has been the second city, after São Paulo that has a class of its own in manufacturing offering employment to the heads of its families and other male workers (Smith, 610). The Polish “intelligentsia” generally had to face many difficulties in Curitiba. According to local regulations, foreign doctors, lawyers, and engineers could not establish free practice until they had received the equivalent of their diplomas and passed an examination in Portuguese. The regulations often forced them to study several supplementary semesters in Brazilian universities. There was no room in Brazil for non-professional “intelligentsia,” including men who did not know how to speak Portuguese or did not have the means to live through the first initial period of their stay in Curitiba.

Immigrants wrote in letters to family and friends advising them to bring their clothing with them because it was an expensive item in Brazil (Kula, 1986, 36-57). Dressing well was associated with one's success on the job: "I am getting along quite well now. I have something to wear" (Kula, 1986, 188).

Polish immigrants who sought employment in industry usually arrived alone to make it easier for themselves to move around in search of better opportunities. Single men were allowed to enter Brazil only if they were going into industry or going to work on the *fazendas*. Therefore most industrial workers planned to send for family members as soon as possible and fewer expected to return to Poland than imagined.

Poles who came without farming experience, like factory workers from Żyrardów found farm life in Santana difficult as one immigrant expressed: "Here in Brazil, it is very good, but not for everyone. Good craftsmen, such as carpenters and locksmiths, can earn a good deal of money and it goes well for them. But as for some common laborers, that is, who came to farm in Brazil, they are in great poverty, almost starving to death" (Kula, 1986, 17). Despite the agricultural techniques from Poland working in Brazil, adjusting to the local conditions, hindered Polish immigrants more than any other factors. These conditions included climate, primitive level of farming technology, and inadequate amount of farming implements, seed, farm animals as well as isolation. However, one must take into account that some Polish immigrants had an easier time adjusting than others. This fact shows that those Poles, the majority of Polish immigrants, who immediately adjusted to Brazil's 'primitive' farming methods (hoe culture and slash and burn agriculture), leads to the conclusion that most immigrants did not have a farming background.

Also, there was the factor of isolation “in a frontier environment that would promote a ‘do-or-die’ attitude” (Kula, 1986, 42). As discussed in Chapter 3, Poles were successful in introducing improvements in Brazilian methods. In particular, an immigrant describes: “here one does not do with the land as in Europe. There, one needs strength; and here, perhaps one has to have a technique” (Kula, 1986, 6). Their main technique, as previously mentioned, was plow culture, as practiced in Poland. The inexperienced still expressed confidence: “Here only the first year is difficult, that is, until a man establishes himself. Later on everything will be better” (Kula, 1986, 20).

Polish immigrants who desired “freedom” and dreamed of owning land, being free of external controls and having a better life as a result of this “freedom,” were the Poles who were truly attached to the land. However, for most Polish immigrants their relationship to the land was much different as they perceived it as a primary means of economic security and improvement from previous conditions.

Many Polish settlers expressed how ‘easy’ it was to remain in an unfortunate location: “if one chances upon a poor place then one may get stuck in that place” (Kula, 1986, 327). However, a newcomer’s contacts with the Polish community made it easier for him to find the “right spot” which would have taken more time and effort without this kind of help. While some were able to move on to “better position[s]”, others had intermittent work which resulted in many being on a constant move.

Innovative land management techniques introduced in the 1940s were significant for the development of the Santana’s agricultural market economy. Fr. Daniel Niemiec (1924-2006), a priest who dedicated his life to Santana (building brick churches, amphitheatres, and Polish

centers) becoming a legend for Poles living around Santana, encouraged the raising of milking cows for the production of manure. He also encouraged the incorporation of home and agriculturally produced organic matter to all the depleted soils in close proximity to Santana. Fr. Daniel worked together with Juliusz Bagniewski to spread the practice of tilling and cropping techniques which improved agricultural production in Santana.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the market economy in Santana improved on a greater scale. Tractors were brought to Santana for the first time by a Brazilian government agricultural agency so that Poles only had to pay for fuel. Furthermore, Polish horse wagons were being replaced by larger cargo trucks and Poles worked hard on improving roads. Trips to the market were quicker and easier which allowed product brokers to take greater amounts of capital to penetrate the market system, locally as well as in Curitiba. In addition, Poles' eventual adoption of some indigenous agricultural technology and techniques, which initially represented some agricultural productive drawbacks, allowed a smoother adjustment to the new environment. The continual expansion of the yearly planting cycles, easy access to land ownership, and government subsidized credit lines also contributed to the high agricultural productivity reached by Poles. The agricultural economy before Santana had been mostly directed to the planting of export crops which would in turn support the labor force engaged in capitalist export production using both cheap labor and cheap food supplies. While some other settlement in close proximity to Santana failed on account of migration to Curitiba, the strong role of community prevented this from happening in Santana.

In Curitiba, on the other hand, Poles became involved in real estate development projects which led to urban values being assigned to their lands. One question many have been asking

with regard to the future of settlements like Santana is for how long it would remain an agricultural area. Some predicted that urbanization would engulf small agricultural villages like Santana as early as in the 1970s or 80s as a result of external pressures. However, clearly that has not been the case and this could partially be attributed to the strength of Polish cultural identity.

For emigrants who had left Poland in order to earn a living from non-agricultural pursuits, communication in the work place became an obstacle as many Poles resisted learning Portuguese. One immigrant in Brazil wrote in a letter: “From the beginning it was hard for me because of the language and because they do carpentry in a different way. I speak not too badly in German. I also speak a little Portuguese and Italian and things are going pretty well for me” (Kula, 1986, 18). Furthermore, letters describing this process contribute to changing attitudes in Poland as one emigrant explains: “because I am old and weak, I would have had to suffer intense deprivation were I not schooled in German” (Kula, 1986, 177). In several letters, words of encouragement were expressed to Poles who could speak German: “he could get a job in his own profession and earn some nice money” (Kula, 1986, 167) and “my sister, but only if she could also speak German” (Kula, 1986, 211).

As a result, economic opportunities and career advancements were available in Curitiba to those who were willing to learn the language as well as being prepared to learn new customs and open to some degree of assimilation. With taking some time to learn Portuguese, Polish immigrants felt it really slowed the process of “reach[ing] one’s goal” (Kula, 1986, 177). Therefore, the Polish immigrants who became most successful were those who were willing to adapt to the language in the labor market. In rural villages, like Santana, on the other hand,

immigrants did not feel any pressure from the native-born population to conform to Portuguese (before the onset of World War II).

Education

Curitiba was where the first school in Brazil, Saint Matheus, was founded by Polish immigrants themselves in 1892. Feliks Krzyzanowski was the first to manage the school and contributed to its expansion. After 1900, when the great “Brazilian fever” had already subsided and the Polish settlers had begun settling down, more new schools were opened in Curitiba. However, there was a lack of skilled teachers or even educated people who could teach.

Przegląd Emigracyjny (Nr. 7, 1892) reported in the News section for Paraná: “As to the education, its level is very low here, in spite of a great freedom and in spite of the fact that Polish priests had been long in charge of the local parishes” (Gluchowski, 1927, 154). Furthermore, in writing about private schools and educational institutions managed by local societies in Curitiba, L. Włodek discusses how there is a “lack of continuity [and] casualness of education. A teacher who has lasted a year is a rare exception” (Lepecki, 1962, 171). Włodek’s opinions on the schools of the “Country School Society,” on the other hand, were positive as these schools were managed mainly by convents. According to his evaluation, there were 41 schools with nearly 2,000 students in 1907 (Lepecki, 1962, 171).

Upon the suggestion of L. Bielecki, the Society of Polish Schools was founded in Brazil in 1902. However, its scholarly efforts did not bring any significant results especially in comparison to the “Country School Society” which was founded in 1905 by Warchałowski.

After the beginning of World War I, political problems were given predominance over educational problems. For example, teachers would often leave schools during the war, to go back to the Old Country or to join General Haller’s army in France.

After Poland had regained independence, the tendency was to start new schools and improve education in Brazil. Efforts were led by organizations such as the “Union of Polish Educational Societies” in 1920. *Kultura* organized the Trade Union of Private School Teachers and the parochial Oswiata (Instruction) established a Teacher’s Union. Both unions later joined the Association of the Teachers of Polish Schools in Brazil. In 1924 the association registered as its members 108 teachers. However, the Polish schools closed after the end of World War II.

Role of the Government

Most Poles in Brazil felt as though “if God gives me health, I will not live to regret it” because, “in one word, it is better in Brazil than it is in Poland”, but he emphasizes that one of the main reasons for success is because “the government helps with everything” (Kula, 1986, 41). From the government, Polish immigrants received land, monetary assistance “until the

harvest comes in” (41) and, farming implements, building tools, and materials to build a house. This was quite opposite from the oppressive government they had experienced in the Congress Kingdom. There was little if any land available to Polish peasants in this occupied partition. The *szlachta*, ruling class, taxed all land and almost anything Poles purchased. Throughout several letters (Kula, 1986), immigrants emphasize how fortunate they felt to not have to make any payment on the land. This was a partial truth because most Poles came to learn that “For all of this [tools, equipment] 200 milreis is to be paid to the government over a 12 year period; but if someone does not have it then he will continue to pay it off until he dies” (Kula, 1986, 53). To support this, another letter reported that “those farmers who have been here for 20 years have not even paid 3 *groszy* in taxes yet” (12). However, in the end Poles realized that “after a while there will be a tax and that will be very small. One Brazilian told us that he has been settled here already for 20 years and thus far he has paid [only] 2 rubles” (64).

One of the most important priorities for Poles was the right to secure land. Land “he can pay it off until he dies” which was not as crucial as the possibility of the government “chas[ing] him away from his *colônia*” (50) “if he cannot make the payments and most of all [it will be] his property” (27). Poles desired to use their own land “for his very own use” (Kula, 1986, 70). Poles felt as though their dream had come true when: “I have now received the regent papers for my farm, which has been signed over to me for a lifetime” (Kula, 1986, 34). The possibility of owning land of a good size, ranging from 100 *morgs* to 200 *morgs* was one of the most appealing factors to the Poles. Needless to say, they did not know the hard work that came with this goal. All Poles hoped for was freedom and they thought they could reach it through purchasing land

and being free from taxation. In fact, they were especially pleased when “emancipation by the government [was granted] only to the Polish immigrants” (Kula, 1986, 48).

Letters reveal the expectations Polish immigrants in Brazil had regarding the role of government. One immigrant specifically discusses the advantages of Brazil over Poland by emphasizing the functioning of Brazil’s government: “Here it will be better for you to live than to work in Poland as a *wyrobek* because we could take a *colônia* and make a living... We could live here freely without any trouble because the Brazilian government takes good care of its people. (And he adds that those who have been in Brazil for about) 20 years have not even paid 3 *groszy* in taxes” (Kula, 1986, 12). Other wrote about how the government would provide them with a living for the first six months and for free, that is, “without any kind of a *wyrobek* or *odrobek*” (Kula, 1986, 84).

Immigrating to Brazil also meant an opportunity to generally better oneself. This was especially the case for people who had lost their property in Poland, Poles who were under a system of *szluzba* (slavery), and Poles who held the position of *parobek* (Kula, 1986, 181). Therefore, returning to Poland was not a consideration because “I make enough to live on and I still have a few dollars left over in my pocket” (Kula, 1986, 223). In Poland there was the “fear of living in *obowiazek* with the possible consequences of *szluzba* for one’s relatives” (Kula, 1986, 84). Poles expressed to those at home: “in Poland [it is said] that we will be in slavery [in Brazil], but we are free; we are not subject to anyone” (Kula, 1986, 29). However, the *fazenda* system did, indeed, entrap a few Polish immigrants: “They wanted to force us outside of them [the immigrant barracks] because we did not want to submit to life on the *fazenda* that is, to the gentry who own the coffee rights. It was difficult to hold out because it was very hot...on their

own land they [the gentry] are free to kill anyone for disobedience!” (Kula, 1986, 72). For the most part, Poles felt “freedom” in Brazil and perceived it as a land of opportunity. These notions are expressed in many letters: “Dear Father, there is no *poddaniestwo* here. Every man is free” (47), because everyone owned “property like your Polish nobility” (37). These were some of the reasons immigrants gave that made Brazil a better place than Poland. “Freedom [and not being] *poddanem* (given) to anyone” (146) was seen as a major privilege Poles valued. In fact, Poles believed they were bound to succeed in Brazil because “the government helps with everything” (Kula, 1986, 61).

Polish Organizations

In 1895 the second Polish Society in Curitiba, *Łączność i Zgoda*, was founded and shortly thereafter the Society of Craftsmen of White Eagle along with the Polish Youth Circle in Curitiba were established (Gluchowski, 1927, 130). Although these organizations were individually successful, when Polish immigrants attempted to unite existing Polish organizations, the efforts immediately failed. In 1898, the organization *Łączność i Zgoda* (Union and Understanding) held a meeting of the first Polish Diet. The “*Gazeta Handlowo-Geograficzna*” (Geography Journal) had a feature on the Diet, writing: “happy proof of the inexhausted and ever reviving strength of Polish people. Long live our peasants, creating Poland in Brazil! Long live

the Polish Union in Brazil, their creation!” (Breowicz, 1961, 151). Although this useful and potentially successful organization had initial support as people voted for the union at the First Polish Diet, the organization was short lived: “In spite of the failure of the Union, the existing organizations continued. There are more and more new organizations. About the year 1900, along with the new colonists to Paraná came several intelligent organizers again to enliven the existing societies and institutions” (Gluchowski, 1927, 133). Another attempt at uniting organizations was made by K. Warchalowski in 1905, when he founded “A Society for People’s Education”, hoping to not only uniting organizations within Curitiba but also bringing together organizations in other states, focusing on Santa Catarina. A large group of Polish immigrants, with H. Sekula and M. Pankiewicz at the head, tried to organize this union into the “Society of People’s Literacy.”

In 1910 “*Gazeta Polska*” (Journal of Poland), organized a Congress of Poles in Curitiba. There was constituted the Polish National Union, at the head of which stood the Reverend Father Trzebiatowski of the Verbists’ order. The Union lasted two years. Attempts to organize local societies in Curitiba were made simultaneously by the Young Poland Circle. Warchalowski called to life the “Agricultural Circles”: “As its original in Poland, this organization was to be the foundation of an economic union of settlers, and bring liberation from the hands of local shipkeepers, etc” (Gluchowski, 1927, 136). Many more circles existed by 1906. However, “the interior struggle, the lack of right people to manage the Circles’ stores, a lack of understanding for this kind of society among the settlers themselves, and several other reasons stopped any further development of this Brazilian prototype of a cooperative” (Gluchowski, 1927, 136).

In 1955, The Polish Society created the “Little Diet” in Curitiba and the convention resolved to renew cultural activities and to start endeavors that would allow Poles to edit their own paper. However, by the end of the 1950’s only a few Polish organizations existed in Curitiba. These included “T. Kosciuszko Society”, focusing on cultural activities and the Society for Charity and Recreation “*Zwiazek*” (Association), formerly “*Zwazek Polski*” (Polish Association), owning an imposing building with a theater and a big recreation hall. Its members were mostly Brazilian citizens of Polish origin.

One particular organization in Curitiba, “Marshall Pilsudski Society” mainly consisted of Poles who were emigrants from World War II. The year 1953 was an important year for the Polish community as Poles celebrate the Centenary of Polish settlement in Paraná.

In 1936 in Santana, the Trade Union of Polish Farmers in Paraná organized an exhibition showing the achievements of Polish immigrants in agriculture, cattle raising, and industry. The exhibition was praised by Brazilian authorities as well as local papers. In 1938, the Second Polish Exhibition of the Flax Industry took place in Curitiba illustrating the progress made in this field. In 1955, the Second Polish Exhibition of the Flax Industry took place in Curitiba demonstrating the progress made in this field.

Cultural Identity in Curitiba and Santana: Customs

Traditional and current Polish values represented through family values, religious principles, and cultural identities constitute the main forces of social cohesion and life among Polish inhabitants of both the rural and urban setting. However, these values tend to be stronger in Santana than in Curitiba. The following characteristics (religion, family, and food) are deeply ingrained into people's feelings and constitute the major elements which keep the Polish community structured around a Polish-Brazilian cultural identity. These cultural characteristics are not separated in any way and are only examined independently in this study for analytical purposes. They are intertwined in the cultural fabric of both the rural and urban setting to determine the prevailing cultural characteristics that constitute Polish-Brazilian identity in both Santana and Curitiba. What makes Santana ethnically distinctive from all the other European settlements in Paraná? Why has Curitiba evolved to become less Polish and more Brazilian? What is the meaning of Polish-Brazilian cultural identity for both Santana and Curitiba and how do they differ?

In particular, the set of distinguishing characteristics that make Santana distinct are all related to Polish cultural background. Nevertheless, part of this cultural identity is connected to the way in which Polish peasants adapted to their environment (as discussed in Chapter 3) and the harsh conditions which is rooted in their cultural history as discussed in Chapter 2. As a result, the socio-cultural characteristics that currently prevail in both Santana and Curitiba reveal the result of Polish history, the experiences and difficulties Poles endured in both their homeland

under partitioning powers and in Brazil under physical obstacles. Chapter 5 will reveal how Polish identity and Polish-Brazilian cultural identity are reflected in contemporary histories and Pole's current positions on the social and cultural scale of Brazilian society as a whole. All these factors are demonstrated in Polish cultural values and customs analyzed in this section.

Role of Religion

In Poland, many of the arguments made against emigration related to the potential risk of losing contact with the church and Catholic faith. Many letters in *Writing Home* made sure to refute such warnings, describing how Catholic churches were found within close proximity of Polish settlements.

Religious values are among the most significant elements constituting cultural identity as well as cultural institutions. Catholic ethics, prescribed behaviors and beliefs are prevalent in both Santana and Curitiba. However, there are two variants of Catholicism and religious practices slightly vary in each place. In Curitiba, churches are based on the Roman Catholic foundation with some elements from Polish tradition. The Catholic variant prevalent in Santana is more closely connected to elements in nature as Polish immigrants had and continue having a closer relationship to their environment. This variant includes the mystical recreation and re-

enactment of Catholic practices expressed through divination rituals in nature and healing practices conducted in the private homes of Santana.

The practices of ritual life are expressed through the following enactments: attending masses on Sundays and religious holidays, participating in processions, visiting the ill, and participating in rituals related to the rites of initiation and passage (i.e. baptism, communion, confirmation, and weddings).

After 1918, when Poland had regained independence, the Polish clergy in Brazil started a more intensive action to strengthen national culture and social organizations. There were two groups that played a role in this movement: the Verbists and the Lazarists. The Lazarists settled in Curitiba and established a weekly newspaper called *Lud* (People). Shortly thereafter, they organized a union, *Oswiata* (Instruction), with the goal of organizing Polish schools in Curitiba. *Oswiata* was a part of the clergy activities of the progressive Polish Societies' Union "*Kultura*." Gluchowski felt as though starting in the 1920's the clerical sphere had to join the movement of protecting Polish patriotic feelings in Polish settlements to the degree that it led to a shortage of Polish priests starting in the 1950s. This was also the result of the separation from the Old Country, from where new priests were not able to come, while some of the older priests in Brazil died. Poles began subsidizing many churches in Paraná.

While some Poles expressed in letters during the mid-twentieth century that they felt lucky that a Polish priest was accessible in the area to at the least "come to listen to confessions" (Kula, 1986, 23), many Polish immigrants in Curitiba felt the need to establish their own Polish church with their own Polish priest: "In a short time, we will have them [Polish churches] because we are striving for that" (Kula, 1986, 267). This demonstrates that not only was religion

an important part of Polish identity, but also the desire for preserving Polish as part of religious services. On account of their former experiences, under the power of the Prussians and Russians who attempted to control the use of Polish, Polish immigrants specifically expected to retain the use of their native language in this “free country” of Brazil.

While there were 12 Polish churches in Porto Alegre during this time, Poles in Curitiba pushed for the building of Polish churches in their city. However, the Catholic hierarchy of Brazil did not support the building of churches for each, let alone every few, Polish settlement in Paraná at the expense of the government in Brazil (Kula, 1986, 61). Furthermore, even though most Polish immigrants were satisfied with their freedom and accessibility to the Catholic Church in Brazil, a few Poles complained about the differences in the observance of holy days such as Lent (Kula, 1986, 208).

On account of religion, especially Catholicism, being a threat by foreign governing powers in Poland, most Poles were more than pleased by the number of churches with no “army” (Kula, 1986, 56) patrolling. Polish immigrants therefore embraced the opportunity to sing their Polish anthem (Kula, 1986, 51). Soon, the church became the center of principal contacts and perpetually manifests itself in the education system where a de-emphasis on secular education in southern Brazil was practiced for decades.

The enactment of Catholic life in Curitiba is conducted by observing religious holidays such as Holy Week, attending masses on Sundays and days during the week, all rituals relating to rites of initiation and passage as well as separation rituals symbolized by funerals and symbolic re-enactment of Christ’s death during Holy Week. Participating in expiatory rituals includes confession, repenting, penitence, and communion (especially on holidays like Easter and

Christmas). Children learn about the saints starting in elementary school, and are expected to show respect and devotion to the Catholic saints to whom these various forms of homage are paid. Some of these practices are what constitute the routine of ritual expression of existence followed by Poles in Curitiba.

In Santana, most Poles practice(ed) a slight variation of Catholicism, more closely tied to nature and more deeply connected to their peasant identity. Many practices included spiritual beliefs connected to nature and its healing powers. Most of the beliefs, however, were simultaneously connected to the official church version.

Examples of these variations are demonstrated through changes in traditional customs. In Santana, one of the greatest examples is the particular custom of funerals and cemeteries. In the two small cemeteries of Santana, there are no decorations, let alone descriptions on any of the graves. Visiting the graves of loved ones, walking to and decorating grave sites, praying and holding rituals at cemeteries are major components of Polish culture. However, none of these practices are upheld in Santana. One can interpret the lack of these traditions and in particular the lack of descriptions/names on the graves as an effort to ‘forget the past.’ Below is a photo revealing the simplicity of Santana’s cemetery:



Santana cemeteries

Photos by Anna Dvorak

When I discussed this (unstructured interviews) with Santana's residents, they attributed this change in custom to Santana's climate. With the hot and humid climate, Poles felt it was necessary to bury the dead immediately for sanitary purposes. Therefore they had no time to

prepare the grave. As a result, Poles in Santana did not visit cemeteries because they did not know where their family members were buried and do not attend funerals because they themselves were sick to a certain degree. On account of subsequent generations not being introduced to this custom, many in Santana are not even aware of this Polish tradition.

Poles abandoning the Polish tradition of decorating graves has a deeper meaning, however, than the physical obstacle of climate. In fact, this factor is more closely connected to Polish identity and values held by Polish peasants in Santana. Decorations on graves are a symbol of material wealth and are therefore associated with Western traditions and the value of materialism. Fancy graves with high amounts of decorations (candles, flowers, and ornaments) are symbols of wealth. Since Poles in Santana are more spiritually connected to their environment and nature, they do not practice or support such actions. They place more emphasis on connecting with and worshiping the deceased through prayers than ‘visiting fancy grave sites’ which they perceive as impressing those who are alive with symbols of wealth. Essentially, it is more important to value a person while they are alive than the way in which one buries them after they are dead.

In Curitiba, on the other hand, religion not only has a significant function in terms of community but it is also a tool for moving up the social ladder and an instrument of prestige and social control. Polish peasants in Santana belong to the spiritual variant of Catholicism valuing nature, as discussed, while Poles in Curitiba belong more to the formal variant of Catholicism (Spitzer 1958, 3), and that religion, in general, is a form of social structure (Bellah 1958, 1). For example, the *Sociedade da Capela*, is organized by a system of status (devotional associations), where the priest is at the top of the apex. More important, however, is the fact that religious

organizations serve as a means of strengthening Polish solidarity in both Santana and Curitiba. Despite the high status of a priest, he is still very close to the peasants in Santana and helps not only with religion but also in practical life. Especially in Santana, priests visit Poles in their homes, talk to them in their Polish dialect (greeting them with “*Zdrowocz*”), and would even drink and play cards with them. Since there was usually just one priest per area, priests felt as though their religious authority was not threatened. Often priests acted as a counselor for individuals as well as for the entire community of Santana in matters of economic, political, and social issues. As a result, participation in not only religious events but also holding a place and participating in the religious structure was an expression of prestige for many Poles. As discussed, agricultural fertility for Poles in Santana was perceived as partly controlled by ‘supernatural’ means, such as rituals like annual blessings of crops and livestock. The houses peasants lived in, farms and families themselves were also blessed. These rituals were perceived as holding high spiritual significance but are also economically relevant, as the yield of crops annually ‘depended’ on them.



Religious insignia blessed in a Santana home
Photo by Anna Dvorak

Family

Polish family cohesion is rooted in a religious background for Poles in Santana. The many levels of kinship are organized on a pyramidal scheme which ranks older generations above the younger ones. In addition, younger people are expected to behave with respect and consideration for others. The family in Polish culture is the main center of authority, power and social organization. There is an underlying set of guidelines about Polish behavior which includes traditional moral rules related to public and private conduct, marriage, and raising a family. Authority of the family is not commonly challenged. In the early 1900s, parents sometimes decided and passed property to one of the siblings and usually none of the siblings would dispute the decision.

Poles in Curitiba have weaker family values, as they tend to be less religious and feel less connected to their Polish roots (unstructured interviews). One example is the disputes held amongst family members in Curitiba about properties Polish families own outside the city. A recent tradition is for the male head of the family to sell family properties before his death in order to avoid disputes among heirs. The alternative to selling family property is donating assets to a church or organization in Curitiba, sometimes leaving children landless.

For Santana Poles, on the other hand, starting in 1910, the journey abroad, merely a passage from one community with little or no land to a community with plenty of land, freedom of religion and way of life, was well beyond worthy to the Polish peasant. It was not a difficult task as peasants were not traveling individually leaving their family and community behind and

going completely into the unknown. Families traveled together. As Znaniecki expresses this: “They always associated in groups, sometimes as many as fifty families, sometimes entire communities. And their destination in their own minds was perfectly determined and clear” (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918, 10).

The peasant family in Santana was in the primary and larger sense of the word a social group including all the blood and in-law relatives. For the Polish peasant in Santana the farm represented the material basis of all social relations, the expression of the unity of the family and of the group in an economic context. With land, the family could keep its internal solidarity, an important element of Polish culture, hold a place as a unit with the rest of the community, and count as a social power. Once the Polish peasant settled his own land, the next step was to establish a Polish parish. This had to be a Polish parish not only for religious services, but as a community center. To follow was the founding of some association with the definite purpose of creating a Polish school. The social, cultural, and athletic associations came later. One of the main social events was the monthly dance that took place in the ballroom of the community center. The presence of people outside the community at the dance is accepted with caution by the local ruling generation who generally associated unfamiliar people with potential trouble to the community.

Many times, public entertainment was under the support of such associations, took the place of private entertainment and was generally accompanied by some patriotic manifestation. In general, this stage of development was bound to culminate with the foundation of a press. This was started by a commemorative pamphlet of society by-laws or minutes of meetings that

sometimes developed into a broad territorial publication usually with some idealistic and patriotic motives.

The first generation of Polish peasants was loyal first to their own families and community, then the Polish nation, and last to the Brazilian state (Kula, 1986). There were many affectionate letters husbands wrote to their wives and children and many heartfelt words and emotions expressed about a death in the family or some other tragic event. These letters give insight about the importance of family loyalty and solidarity. In addition to the emotions expressed for family members, there is similar expression revealed in many letters about the concern for one's parents and elderly. A patriarchal element in family life is also revealed as children turned to their parents to ask them for permission to marry or to migrate. Clearly, there were implicit and explicit expectations that members of an extended family held for one another.

The importance of family, as in Santana, is also revealed in *Writing Home* through Poles writing about how they need all their family and friends with them, sending boat tickets and money to help relatives and friends make the crossing.

Food Customs

Many Polish immigrants wrote about food customs to express differences in Brazil as food is an important cultural characteristic to Poles but many also wrote about food to reveal

how they are adjusting to life in Brazil in a general context. Quantity and quality of food was described by comparing food customs back in Poland: “Then come to me here as we can live better here than in Poland...[and] as for food, what I eat on Friday you do not even eat on Sunday” (Kula, 1986, 181). Furthermore, in comparing Polish customs to food in Brazil, many letters demonstrate that there was a smooth adjustment to the need for substitutes in the diet.. In particular one immigrant wrote that “bread, as we knew it in Poland, is not eaten here. Instead we eat black peas or *szeblak* flour from the trees, and dried meat.” (Kula, 1986, 30).

Ritual eating is a significant aspect of Catholic ritualized occasions. The notion of a craving, especially for beef, is frequently expressed by Poles in Santana, along with the desire for *churrasco* (barbecued beef accompanied by pork sausage). This is often connected with ritual occasions, including wedding parties and family reunions. While in Curitiba families purchased French rolls for special occasions, in Santana Poles stuck to the traditional homemade *broa*, as a simple custom. In addition, they placed priority on meats, which provided more energy after doing hard agricultural activities.

In terms of ritual food avoidance and fasting, Poles in both Santana and Curitiba had similar perspectives and believed Easter Sunday was the most important holiday for fasting. Poles started fasting a few days before Easter, avoiding animal meat and products such as dairy goods, with special emphasis on averting beef. Avoiding beef symbolizes the abstinence of flesh and pleasure in a ritual/religious context.

In general beef is prohibited during the Holy Week and avoided every Wednesday and Saturday during the Lenten period. Poles in Santana follow the Polish tradition of not eating meat every Wednesday and Friday. After a long abstinence from meat products, Easter

commemoration is a highly anticipated occasion for eating *churrasco*, more of a Brazilian (Latin) traditional food, as a centerpiece of family gatherings.

Rituals of the Holy Week, one week prior to Easter Sunday, involve many interrelated procedures related to Polish cultural traditions. Besides meat abstinence, silence observance to symbolize sorrow begins on Holy Thursday evening and lasts through Good Friday. On Thursday evening, Poles gather at church for the Easter Vigil to sing laments in Polish-Brazilian dialect to represent the imprisonment, trial, suffering, and death of Christ.

One of the most significant traditions of all during this time is blessed Polish Easter baskets (*Święconka*). The traditional content of baskets should consist of salt, bread, eggs, pork, sausage, smoked meat, a holy sheep (often carved out of butter), and horseradish. However, as the tradition has been fading over the years in Curitiba, Poles in the city have substituted some of the traditional content with honey, cookies, vegetables, and fruits. Horseradish, a holy sheep, salt and pepper, and bread are some of the most often forgotten prescribed elements.

Corpus Christi is another major Catholic holiday, especially for Poles in Santana. Religious relics and altars which symbolize the four gospels are built along the single paved road which is covered with dried flowers, tree leaves, sawdust, and certain dried vegetables. Village features were ornamented with tree branches and families living along a major street of the procession in Santana would display saint images and ornament their balconies with flowers. The procession is lead by a priest under a sacred canopy and a prayer is said at each of the four altars. Per tradition, Poles rush to pick up the flowers which have ornamented the path of the procession in both Santana and Curitiba. However, the major difference in the practice of this tradition is that in Santana they would collect the flowers for use in home remedies, as the flowers were

blessed, and to fight interference in the environment's natural course. This tradition includes throwing flower petals on the growing fields in a fertility ritual, protecting agricultural fields against winds and other harmful factors such as natural disasters. These practices were believed to help balance people's relationship with the environment. A similar tradition is performed during the water and fire ritual of Hallelujah Saturday of Holy Week in Santana. After the Catholic rituals of Hallelujah Saturday, the blessing of water and fire, Poles in Santana would rush to collect the unburned red charcoal to start their own fire to cook at home the next day. At this ritual they also obtained bottles of the purified water for future use of healing purposes.

Peasant Evolution: Changes in Ideology and Motives

Even though the non-peasant Polish immigrant was looked upon more highly, the Polish peasant living in a city like Curitiba, representing the national majority of Poles, became a more important element of national unity. The Polish peasant connected to and working the land contributed most to Brazil's economic power, becoming the future bearer of national unity. Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) express how peasants played this role: "By organizing socially and by unifying the economic interests of the peasants through a system of cooperative institutions, a vast and coherent social body might be created whose enormous economic and psychological energy could be turned to purpose of national defense and expansion. The peasants

would then become the social foundation of national unity, as the nobility in the past was its political foundation” (316).

In “The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,” Thomas and Znaniecki reproduce in their book numerous documents demonstrating how quickly national ideas spread among peasants. In addition, the occupying powers of Poland were used by nationalistic propaganda as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 to show how these partitioning powers had prevented the ‘normal development’ of Poland’s economic potential:

“The poverty of the country masses, the low standard of wages of city workers, the slow progress of Polish Commerce, the enormous rate of emigration, are interpreted as direct effect of foreign domination and the individual prosperity is shown as directly dependent on national prosperity” (Thomas, Znaniecki, 1918, 334).

The ‘national ideal’ in these difficult circumstances played such an important role that Polish peasants clung onto it as a religious fervor. In every action of their daily life, from plowing fields to community activities, they made reference to Poland. Above all, “the formation and development of cooperative institutions was idealized as a matter of the highest national importance; each new institution was taken to be a definite step toward the realization of national prosperity” (Thomas, Znaniecki, 1918, 335). As a result of this pattern of activities and devotion to national pride, the peasant (whether or not aware of the underlying pressure of social opinion) persuaded himself into being a part of deeper motives. Thomas and Znaniecki describe peasants taking part in the ‘national ideal’ by participating in “social reconstruction” (336).

The peasant evolution in southern Brazil, in the second of two generations, involved the shift from a strong member of a primary group who thought and acted by Polish traditions and

customs to a political member who devoted oneself to the ‘national ideal.’ The prior peasant mentality was one that was “limited to his immediate social environment” (336) consisting of the immersion of oneself in Polish traditional practices and working hard as part of the Polish culture and way of life. Just as important as the “immediate social environment” was the ‘immediate physical environment.’ The physical environment affected peasant social life as peasants’ relationship to the land and their environment was a part of their culture and spirituality. However, their evolution involved the choice to become “a conscious patriot voluntarily cooperating in the continuous realization of the nation as a morally and practically solitary and culturally productive social body” (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918, 336).

This peasant evolution simultaneously occurred during the “Brazilian fever.” The first Polish peasants who immigrated to southern Brazil in the 1870s and 1880s were determined to get land to continue their work entirely in the same way they had been accustomed to in Poland. By crossing the ocean and making the journey to southern Brazil, peasants expected only to improve their life, but not to change it. The desire for land was their priority; however, they would simultaneously continue practicing their Polish traditions and speaking their native language, all an important part of their cultural identity. Whether working as a farm laborer or as a railroad worker in southern Brazil, the assumption was that it was only temporary. An immigrant would settle on a farm of his own in the near future. As this situation changed, Polish-Brazilian identity shifted with changes in Poland’s national ideology.

Karl Deutsch, a Czechoslovakian-American social and political science scholar, discusses (1966) how despite this shift in a stronger ‘national identity,’ Polish peasants still embraced their “ethnic, cultural, [and] linguistic distinctness” which they found to be extremely important as is

demonstrated in their patterns of marriage and social interaction. Deutsch and Foltz state that “if the political integration...is gone beyond the minimum, however, the state may then count on their ‘good citizenship’ that is on their unsupervised compliance in most situations and on their active support in case of need—even though they may have preserved their ethnic, cultural or linguistic distinctness and their reluctance to condone intermarriage or to engage in close social or personal relations across the boundaries of their group” (Deutsch and Foltz, 1966, 25).

As Polish peasants became more attached to the land in Paraná, over time their pioneer spirit and enthusiasm slowly gave in to an allegiance to Brazil and Paraná as a place of their refuge and present well-being. They were, after all, integrated freely into a nation of their choice and into a state which they had developed. They felt proud of their region and their identity with it. Their integration developed freely, and was not forced into the Brazilian community. They settled with family, making their choices, and felt as though they belonged together in Paraná.

Conclusion

Polish immigrants in Santana and later Curitiba had similar expectations regarding assimilation. However, the demands, both physically and culturally, varied for both places. In Santana, there was little pressure regarding cultural assimilation in areas such as religion, language, practices, food customs, and even style of dress. Taking into account their recent

experiences at 'home' where they were controlled in their own country, the freedom to live life the way in which they desired made Poles feel fortunate to have chosen southern Brazil as a place to settle. This freedom also compensated for the harshness of the environment and level of isolation that immigrants in Curitiba did not experience on a daily basis. In fact, isolation became a benefiting factor when Vargas's governmental policies of nationalism sought to hasten the forging of Brazilian identity, resulting in the demise of ethnic separation.

Polish identity has gradually begun to fade in Curitiba, especially in recent years. Older generations of Poles and their Polish(-Brazilian) identity will be compared to the practices and feelings of recent Polish immigrants in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 Recent Immigration, Contemporary Polish-Brazilian Identity and Polish Contributions

Free (im)migration of population is constantly changing in Brazil. Immigration takes place through international agreements made between countries. At present, there are no considerable waves of Polish immigration to Brazil on account of the improved economy in Poland. Despite the relatively strong performance of the Polish economy in the last couple decades, there is little movement from Brazil back to Poland as the Polish community has come to feel as though Brazil is their new ‘homeland.’

Brazil's history of welcoming European immigration demonstrates a general perception by the Brazilian people/government that mass immigration is advantageous to Brazil and is not a phenomenon to oppose. However, one of the main present questions about mass immigration is related to investment and growth, both of which were only secondary concerns in the early development of Brazil. Historically, all that a settler focused on was pushing the radius of his/her cultivated land a bit further. There is much more involved today, as the government asks for capital investments such as roads, railways, airports, schools, ocean ports, hospitals, and housing, all of which come from the public budget.

The basis of population growth in Brazil shifted after 1945. Even though Brazil is under-populated with respect to its size and all of its natural resources, its government has been relatively reluctant to make investments in those natural resources. Furthermore, the Brazilian

government has had difficulties with managing its population growth, starting in the 1960s and 1970s. It has had difficulties with making efforts to overcome rates of illiteracy and recruiting new teachers from older, smaller and less literate generations. As a result, Brazil, which has been historically open to immigration, is no longer making efforts to encourage it, nor willing to accept it on a large scale. Agricultural settlers have been sent to new regions where there are new projects such as the opening of a building, dam, or (rail)road in remote areas. Brazil is currently looking for skilled labor and specific technicians on a very small scale. Starting in the 1970s, Brazil needed highly trained workers and made efforts to increase immigration. Since World War II, Brazil's labor needs shifted from mainly agricultural to urban-oriented and industrial ones. Polish immigration in this period has met these changing requirements.

This chapter discusses Polish identity and the present role of Poles in Brazil, focusing on, but not limited to, Paraná. Currently, there are 700,000 people of Polish descent living in Paraná (Malczewski, 2010). One example of recent Polish contributions is the opening of the first Department of Polish Studies in South America in March 2009 at the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR). This department continues to have an emphasis on the Polish language. Not only are there educational institutions and cultural organizations acknowledging the importance of Polish culture, but there are several community celebrations and Polish social events taking place throughout southern Brazil in order to retain and embrace aspects of Polish culture.

Santana

Father Daniel, a celebrated priest, community leader, and enthusiast of practicing Polish culture in Santana, took his first trip back to Poland in 1985 to reestablish Polish contacts and reconnect with his Polish cultural and spiritual roots. In 1986, the people of Santana organized a large celebration to welcome Fr. Daniel's return from Poland. Fr. Daniel brought back white and red (Poland's national colors) ribbons and small Polish flags that were used to decorate the celebration. These ribbons and flags were so meaningful to him that he made a special request to have them laid on his body in his grave.

During Fr. Daniel's trip to Poland he visited the university he taught at in Poznań in 1947. He also visited his hometown and blessed churches. After his return to Santana, Fr. Daniel was inspired to make a few more changes to the parish and church, improving the church building and organization of the parish.

Fr. Daniel's dedication to Santana and all of his efforts in the town were mentioned in several speeches, followed by a visiting of his grave, on July 30-31, 2011 during Santana's 100th year anniversary celebration of Polish immigration to Santana. This was a weekend long celebration filled with festivities, religious rituals, music, dance, many Polish meals, speeches, and organized performances. Santana and all of its surrounding neighborhoods had been working on the organization of this event for several months. All children and youth of the community were involved in the celebration and everyone had a unique role. As Hyndik Enrique Topolniak, one of Santana's most active musicians and community members explained: "This event is

historical, it is important for all of us, important for our Polish heritage, important in reminding us who we are, where we came from, and our true identity” (Hyndik Enrique Topolniak, interview by author. Tape recording, Santana, Paraná, 30 July 2011). Topolniak further expressed his feeling about his Polish roots in the many Polish songs he performed throughout the event.

Tereza Wierzbicki, the principal of the K-12 Santana community school, was the main organizer of the Polish performances put on by the youth: “This was a great lesson for the kids. It was a reminder for them about our Polish heritage and what it means, and it was also a chance for them to learn actual Polish songs and dances that I hope they will pass on to their children” (Tereza Wierzbicki, interview by author. Tape recording, Santana, Paraná, 30 July 2011). One of the main topics in the history classes taught by Mrs. Wierzbicki at the Santana community school is the history of Polish immigration in Paraná. Classes emphasize the importance of Polish immigration within the broader whole of European immigration to southern Brazil. Students learn specifically about historical immigration patterns to and within the present region of Cruz Machado (Tereza Wierzbicki, interview by author. Tape recording, Santana, Paraná, 30 July 2011). Furthermore, the Polish language is important to the community as everyone speaks Polish in their homes. Therefore Polish language lessons are included in the primary education classes of all the youth in Santana. Furthermore, masses are held in Polish and community signs and bulletins are printed in Polish.

The 100th year anniversary celebration of Polish immigration to Santana is one example of how Polish-Brazilians in rural communities embrace their Polish identity. It is expressed in

every way, ranging from song and dance to education and religion. The following are photographs taken during the 100th year anniversary event.



Neighborhoods of Santana entering the church with signs representing their community.



Polish flags were held up to emphasize Polish pride.



Polish youth getting ready to approach the altar of the Catholic Church for a ceremony



Santana youth holding signs, Polish symbols, and flags to represent their Polish pride and festiveness of the event.



Polish youth of Santana holding 100 year sign along with Polish flags



One of the many traditional Polish dances performed by the youth in traditional Polish costumes

Photos by Anna Dvorak

Curitiba

Karol Wojtyła, Pope John Paul II, made a visit to Curitiba on July 5, 6, 1980 within a more general visit to Brazil. This was an historical moment for Polish-Brazilians in Curitiba and an important event for raising awareness of the presence of Poles throughout Brazil as well as increasing interest in Polish culture.

In 1996, the city of Curitiba constructed a Center of Polish Cultural Heritage and made improvements to the Pope John Paul II Park, founded on December 13, 1980. Establishing a park devoted to Polish cultural heritage in Curitiba is distinctive because there are no other major

centers/parks of its size in the city created to other ethnicities. Furthermore, on May 22, 2011, a large mass was held in the park to beatify the pope (Karol *Wojtyła*) and commemorate his involvement in the global Polish community and good-deeds throughout his life. This mass was organized by Polish-Catholic missionaries. However, according to the director of Pope John Paul II Park, although all of the missionaries who played a role in the organization of the mass were from Poland, most of the people who attended were Brazilians with a strong Catholic faith and fans of Pope John Paul II. (Danusia Maria Walesko, interview by author. Tape recording, Curitiba, Paraná, 25 July, 2011). “Poles here are just not as involved in the community as I would hope” (Danusia Maria Walesko, interview by author. Tape recording, Curitiba, Paraná, 25 July, 2011). Despite the low attendance by Poles, Pope John Paul II Park continues to serve as a center for Polish cultural heritage and history visited by many Brazilians.



Polish events bulletin board at the entrance to the Polish Cultural Heritage Park



A room dedicated to Pope John Paul II



Monument dedicated to Pope John Paul II

Photos by Anna Dvorak

Germano Nalepa and Stanislaw Slowik are the two main priests for Colônia Dom Pedro II, Orleans, approximately 10 kilometers away from the city of Curitiba. These two priests have

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helped initiate the celebration of many Polish holidays and the practice of many Polish religious holidays in the Church of Colônia Dom Pedro II (Igreja da Colônia Dom Pedro II). They explain how “we especially have to remember to celebrate Polish immigration to Colônia Dom Pedro II because Poles played the major role in building this Colônia and the church. We also try to reiterate how the church building is constructed in the shape of a boat to remind people about the Polish immigrant experience.” (Fr. Germano Nalepa and Fr. Stanislaw Slowik, interview by author. Tape recording, Colônia Dom Pedro II, 11 July 2011).



Colônia Dom Pedro II Church demonstrating its boat-shaped architecture

Photo by Anna Dvorak

One of the most celebrated peasant feasts in Poland is the Festival of Potatoes. This usually takes place in the last week of September during the harvesting process and is characterized by the picking of potatoes and baking over campfires while singing, dancing, and celebrating with the potato serving as the central theme. Poland accounts for about 15% of the

world's potatoes and potatoes are one of the most basic foods and are used for most recipes in Polish meals (Ciuruś, 1977). In some Polish communities of Brazil, the festival is held a couple months earlier than the traditional timeframe of celebration in Poland. The largest Festival of Potatoes in Brazil is held in Colônia Dom Pedro II, one of the largest and closest (10 km away from the city) Polish colônias to Curitiba.

The 49th anniversary of the Polish Festival of Potatoes took place in Colônia Dom Pedro II to commemorate Polish immigration and embrace an important cultural tradition. For 15 years, people from Campo Largo and all the surrounding rural communities have been coming to this church to be a part of this Polish festival. The year that I attended, the summer of 2011, was the second consecutive year the festival attracted over 5,000 people. The main organizers of this event include Lucia Patczyk Kmilcik, Aluxo Kmilcik, Sandra Beatriz Kudlauicz, Gilmar Szychta, and Catarina Milka Kmilcik. The main cook is Vicente Halez whose ancestors “were Polish immigrants who came at the beginning of the twentieth century” (Vicente Halez, interview by author. Tape recording, Colônia Dom Pedro II, 11 July 2011). Halez explained that his grandfather came to Colônia Dom Pedro II in 1924 and worked at the polenta factory.

This festival included the decoration of Colônia Dom Pedro II Church with emphasis on embellishing the Church altars with various crops ranging from tomatoes to corn and several varieties of potatoes.



Potato Festival Altar Offerings-Religious Ceremony

Photos by Anna Dvorak

Although these Polish cultural events possess rural elements, they generally focus on widely practiced Polish traditions. Despite this factor, Polish celebrations in rural areas like Colônia Dom Pedro II continue to have issues attracting Poles from Curitiba.

Furthermore, many traditional Polish weddings still take place in the Colônia Dom Pedro II Church, following the traditional weddings of old community members like Francisco and Veronica Stanislawski and Joao and Catarina Gorski, while Poles in Curitiba have modern day weddings that do not possess Polish elements.



Photos of Polish weddings in Colônia Dom Pedro II

Photo by Anna Dvorak

Halez explains “every time we have a Polish wedding here, the whole town still likes to come and celebrate” (Halez, interview by author. Tape recording, Colônia Dom Pedro II, 11 July 2011). Roberto Grote, a recent immigrant and resident of Colônia Dom Pedro II, described how difficult the journey from Poland to Paraná was and the slow railway systems that still exist in Paraná today: “Despite everything, I am glad I am here and it is so important to me to be surrounded by Polish culture” (Roberto Grote, interview by author. Tape recording, Colônia Dom Pedro II, 11 July 2011).

However, the more recent Polish immigrants presently living in Curitiba tend to have a strong Polish identity. One of the most notable Polish families in Curitiba is the Kawalec family, Tadeusz, Maria, Joanna, Gabriela, and Witold, who opened the first Polish *pierogi* restaurant in Curitiba, *Krul Pierogi* (Pierogi King) in 1983, reinventing and introducing an important Polish

tradition. In 1980, Tadeusz Kawalec received an invitation from his uncle in Curitiba to visit Brazil. Tadeusz's uncle, Witold Kawalec, came to Londrina (then the Brazilian headquarters of the British-financed planned colonization scheme Paraná Plantations Limited) around 1930 along with 936 other Polish immigrants. Witold lost contact with his family in Poland until the late 1970s when he immediately made efforts to reconnect to his family in Gdańsk. During this time, Tadeusz was a newspaper journalist for the Polish newspaper *Solidarność*. As soon as he heard from his uncle, Tadeusz made efforts to visit Brazil. In 1981, the Solidarność Party elections took place and changes were made to the Congress of Poland. As a result, for the first time, Tadeusz and his family were able to acquire passports to leave Poland.

In early 1981, Tadeusz decided that he would take his family to Curitiba. After taking 30 days to make it to the port of Santos, he discovered that the government of Poland perceived him as a “runaway” and interrogated him for leaving Poland. When Tadeusz and his family arrived at Curitiba on November 26, 1981, Tadeusz explained that he went to Brazil to become a “farmer.” “I was born in a small farming town in Poland so I thought that this explanation would make most sense” (Tadeusz Kawalec, interview by author. Tape recording, Colônia Dom Pedro II, 15 July 2011). His first job was a cook for a seminary; however one year later he was working for Volvo when he decided he wanted to open his own business. He opened a locksmith shop in downtown Curitiba in 1983. Five years later, he expanded his shop to include a small Polish restaurant, “Krul Pierogi.” He initially planned to keep the restaurant open on Sundays only; after two weeks however, everything was selling out within a matter of a couple hours. Shortly thereafter he received TV, newspaper, and radio recognition which resulted in the opening of small sub-branches of *Krul Pierogi* throughout Curitiba.

In 1995, Lech Wałęsa, former President of Poland and human rights activist, dined at *Krul Pierogi* and to celebrate his visit Tadeusz made over 5,000 free pierogi to share with the community. An even bigger celebration was held for the pope's visit to Florianópolis in 1991. In 2000, Tadeusz decided to make 80,000 pierogi to celebrate the pope's birthday.

Krul Pierogi continues to hold its fame in Curitiba presently, with sub-branches throughout the city. Moreover, Tadeusz and his family have made many efforts to create Polish cultural events and represent Polish culture at all festivals (i.e. the festival Mercado that takes place on Sundays in Curitiba). This has led to a general appreciation of Polish culture by Brazilians living in Curitiba. Tadeusz makes the following claim: "We have tried to reach out to Poles in particular. We understand not many speak Polish but we want to share cultural experiences and reconnect with all the Poles living here today. So far, as one can expect, most are just interested in the food we make...the other cultural aspects...well it's a little harder" (Tadeuz Kawalec, interview by author. Tape recording, Colônia Dom Pedro II, 15 July 2011).





Door of Krul Pierogi Restaurant

Photos by Anna Dvorak

Krul Pierogi is one example of how an element of Polish culture is recently spreading throughout Curitiba. On a much larger scale, a Polish-Brazilian organization, Braspol, is not just spreading in one region, but throughout Brazil and has changed the meaning of the importance of Polish identity in Brazil.

Braspol

Braspol is a non-profit organization of Poles who came together in Curitiba on January 27, 1990 to embrace a Polish-Brazilian cultural identity. It is an organization with its own policies and rights with no limitations on Polish activism on Brazilian land as granted by the

federal government in Law A1 1279 (Budakowska, 139). It is known for combining the interests of private, governmental, and nonprofit organizations. In Portuguese it is known as “Representação Central da Comunidade Brasileiro-Polonesa no Brasil” and in Polish it is “Centralna Reprezentacja Wspólnoty Brazylijsko-Polskiej w Brazylii.” There are 337 Braspol sub-branches in Brazil and they are present in 16 (out of 27) states (Malczewski, 159, 2010).

The president, Rizio Wachowicz, expresses the aims of Braspol as the following: It is to represent Polish unity on the government and private level in Brazil; express the importance of Polish-Brazilian unification throughout Brazil; defend the interests of the organization; unite all the organizations related to Polish heritage; organize Polish-Brazilian cultural, educational, and athletic events. The general goal is to increase awareness of Polish culture and to develop educational institutions, sports fields, and Polish cultural activities in order to integrate Polish cultural life in Brazil (Budakowska, 140).

Over the last decade, Braspol has become involved in the establishment of Polish language courses as well as the organization of Polish choirs, folk bands, and dance groups all of which take a part in the many Braspol sponsored festivals that take place in the cultural halls/centers of major cities. Braspol has also become successful with the organization of cultural events by integrating existing Brazilian organizations. Therefore, Braspol uses a two step/level structure utilizing the federal and municipal branches of Brazil, conditioned by the state it is present in.

The Polish Consulate of Curitiba is represented in Braspol, with Dorota Joanna Barys, serving as the main commissioner. She is also the president of the PMK branch in Curitiba. The Catholic representatives are Fr. Zenon Sikorski, Fr. Eugenio Dirceu Keller, and Fr. Lourenco

Biernaski. On January 31, 2010, a festive mass was held in the Polish church of Curitiba, in which representatives of the Braspol branch in Curitiba gave a speech about the importance of Braspol in Brazil. The president of Braspol, Rizio Wachowicz, was present and presented a short speech (Malczewski, 159, 2010).

An important meeting about Braspol and current Polish immigration in Brazil, involving Polish diplomats and leaders of the Polish community, took place in Curitiba on May 10, 1997 (Malczewski, 85, 2010). A follow-up to this meeting took place a few months later, on October 26, 1997, between leaders of the Polish community in Curitiba and the Polish ambassador to Brazil in Rio Grande do Sul (Malczewski, 86, 1997). Furthermore, there was a notable meeting in the Polish Embassy of Brazil on February 22, 2001. The 4th Congress of Polish Immigration in Latin America was present and there was a successful turnout (Budakowska, 140, 2007).

Elzbieta Budakowska's book *W Poszukiwaniu Etnicznosci* discusses the role of Polish immigration in Brazil through the ethnic/cultural organization of Braspol. Today Braspol is based on how Brazilians of Polish descent construct their Polish-Brazilian ethnic/cultural identity, rediscover their Polish roots, and redevelop a connection with their home country. In addition, through becoming more active and reconnecting to Polish cultural roots with the Polish-Brazilian community, Polish-Brazilians can "find where they belong in an ethnically diverse country like Brazil" (Budakowska, 10, 2007). Budakowska also reveals strategies of how to preserve Polish culture and reconstruct Polish identity in new surroundings that until recently were considered "under-developed" (Budakowska, 2007). Budakowska further discusses how Braspol was formed and how it functions as a social movement based on Polish ethnic characteristics.

One of the main issues with Braspol in recent years has been the involvement of the younger generation of Polish-Brazilians. The Polish language is disappearing amongst Polish families in Brazil because children and young adults are not willing to learn it. This is especially true for young people in big cities, including Curitiba. Although Braspol has been making continuous efforts in trying to improve this problem, creating events aimed at attracting young adults, it has failed in gaining the interest of teenagers and young Polish-Brazilians. Recently the president of Braspol, Rizio Wachowicz, has addressed this issue and an underlying contradiction that is rooted in the several efforts Braspol has made in the larger cities of Brazil. This contradiction is related to the rural-urban comparison discussed in Chapter 4. Because Polish identity is stronger in rural environments like Santana, Poles living in smaller towns in southern Brazil would use the resources Braspol offers and makes available in the bigger cities, more than the people do in those cities. Wachowicz has recently come to the realization that small towns like Santana have been abandoned by Braspol, both the phenomenon and organization, that Poles living in the rural areas of southern Brazil today could fully embrace.

In 2009, Braspol contributed to a report on Polish emigration that was published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw. This included 30 host countries that were selected based on the diplomacy of the country's consulates. The report on Brazil in particular, was 7 pages long and was published in the Polish-Brazilian journal *Polonicus* in 2009 (Malczewski, 157, 2010). In addition, the report was given a special section in *Echo* (published in Curitiba), "The Polish Catholic Mission in Brazil" (PMK) bulletin, in 2009. The PMK is a newsletter bulletin that provides updates on Polish missionary work and Pastoral Programs in Brazil. The aim of this bulletin is to unite Polish missionaries (men and women alike) in Brazil and allow them to share

events and updates pertaining to the Polish Catholic community not only in Brazil, but also Europe, the United States, and Australia. The hope is to connect Polish missionaries globally (Malczewski, 128, 2010). For Brazil, *Echo* tries to unite Polish immigrants in such a large country by expressing common values such as family, religion, and traditions. *Echo* has led to the creation of a Polish missionary community. Most of the articles in the bulletin are dedicated to the Polish community and are aimed at making readers feel closer to the Polish-Brazilian communities present in cities like Curitiba. There is also a section featuring personal narratives and updates about immigrants' experiences who ended up staying in Brazil after serving their missions. It is the only Polish bulletin in Brazil that is printed in Polish as of June 10, 2009, (Malczewski, 128, 2010).

In September 2010, *Echo* and "Polish Unity" sent young adult volunteers on six month missions to teach the Polish language in Brazil, Argentina, and several other South American countries. On September 20, 2010 the Polish organization in Brazil, *Time for Poland*, published a newspaper article about the Polish missions in South America and created a website for Polish missionaries to post blogs, videos, photographs, and give news updates about their missions.

On May 10, 2011, Braspol held a large celebration in São Mateus do Sul, a municipality, in southern Paraná, to honor the 21st anniversary of the organization. The São Mateus do Sul branch, played an important role by hosting the event and describing how Braspol contributed to the formation of a richer cultural profile of the city. Braspol leaders emphasized the need to continue practicing Polish traditions and preserve the history and culture of Polish immigration to Brazil. They also discussed how it is an organization that wants to be portrayed as valuing the past and looking to the future to continue embracing Polish ethno-cultural identity. One of their

slogans is remembering our “Tradycji Polski” (Polish traditions). The organization also decided to dedicate the month of August to more Polish cultural events and making August “Polish Month” in Brazil. Choosing the month of August for “Polish Month” is connected to *Dożynki*, the Polish “Harvest Festival” held in August, devoted to the celebration of harvesting wheat. This festival is characterized by prayers of thanksgiving (for wheat and farm crops), folk songs and dance, and a large Polish feast. Initiatives such as the creation of “Polish Month” in Brazil make Braspol the central representing organization of the Polish-Brazilian community in Brazil.

Although Polish events and Polish cultural celebrations are most visible in Paraná, the value of Polish culture and the presence of Polish cultural organizations such as Braspol, are equally prevalent in Rio Grande do Sul, Caxias do Sul in particular, where Polish roots do not run very deeply.

Caxias do Sul

Caxias do Sul, a major university city, established by mainly Italian immigrants in June 1890 (Caro, 1914), is the second largest city in Rio Grande do Sul. Currently, one percent of the population is Polish (Malczewski, 2010). Despite this low percentage, there is a strong sense of Polish community in Caxias do Sul in which a Braspol branch was established in the late 1990s. There was a large Braspol celebration as a tribute to the Caxias branch’s initial success in 2001.

This celebration included traditional Polish dances (in traditional Polish costumes), Polish songs, and festivities.

Frei Alberto Victor Stawinski, former president and founder of the Braspol library of Polish literature in Caxias do Sul, helped start the Caxias do Sul newspaper *San Marco dei Polaccha* that incorporates Polish culture. This newspaper included both stories about the history of Polish immigration in Caxias do Sul as well as current posts about Polish events taking place in Caxias do Sul and throughout the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Henrique Gayeski, the current president of the Braspol branch in Caxias, is dedicated to including stories about the impact, past and present, of Polish immigrants in Rio Grande do Sul. One article (Issue 1, 2001) illustrates the history of Polish migration to Caxias do Sul in the late nineteenth century through a story of a group of 130 Polish immigrants traveling and dying together along the way. The story was unknown until the late twentieth century when enough evidence was found to confirm what happened.

Since 2000, the Caxias do Sul branch of Braspol has been expanding, gaining increasing interest in learning more about the Polish language and culture. In fact, it has reached the interest of many Brazilians who do not have Polish heritage. One example is Henrique Gayeski's wife, Alzira Gayeski, who has been learning Polish since the early 2000s. Lauro Biedrzycki, who is also married to a Brazilian, has been working with his wife to teach their daughter, Erica Biedrzycki, Polish as well. The family is now singing Polish songs and carols as part of their family time together. In 2001, Ivoni Oschoski helped open a Polish school in Caxias and is now the leading instructor, teaching people ranging from age 8 to 70 years old. She usually has around 25 students and teaches once per week. Students learn how to read, write (Polish

grammar), converse and sing in Polish. Iraci Marin, Secretary of Communication for Braspol and Ivone Marin, President of the Rio Grande do Sul branch of Braspol, explain how there are several Polish cultural events and meetings for Brazilians of Polish descent in Caxias do Sul held at least a couple times per month.

Furthermore, many religious leaders have played a role in Braspol. In general, many priests and religious figures of the Catholic Church in Brazil have Polish roots. There are four Polish archbishops in Curitiba and many bishops throughout Brazil that have Polish heritage (Malczewski, 159, 2010). On January 27, 2010, there was a large Polish festival to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of Braspol held in the Santo Antonio restaurant in Santa Felicidade, Curitiba.

Change in Perceptions towards Poles in Brazil Today

In the past, Brazilians have generally held the notion that Poles are “primitive farmers or peasants with archaic practices” (Malczewski, 47, 2010). It was not until recently that Brazilians recognized the accomplishments of Poles in Brazil and how they have impacted Brazilian life. Although Poles have been perceived typically as “absent in representing the political, social, and administrative life” of the country, Brazilians finally acknowledge the participation of Poles in

all sectors of Brazil. For example, there are over 400 Polish-Brazilians holding high positions in the justice system in Rio Grande do Sul (Malczewski, 47, 2010).

Furthermore, many Poles are represented in the legal system (lawyers and high positions in the Superior Court) in Brazil. There are many prominent Polish names that are responsible for creating laws and Polish-Brazilians are represented on all levels of the administrative judicial system including state, private, federal, and municipal (Malczewski, 47, 2010). Some of the most accomplished professors and researchers at Brazilian universities are Polish. In addition, there are 1,700 Polish names used as street names in Brazilian cities and towns (Malczewski, 47, 2010). Furthermore, many Brazilian schools are named after Poles who either contributed to the establishment of the school or dedicated many years of teaching to that particular school. Poles have therefore made a significant impact on the local society of Brazil throughout the country's history. On August 26, 2007, Zdzislaw Malczewski (47, 2010) compiled a list of all the Polish names used in Brazilian cities and is continuing his search.

Not only have Poles played a major role in the judicial, state, federal, and private sectors of Brazil, but they have also contributed to art and education throughout the country. In recent years there have been more Polish representatives in education and all levels of government than ever before (Malczewski, 13, 2010). In February, 2002, then the president of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, made a speech in Poland about all the contributions Poles had made to Brazil starting in the late nineteenth century (Malczewski, 13, 2010). This included accomplishments in theatre, art, agriculture, industry, education, and research. He continued his speech describing some of these accomplishments and honored some of the most significant Polish figures.

Polish Identity in Brazil Today

In 2006, Budakowska (185, 2007) conducted a survey about Polish cultural/ethnic identity in Brazil. She asked four different questions and surveyed 521 Polish-Brazilians. Her first question pertained to whether Polish-Brazilians question their cultural/ethnic identity and search for its meaning. Ninety four percent said that their cultural-ethnic identity is important to them and that they would like to strengthen its meaning. Six percent answered that their Polish identity is not important to them and that they feel 100% Brazilian, with no need to even acknowledge their Polish ethnic background. Moreover, 111 people out of the 94% who believe their Polish cultural/ethnic identity is important further expressed that they are interested in their genealogy and doing research about their ancestors to learn more about their Polish roots. The last question in Budakowska's study was "Do you think it is important to have knowledge of the past (i.e. Polish immigration to Brazil) and do you value your Polish ancestry with pride by practicing Polish cultural traditions?" (Budakowska, 185, 2007). Only 107 people (20.5%) answered with a strong "yes" while the rest expressed ambivalence. Budakowska perceives this uncertainty in Polish-Brazilians' responses as being connected to the logistical difficulties of tracing genealogy in the 20th century as well as the perception of Poles and their general global reputation. Historically, Poles are associated with Polish peasants which have been mocked and looked down upon.

Budakowska conducted a second survey, including 1,000 people, about the elements of Polish culture that are most important to Polish-Brazilians (Budakowska, 189, 2007). These are the findings of her study:

1. Knowledge of Polish culture including literature, art, architecture, and language.
2. The political/economic situation, general news and occurrences taking place in Poland.
3. The history of Poland including immigration patterns and important figures in literature, film, music, and religion.
4. Social movements
5. Traditional Catholic holidays
6. Cultural and religious expressions
7. Historical relations between Poland and Brazil
8. Polish ancestry: keeping the values and attributed of previous generations
9. Polish solidarity
10. Polish immigration movement

Important Polish Figures and their Significance in Brazil: Twenty First Century

There are several prominent Polish-Brazilians who have made significant changes to the country, contributing to the cultural development to Brazil as a whole. Glomb Jose Lucio is an influential lawyer in Curitiba who became president of the “Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil,” an organization for lawyers in Brazil. This organization plays a significant role in the legal world of Brazil as it currently has over 37,000 lawyer members and the budget, based on membership dues, reached \$12,000,000 in 2010. Lucio is also known for representing Polish-Brazilians and is well respected in the Polish community.

Gremski Waldemiro (b 1945) is a well known researcher in Paraná who is now a professor at the Catholic university in Curitiba as well as the vice president of the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR). He has published several research articles in Portuguese and English and has traveled to Canada, the US, Finland, Sweden, Germany, and several cities throughout Brazil. Waldemiro has also participated in conferences in Brazil, Finland, Chile, and Spain. He is known for being exceptionally active in the Polish community in Curitiba.

Mariano Kawka (b 1941) is a professor and writer in Curitiba who published several Polish articles in Brazil and wrote two dictionaries translating Polish and Portuguese. The first dictionary was translating Portuguese to Polish and was published in 1984. The second, a Polish-Portuguese dictionary, was published in 1999. These dictionaries inspired many Brazilians who wanted to learn Polish to start using Polish words and familiarizing themselves with the Polish

language. Many used Kawka's translations in Poland, perceiving them as improving access to their home country and motivation to learn more about it.

President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva recognized two Poles, Enrique Lewandowski and Samek Jerzy, by appointing them to high federal positions. This helped raise awareness of the contributions and strong presence of Poles throughout Brazil. Enrique Lewandowski (b 1948) finished law school in São Paulo and shortly after graduating, became a professor at the university where he earned his degree. In 2006, President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva nominated Lewandowski to the highest position in the Superior Court of Brazil. Samek Jerzy (b 1955) is a prominent agricultural engineer and agronomist who became the leader of the Worker's Party (PT – *Partido dos Trabalhadores*) in Paraná. He has belonged to the Federal party PT and became the municipal representative of PT for Curitiba from 2001 to 2003. In 2003, he was chosen to hold the position of federal deputy of the state but was unable to take this rank when President de Silva appointed him to the position of the General Director of Hydrology in Itaipu.

Henryk Siwierski (b 1951) is a professor at the University of Brasilia (UnB) in Literature Theory. He came to Brazil in 1986 and became the first president of the UnB publishing company. Siwierski is also the director of the Institute of Literature at the university and has published and translated several famous Polish pieces (ranging from poems to scientific papers) to Portuguese. His work has allowed Brazilians to become more familiar and appreciative of Polish culture and Polish contributions throughout history. In 2009, Wiwierski passed the Polish federal exam and was nominated for an award recognizing him as one of the most accomplished professors at UnB.

Ruy Christovam Wachowicz (1939-2000) was a prominent researcher and historian of European history in Brazil, focusing on Polish immigration in Paraná. He was a professor at the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR) in Curitiba. He was the first scholar to write about Polish immigration to Brazil in Portuguese. Wachowicz became one of the most prominent members of the Institute of Paraná in Historical Literature. In the early 1990s, Wachowicz became active in Braspol and was known by members of Braspol as “the patron of writers and researchers and the patron of Polish immigration in Brazil” (Malczewski, 15, 2010). Lastly, Zeglin Tito, a radio journalist in Curitiba, became involved in politics in 1982, supporting Poles, and presently serves on the municipal committee of Curitiba for the sixth term.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

Despite the latest recognition of Polish immigration and Polish contributions to Brazil through recent organizations and movements like Braspol, the available time and funding of this research makes strong predictions about directions of future change for Polish-Brazilians difficult to make. Although no revisits to Santana or Curitiba have been made since 2011, there has been a continuous strong relationship (through emails and letter writing), with the Poles who were involved in this study. Amid my observations is that Brazil has indeed recently been making major progress in economic development. As it has become more affluent, spaces and opportunities for cultural expression are likely to expand. People of Polish descent living in Brazil will assimilate, but room for expression of cultural memory will broaden. This leads to my first main question, about hybrid cultures, for future research.

Among the questions that follow this research, four are of major significance: 1) whether a Polish-Brazilian hybrid culture will evolve and/or become stronger; 2) whether the young generation of Poles in Santana will continue to migrate to Curitiba and other urban centers; 3) whether Polish organizations and movements like Braspol will pick up momentum or fade with time; 4) whether Polish cultural identity in Brazil will transform or become abandoned by shifts in lifestyle and forces of globalization.

Although these subjects are major questions that occupy my mind, I have become less interested in current immigration patterns and processes taking place in Poland. My prediction is that immigration from Poland to Brazil will be on hiatus for at least the next couple decades.

This is a result of recent changes related to the European Union in Europe and the persistent patterns of internal migration recently taking place between European countries. Europeans are now freer to migrate within Europe as borders have become more permeable and forces of globalization have made the processes of moving and adapting much easier. Therefore the possibilities of a mass Polish immigration to countries like Brazil are highly unlikely.

Nevertheless, it is important to follow the current trends in Poland as well as Brazil in order to understand how they are affecting questions of identity. My present plans are to follow up on future movements and (im)migration patterns by conducting periodical visits to Curitiba and Santana every few years as part of an ongoing research project on Polish-Brazilian identity in southern Brazil. I hope to continue contributing to the Polish-Brazilian journal, *Polonicus: Revisita de reflexão Brasil-Polônia* and possibly publish a book on my observations.

Gluchowski believed that “the Polish emigrant in Brazil proved his best abilities” in contributing to the nation and making positive change (Gluchowski, 1927, 46). Where in Brazil? Did “Polish emigrants” play an equally important role throughout the entire country?

Starting with the ‘Paraná Fever’ which stemmed from the “Brazilian Fever” in the 1890s and 1910s, a massive phenomenon, and a simultaneous and consecutive emigration rooted in a strong ethnic community, this immigration took place as part of a broader framework centered on a planned geographic destination. During this ‘Paraná Fever,’ there was no separation with the traditional Polish rural system or social organization. Most emigrants were moved by a strong motive for future economic security. A few factors, discussed in chapters 2 and 3 coincided with this desire, the primary being Brazilian landowners needing labor after the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888. The Brazilian governments, whether federal or state,

offered many incentives to the settlers and their families, including free transportation from European ports and cheap land on favorable terms. Pull factors to Brazil involved the activity of steamship companies and other private recruiting agencies who finally reached the southeastern parts of “Congress Poland” and the promotion of Polish leaders from Paraná who intended to strengthen the Polish element within the state. These motives corresponded to some of the discussed push factors occurring in occupied parts of Poland such as the initiative of political leaders who wanted to ‘reduce the misery of rural workers.’

The ‘reduced misery’ experienced by the rural workers in Brazil, on the other hand, was mitigated by Brazil starting to integrate the rural sector to urban markets at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is a widely present pattern in the economy of Brazil today. The assimilation processes, economic integration and socio-cultural practices of Santana in particular are significant in the shaping of Polish identity. These factors reflect both the encompassing cultural pressures as well as the economic articulation of the local Santana structure to the surrounding Brazilian system which in turn is tied to other systems (internationally). This is rooted in one of the central topics of this study, the role of economic systems and economic migration patterns in forming cultural identity.

The participation of Brazil as a supplier of agricultural products in international markets throughout the last few decades (starting in the 1960s), initiated a new process of commercialization for small economies like Santana. Therefore, Santana’s geographic characteristics have transformed by becoming less isolated. This process has been affected by Brazil’s recent economic growth attributed to its further integration into the world market as a supplier of export-crops, raw materials, and oil. The first Polish settlers of Santana comprise a

colony of peasants who were engaged in the agricultural production of selected crops. The economic processes Polish settlers were engaged in revolved around subsistence farming and the security of Santana. With time, some Poles of this colony became more receptive to commercial agriculture. Nonetheless, their Polish identity was preserved on account of their strong family-based farms whose use of labor, communication, and maintenance were limited to the supply of family and the community. Through initial obstacles experienced by the Polish settlers who forged their way through arduous conditions, working hard on family farms, and working together to build a community, the settlers of Santana developed a Polish identity that could only be felt through becoming a part of the community.

Environmental factors played a role in limiting potential advances in the community through affecting agriculture. Some of the factors discussed include harsh weather as well as access to technology and arable land. These factors contributed to maintaining stronger Polish traditions. In the last decade, simultaneous to the changes occurring in Brazil as a whole, Santana has been experiencing a period of high economic development/stabilization. This has resulted in higher consumption of industrial goods by the community including new agricultural technologies/tools, tractors, trucks and livestock such as cattle. During my visit, the church was in the process of being renovated and community members were investing in the expansion of agricultural areas, the community center, and more neighborhood events, confident in the future of Santana. The young members of Santana especially feel responsible for upholding Polish cultural events and the ‘social life’ of the community, which is a noticeable difference between the young adults of Santana and Curitiba, where the younger generations of the city are more immersed in Brazilian life, culture, and traditions.

Nevertheless, the goals and hopes, productive processes and economic decisions, and most importantly, the cultural practices of Poles coming to Brazil in 1871, were similar for all Polish immigrants. However, as time passed with the rise of new economic opportunities, Poles migrated and Poles transformed themselves. As their surrounding environment changed so did their lifestyle and their corresponding values that form the basis of a cultural identity. However, regardless of the eventual weakening of Polish identity in the urban setting of Curitiba, we must look at not only how Brazil and its particular geographic setting and characteristics have changed Poles, but just as important, how Poles have impacted the nation of Brazil. Looking at Polish immigration to Brazil from past to present in a general context, the Polish contribution whether rural or urban, industrial or agricultural, social or economic, is immense. Through examining the history of Polish immigration and emigration, taking into consideration both push and pull factors, I hope readers have come to realize that the Poles, a nation without a state, helped a state to build the multi-cultural and strong nation that Brazil is today.

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