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Glen Goodman Date

From “German Danger” to German-Brazilian President:
Immigration, ethnicity, and the making of Brazilian identities, 1924-1974

By

Glen S. Goodman

Doctor of Philosophy

History

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By

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B.A., Georgetown University, 2004
M.Sc., University of Oxford, 2006
M.A., Emory University, 2011

Advisor: Jeffrey Lesser, Ph.D.

An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
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Abstract

From "German Danger" to German-Brazilian President: Immigration, ethnicity, and the making of Brazilian identities, 1924-1974

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The arrival of tens of thousands of German-speakers to Brazil's shores in the 19th and early 20th centuries in part realized the dream of many among the intellectual and political elite. They imagined German and other immigrants embody cultural and eugenic traits that would help resolve a host of Brazil's problems, from issues of land tenure to fears of racial "degeneracy." The immigrants themselves did as immigrants the world over: forged communities and lifeways that drew on pre-migratory experience while responding to and shaping their new contexts.

Tectonic shifts in politics and society during the 1930s and 40s engendered reinterpretations of what constituted Brazilian identity; a new and state-sponsored Brazilianness recast what had previously been considered the nation's problems as its strengths. Consequently, the various ethnicities that had arisen as a consequence of mass European and Asian migrations—in particular, Germans—emerged as an internal other, at once in Brazil but dangerously not *of* Brazil. This presented German-Brazilians with a radically altered landscape within which to assert both national belonging and ethnic difference. However, within a generation the ground had shifted again and Germanness reemerged under the military dictatorship as one possible, idealized sort of Brazilianness.

This dissertation traces the shifting meanings and understandings of Germanness in Brazil at various junctures from the 1924 centenary of German migrants' first arrival in southern Brazil to the sesquicentenary celebrations in 1974. It demonstrates the ways that various historical actors shaped Germanness as both a set of traits and practices and as a rhetorical identity discourse. In so doing, this dissertation reveals the stakes of ethnicity for self-identifying German-Brazilians and for others. At various historical junctures in mid-twentieth century Brazil, ethnicity variously helped or hindered a host of diverse political projects—most consequentially the consolidation of official discourses of Brazilian identity. As this analysis demonstrates, during the fifty years in question and in the minds of many Brazilians, Germanness transitioned from a positive quality of a national "other" to an existential internal threat to an idealized aspect of Brazilianness.

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Acknowledgments

This dissertation represents the culmination of a process that began in the fall of 2006 in a Notting Hill café. I had just finished my masters degree and thought I was setting out on life outside of education and academia. Naively, I accepted an invitation to breakfast from a visiting historian of Brazil. His research related to my long-held curiosity about European migration and identity in Latin America and, to be perfectly honest, I was not in a position to refuse a free meal. Over breakfast we chatted about Brazil and history and PhD programs—three things about which I knew precious little. I never could have imagined then that nine years later I would be struggling to find words to capture my gratitude and indebtedness for that early meeting and everything that has followed. Jeff Lesser has been an unending source of intellectual, professional, and personal inspiration and wisdom. Everything in this dissertation and, indeed, my life as an academic bear the mark of his guidance. To him go my sincerest thanks, especially for convincing me so many years ago in London that once I started studying Brazil I would never look back.

Throughout my academic career I have benefitted from the input, mentorship, and support of more people than I can count. Chief among them have been the amazing team of Latin Americanists at Emory University. Yanna Yannakakis makes it all look so easy—brilliant scholar, fabulous teacher, indispensible advisor—and always reminded me of the important lesson that "there are many ways of being a successful academic." Those words have proven an invaluable refrain during my first year on faculty. Tom Rogers, though he arrived at Emory just as I headed into the field, has consistently provided insightful and valuable comments on my work and been an important

interlocutor in everything from course design to film to watch. I flatter myself to say I hope I can live up to their standards of scholarship and professionalism.

Emory's History Department faculty and staff created the best intellectual, financial, and institutional environment imaginable to pursue graduate work. Professors Jamie Melton, Joe Crespino, Susan Socolow, Astrid Eckert, Brian Vick, and David Eltis each played a significant role in the development of my project and my scholarly trajectory. Raanan Rein, both during his semester as a visitor and as a friend and colleague on trips to Berlin and Tel Aviv, has continually been a source of encouragement and insight into new approaches to ethnic history. In the History Department office, Marcy Alexander, Katie Wilson, Allison Rollins, and Beckie Herring consistently performed administrative miracles—I was always happy to work or just simply chat with this amazing team. My sincere thanks to them, to the Major family, and to the Laney Graduate School for the logistical and financial support that made my research possible. A special thank you also to Emory's Latin American subject librarian, Phil MacLeod, whose enthusiasm and expertise have enriched my work tremendously.

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providing comments and editing my work to keeping me fed during exams to being my emotional “safety net” and bar mates, I cannot express how much better my life has been thanks to these colleagues. Special mention also to lifelong Phoenix friends Tiffany Westlie Pondelik and Kate Vieh for their help editing the text.

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Introduction

"It is unnecessary to reaffirm that…there is no such thing as 'German-Brazilians,' or 'Italian-Brazilians,' or 'Polish-Brazilians:' there are only Brazilians…the premise of German-Brazilianness is opposed to the premise of Brazilianness both historically and juridically."[1]

-José Coelho de Souza, Minister of Education for Rio Grande do Sul
1941

"These [German] immigrants, these Brazilians, have been integrated into national life for many years and, with their valuable work, participate in our civilization, our economy, and our progress."[2]

-General Ernesto Geisel,
President of Brazil
1978

These two statements, made less than forty years apart, reflected the ambiguous trajectory of ethnic Germans—people who identified or were identified as German or German-Brazilian—within 20th century Brazilian society. The first, made by the Minister of Education for Rio Grande do Sul state, presented German ethnic identity as both incompatible with and a threat to Brazilianness. For Coelho de Souza, Brazilian national identity was a fundamentally homogenous concept both in empirical (historical) and proscriptive (juridical) terms. At the same time, his words recognized the presence of German and other ethnic groups within Brazilian territory and implied that their complete absorption into Brazilian society was desirable and, more importantly, *possible*. As one of the architects of a campaign to "nationalize" these groups, Coelho de Souza's

[1] José Pereira Coelho de Souza, *Denúncia O Nazismo Nas Escolas Do Rio Grande* (Porto Alegre: Thurmann, 1941), 58.
[2] Assessoria de Relações Púbicas da Presidênca da República, *Viagem Do Presidente Geisel À República Federal Da Alemanha: Registro Histórico, Repercussões* (Brasília, 1978), 13.

comments were symptomatic of the widely held faith among contemporary political and intellectual elites in the assimilational power of the Brazilian nation.[3]

The second statement, made by military president Ernesto Geisel on a state visit to West Germany, clearly intended to paint a picture of generations of migrants having integrated and assimilated smoothly into the Brazilian nation. As common as this trope is among immigrant-receiving countries, Geisel's words stand out for a variety of reasons.[4] Most obviously, the notion of seamless integration into national life silenced or at least ignored Brazil's targeting of its ethnic populations during the 1930s and 40s—excesses and prejudices that Geisel, himself of German decent, had witnessed firsthand.[5] More subtly, his words reproduced the enduring tensions between the imagined, homogenous Brazilian national community (*our* civilization) and a national or ethnic other (*their* valuable work), complicating the very sentiment he was attempting to convey. The speech, given before gathered dignitaries including West German President Walter Scheel in the capital city of Bonn, implied that "these Brazilians" (i.e. ethnic Germans) represented a durable connection between Brazilian and German nations and states. Rather than complete assimilation, Geisel's words suggested that even 150 years after the first immigrants' arrival, the properties of "Germanness" still distinguished some Brazilians from others. Though both Coelho de Souza and Geisel essentially rejected the

[3] Perhaps the most emblematic exploration of this belief is Gilberto Freyre, *O Mundo Que O Português Criou : Aspectos Das Relações Sociaes E de Cultura Do Brasil Com Portugal E as Colonias Portuguesas* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1940).

[4] For the classic "melting pot" treatments of U.S. immigration history, see Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860 : A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940); and Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1951); for one of the first U.S. critiques of this utopian, assimilationist vision, see Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot; the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1963); on the usefulness and limits of the melting pot model in the Argentine case, see Samuel L. Baily, "Marriage Patterns and Immigrant Assimilation in Buenos Aires, 1882-1923," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no. 1 (February 1, 1980): 32–48.

[5] Maria Celina D'Araujo and Celso Castro, eds., *Ernesto Geisel*, 5th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1998), 89–90.

idea of hyphenated ethnic-national identities, the normative position of Germanness vis à vis Brazilianness had shifted from that of internal threat to a point of national pride.

Coelho de Souza and Geisel were born in the same region and only nine years apart. The thirty-seven years that separated their words had brought great economic and political change to Brazil. The systematic targeting of the country's ethnic communities and institutions; the fall of one authoritarian regime; the establishment of a popular (arguably populist) democracy; the failure of three presidents to serve out their constitutional terms; the establishment of another authoritarian regime and subsequent abrogation of civil and political rights; and the unprecedented economic boom from 1968-1974 had all profoundly transformed Brazilian society.[6] The belief that salutary racial and ethnic mixture had led to national homogeneity remained widespread (if not unchallenged) as evidenced by Geisel's sentiments.[7] By the mid-1970s, Germanness and other ethnic identities had become part of Brazil's "multicultural but hyphenless" national landscape.[8]

* * *

This dissertation traces the shifting meanings and understandings of Germanness in Brazil at various junctures from the 1924 centenary of German migrants' first arrival in southern Brazil to the sesquicentenary celebrations in 1974. It demonstrates the ways

[6] For an overview of the period, the classic treatments remain Thomas E. Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964 : An Experiment in Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); and Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-85* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[7] A series of such challenges sprouted from a UNESCO study whose first findings were published as "A Report on Race Relations in Brazil," *UNESCO Courier* V, no. 8–9 (September 1952); See also Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White : Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), chap. 6; George Reid Andrews, *Blacks & Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Peter Fry, *A persistência da raça : ensaios antropológicos sobre o Brasil e a África austral* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2005).

[8] Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity : Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 173.

that various historical actors shaped Germanness as both a set of traits and practices and as a rhetorical identity discourse. These articulations reveal the stakes of ethnicity for both self-identifying German-Brazilians and for others. At various historical junctures in mid-twentieth century Brazil, ethnicity variously helped or hindered a host of diverse political projects—most consequentially the consolidation of official discourses of Brazilian identity. As this analysis demonstrates, during the fifty years in question and in the minds of many Brazilians, Germanness transitioned from a positive quality of a national "other" to an existential internal threat to an idealized aspect of Brazilianness.

By historicizing and contextualizing Germanness, this dissertation reveals the complex and diverse roles that ethnicity played in the day-to-day lives of Brazilians. These made-in-Brazil forms of Germanness resulted from negotiations between descendants of migrants who claimed Germanness for themselves and myriad national and transnational actors who ascribed Germanness as a marker of alterity. Understood this way, studying the changing contours of Germanness sheds light on the development of Brazilian nationhood in the mid-twentieth century.

Like all ethnic identities, Germanness informed and responded to various contexts—political, economic, local, national, transnational—and articulated forms of distinction along racial, class, and national lines. In order to capture this inherent dynamism, this study follows the "New Ethnic Studies" proposed by Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein.[9] This methodology for studying race and ethnicity in their relationships to

[9] On the "new ethnic history" see Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein, "New Approaches to Ethnicity and Diaspora in Twentieth-Century Latin America," in *Rethinking Jewish-Latin Americans*, ed. Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008); For examples of this methodology in various contexts, see Anna Pegler-Gordon, *In Sight of America : Photography and the Development of U.S. Immigration Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Sarah M. A. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White : Race and Ethnicity in the Early Syrian American Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Theresa Alfaro-Velcamp, *So far from Allah, so close to Mexico :*

the nation explicitly resists exceptionalist and essentalizing narratives. Instead it emphasizes the importance of comparisons across ethnic groups within a single context. It holds that the formation of ethnic identities in Brazil (or any national context) has much to do with local and national factors and is skeptical of supposedly "inherent" traits of Italian, Japanese, German, etc. identities, even as such claims abound in the documentary record.

Far from a rejection of comparative, single-group studies across countries or regions, my approach helps to reveal what is generalizable and what is specific about the formation of certain ethnic identities in specific contexts. Accordingly, German-Brazilians become a lens through which to see Brazilian society, a specific lens through which certain aspects come into particular focus. For example, its unwavering association with whiteness made Germanness at one juncture an aspirational goal for elite Brazilian projects and at another a contagion capable of threatening the integrity of the nation. Other large groups of European migrants—Portuguese, Italians, and Spanish—were also considered "white" on Brazil's black/white spectrum. However, notions of Mediterranean geography, Catholic faith, and even somatic type made their whiteness somehow closer to the core of imagined Brazilianness. These important cleavages in the category "white" are brought into relief by analyzing Brazilian racial thought through the lens of German-Brazilianness.

My focus on German-Brazilian identities also lends itself to a novel periodization that recognizes the importance of political events while emphasizing continuities across

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Middle Eastern Immigrants in Modern Mexico (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007); Christina Civantos, *Between Argentines and Arabs : Argentine Orientalism, Arab Immigrants, and the Writing of Identity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); Mollie Lewis Nouwen, *Oy, My Buenos Aires: Jewish Immigrants and the Creation of Argentine National Identity* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 2013); Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

such inflection points. The choice of the 1924 centenary and the 1974 sesquicentenary to delimit my study grew out of practical concerns: the public commemorations saw intellectual, political, and economic elites fashion a variety of identity discourses in hopes of encapsulating German-Brazilians' past, present, and future. Similarities, divergences, and the power relationships among these different discourses help reconstruct what was at stake in the various ways of being Brazilian.[10] However, situating my analysis firmly in the middle fifty years of the twentieth century brought into relief the uneven utility of political periodizations in the study of ethnic history in Brazil and beyond. In particular, my study moves beyond the nearly hegemonic dominance of the establishment of the *Estado Novo* in 1937 and its demise in 1945 in the temporal boundaries for studies of Brazil's immigrant groups.[11] While my study affirms the importance of these moments in the subsequent development in Brazil, it also finds continuity and resilience that a reliance on 1937 and 1945 as "end dates" has tended to obscure important echoes across time and space.

A word on words

[10] The historiography is rich with examples of similar utility in focusing on anniversary celebrations as sites of memory and identity construction. See for example Cari Williams Maes, "Progeny of Progress : Child-Centered Policymaking and National Identity Construction in Brazil, 1922--1954." (Emory University, 2011); Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil : The First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (February 1, 1996): 75–104.

[11] Among the few exceptions to this periodization are Jeffrey Lesser, *A Discontented Diaspora: Japanese Brazilians and the Meanings of Ethnic Militancy, 1960–1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Gloria La Cava, *Italians in Brazil: The Post-World War II Experience* (New York: P. Lang, 1999); John Tofik Karam, *Another Arabesque : Syrian-Lebanese Ethnicity in Neoliberal Brazil* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007).

There are three concepts that appear in various forms throughout this dissertation that demand greater exploration. The first is *German* and its derivatives in English and Portuguese (German-Brazilian, Germanness, *alemão*, etc). German-speaking migrants came from a variety of states: Austria, Switzerland, and a host of present-day Eastern European countries, in addition to the territory now called Germany. The unification of Germany in 1871 and its shifting borders during the periods of mass migration (in particular the loss of East Prussia and Silesia to Poland after the First World War) rendered the idea of "German" migration an inherently obscurant one.[12] However, geographic distinctions that complicated the notion of "German" migration receded or were reconfigured in the post-migrant generations.[13]

By the mid-20th century, categories like German (*alemão*), Germanic (*germânico*), or Teutonic (*teuto*) became dominant ways that Brazilians used to invoke Germanness. *Teuto* in particular presents a set of problems as the term emerged and gained prominence in the post-World War Two period for political reasons. The term became relatively common among Brazilians of German descent to distance themselves from the abuses of the German nation state. For similar reasons, *teuto* has come to dominate Brazilian academic verbiage since the 1960s.[14] In order to differentiate my analysis from this political history, I have avoided *teuto* except when primary documents themselves employed the term. Unless otherwise noted I have used the ethnic categories

[12] For an exploration of how the national category "German" was forged in the U.S. case, see Philip Otterness, *Becoming German : The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).
[13] This is the case with many migrations to the Americas. See, for example, Paulo Possamai, *Dall'Italia Siamo Partiti : A Questão Da Identidade Entre Os Imigrantes Italianos E Seus Descendentes No Rio Grande Do Sul, 1875-1945* (Passo Fundo: Universidade de Passo Fundo, UPF Editora, 2005); Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*.
[14] For a history of the term, see André Fabiano Voigt, "A Invenção Do Teuto-Brasileiro" (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2008).

"German" and the hyphenate "German-Brazilian" to refer to German speaking migrants and their descendants.

The second concept is *ethnic* and its correlate *ethnicity*. Webster's dictionary defines ethnic as "relating to a community [sic] of physical and mental traits possessed by the members of a group as a product of their common heredity and cultural tradition," with the secondary definition of "having or originating from racial, linguistic, and cultural ties with a specific group."[15] In this, its most basic conception, ethnicity refers to shared traits and/or a shared past among a group of people. This definition has underpinned various anthropological and historical studies of ethnicity. Perhaps most influential was Frederick Barth's classic study of ethnicity as a form of social organization, a series of boundaries and solidarities between certain people (and not others).[16] This conception observes ethnicity synchronically as a thing someone either *has* or does not.

Instead of qualities someone necessarily *embodies* or possesses in a timeless fashion, my study understands ethnicity to be an assertion, a claim about what those qualities are. In this, I follow Conzen et al. when they posit ethnicity to be "a process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories."[17] This approach lends itself more satisfactorily to the diachronic study of ethnicity or, as some scholars

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[15] "Ethnic," *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1993).
[16] See his introduction to Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969).
[17] Kathleen Neils Conzen et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1992): 4–5.

have preferred "ethnicization."[18] Historical methods help raise and answer important questions such as who constructed or invented ethnic categories, how/why they did this, and what these categories looked like. Ethnicity thus becomes both an object of study and a methodology for the study of the larger (national) contexts within which historical actors fashioned ethnic identities.

An aside: colloquially and in many academic works, "ethnic" often appears to be coterminous with "minority" within a certain local or national context. However, ethnicity and minority status function differently because minority refers to an objective, demographic reality. Ethnicity—though closely related in that it implies difference from the imagined core of a national community—diverges in two important ways. First, my methodology understands being ethnic as a way of being national, a relationship reflected in hyphenated ethnic-national identities. This follows Lesser and Rein's assertion that an ethnic-national formulation (Jewish-Latin Americans rather than Latin American Jewry) "emphasizes national identity without denying the possibility of a Diasporic [sic] identity."[19] Second, ethnicity differs from minority because the former could conceivably represent the demographic majority in a country. For example, simply because the 2010 Brazilian census shows that more than 50% of Brazilians self-identify as Afro-descendant does not mean that their status as ethnic has evaporated.[20]

The third and perhaps most obtuse concept in need of exploration is *identity*. My understanding and use of the term owes much to Rogers Brubaker and Frederick

[18] See, for example, Jonathan D. Sarna, "From Immigrants to Ethnics: Toward a New Theory of "Ethnicization," *Ethnicity* 5, no. 4 (September 1978): 370–78; Ewa Morawska, "Immigrants, Transnationalism, and Ethnicization: A Comparison of This Great Wave and the Last," in *E Pluribus Unum?: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, ed. Gary Gerstle and John Mollenkopf (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001); Eduardo Restrepo, "Ethnicization of Blackness in Colombia," *Cultural Studies* 18, no. 5 (September 2004): 698–715.
[19] Lesser and Rein, "New Approaches to Ethnicity and Diaspora in Twentieth-Century Latin America," 24.
[20] Results of the 2010 census can be found at http://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/

Cooper's interventions in their article "Beyond Identity." In hopes of saving the word from meaning "too much…too little…or nothing at all," Brubaker and Cooper propose a focus on processes of *identification*.[21] Beyond discarding the notion of identity as a certain "thing," *identification* also foregrounds the process, the act of categorizing people, places, or things. Those who publicly claimed hyphenated identities and those who recognize them constantly informed each other; the boundaries of intelligibility were mutually constructed. Consequently when the word "identity" comes up in this study, it could easily appear "identification." I have chosen to retain the former for clarity and ease of reading.

My preference for identification also implies a strategic suppression of the notion of "authenticity." Instead I look at competing (and not mutually exclusive) *claims* of authenticity. It is not that historical actors did not experience forms of ethnic and national belonging as authentic or true parts of their lives; rather it is precisely the positive and negative consequences of such belonging that interests me. This leads my study of identity to be fundamentally nominalist in nature: nominalist because I privilege the archive and its cues over any received notion of the authentic or correct. When historical actors described something as German (or Italian or Brazilian), it became part of a never-ending, polyphonic conversation about Germanness. Far from intellectual Luddism or the "rejection of basic sameness" that Brubeck and Cooper see in "weak" formulations of identity, nominalism opens a window from which to observe how Germanness circulated well beyond the institutions and communities that claimed it for

[21] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory & Society* 29, no. 1 (February 2000): 1.

themselves.[22] That assertions of Germanness did or did not "work" (were or were not legible) in their context sheds light on the context, not on Germanness in any timeless sense.

* * *

While the focus of this dissertation is the Brazilian—especially southern Brazilian—context, the origins of Brazil's ethnic German populations were just one instantiation of a hemispheric phenomenon. The decline of Iberian colonial rule during the 1810s and 20s occasioned (and many scholars argue was precipitated by) the emergence of various national(ist) movements projects.[23] Many among the political, economic, and intellectual elites that came to the fore in these new countries dreamt of attracting European immigrants to their shores in the hopes of solving a host of self-diagnosed national problems. Mexico's Emperor Maximilian, Chile's strongman Diego Portales and his disciples who dominated the country's Conservative Republic (1830-1861), even the fledgling liberal governments of Costa Rica in the second half of the 19th century all crystalized around and invested in immigration's salutary effects on their respective nations. Among their reasons were desires for skills and technology transfer, the

[22] Ibid., 10–11.

[23] For the most emblematic study that places the emergence of elite, (proto-)national identities and movements at the root of Latin American independence, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); For a series of responses to Anderson's argument, see John Charles Chasteen and Sara Castro-Klarén, *Beyond Imagined Communities : Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003); Recent scholarship has sought to move beyond the elite conceptions of nationhood in the period and look at indigenous and popular agency in the creation of such identities. Two examples are Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes : Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Peter F. Guardino, *The Time of Liberty : Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

expectation of subsequent foreign trade and investment, settling far-flung territorial holdings, and addressing labor shortages.[24]

Such a strategy was not without precedent in the region: beginning early in the 18th century, the British crown and its representatives in the North American colonies welcomed and even incentivized the relocation of European migrants to the colonies. For opponents of slavery, this meant a greater (cheaper) supply of free and semi-free European labor that might disincentivise expansion of the slave system; for the Crown this meant the importation of expertise in areas like shipbuilding, pitch and tar processing, and agriculture. Many of these immigrants were encouraged to settle in the hinterlands, acting as a buffer between the British-controlled coast and the territories controlled by the French and various indigenous peoples.[25]

What distinguished the 19th century project in Latin America from its North American counterpart was the widely held hope that mass European migration would re-shape the racial make-up of their young nations. From Mexico to Argentina, elites in nearly every Latin American country at various junctures interpreted the racial make-up of its inhabitants as an impediment to national progress. This line of thought relied on a varying and unstable mixture of Social Darwinism, Positivism, and the emerging European "science" of eugenics.[26] These strains of thought each led to the naturalization

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[24] Jürgen Buchenau, *Tools of Progress : A German Merchant Family in Mexico City, 1865-Present* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 19; Simon Collier, *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830-1865: Politics and Ideas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 115–118; Carlos Meissner, "A Resilient Elite: German Costa Ricans and the Second World War" (University of York, 2010), 61–68.

[25] On the anti-slavery interests, see Marilyn C. Baseler, *"Asylum for Mankind" : America, 1607-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); On the desire to import skilled laborers, see Otterness, *Becoming German*.

[26] For regional and comparative perspectives on race, eugenics, and nation in Latin America, see Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics : Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, eds., *Race and*

of certain observable social characteristics as part of a group's racial or genetic make-up. Though this lens, Latin American elites determined their own countries' "backwardness" vis-à-vis the politically and economically modernizing countries of the North Atlantic to be manifestations of a structural flaw. The mixed-race, indigenous, and Afro-descendant populations of the new Latin American states became (imagined) impediments to their country's progress. Consequently, attracting northern European migrants and the positive qualities they were thought to (literally) embody thus became public policy in much of the continent in the 19th century.[27]

Some countries were more successful than others at attracting the desired immigrant groups. In Argentina, the dual goals of consolidating the central government's control of the country's vast territory and the hope of whitening the country's population placed immigration at the center of government policy in the second half of the 19th century. Although policymakers showed a preference for northern European migrants, the land's capacity to absorb the unskilled labor of massive migrant streams meant that Italian and Spaniards (rather than Germans or English) dominated the country's arrivals. For Argentina, immigration was both a qualitative and a quantitative process.[28] In Peru, where elites similarly hoped to attract the right sort of migrants to alter the country's heavily indigenous racial make up, provides a counter example. For a variety of reasons including domestic labor supply, land tenure, and sheer distance, Peru's elites were simply unable to attract significant numbers of migrants. In the words of migration

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Nation in Modern Latin America (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2003); Richard Graham, ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

[27] On the whitening ideal in various Latin American contexts, see George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), chap. 4; Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*; Skidmore, *Black into White*; Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise : Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), chap. 3.

[28] Jose C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 49.

historian Jose Moya, "Peru attracted in one hundred years fewer European immigrants than did Argentina in one month and fewer than did the United States in one week."[29] Successful or unsuccessful, the enduring desire to whiten populations through immigration continued to reflect Latin American intellectual and political elites' radicalized understandings of progress and modernity throughout the 19th and into the 20th centuries.

Chapter Summary

With the goal of exploring the Brazilian example of these whitening dreams in more detail, chapter one begins with an overview of German migration in the 19th century. It traces the evolving relationship between Germany/Prussia, Brazil, and the migrant streams that connected the two countries prior to and during the First World War. It then zooms in from these broad historical strokes to a close analysis of the ways historical actors in 1924 narrated this same history. These various discourses of German-Brazilians' past, present, and future circulated during the centenary of German migration to Brazil and came from a variety of sources: politicians, intellectuals, journalists, and even typesetters. These competing claims serve as a baseline for the analysis that follows, a snapshot of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic relations at the twilight of Brazil's first republic.

The social and political forces that brought an end to that republic went on to establish the authoritarian *Estado Novo* in its place. They sought to achieve the centuries-old goal of integrating Brazil's vast territory and diverse population into a coherent nation. Fundamental to this new nationhood was the tenet of Brazil's

[29] Ibid., 50–51.

assimilational power; salutary racial and cultural mixing became the cornerstone of 1930s and 40s social thought and social policy. During this period the state identified the country's many ethnic groups as threats needing to be assimilated. No group was perceived to be more dangerous to this assimilationist project than ethnic Germans due in part to their (imagined) connection to National Socialist racial ideologies. Chapter two uses the archive of the political and social police to expose different ways that agents of the *Estado Novo* perceived, conceived of, and targeted German-Brazilians as domestic threats to its goals. Here, the focus is less German-Brazilians themselves but rather the vision of Brazilianness upon which the state's repressive capacity was predicated.

In the wake of both the *Estado Novo*'s nationalization campaign and the horrors of World War Two, the context within which Germanness might publicly exist had shifted greatly. Germany—the putative "home" for ethnic German identities—lay in ruins and Brazil entered a period of redemocratization and reinvention. Churches, schools, and voluntary organizations that had been sites of ethnic sociability had largely shut down or been nationalized; economic and cultural links between Germany and German-Brazilians frayed. Indeed, the near complete dearth of historiography that deals with post-1945 ethnic Brazilians in general and German-Brazilians in particular might give the impression that the *Estado Novo* had been successful in its goals of (forced) assimilation.

In this context, a group of German-Brazilian religious and civic leaders in Rio Grande do Sul organized a relief organization with the dual goals of helping the international relief efforts while at the same time reviving and reshaping Germanness in contemporary Brazil. Chapter three uses the internal documents and marketing materials

of the resulting organization, *Socorro à Europa Faminta* (Aid for Hungering Europe, SEF), to analyze its discursive and political strategies. These amounted to novel ways of being ethnically German and, thus, being Brazilian.

The striking success of the SEF—measured both materially and in the cautious reemergence of German-Brazilian ethnic identity in the public sphere—gave rise to further efforts to reconstitute German ethnic institutions. These efforts took place in a national context that still held up ethnic/racial mixture and assimilation as tenets of national belonging, even as scholarly challenges to this ideology grew. Chapter four looks at the establishment of one ethnic voluntary association in particular: the 25th of July Cultural Center in Porto Alegre. Founding documents and membership records for the original three hundred to join paint a fine-grained picture of both those who shaped the center's mission and those Brazilians who judged that mission compelling enough to join.

While the first three chapters of the dissertation focus primarily on articulations of German-Brazilian identities in local and national contexts, chapter four also uses West German consular correspondence to open a discussion of the transnational implications of Germanness. As a new global order emerged in the decades following the Second World War, the stakes were particularly high for West Germany to project a specific version of their national identity abroad. This reconstructed Germanness above all sought to break with the country's recent racist nationalism. The 25th of July's emergence as a prominent exponent of German culture in southern Brazil presented representatives of the West German diplomatic corps with a series of unavoidable decisions. Their ambivalence and

reticence demonstrated the profoundly Brazilian nature of the 25th of July's assertions of Germanness.

Chapter five circles back to focus once again on major celebrations to commemorate Germans' arrival on Brazilian shores, in this case the sesquicentenary festivities of 1974. As with the centenary fifty years earlier, identity discourses detailing German-Brazilians' past, present, and future abounded. Intellectuals, journalists, and politicians proposed varying treatments of Germanness as developed in Brazil. As with fifty years earlier, such expressions sought to mark German-Brazilians as exceptional and superior. What had changed, however, was the relationship between such expressions and dominant notions of Brazilian identity. Under the country's developmentalist dictatorship, common German identity tropes like industriousness, organization, and whiteness dovetailed with official, government-sponsored Brazilianness. Documentation from the sesquicentenary's executive committee—including judges' notes from the official Queen of the Sesquicentenary beauty pageant—sheds light on the care organizers took to shape a positive, felicitous face for German-Brazilians that would be legible for a broad Brazilian audience. As in chapter four, however, West German perspectives demonstrate the limits of this legibility and the divergent understandings of just what was at stake in such manifestations of Germanness in Brazil.

In 1974 few Brazilians saw a threat in triumphantalist, public expressions of Germanness by their fellow countrymen. This dissertation shows this not to be the result of a greater comfort with expressions of ethnic difference *per se*; rather, I argue that at the time Germanness and Brazilianness were not irreconcilable. The German-Brazilian organizers of the sesquicentenary used the military government's idealized projections of

a progressive, industrious Brazilian nation in order to construct themselves as national subjects. The military government, in turn, enthusiastically mobilized the cultural capital that German migration provided to its own domestic and international goals. In many ways, a Lutheran president presiding over a celebration of German culture on Brazilian soil represented the realization of both the dreams and nightmares of previous Brazilian governments.

Chapter 1
Presenting the Past: Contesting and Constructing German-Brazilian Identities through Historical Narratives c. 1924

This chapter addresses multiple and conflicting understandings of Germanness (*Deutschtum*) that circulated in Brazil in the first quarter of the twentieth century.[30] Spanning the period before, during, and after World War I, the analysis reveals the ways (German-)Brazilian elites constructed German identity in the context of the decline of the First Republic (1889-1930). It focuses on change and continuity among notions of *Deutschtum* in Brazil following a war in which Germany was both a protagonist and a loser. Claims of ethnic difference as well as of important cleavages between different sorts of German-Brazilian identities were contested primarily in the realm of historical narrative. Examinations of the migratory past amounted to strategic positions vis-à-vis the contemporary Brazilian reality. What did German migration mean to Brazil's past and present? To identify the divergent answers to these questions, I analyze the tensions between inter-ethnic (Portuguese language) and intra-ethnic (German-language) historical and identity discourses.

I am particularly interested in the intellectual production surrounding the 1924 commemorations of the centenary of German' migrants first arrival in southern Brazil. The festivities, which took place from July to September of that year, caused many

[30] On trans-Atlantic German migration and diasporic identities in comparative perspectives see Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, *People in Transit : German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930* (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 1995); Frederick C Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridental, and Nancy Reagin, eds., *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore, eds., *The German-American Encounter : Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800-2000* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001); Wolfgang Johannes Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner, *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective* (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin, 2004).

Brazilian and German-Brazilian elites to reflect publicly on German-Brazilian history and identity. Here, Brazilian elites refers to politicians and intellectuals whose understandings of German identity and assertions of its contours occupied a privileged position within public discourse. Importantly, these men were not themselves of German origin or at least did not claim a German ethnic identity. They overwhelmingly conceived of *alemão* as a unitary and homogenous category, omitting the hyphenated markers that would identify German migrants and their descendants as part of a Brazilian reality. Similarly, German-Brazilian elites refers to men who claimed their writings, speeches, and actions to be indicative of those embodied by German migrants and their descendants; they differ from national elites in that they themselves identify as a member of the ethnic group.

This chapter uses both Portuguese- and German-language documents in order to illustrate these various conceptions of Germanness and particularly to support the assertion that inter- and intra-ethnic identity discourses could serve seemingly divergent purposes.[31] Political speeches, historical works, literature, and newspapers produced in Portuguese illuminate the interpenetration of national and ethnic identity discourses. German-language documents reveal the intra-ethnic identity struggles among German-Brazilian elites during the same period. The notions of Germanness that appeared in and around the centenary festivities in 1924 are particularly illustrative of the battle to define Germanness in both intra- and inter-ethnic ways.

[31] This comparative approach has already born fruit in many contexts within the Americas. For Argentina alone, the following are illustrative of these advantages: Nouwen, *Oy, My Buenos Aires*; Steven Hyland, "'Arisen from Deep Slumber': Transnational Politics and Competing Nationalisms among Syrian Immigrants in Argentina, 1900–1922," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 43, no. 03 (August 2011): 547–74; Civantos, *Between Argentines and Arabs*.

Perhaps the most illustrative of these notions comes from the German-language almanacs (*Kalender*) produced for the centenary year. These light, portable books—in production locally since the 1860s—represented the most important source of secular German-language print culture in Brazil due to their low cost and high portability (figure 1.1). Only the Bible and the hymnal were more common staples in German-speaking households.[32] In the words of a contemporary observer "every *colono* [agricultural settler], whether he lives in the most remote *picada* [settlement] in the middle of the virgin forest, though he never reads books and perhaps never even shares a newspaper in the company of others, buys an almanac…"[33] The content ranged from essays and prose to poetry and song; almanacs were sources of culture and entertainment, as well as of practical information on topics such as moon cycles, religious feasts, agricultural developments, and even important institutional contact information.

[32] Imgart Grützmann, "Os Anuários Em Língua Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul de 1874 a 1941," *Letras de Hoje* 28, no. 1 (March 1993): 75.
[33] *Cem anos de germanidade no Rio Grande do Sul, 1824-1924* (São Leopoldo: Editora Unisinos, 1999), 291.

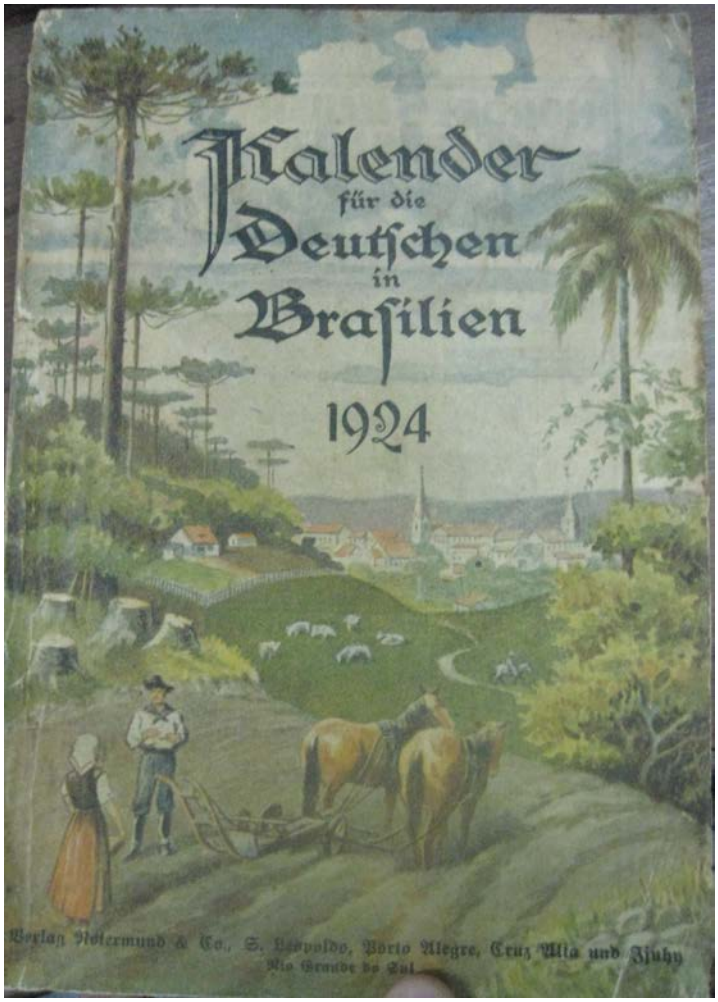

Figure 1.1: Kalender für die Deutschen in Brasilien, 1924[34]

This near omnipresence of almanacs among German speakers in Brazil was not unique among immigrant societies in the Americas. Marion Barber Stowell described almanacs as "the weekday bible" in the colonial United States.[35] They served as sources for practical knowledge like moon and crop cycles and popular literature and essays. In the words of historian Thomas A. Horrocks, "because its popularity spread through almost every level of American society, the almanac was, in effect, a microcosm of that

[34] Acervo Benno Mentz, DELFOS, PUCRS.
[35] Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American Almanacs; the Colonial Weekday Bible* (New York: Bert Franklin, 1977).

society."[36] Both Horrocks and Stowell take advantage of the almanac's penetration in colonial U.S. society to demonstrate the decline of what they call "Puritan" in favor of "Yankee" identities. Given their similarly pervasive penetration within German-Brazilian reading habits, German-language almanacs produced in Brazil provide a similarly insightful source base to observe the emergence of and shifts in locally constructed identities. The German-Brazilian case is an ethnic analog to Horrocks and Stowell's observations about emerging national sentiment.[37]

As with much of the German-language press in Rio Grande do Sul in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the almanacs fell broadly into three ideological and confessional schools: Protestant, Catholic, and liberal/secularist.[38] The editors selected content accordingly: for instance, publishers of a liberal/secularist almanac, the *Koseritz Deutscher Volkskalender*, famously advocated in favor of Darwin's theories of evolution. This stance incurred the ire of both Catholics and Protestants.[39] Many of the texts in the almanacs appeared anonymously, sometimes ascribing authorship to the "*Kalendermann*" (literally "the almanac man"), but employed various tools to construct a markedly "didactic-pedagogical" discourse within their texts.[40] These tools included the use of favorable or unfavorable adjectives to present different sectors of society, ideologically-

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[36] Thomas A. Horrocks, *Popular Print and Popular Medicine: Almanacs and Health Advice in Early America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 2.

[37] See for example the excellent work of literary scholar Imgart Grützmann Imgart Grützmann, "O Almanaque (Kalender) Na Imigração Alemã Na Argentina, No Brasil E No Chile," in *Imigração E Imprensa* (Porto Alegre: EST Edições, n.d.); Grützmann, "Os Anuários Em Língua Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul de 1874 a 1941."

[38] Nouwen, *Oy, My Buenos Aires*; Hyland, "'Arisen from Deep Slumber'"; Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 116–149; The role of ideologically engaged, immigrant-language press in the construction of intra-ethnic cleavages is well documented Ronald C. Newton, *German Buenos Aires, 1900-1933 : Social Change and Cultural Crisis* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977), 109–122; Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[39] Arthur Blásio Rambo, "A História Da Imprensa Teuto-Brasileira," in *Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: História, Linguagem, Educação*, ed. Jorge Luiz da Cunha (Santa Maria: Ed. UFSM, 2003), 72.

[40] Grützmann, "O Almanaque (Kalender) Na Imigração Alemã Na Argentina, No Brasil E No Chile," 70.

charged meditations on *Deutschtum*, the presence or absence of news/texts from Germany, and even instructions on how readers might approach voting in upcoming local elections. The most popular almanacs enjoyed truly astounding print runs and even international circulation. The Lutheran *Rotermund Kalender* alone printed between 25,000 and 30,000 copies annually during the 1920s, or one for every thirty-three *teuto-brasileiros* in Brazil.[41]

In order to situate my discussion of the centenary, I begin with an overview of German-speaking migrations to Brazil and Latin America, as well as a brief survey of the historiography on German identity in 19th and early 20th century Brazil. Of particular importance are the shifting ways that Brazilian elites understood the advantages and disadvantages of the presence of German immigrants and their descendants in the country's physical and social geography. The chapter then analyzes the ways—both material and symbolic—that the First World War impacted German-Brazilian communities. I then situate within this historical landscape a sustained discussion of the different understandings of German ethnic identities mobilized during and around the festivities of 1924, both in Portuguese and German languages. Placing these notions side by side reveals the stakes of these historiographical battles—competing narrations of the German-Brazilian past—in the construction of ethnic and national identities in pre-Estado Novo Brazil.

The Roots of German Immigration to Brazil

[41] Rene Gertz, *O Aviador E O Carroceiro : Política, Etnia E Religião No Rio Grande Do Sul Dos Anos 1920* (Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2002), 35.

Governments throughout the Americas pursued Northern European immigration in general—and German-speaking immigration in particular—beginning in the early 19th century. To understand the particularities of the Brazilian Imperial interest in German migration, however, we must begin at least at the transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro. The ruling Bragança family, having fled Napoleon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, arrived in Brazil in 1808 under protection of the British navy. Accompanying them were some 15,000 people, representing the largest-ever movement of Europeans to Brazil. With the Court came contemporary European ideas that swirled around the continent following the American and French Revolutions.[42] The crisis of the *Ancien Régime*, the rise of Enlightenment thought, and the overwhelming power of Napoleon all contributed to the growing sense that Portugal had fallen behind other European powers both economically and socially. The omnipresence of slave labor in Rio de Janeiro, compounded by the presence of large populations of free Africans and people of mixed African, Indigenous, and European descent, troubled many in the court. One minister to the Crown, Vila Nova Portugal, lamented that in a Brazil made "intrinsically weak" by slavery, it would be impossible to instill a "National Spirit" along the lines of "white" Portugal.[43]

Knowing that any disruption in the steady supply of slave labor would cause unrest among landed elites—as well as a significant reduction in royal revenue—King João VI and his ministers devised an experiment to encourage free white immigration.

[42] On the transfer of the Court to Rio de Janeiro and the Bragança response to the circulation of ideas during so-called "Age of Revolutions," see Debora Gerstenberger, *Gouvernementalität im Zeichen der globalen Krise: Der Transfer des portugiesischen Königshofes nach Brasilien* (Köln: Böhlau Köln, 2013); Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles : Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821* (New York: Routledge, 2001), chap. 1 and 3.
[43] Minister Vila Nova Portugal, cited in Schultz, *Tropical Versailles*, 207.

The Crown sponsored three settlements of Swiss and Rhinelanders[44] with the hopes of promoting smaller tenant landholding, whitening the population, and moving away from a dependence on slave labor.[45] The settlements, however, were regarded as a failure due to a nearly twenty percent fatality rate in the Atlantic passage, the insalubrious climate of the land, and the Royal authorities' fleeting interest in the scheme.[46] Though Dom João's return to Portugal in 1821 marked the end of the Portuguese crown's interest in incentivizing European migration to Brazil, historian Jeffrey Lesser points out that European immigration remained one of the possible answers to the question "who will do the hard work?"[47]

Renewed interest in German immigration came only a year after Dom João's departure. In 1822, João's son Pedro disobeyed his father's orders to return to Portugal—famously proclaiming "*fico,*" or "I am staying," and thereby founding the independent Brazilian Empire.[48] His action brought political independence from Portugal to a vast and loosely controlled area of South America. It also ushered in a crisis of legitimacy for a fledgling monarchy attempting to survive the rising tide of Republicanism in the Atlantic world.[49] As Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro I (1822-1831) faced two major challenges to the integrity of his empire. First, the Brazilian economy depended on a

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[44] Nova Friburgo near Rio de Janeiro and Leopoldina and São Jorge dos Ilheus in the northeastern province of Bahia.

[45] The crown's decision was not, however, uncontoversial. Despite a mandate that all the settlers be of the Roman Catholic faith, migration agents did not comply and some Protestants also made the voyage. Showing its committment to the project, the Crown flaunted a Papal Nuncio on the subject and agreed to pay the salary of the Swiss settlement's Protestant minister. See Schultz, *Tropical Versailles*, 209–210.

[46] Magnus Mörner, *Adventurers and Proletarians : The Story of Migrants in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 24.

[47] Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, 19.

[48] Neill Macaulay, *Dom Pedro : The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1986), 107.

[49] On the crisis of monarchy in the Luso-Atlantic world, see Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c.1770–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) especially chap. 2.

geographically disparate land-holding elite that demanded the export-oriented status quo be maintained. Pedro I's own personal opposition to the institution of slavery—described in a series of anonymous pro-abolition articles that appeared in Rio de Janeiro newspapers—heightened the importance of finding an alternative system of land and labor.[50] The second was possible territorial encroachment from the newly independent Spanish American republics bordering the Empire to the west. Populating these borderlands with settlers loyal to the Crown and ready to defend their lands was a matter of urgency.[51] The (imagined) ability of Northern European agricultural settlers to ameliorate both of these issues quickly drove Pedro I to reconsider the merits of his father's migration schemes.

By 1823, Pedro I's government had already sent representatives to the German-speaking lands of Europe for the purpose of recruiting agricultural migrants. Scholars of the period diverge on the driving force behind Pedro's decision to retake and expand the subsidized immigration of German peasants to Brazil. In Brazil, many academic and popular authors of German descent (as well as many German-Brazilians' personal and community memories) have tended to emphasize the role of Pedro's wife Leopoldina, daughter of the Habsburg empress Maria Teresa, in influencing this policy. In these accounts, Leopoldina appears varyingly as an advocate for the positive benefits of Germanic culture and race or as a German-speaking elite nostalgic for her homeland and people.[52]

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[50] Hélio Vianna, *Dom Pedro I, Jornalista.* (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1967), 79.
[51] Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire : Myths and Histories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), xxv.
[52] Martin Norberto Dreher, *Igreja e germanidade: estudo crítico da história de Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil* (São Leopoldo: Editora Sinodal, 1984), 29; See also Karl Heinrich Oberacker, *A contribuição teuta à formação da nação brasileira*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Presença,

More recently, academic historians in Brazil and beyond have tended to focus on a wider array of explanations for Pedro I's decision, ranging from economic to cultural.[53] Historian Marcos Tramontini's analysis is the most sophisticated and helpful of these treatments. Tramontini identifies three primary lines of thought that led Pedro to reconsider state-led European immigration schemes. He then links each line of thought to different political actors from Pedro's inner circle, each champions of German migration as a solution to the problems of the early Empire, each for discrete reasons. First, Emperor Pedro I himself was concerned primarily with securing an able-bodied and loyal military force capable of suppressing internal and external threats to his reign. He imagined (male) German migrants to be particularly suited to this task. Second, the Empress Leopoldina saw the "solid importation of European culture" as a route to "civilizing" Brazil. Leopoldina, like many in the Portuguese Court, drew a direct and causal connection between the country's perceived lack of culture and Brazil's complex racial geography; Germans and other "northern" Europeans were imagined as carriers of sort of the Enlightenment thought and culture that was lacking. Third, Pedro's chief advisor, José Bonifácio, and other liberal politicians and intellectuals proposed the introduction of free, white labor would destabilize the slave system as they believed it had in the northern United States. The importation of artisans and farmers would be an "incentive to agriculture and arts, population, whitening, and a preparation for the end of slavery." Bonifácio and his allies imagined small holding German agricultural colonists

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1968); and Theodor Amstad, *Memórias autobiográficas*, ed. Balduíno Rambo, trans. Arthur Rabuske (São Leopoldo: Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa, UNISINOS, 1981).

[53] For some of the most famous treatments, see Jean Roche, *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul* (Paris, Institut des hautes études de l'Amérique latine, 1959); Giralda Seyferth, *A Colonização Alemã No Vale Do Itajaí-Mirim ; Um Estudo de Desenvolvimento Econômico* (Porto Alegre: Editora Movimento, 1974); Macaulay, *Dom Pedro*.

would be a *de facto* challenge to the entrenched landed elites who clung both to slavery and to seigniorial (read: anti-modern) ways of life.[54]

Nowhere in the Empire did these three different seedlings find more fertile ground than in the sparsely populated and yet strategically essential south, especially the province of Rio Grande do Sul. Sharing a border with the newly established Republic of Argentina and the contested Banda Oriental (today's Uruguay), Rio Grande do Sul had long been a contact zone between Portuguese and Spanish colonial projects.[55] The province had been the site of open conflict between the two empires throughout the 18th century, culminating in the treaties of San Ildefonso (1777) and Badajoz (1801) that solidified *de jure* Portuguese control over the territory.[56] The Portuguese crown gave noblemen large land grants—known as *sesmarias* and averaging around 13,000 hectares or fifty square miles—in the *pampas* of the province's southern half. Many of these *sesmarias* took advantage of the region's wild cattle herds to produce dried salt beef (*charque*), a main staple of the population centers further north. Slaves and Azorean transplants provided much of the labor for this nascent industry.[57]

By the advent of the Empire, however, the province was home to just over 100,000 inhabitants in an area somewhat larger than the U.S. state of Colorado. Most of Rio Grande do Sul's population lived in the borderlands that comprised the province's

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[54] Marcos Tramontini, *A Organização Social Dos Imigrantes : A Colônia de São Leopoldo Na Fase Pioneira, 1824-1850* (São Leopoldo: Editora UNISINOS, 2000), 43–44.
[55] See, among other, Barbara Anne Ganson, *The Guaraní under Spanish Rule in the Río de La Plata* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); John Charles Chasteen, *Heroes on Horseback a Life and Times of the Last Gaucho Caudillos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Fabrício Pereira Prado, "In the Shadows of Empires: Trans-Imperial Networks and Colonial Identity in Bourbon Rio de La Plata (c.1750 -- c.1813)" (Emory University, 2009).
[56] Joseph Love, *Rio Grande Do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), 8–9.
[57] Tramontini, *A Organização Social Dos Imigrantes*, 32–34.

southern half.[58] This, combined with the very real prospects of war over the Banda Oriental and encroachment by unsettled indigenous peoples from the north and west, made the independent Brazilian state's control of its southernmost territories tenuous at best. Complicating this, the Crown had difficulty ensuring the loyalty of wealthy *charque* producers, many of whom had operated largely independently during the colonial era.[59] For all of these reasons, Pedro I became preoccupied with Rio Grande do Sul early in his reign and he and others considered German migration to be a panacea for all of these questions.

Dom Pedro's agents identified a fallow *real feitoria* (royal estate) to the north of the provincial capital, Porto Alegre, as the site of their new experiment. On July 25, 1824, after a brief stay in Rio de Janeiro during which they were received by the Emperor and Empress, the first thirty-six *colonos* arrived at the newly christened São Leopoldo settlement. Hailing from the German provinces of Hamburg, Holstein, and Hannover, the immigrants brought with them experiences that varied from professions (doctors, pharmacists, and merchants) to artisans (tailors, masons, and cobblers) to laborers (cottagers and farmers).[60] The settler families each received a *picada*, a long, narrow plot of land that varied between 120 and 174 acres. These small-hold plots would later come to take on semi-mythical status as a Germanic contribution to southern Brazil and a naturalized symbol for Germans' supposed preference for self-reliance and independence. However, historian Jean Roche is quick to point out that "the system of small property holding was not introduced by the Germans, but inaugurated by the Brazilian

[58] Roche, *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul.*, 40.
[59] Helen Osório, *O Império Português No Sul Da América: Estancieros, Lavradores E Comerciantes* (Porto Alegre: UFRGS Editora, 2007); Sandra Jatahy Pesavento, "A Revolução Farropilha," *Boletim Gaúcho de Geografia* 13, no. 1 (1985): 101–2.
[60] *Cem anos de germanidade no Rio Grande do Sul, 1824-1924*, 61–62; 69.

government, whose judgment was confirmed by other foreign travelers and by Brazilians themselves."[61] Settlement all but stopped during the 1830s due to the *Farrapos* rebellion in Rio Grande do Sul—precisely the sort of separatism that the Crown hoped to circumvent with its settlement schemes—but picked up after the upheaval of 1848.[62]

Despite the initial fanfare, the relationship between the *colonos* and the Brazilian state during the first fifty years of German immigration was primarily marked by neglect. By the mid 1830s, the Crown found it financially too cumbersome to be the sole guarantor of passage and land to possible immigrants, and devolved colonization policy to the provinces. Local leaders in turn began to rely increasingly on private interests to settle vast swaths of land in the provinces' interiors.[63] Promises of land and religious tolerance toward the Protestant confessional minority often remained unfulfilled, and the government's lack of assistance in supplying German-speaking priests (both Catholic and Protestant) was a source of resentment among the colonists. Accounts of deteriorating conditions throughout Brazil, particularly in São Paulo state, where European immigration and the *parceria* (share-cropping) system were most often seen as a substitute for slave-based plantation labor, inevitably made their way back to Europe.[64]

Stories of broken promises and poor treatment circulated in a context of rapid urbanization and rising social ills. Prussian authorities worried that cities and towns were using Brazilian immigration schemes essentially to export their destitute urban

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[61] Roche, *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul*, 428.

[62] In these years the annual European migration to Brazil rose to 10,000-15,000, of which up to one fifth was German. See Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in Brazil : A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict during World War I* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 8.

[63] Roche, *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul*, 120; Seyferth, *A Colonização Alemã No Vale Do Itajaí-Mirim ; Um Estudo de Desenvolvimento Econômico*, 30–32.

[64] On immigration and the failure parceria system in São Paulo, see Michael Hall, *The Origins of Mass Migration in Brazil, 1871-1914* (Columbia University, 1969); Reinhardt W Wagner, *Deutsche als Ersatz für Sklaven: Arbeitsmigranten aus Deutschland in der brasilianischen Provinz São Paulo 1847-1914* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1995).

dwellers—with disastrous consequences. In response, the Prussian Crown issued the Heydt Edict of 1859, which put an end to concessions for Brazilian settlement and emigration interests. The dampening effects of the Heydt Edict only intensified following the 1871 unification of German-speaking lands under Prussian control.[65] The Edict's ban on recruitment and subsidy schemes also influenced the sort of *Reichsdeutche* (citizens of the Prussian Empire) that chose Brazil as a destination, depressing the proportion of agricultural migrants from regions like Pomerania in favor of more educated and/or urban migrants.

A statistical comparison helps to illustrate the effects of legislation like the Heydt Edict on trans-Atlantic migration streams. From 1860-1910, the flow of migrants from Germany to Brazil continued at a steady rate, averaging around 16,000 per decade for the period, even as trans-Atlantic migration flows fluctuated wildly. The large numbers of Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish arrivals to Brazilian shores meant a precipitous decline in Germans' share of total immigration from 15% in the 1860s to just 2.1% from 1900-1910, representing just 3% of all migrants during the period. During the same period in the United States, which faced no comparable emigration restrictions, the number of German immigrants fluctuated from 723,000 during the 1860s (34.8% of total arrivals to the U.S.) to nearly 1.5 million in the 1880s (27.5%) to 329,000 from 1900-1910 (4%), representing 17.5% of the migrants during the 50-year period.[66] Historian of Italian migration Samuel Baily sees the *lack* of government restrictions as a major factor in the

[65] Roche, *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul*, 89–90; Christel Converse, *The German Immigrants and Their Descendants in Nineteenth Century South America* (De Paul University, 1974), 15.
[66] Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 1990, 95; Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, 15.

wide fluctuations in emigration numbers from Italy prior to World War I.[67] In the Brazilian case, the number of Italian arrivals swung widely from 45,000 between 1872-1880 to 690,000 in the 1890s to 138,000 in the 1910s.[68] Absent restrictions like the Heydt Edict, migration numbers to the United States and Argentina responded with similarly unfettered agility to factors like labor demand, rural economic depression, transpiration costs, and receiving country policies.[69]

As the influence of *Reichsdeutsche* within German-Brazilian circles grew, so too did the public profile of German-speaking peoples and their descendants within Brazilian society.[70] As with emigrants leaving newly unified and industrializing Italy for the Americas, the stream of new immigrants from Bismark's Germany increasingly came from and settled in cities and industrial centers.[71] This contributed to a greater concern among these immigrants for national identity and belonging. In the words of historian Frederick Luebke, "the urban Teuto-Brazilians were significantly different from their [North] American counterparts in that a substantial proportion were *Reichsdeutsche*—subjects of the German Kaiser—who looked upon their residence in Brazil as temporary and who had no interest in acquiring Brazilian citizenship."[72] In a pattern that would continue to play out well into the twentieth century, the German government also took an interest in maintaining ties with its emigrants and promoting the "preservation" of *Deutschtum* among them.[73]

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[67] Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 33.
[68] Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, 15.
[69] Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, chap. 1.
[70] *Der Familienfreund Katholischer Hauskalender Und Wegweiser Für Das Jahr 1924* (Porto Alegre: Hugo Metzler, 1924), 38.
[71] Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 30.
[72] Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 1990, 103.
[73] On German Imperial interest in Germans and German identity in Brazil, see (among others) Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Partly as a consequence of these interests in maintaining direct or affective connections to their "homeland" and culture, Germans and their descendants in Brazil participated in and supported voluntary institutions, German-language publications, and other forms of public life as never before Brazil. In Rio Grande do Sul alone, the three decades following German unification witnessed the advent of a dizzying array of new German-Brazilian institutions: the founding of ten German-language newspapers, two almanacs, and multiple German-language schools and associations such as the *Turnverein* (Gymnastics Association), *Orpheus* (German-language choir), and the *Deutscher Schützverein* (German Shooting Association) in Porto Alegre and São Leopoldo alone.[74] In 1886, *Reichsdeutscher* pastor Wilhelm Rotermund founded the *Sínodo Riograndense* (Rio Grande Synod), a local council of churches with direct links between southern Brazil and the *Evangelische Kirche*, imperial Germany's Lutheran state church.[75] Like their Italian counterparts in the United States and elsewhere, many German-Brazilian individuals and institutions used occasions such as Chancellor von Bismarck and the Emperor's birthdays as ethnic celebrations or commemorations.[76] Unified Germany played both a material and a symbolic role in the crystallization of various articulations of German identity in Brazil.

2010), chap. 5; Mercedes G. Kothe, *Land der Verheissung : die deutsche Auswanderung nach Brasilien 1890-1914* (Rostock: Meridian-Verlag, 2003), 15–17; Frederik Schulze, "Protestantismus Und Deutschtum in Rio Grande Do Sul (Brasilien) Am Beispiel Des Inspektionsberichts von Martin Braunschweig (1864 – 1908)" (Freie Universität Berlin, 2007); On the German Empire's dealings with the German Diaspora more generally, see Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The "Greater German Empire", 1871-1914* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[74] *Cem anos de germanidade no Rio Grande do Sul, 1824-1924*, 291–293; 303–305; Martin Dreher, "A Participação Do Imigrante Na Imprensa Brasileira," in *Imigração E Imprensa*, ed. Martin Dreher (Porto Alegre: EST Edições, 2004).

[75] Dreher, *Igreja e germanidade*, 89–93.

[76] Dominic Candeloro, *Chicago's Italians: Immigrants, Ethnics, Americans* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 37; Eloisa Capovilla da Luz Ramos, "O Teatro Da Sociabilidade: Um Estudo Dos Clubes Sociais Como Espaços de Representação Das Elites Urbanas Alemãs E Teuto-Brasileiras: S. Leopoldo. 1850/1930" (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2000), 242.

The Rise of one Empire, the Decline of Another

Ways of being German did not emerge in the hermetic environment of ethnic clubs, church halls, and newspaper offices; rather, German-speaking immigrants and their descendants—*Reichsdeutsche* or otherwise—lived within the shifting contexts of the disintegrating Brazilian empire. The national question permeated Brazilian life in the late 19th century, much as it did in many of the emerging modern nation-states throughout the Atlantic World.[77] The fall of the Brazilian Empire and the proclamation of the Republic in 1889 precipitated a series of urgent debates as to what form the Brazilian state should take and, more broadly, the nature of Brazilian national identity.[78] As in the United States, Argentina, and other major receivers of migrant streams, the related questions of nation and immigration pervaded these discussions.

Selective immigration policies provided seemingly auspicious opportunities for liberal governments to shape their nations' human geography according to various criteria. In the United States, legislation such as the 1875 Page Law, Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and various quotas that culminated in the Immigration Act of 1924 intended to restrict immigration primarily to the "desirable" (read: white, Christian) European

[77] On the national question in Latin America from a regional perspective, see Chasteen and Castro-Klarén, *Beyond Imagined Communities*; Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions the National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); On the national question in Europe, see E. J Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987); Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany*.

[78] On the national question at the transition from Empire to Republic, see Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire*, chap. 8; José Murilo de Carvalho, *A Formação Das Almas : O Imaginário Da República No Brasil* (São Paulo: Cia. das Letras, 1990); For a concise summary of the federalist debates, see Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893-1897* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 11–15.

sort.[79] In Argentina, immigration laws passed as early as 1822 expressly opened the doors of the country only to Europeans, with the Constitution of 1853 expressly stating that the government should incentivize and encourage European immigration.[80] Even countries that received small immigration streams asserted an idealized and racialized vision of the nation through immigration policies, such as Guatemala's 1909 prohibition on Asian immigration.[81] In Brazil, the ideas of Comtean Positivism, Social Darwinism, and the racial theories of French aristocrat and one-time representative of France in Brazil, Arthur de Gobineau, dominated elite discussions of race and national destiny. Republican immigration policies favored Europeans and expressly prohibited the entry of people of African descent.[82] The belief that European immigration followed by racial mixing would lead to a "whitening" of the country's heavily African-descendant population abounded.[83]

Upon arrival in their new homes, however, immigrants throughout the Americas frustrated assimilationist dreams of contributing to the formation of whiter yet homogenous nations. Immigration inevitably led to myriad local, national, and trans-national forms of identification that diverged from the national identity idealized by policy makers.[84] For example, the Republic's decision to grant full citizenship to all

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[79] Pegler-Gordon, *In Sight of America*, chap. 1; A classic study on American nativism and immigration policy is John Higham, *Strangers in the Land; Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955); Two contemporary treatments of the politics of whiteness and immigration are Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Macmillan, 2001); and Ali Behdad, *A Forgetful Nation : On Immigration and Cultural Identity in the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005) especially chapters 3 and 4.

[80] Moya, *Cousins and Strangers Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*, 49–50.

[81] Alfaro-Velcamp, *So far from Allah, so close to Mexico*, 61.

[82] Peter Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," *Daedalus* 129, no. 2 (April 2000): 87.

[83] Skidmore, *Black into White*.

[84] The literature on the emergence of immigrant or ethnic identities in the Americas is vast. Some important works on the United States include Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot; the Negroes, Puerto*

children born on Brazilian soil—the principle of *jus soli*—was in part intended to encourage assimilation among migrants and their descendants. Brazilian scholar René Gertz argues instead that this conception of citizenship caused immigrants accustomed to the German Reich's lineage-based definition of citizenship—*jus sanguinis*—to call with greater urgency for the preservation of *Deutschtum* among their descendants.[85] Important political and confessional cleavages—present since the arrival of the first immigrants—came to the fore in these discussions. Who had a greater claim to *Deutschtum*, Protestants or Catholics? Where did liberals and secularists fit within this divide? Did those born in Germany hold a higher position within an ethnic hierarchy? Did obtaining Brazilian citizenship violate one's Germanness, or make it easier to "preserve" in the Brazilian national context?

By the 1870s, answers to these questions had crystalized into three distinct strains of German-Brazilian identification: Lutheran, Catholic, and liberal/secularist. Buttressing these intra-ethnic cleavages was a series of separate institutions and accompanying networks and forms of sociability. Spaces like churches and schools placed German-Brazilians of different confessions into separate worlds, with Catholics coming into greater contact with other Brazilians and Protestants tending to remain apart. Social clubs and German-language newspapers similarly organized along ideological and confessional lines, helping to create multiple German-language publics. One scholar has

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Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City; Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness : Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); Hasia R Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*; For various examples in the Latin American context, see Karam, *Another Arabesque*; Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*; Lok C. D. Siu, *Memories of a Future Home : Diasporic Citizenship of Chinese in Panama* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Erin Graff Zivin, *The Wandering Signifier : Rhetoric of Jewishness in the Latin American Imaginary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Alfaro-Velcamp, *So far from Allah, so close to Mexico*.

[85] Rene Gertz, "A Construção de Uma Nova Cidadania," in *Os Alemães No Sul Do Brasil : Cultura, Etnicidade, História*, ed. Cláudia Mauch and Naira Vasconcellos (Canoas: Editora da ULBRA, 1994), 30.

referred to the relationship between the three principal dailies as a "war between newspapers," with the liberal/secularist *Deutsche Zeitung* becoming the "common enemy" of the Catholic *Deutsches Volksblatt* and the Lutheran *Deutsche Post*.[86]

Uniting these three sectarian conceptions of *Deutschtum*, however, was one central concern: the importance of the German language. The production of textbooks and Portuguese language primers for German speakers, the penning of poems and novels in German, the proliferation of German-only schools, and the "importation" of German-speaking Roman Catholic and Lutheran priests were all aimed at perpetuating the daily use of the German tongue. Giralda Seyferth sees this as unique among immigrant communities in Brazil because of the special place of language in 18th and 19th century German history. More than just an "ethnic boundary" that allowed for the socialization of community members, language politics were a direct inheritance of a particular breed of German linguistic nationalism.[87] Speaking a language other than Portuguese and consuming German-language culture separated ethnic Germans from other Brazilians and simultaneously renewed their claim to hegemonic ideas of *Deutschtum* in contemporary Germany.[88]

Moment of Crisis: German-Brazilians and the First World War

[86] For a more in-depth discussion of these schools of thought and their various published expressions, see Rambo, "A História Da Imprensa Teuto-Brasileira"; Dreher, "A Participação Do Imigrante Na Imprensa Brasileira."
[87] Giralda Seyferth, "A Identidade Teuto-Brasileira Numa Perspectiva Histórica," in *Os Alemães No Sul Do Brasil : Cultura, Etnicidade, História*, ed. Cláudia Mauch and Naira Vasconcellos (Canoas: Editora da ULBRA, 1994), 17.
[88] On the importance of language in 19th-century German national identity formation, see Brian Vick, "The Origins of the German Volk: Cultural Purity and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *German Studies Review* 26, no. 2 (May 1, 2003): 241–56.

During the initial decades of Brazil's First Republic (1889-1930), the growing prominence of Germans and German-Brazilians in Brazilian society only occasionally met with disapproval from Brazilian intellectual elites. The focus of these critiques, however, tended to be the perceived tendency toward separatism of the German "colonies," rather than the presence of Germans per se. For these elites, their century-old dream of whitening the nation could not come true if those of German descent refused to mix with the Brazilian population more broadly. Frustration with perceived isolationism led to calls for forced integration of German populations, even as many elites still favored German immigration on eugenic grounds. The most famous such Germanophile/Germanophobe was Brazilian man of letters Sílvio Romero. According to sociologist Sérgio Costa, Romero was a great admirer of the "Arian race" and its "service to humanity" via German territorial projects in Africa. In Brazil, however, Romero worried that German immigrants were not distributing their "eugenic capital" widely enough and should be forced through language prohibitions or even military action to integrate into Brazilian society.[89] His 1906 volume *O alemanismo no sul do Brasil* was among the first to raise the specter of a *perigo alemão*, a German danger—either internal from German-Brazilian separatists or external from the German Empire itself—to national unity.[90] Another famous example of this ambivalence is Graça Aranha, a novelist and member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Aranha's *Canaã* (1902) told the story of two German migrants to the state of Espirito Santo: Milkau, who favored assimilation into Brazilian society, and Lentz, whose adherence to ideas of German racial superiority drove him to resist assimilation at all costs. In a series of long, reflective

[89] Sérgio Costa, "Imigração no Brasil e na Alemanha: contextos, conceitos, convergências," *Ciências Sociais Unisinos* 44, no. 2 (2008): 108.
[90] Alberto Luiz Schneider, *Sílvio Romero, hermeneuta do Brasil* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2005), chap. 3.

dialogues between Milkau and Lentz, Aranha reflected on the possibilities and perils that German migration represented for Brazil.

Despite the circulation of such ideas among Brazilian elites, there is little indication that they affected the day-to-day lives of German-Brazilians prior to the outbreak of the First World War. However, in the years following July 1914, the suspicions voiced by intellectuals like Romero and Aranha took on increasing salience. Real or imagined connections between Brazil's ethnic German population and the war's chief belligerent fanned these flames. What were the intentions of the expansionist German Empire with respect to southern Brazil? The popular association of German-Brazilians with the "exotic" Prussian Lutheran church—regardless of their confessional background—made these suspicions all the more plausible.[91] Could the German-Brazilian presence in the agricultural areas of Brazil's south—40% of the population or more in certain regions— be a threat to the integrity of the Republic?

Following the April 1917 sinking of the Brazilian ship *Paraná* by a German U-boat, riots broke out in Porto Alegre and elsewhere and large demonstrations gathered to condemn this German aggression. Protests lasted for a nearly a week, gathering Brazilians of various backgrounds to hear political speeches condemning German aggression and praising Brazil, Rio Grande do Sul, and the Republic—this last marked by the repeated singing of the *Marseillaise*.[92] Many of these rallies resulted in attacks on German-Brazilian businesses and homes. In response, the government of Rio Grande do

[91] By 1924, over 40% of the population in areas of Rio Grande do Sul were of German descent, compared with 31% Italian, 13% Luso, 8% Slavic, and 5% others. See Antonio Augusto Borges de Medeiros, "Mensagem Enviada À Assembléa Dos Representantes Do Rio Grande Do Sul Pelo Presidente Do Estado," September 22, 1925, available at http://brazil.crl.edu/bsd/bsd/u806/000037.html; Seyferth, "A Identidade Teuto-Brasileira Numa Perspectiva Histórica," 20; Gertz, *O Aviador E O Carroceiro*, 30–32.

[92] Adhemar Lourenço da Silva Jr., "O Povo X Der Pöbel," in *Os Alemães No Sul Do Brasil : Cultura, Etnicidade, História*, ed. Cláudia Mauch and Naira Vasconcellos (Canoas: Editora da ULBRA, 1994), 89–90.

Sul imposed military law and mobilized some 7,400 federally authorized troops to protect ethnic German businesses and citizens. Nevertheless, mob action and riots left institutions such as the Germania Society (*Gesellschaft Germania*), the import-export firm Bromberg and Co., and the German-Brazilian owned Hotel Schmidt in ruins.[93]

Soon thereafter, the Brazilian government bowed to British, French, and U.S. pressure to cut commercial and diplomatic ties with Germany, placing restrictions on German capital, German-language publications, and German-Brazilian institutions. These blanket restrictions were unsophisticated bans, taken more from the Allies' models than Brazilian experiences. They did not recognize the intra-ethnic cleavages such as confessional or professional groupings that had long defined German-Brazilian affinities.[94] Instead, they grouped all ethnic Germans together, amounting to a kind of "negative integration." According to Brazilian historian Adhemar da Silva Jr., the riots and their aftermath marked the first time that the tension between being ethnically German and nationally Brazilian had widespread and violent consequences. As he notes, during the war "it was not dangerous to be *teuto*,[95]" rather, the danger lay in the persistent "doubt as to whether a German (or German-Brazilian) was more *teuto* or more Brazilian." The danger "was this ambiguous status."[96] In the urban context of Porto Alegre, the capital of Rio Grande do Sul, the size and comparative wealth of the supposedly "unassimilated" yet Brazilian-born ethnic population made them an easy

[93] For an English-language account of the riots and their aftermath, see Luebke, *Germans in Brazil*, chap. 5.
[94] On the high level of social variegation and consequent lack of unity among German-Brazilians, see Rene Gertz, *O perigo alemão* (Porto Alegre: Editora da Universidade, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 1991), 13–31.
[95] Literally translated as Teutonic or Teutonic-Brazilian (*teuto-brasileiro*), the term refers to Brazilian descendants of German-speaking migrants. Because the term itself comes into more common use in the 1930s and more popularly in the post-WWII context, I follow my documents' usage. Otherwise I use German-Brazilian for the same purposes.
[96] da Silva Jr., "O Povo X Der Pöbel," 101.

target for xenophobic and nativist sentiments. Their proponents seized on events, such as the sinking of the *Paraná*, to highlight and condemn ethic Germans' cultural and linguistic associations with an aggressor state. As a consequence, German-Brazilians were pushed as never before to publicly (re)affirm their loyalties to the Brazilian nation.

The difficulty lay in determining just what loyalty to the Brazilian nation looked like. Given the inchoate and contested nature of Brazilian national identity in the early 20th century, how ethnic Germans could "prove" their Brazilianness was not a straightforward task. As da Silva Jr. notes, ethnic Germans "knew that it was necessary to combat ambiguity" by reaffirming their loyalty to Brazil. What they did not know was how best to accomplish that task, or "exactly what they should support."[97] How should they make themselves legible to others as fully national—rather than ethnic or foreign—subjects? Was it by professing their loyalty to the Brazilian nation? By unfurling the flag of the state of Rio Grande do Sul or by singing its anthem? Did the fact that the anti-German mobs sang the *Marseillaise* during rallies mean that praising Republican values would help ethnic Germans avoid suspicion? The answers were unclear during the war and would remain so into the interwar period.

Conflict in Brazil after WWI

By the 1920s, the agricultural oligarchy that had largely dominated the country during the Empire (1822-1889) and into the First Republic (1889-1930) had begun to lose its grip both economically and politically.[98] The once-assured system of "*café com leite*" transition of power between the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, while leaving local

[97] Ibid., 100–102.
[98] On the nature of this group, see Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire*, especially chapter 8.

coroneis to rule unchecked by the central state, began to fray.[99] Fluctuating coffee prices, urbanization and industrialization in the country's south, and widespread discontent among the military all contributed to the destabilization of the old order.[100] Social commentators talked of the "moral corruption" of the Republic, while emerging political leaders from regions outside the São Paulo-Minas Gerais axis called for political renewal.[101] The revolts of discontented and disenfranchised mid-level military officers—the *tenentes*—in 1922 and 1924 both underscored and hastened the crumbling of political and social order.[102]

In response to the upheavals of the post-WWI era, various political and social movements emerged aiming to "save" the country by forging a more cohesive nation, a project at which independent Brazil had, up until that juncture, largely failed.[103] According to Lúcia Lippi Oliveira, the dominant notions of national pride like love of the *patria* "based in the greatness of [Brazil's] national territory" or "the qualities of the races that formed the Brazilian man" had become insufficient.[104] The prevailing national questions demanded more specific, cohesive notions of Brazilian identity. Right-wing groups such as the National Defense League (founded in 1916), the Nationalist League of São Paulo (1917), Nativist Propaganda (1919), and Nationalist Social Action (1920)

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[99] Frances Hagopian, *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 36–72.
[100] Barbara Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920-1964* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1996), 13–50; Joseph Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 176–212.
[101] Dain Borges, "`Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert': Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880-1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25, no. 2 (May 1993): 240; Love, *Rio Grande Do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882-1930*, 246–250.
[102] Vavy Pacheco Borges, *Tenentismo e revolução brasileira* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1992).
[103] Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes Do Brasil*, 26th ed. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995), 165–167.
[104] Lúcia Lippi Oliveira, *A Questão Nacional Na Primeira Republica* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1990), 145.

proposed activist, often militaristic forms of popular nationalism. On the left, the Brazilian Communist party (founded 1922) similarly sought to place average Brazilians at the center of national politics.

Brazilian intellectuals of the time also looked inward. Emília Viotti da Costa observes "at the time, whether for traditionalist or revolutionary purposes, whether from a left- or right-wing perspective, writers and artists turned passionately toward Brazilian things."[105] Artistic movements sought to define what was "authentically" Brazilian. Most exemplary were the Modernist and Regionalist movements, both born of São Paulo's 1922 Modern Art Week (1922). The Modernists—typified by Mario de Andrade and his Pau-Brasil and Cannibalist manifestos—were based in São Paulo and sought to use *avant-garde* and revolutionary ideas to create a pure, national aesthetic. The Regionalists, led by conservative traditionalists like Gilberto Freyre, also strove to free Brazilian culture of "imitative" European forms, advocating a renewed appreciation of rural and local cultural expressions.[106]

Against this contested backdrop, Brazil celebrated the 100th anniversary of its independence from Portugal in September 1922. Centered in the federal capital of Rio de Janeiro, the festivities hailed "the political culture of bourgeois republicanism," offering up a conservative version of Brazil's past, present, and future.[107] The International Centennial Exposition—essentially a World's Fair in the grand 19th century style—was the largest such event to date in Brazil. Detailing a "Brazilian conceptualization of modernity," exhibits ranged from railroads and telegraphs to puericulture and the arts.

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[105] Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da monarquia à república momentos decisivos*, 6th ed. (São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 1998), 422.
[106] Jeffrey D. Needell, "Identity, Race, Gender, and Modernity in the Origins of Gilberto Freyre's Oeuvre," *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 1 (February 1995): 59–62.
[107] Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil*, 36.

The entire exhibition was housed in purpose-built, neo-colonial halls designed to demonstrate that "the Brazilian nation no longer needed to ape *belle époque* Paris to earn its place in the world system."[108] Over the course of eleven months nearly four million national and international visitors experienced this highly choreographed, official version of Brazil's reality and its destiny.[109] For Brazil's republican government, the Exposition was the apotheosis of the national motto "Order and Progress": a European-style modernity in Brazilian style that would affirm (rather than challenge) the supremacy of the country's oligarchs. For Brazil's "new nationalists," however, the Exposition represented a risible attempt to paper over the challenges of Brazil's reality.

Within this epochal struggle to define the Brazilian nation in the face of the Republic's decline, Brazil's many immigrant and ethnic groups also sought to assert their own identities and their place in Brazilian society. In the half century prior to 1920, independent Brazil had received upwards of 3.5 million immigrants. The majority of these were Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, but that figure also included over a hundred thousand Germans and many thousands of others.[110] Indeed the 1920 census registered 1.6 million foreign-born residents in Brazil, roughly 5.2% of the total population. However, the states of Brazil's south and west tended to have much higher foreign-born concentrations. Rio Grande do Sul (7.1%) Paraná (9.2%), and Mato Grosso (10.4%) all registered above the national average, while astounding numbers from São Paulo (18.2%) and the Federal District (20.8%) reveal unimpeachable and quotidian presence of

[108] Ibid., 39.
[109] James E. Wadsworth and Tamera L. Marko, "Children of the Patria: Representations of Childhood and Welfare State Ideologies at the 1922 Rio de Janeiro International Centennial Exposition," *The Americas* 58, no. 1 (2001): 73; Williams Maes, "Progeny of Progress," 2011.
[110] Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, 15.

immigrants in these states.[111] In rapidly expanding cities such as São Paulo, the concentration of immigrants and first-generation Brazilians reached as high as two-thirds of the population.[112]

Assertions of *brasilidade*—Brazilianness—that centered on a "Brazilian race" consisting of indigenous, Iberian, and African components were thus increasingly at odds with the country's demographic reality.[113] The response from many migrants and their descendants was one of increased ethnic organization and activity. Brazilian scholar Boris Fausto has found that the period between 1917 and 1930 witnessed unprecedented political involvement on the part of ethnic groups of various social statuses, whether in the labor strikes of 1917-1920 or through the defense of hard-won status by (lower) middle class professionals.[114] The republican-era economic successes of groups ranging from Italians to Japanese to Syro-Lebanese led to greater visibility for these so-called "colonies." It also led to the targeting of these groups by nativists.[115] As elite and popular nationalists increasingly deployed homogenized national identity discourses, many ethnic groups escalated their attempts to claim a space of difference within Brazilian society.

For many German-Brazilians, the response to the wartime repressions and the unsure national climate was to claim ethnic space even more tenaciously. Consequently,

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[111] Even combining the numbers from the Federal District with those from the state of Rio de Janeiro to approximate the contemporary state of Rio de Janeiro, the percentage foreign-born remains a remarkable 10.8%. Directoria Geral de Estatistica do Ministerio da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio, *Recenseamento Do Brazil: Realizado Em 1 de Setembro de 1920* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia da Estatistica, 1926).

[112] Boris Fausto, "Imigração E Participação Política Na Primeira República: O Caso de São Paulo," in *Imigração E Política Em São Paulo*, by Boris Fausto et al. (São Paulo: Editora Sumaré, 1995), 11.

[113] Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*.

[114] Fausto, "Imigração E Participação Política Na Primeira República: O Caso de São Paulo."

[115] See for example Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, chap. 4; Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*, chap. 4.

the 1920s and 30s proved a heyday of public expressions of multiple German-Brazilian identities and the expansion of institutional life. The interwar period saw the introduction of an even greater variety and number of German-language newspapers than had existed prior to the war.[116] German-language schools, the number of which had doubled between 1900 and 1920, continued to grow, with 24 new schools opening between 1920 and 1922 in Rio Grande do Sul alone.[117] Older institutions, such as the *Gesellschaft Germania* in Porto Alegre, re-opened their doors and thrived as well, benefitting from the addition of new German immigrants fleeing the instability of Weimar Germany. For many, the sub-ethnic groupings along confessional, regional, or economic lines regained their importance; for others, the homogenized ethnic category "German-Brazilian" appeared the only route to national belonging in Brazil.

The Centenary of German migration: Ethno-Civic or Ethno-Centric Celebrations?

The resurgence of German-Brazilian life in the public sphere following the war was most evident during the 1924 celebrations surrounding the 100th anniversary of German migration to Brazil. The anniversary came just two years after the centenary commemorations of Brazilian independence and accompanying treatments of Brazilian national history, culture, and identity.[118] With their own centenary approaching, German-Brazilian elites saw an opportunity similarly to assert various identity discourses both programmatically and publicly.[119] The festivities spanned nearly the entire year,

[116] Luebke, *Germans in Brazil*, 209.
[117] *Cem anos de germanidade no Rio Grande do Sul, 1824-1924*, 470–471.
[118] On the competing visions of Brazil presented at the Centennial Exposition in Rio and the concurrent Modern Art Week in Brazil, see Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil*, 36–48.
[119] German-Brazilians were not the only ethnic group that understood this opportunity. For instance, the Syro-Lebanese community in São Paulo had taken advantage of the 1922 celebrations to inaugurate an

and they took place in many locations throughout the country. Rio Grande do Sul, given its status as the "cradle" of German immigration, served as the focus.[120]

In the months leading up to the centenary, German-Brazilian community leaders worked with local governments to establish and organize the events. As early as May, 1923, the German-language press called for large celebrations and public works including the construction of a hospital and a monument to the German migration. By September, 1923 the city of São Leopoldo—a bustling city of 45,000 about 25 miles north of the capital Porto Alegre and site of the first German settlement in Rio Grande do Sul—had become the focal point of preparations.[121] The city named a committee of distinguished German-Brazilians representing various German-Brazilian ethnic associations, religious institutions, schools, the press, and intellectual circles to plan the festivities. This diverse representation was to help represent and mobilize various groups during the planning process.[122] Significantly, however, the committee did *not* include any representation from the approximately 31% of São Leopoldo residents who were not of German descent, a fact that would complicate organizers' discursive claims of migrants' integration into Brazilian society.[123]

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allegorical statue of "Syro-Lebanese Friendship...intended to show that Syrian and Lebanese immigrants had become desirable Brazilians." Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*, 55–57.

[120] For example, according to the 1950 census 65% of residents of Brazil who spoke German at home lived in Rio Grande do Sul. IBGE -- Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Serviço Nacional de Recenseamento, *VI Recenseamento Geral Do Brasil--1950*, vol. I: Brasil Censo Demográfico, Série Nacional (Rio de Janeiro, 1956); IBGE -- Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Serviço Nacional de Recenseamento, *VI Recenseamento Geral Do Brasil - 1950*, Rio de Janeiro, vol. XXVIII, Tomo 1: Estado do Rio Grande do Sul: Censo Demográfico, Série Regional, 1955.

[121] On the industrial and demographic development of São Leopoldo, see Jean Roche, *A Colonização Alemã E O Rio Grande Do Sul* (Porto Alegre: Editôra Globo, 1969), 217–223.

[122] Roswithia Weber, *As Comemorações Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: O "25 de Julho" Em São Leopoldo, 1924-1949* (Novo Hamburgo: Editora Feevale, 2004), 23.

[123] Rene Gertz, *O Fascismo No Sul Do Brasil Germanismo, Nazismo, Integralismo* (Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1987), 57.

The committee considered various significant dates for the celebrations—the date of the immigrants' arrival, the date of São Leopoldo's foundation, the date that the Viscount of São Leopoldo visited the area, etc. In the end, the committee chose two different times for the celebrations: July 25 and September 20-22. The first date would mark both the time and the place of the immigrants' disembarkation on the banks of the Rio dos Sinos in what would later become the municipality of São Leopoldo, a city of approximately 45,000. The larger regional celebrations, slated for September 20-22, corresponded to the first mention of the name São Leopoldo in the imperial records, but also offered more auspicious weather conditions than the mid-winter July date.[124] Furthermore, though such considerations do not appear explicitly in the record, the September dates undoubtedly enhanced the committee's message. From Brazilian Independence Day on the 7th to the commemorations of the state's 1835 *Farroupilha* revolution on the 20th, the events' September schedule connected the commemorations to the most important regional and national civic holidays.

When the main festivities opened in September of 1924, government support was strong. To encourage participation, the state government of Rio Grande do Sul reduced train fares to São Leopoldo by fifty percent.[125] Many municipal governments in the region declared the 25th of July a public holiday, and they discouraged businesses from opening during the September festivities.[126] The public celebrations included the inauguration of a Centenary park and a monument, church services, sport competitions,

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[124] Weber, *As Comemorações Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: O "25 de Julho" Em São Leopoldo, 1924-1949*, 20–21.
[125] Eduardo Duarte, *O Centenário Da Colonização Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: 1824-1924* (Porto Alegre: Tipographia do Centro, 1946), 157.
[126] Weber, *As Comemorações Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: O "25 de Julho" Em São Leopoldo, 1924-1949*, 52–55.

expositions, and speeches from local political figures. Dignitaries, such as the German consul in Porto Alegre and the mayor of São Leopoldo, attended elegant balls held at various German-Brazilian civic clubs in the city center, like the *Gesellschaft Orpheus* and the *Leopoldense Turnverein,* and celebrated late into the evening.

Novo Hamburgo, one of São Leopoldo's administrative districts, was the site of major festivities as well. The rapidly expanding district about five miles north of the city center was on the path to eclipsing São Leopoldo as the industrial and commercial gateway to the zones of German colonization. By 1920 the population of Novo Hamburgo had surpassed that of central São Leopoldo—reflecting this fact, the district become an independent municipality in 1927. As a demonstration of Novo Hamburgo's importance, the district hosted a large Centenary Exposition. The expo featured over 230 artisans from leather and wood workers to tobacco growers/cigar rollers, as well as countless food and beverage booths. Expo leaders also commissioned a meter-wide *cuca* (a local adaptation of the German *Kuchen*, a type of cake) and even a 2.8 meter-long airplane made of bread. For visitors to the Expo, these edible symbols represented German heritage, abundance, and technological progress as one and the same.[127]

Despite the seemingly universal enthusiasm for commemorating German migration, participants in the ethno-civic celebrations witnessed highly ambivalent representations of German migration and its social and cultural effects in Brazil. The official status of the festivities suggested a blurring of the lines between commemorations of German immigration as such and civic celebrations of São Leopoldo, Rio Grande do Sul, and Brazil. The German-Brazilian presence and contributions appeared as an integral

[127] For a detailed list of the festivities and expositions, see Duarte, *O Centenário Da Colonização Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: 1824-1924*.

part of a whole and coterminous with the region's development. This would suggest a comfort among both German-Brazilian elites and the political class more broadly with emerging, hyphenated (ethnic-national) forms of identification. It would also suggest the recognition on the part of the state of an ethnic geography—that is to say, different migration streams led certain parts of Brazil to progress in a distinct and (in this case) more desirable manner than others. However, the fact that the sights, sounds, and smells of the expos and the tenor of the solemnities reflected the imaginary of an exclusively elite, exclusively German-Brazilian planning committee belies assertions of national belonging that presented German-Brazilians specifically *not* as ethnic isolationists. A purely civic celebration might have privileged German contributions but also included other voices, particularly within the planning committee empowered with spending public funds.

This ambivalence and even contradictory attitude toward the nature of German-Brazilian identities *vis-à-vis* regional or national identities manifested itself in the various speeches given during the July and September celebrations. In her analysis of these presentations—offered by politicians, dignitaries, and religious figures—historian Roswitia Weber found that discussions of race, nation, patriotism, and progress could signal anything from German-Brazilians' integration into Brazilian society to irreducible difference between "Germans" and "Brazilians." This varied from speaker to speaker, but also within speeches as well.[128] Excerpts from the two most prominent speakers' remarks illustrate this divergence.

[128] Weber, *As Comemorações Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: O "25 de Julho" Em São Leopoldo, 1924-1949*, 64–72.

Shining brightest among the political luminaries present was Antônio Augusto Borges de Medeiros, longtime President of Rio Grande do Sul (1898-1908 and 1913-1928) and one of the most powerful politicians in Brazil. His presence lent immediate legitimacy and official status to the centenary festivities. Borges de Medeiros was the scion of an influential 19th century political and philosophical movement based on the writings of August Comte. These "positivists" believed firmly that "historical and social phenomena could be reduced to a set of scientific laws," in particular ideas of social evolution and progress commonplace among Liberals of the time. Julho de Castilhos, political godfather of the positivists and mentor to Borges de Medieros, believed firmly in a series of republican and liberal (yet still paternalistic) principles: the importance of individual liberties, abolitionism, the separation of church and state, public education, and security for industrial workers.[129] Given the contours of Brazilian racial thought at the time, it would have followed logically that Rio Grande do Sul's positivists be enthusiastic supporters of the "right" kind of immigration to Brazil. Migrants' complete integration into Brazilian society would putatively bring the benefit of their biological/racial and cultural superiority. One could think of this as the assimilationist twist on the idea that a "rising tide lifts all boats." However, Borges de Medeiros's speech demonstrates the limits of positivists' acceptance of German-Brazilians as fully Brazilian.

Contextualizing his remarks in the post-World War One moment, Borges de Medeiros portrayed an irreducible separation between German and Brazilian "races," thus naturalizing Brazilians of Portuguese extraction as the *true* core of the Brazilian nation:

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[129] Love, *Rio Grande Do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882-1930*, 34–36.

> This auspicious collaboration [between Germans and Brazilians] has not, even during difficult political agitations and commotions, distanced itself from the realities and consciousness of the responsibilities and obligations that patriotism demands. And your race never lost that moral and intellectual base that fifty years ago was the great mover of the unity and greatness of Germany. That is why we, the Luso-Brazilians, take part with true enthusiasm in your grand commemoration that, remembering a century of glorious activity, will serve as a stimulus to continued sacrifices in favor of even more greatness.[130]

These were propitious words; but what sacrifices did he have in mind? For Borges de Medeiros, members of the German "race" embodied the desirable ideals of unity and progress. These qualities had allowed those migrants and their descendants to make notable contributors to the *civic* greatness of Brazil—he went so far as to label them patriots—but he echoed the assimilationist tendencies of Silvio Romero by denying the possibility of their retaining separate ethnic identities within the Brazilian nation. Thus when he spoke of "we, the Luso-Brazilians," he did not mean to speak for Brazilians of one specific heritage within a plurality; he was asserting the nativist notion that Brazilians of Iberian descent were the real Brazilians; members of the German "race" had simply contributed to their project.

Following Borges de Medeiros on the stage was State Deputy Jacob Kroeff, a German-Brazilian. It is not possible to know whether Kroeff made these remarks as a rebuttal to his predecessor on the dais; however, read side-by-side the divergences are striking. Kroeff similarly praises the qualities and contributions of German immigrants, but firmly sets Germans migrant and their descendants within in the Brazilian nation:

> Germans of birth became Brazilians of conviction and of heart, and as such they came here, they worked here, they built their families and their wealth here, and finally they died here as true Brazilians, leaving an inspiring example for those who came after, who, at this moment, as a fitting part of these festivities, give them thanks for the sublime and lucky idea that they had one day: to come to this blessed and beloved land, that received

[130] "A Celebração Do 1o Centenario Da Imigração Allemã No Rio Grande Do Sul," *A Federação*, September 22, 1924.

> them with open arms and now with tranquility and satisfaction harvests the beneficent and salutary fruits of their altruism, their magnanimity, and their gentlemanly nature. [131]

Put differently, Kroeff presented the process of "becoming Brazilian" as a hard-won and well-deserved reward for migrants' struggles and their contributions to the state. For him, the Brazilian nation was a plural one, one in which forms of ethnic identification neither precluded nor eclipsed national ones. Indeed he specifically warned against total assimilation, as the markers he identifies as constituent of German ethnicity (hard work, valuing education, industriousness) were precisely what had made the contributions and therefore integration to Brazil possible.[132]

German-Language Treatments of *Deutschtum*

The highly choreographed proceedings of the centenary celebrations provide one site of German-Brazilian identification, namely a popular, inter-ethnic, and exclusively Lusophone one. The remarks of politicians and dignitaries, made in Portuguese, give insight into the contours of the public nature of ethnic identification in post-war Brazil, but the rapid expansion of German-Brazilian and German language institutions in the 1920s necessitates other points of analysis. Treatments of *Deutschtum* and *Deutsch-Brasilianertum* appeared in widely distributed German-language print media around the Centenary.

Though all of the almanacs produced in Rio Grande do Sul for 1924 commemorated the importance of the centenary, three of the most widely disseminated

[131] Ibid.
[132] Weber, *As Comemorações Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: O "25 de Julho" Em São Leopoldo, 1924-1949*, 69.

almanacs used the anniversary as a focal point for didactic-pedagogical content.[133] Written months before the official program of the celebrations had been determined, these three almanacs represented some of the most important German-language discussions of German-Brazilian identities produced in the period. The centenary editions shared two fundamental concerns, both of which represent strategic positions in the battle to maintain the salience of intra-ethnic cleavages. First, across the volumes' multiple essays, poems, and short stories, the editors inscribed their particular ideology on the story of German migrants and their descendants in Brazil. These texts emphasized certain historical events, actors, and (most importantly) ethnic traits in order both to reflect and construct intra-ethnic difference among segments of the German-Brazilian reading public. The second trait common among all texts was an explicit reflection on the status of *Deutschtum* in contemporary, post-World War I Brazilian society. Here too, Catholic, Lutheran, and liberal/secularist editors identified different strengths and possible futures based on divergent understandings of *Deutschtum*'s constituent characteristics.

Scholars of immigration and ethnicity in other contexts have used opinion makers' narrations of immigrant groups' achievements in a new context to reveal the boundaries of ethnic identities within that group. According to Kathleen Neils Conzen, German immigrants and their descendants in the United States diverged from other immigrant groups in how they narrated their own story. Conzen calls the dominant understanding among immigrant groups a "diasporic imagination": an imagination that emphasized a direct connection to and even the possibility of return to the home country.

[133] The Mentz Archive, the most complete collection of German-language sources in Rio Grande do Sul, has six almanacs in total for 1924.

Examples of this imagination abound throughout the Americas, from the "sojourner mentality" that marked Japanese migration to Brazil and Peru to the Italian "swallows" that crossed the Atlantic multiple times following work.[134]

Instead, many German migrants viewed the immigration experience with what Conzen calls a "colonizing vision."[135] This vision conceived of the United States as a vast, unsettled, and unclaimed space that could be culturally "colonized," maintaining the group's distinctiveness. In telling their story, the German-Americans lauded the "essence of the homeland that they carried with them," but this Germany was an imaginary space rather than a physical or geographic place to which one could return. To praise the essence of this homeland—in the case of the Germans, *Deutschtum*—was in fact to praise themselves.[136]

The ruminations on the German presence in Brazil found in Rio Grande do Sul's longest-running almanac, *Koseritz' Deutscher Volkskalender für Brasilien* (Koseritz's Popular German Almanac for Brazil, KDV), reflected Conzen's idea of a colonizing vision. The 1924 edition of the KDV marked not only the centenary of German immigration, but also the fiftieth anniversary of that particular almanac. Since 1874 the almanac and its sister publication, the *Deustche Zeitung* newspaper, had carried the torch of its liberal and secularist founder, Karl von Koseritz. Von Koseritz had strongly advocated that immigrants and their descendants become involved in Brazilian social and

[134] Daniel M. Masterson, *The Japanese in Latin America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), chap. 3; Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*.
[135] Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Phantom Landscapes of Colonization: Germans in the Making of a Pluralist America," in *The German-American Encounter*, ed. Frank Trommler and Elliot Shore (New York: Berghahn, 2001), 11.
[136] Ibid.

political life rather than rely on Germany to guarantee their rights.[137] In this conception, German ethnic identity sprang from cultural markers such as education, language, and membership in secular voluntary associations (*Vereine*), not from a connection or proximity to any German state.

The 1924 edition of the KDV reproduces this understanding by relating the history of settlement and local institutions, such as the German-language press and the German Gymnastics Association, in a section entitled "From Fatherland and Home" ("*Aus Vaterland und Heimat*"). *Deutschtum* was reproduced and maintained by these institutions. The Gymnastics Association becomes a "bastion of German cultural efforts" in the readers' "Rio Grande home."[138] Interspersed with these comments on specifically German-Brazilian institutions were texts on Rio Grande do Sul's history since pre-Columbian times, as well as on the flora and fauna of the region. German migrants and their descendants figure as part of the broader landscape of "Fatherland and Home," their ethnic identity not incompatible with Brazilianness writ large. Indeed, the almanac emphasizes the readers' separation from the nation-state of Germany by labeling a dispatch from the Weimar Republic as "From the German Land and People" ("*Vom deutschem Land und Volk*").[139]

Reflecting on the centenary of São Leopoldo's foundation, the editors marveled at the "powerful, wide-branched, flourishing, fruit-bearing tree" that the little seed of *Deutschtum* planted by the first immigrants had become. As Conzen points out, to praise

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[137] Grützmann, "Os Anuários Em Língua Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul de 1874 a 1941," 77; For more on Koseritz, see José Fernando Carneiro, *Karl von Koseritz*, Cadernos Do Rio Grande (Pôrto Alegre: Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, Divisão de Cultura, Inst. Estadual do Livro, 1959); Marion Brepohl Magalhães, *Presença Alemã No Brasil* (Brasília: Ed. UnB, 2004).

[138] *Koseritz Deutscher Volkskalender Für Brasilien Auf Das Jahr 1924* (Porto Alegre: Krahe & Cia., 1924), 37.

[139] Ibid., 51.

the "essence of the homeland" is in fact to praise the achievements of the immigrant community. However, when taking account of Germans' role in the development of Rio Grande do Sul as a whole, theirs represented only part of the story: "Oh how the German colonization, joined later by the Italians, helped all of Rio Grande to transform from a remote forest into a blooming garden and the state to become a hub for transport!"[140] The inclusion of the Italian immigrants here is significant: rather than working in opposition to the Germans, or being omitted from an ethno-centric narrative, the editors portray Italians as working together with other groups in a multi-ethnic society. The importance of citizenship and opposition to ethnic chauvinism is at the root of the KDV's vision of *Deutschtum*. As early as 1904 the almanac argued for the disaggregation of ethnicity and citizenship; German citizenship and German identity were discrete concepts.[141] This position exemplified the colonizing rather than diasporic vision of the almanac's editors, which is to say, their firm belief that Brazil was and would be a pluralist nation.

Rio Grande do Sul's principal Catholic almanac, *Der Familienfreund Katholischer Hauskalendar* (The Family-friendly Catholic Home Almanac, FKH), shares a similar understanding of German-Brazilians place within Brazilian society. One salient difference between the FKH and the KDV is the former's emphasis on the role of the Brazilian state and religious institutions in the preservation of *Deutschtum*. While the KDV focused on individual German enterprise and locally-created ethnic organizations in the opening of ethnic space, the KDV presents this space as vouchsafed by large national institutions. Illustrating this point, the almanac's "*Jahrhundertgesang der deutschen*

[140] Ibid., 209.
[141] Grützmann, "O Almanaque (Kalender) Na Imigração Alemã Na Argentina, No Brasil E No Chile," 83.

Einwanderung" (Centenary Song of the German Immigration) places the Brazilian Emperor at the center of the story:

> "So there went out a call, a word from the Emperor / into Germany's well-farmed regions: / "He who wishes to be in his own refuge / And freely to farm his own soil / Should come to Brazil's South / And life free in a free land / where the orange tree is ever in bloom / and tie with us the bands of friendship! / The Southern Cross shows you the way! / Through Rio Grande's thick forests / you will open new ways and paths / and change the wilderness into open fields!"[142]

The image of the Brazilian state paving the way for the future achievements of the Germans in Rio Grande do Sul minimizes the sense of entrepreneurship that runs throughout the liberal/secularist KDV. Given that Roman Catholicism was the state religion of the Empire and the dominant religion within Brazilian society, laying claim to belonging via religious connections is unsurprising. However, it nuances Conzen's concept of the colonizing vision: rather than an unsettled *and* unclaimed space, the FKH's German-Catholic contributors present Rio Grande do Sul as an unsettled space offered to the immigrants by the government. Brazil's claim to the land does not prevent the ability of *Deutschtum* to flourish within its borders, but it does temper the individual, entrepreneurial tone of the KDV.

In an eighteen-page history of the German immigration, the FKH emphasizes the role of church and state in determining the success or failure of the colonization efforts. The author laments that the Imperial Brazilian government did not always take care to supply the Catholic communities with German priests.[143] Similarly, the FKH's account argued that while the Republican government used immigration and colonization to "put its motto [*order and progress*] to work," their settlement policies mixing various

[142] *Der Familienfreund Katholischer Hauskalender Und Wegweiser Für Das Jahr 1924*, 24.
[143] Ibid., 35.

immigrant groups in the same town precipitated both cultural erosion and delinquency.[144] While the tenor of the first century of German settlement lay somewhat outside of the *teutos*' hands, the contribution of their "energy and religion" helped to "lay the foundation" for Rio Grande do Sul's success.[145] Here, as in the KDV, *Deutschtum* represents a certain set of properties that allowed the Germans to play an important role in the colonization of their new homeland, not something that fixes them in a nostalgic diaspora.

Criticism of German nationals who arrived to Brazil after the First World War by both the KDV and the FKH demonstrate this shared disassociation of German identity from the German nation-state. Rather than viewing recent arrivals as bringing a "true" *Deutschtum*, which would have highlighted Germany's position at the center of a global diaspora, these two almanacs sharply criticized what they saw as a lazy and isolationist group. The FKH complains that the latest wave of German immigrants arrived "penniless and—worse yet—without the desire to work."[146] The KDV offers an even harsher judgment, lamenting:

> Less pleasant is that the newly immigrated from Germany often ignore the achievements that the first German pioneers and their descendants have prepared before them. The "new Germans" have hitherto been valued here in Rio Grande, because we expected and received support and solidarity from them. However, a new land such as ours, where true work is both rewarding and demanding, does not have any use for such people who come here with dreams of a life in a gentlemen's club and a light workload.[147]

The newly arrived Germans, primarily urban migrants fleeing the civil and economic unrest of the Weimar Republic, appeared as violating the true spirit of German-Brazilian enterprise. The pioneer spirit of the immigrant was key to the KDV's conception of

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[144] Ibid., 40.
[145] Ibid., 42.
[146] Ibid., 40.
[147] *Koseritz Deutscher Volkskalender Für Brasilien Auf Das Jahr 1924*, 209.

Deutschtum, making impossible any claim the post-war migrants might have had to a truer version thereof.

These sentiments about newly arrived Germans pointed toward the possibility of an ethnic-national version of *Deutschtum* within a plural Brazilian nation. The editors of the KDV often used the hyphenated *Deutsch-Brasilianertum* to refer to a discrete identity, claiming and emphasizing status as Brazilians. In this sense, the liberal and Catholic strains of German-Brazilian thought shared a "colonizing vision" with the Germans in the United States. The presence of "Germany" and Germanness in their discourses served to identify belonging to a group taking credit for a century of hard work in a new context. Rather than to emphasize diasporic ties to a distant homeland or separatism ethnic, these almanacs laid claim to hyphenated ethnic-national identity within a plural Brazil.

The third of the centenary almanacs, the Lutheran Rio Grandenser Synod's *Kalender für die Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinden in Brasilien* (Almanac for the German Evangelical Communities in Brazil, KDE), diverged from this "colonizing vision." Rather than the "diasporic imagination" that Conzen ascribes to other immigrant groups, however, the Lutheran almanac presented a third vision, a *colonial* one. Though not formally agents of a government, those with a colonial vision conceived of their identity and their enterprise as an extension of larger global and hierarchical phenomena emanating from the Metropole. In this vision, immigrants and their descendants were dependent upon and subordinate to a distant cultural and political center, the homeland, in an organic, corporate relationship.

The 1924 KDE asserted this colonial vision precisely by representing this relationship between *teuto-brasileiros* in Rio Grande de Sul and the German polity as undergoing existential changes. "When is the savior of [the German people] people to arrive?" the editor asks in his introductory remarks. While in Weimar Germany upheaval reigned, German-Brazilians and their Synod prospered—but for how long? "What will the struggles of our times bring for Fatherland and Motherland? For Church and Society? For House and Family? To what destination will the new rails of our ecclesiastical and ethnic work lead? What stops will we pass through along the way?"[148] The gravity of these laments reflected the disproportionately devastating effects that recent events had wrought on Lutheran religious institutions with direct ties to the Prussian state. Memories of the anti-German repression in Brazil and missing international ties left each of these institutions of public and private life open to question, and became a source of great anxiety.[149]

This diagnosis of a post-war identity crisis informed the almanac's vision of the past and the future. One article, "A hundred years of German-evangelical work in Rio Grande do Sul" by Rudolf Becker, narrated the Lutherans' story, focusing primarily on their minority status and vulnerability in a predominantly Roman Catholic country. A tendency toward mixed confessional marriages and the Imperial Government's restrictions on Protestant rites posed constant threats during the first half-century, but the Lutherans' free spirit, commitment to their faith, and strong work ethic allowed them to maintain their identity. However, "maintenance of *Deutschtum* was more unconscious"

[148] Rio Grandenser Synode, *Kalender Für Die Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinden in Brasilien, 1924* (Porto Alegre: Typographia Mercantil, 1924), 1.
[149] Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 1990, 130–133.

during the 19th century than in the 20th.[150] A greater menace came with the advent of the Republic in the guise of a modern Brazilian nationalism. The author warned of *Verwelschungsgefahr*, a 19th century German nationalist concept literally meaning "the danger of becoming Latinate" but more generally warning against abandoning deep-rooted Germanness to foreign influences.[151] For him, the tensions in the United States between the Missouri Synod and other Lutheran churches that maintained ties with the established Prussian Church represented a case to be avoided. "The Missouri Lutherans place no importance on the fostering of *Deutschtum*," rather they have become "Anglicized."[152]

Why is the possibility of concessions to a new cultural and political context seen as an existential threat to *Deutschtum* as conceived of by the KDE, particularly when other German-Brazilian opinion makers actively advocated a strategic political assimilation? A clue lies in the botanical imagery used throughout the almanac. A poem by Karl Oberacker, an important scholar of German migration to Brazil and in the words of Friedrich Luebke a "classic example of Teuto-Brazilian filiopietism," bears this out. Using a common 19th century German nationalist image, Oberaker's poem "German Oaks in Brazil" paints the emigrants as a sprig from a "German tree."[153] Planted in Brazil's soil, this cutting overcame local adversities to contribute eventually to the "thin palm forest" with its "deep roots and strength." Referencing the festivities of 1924, the poet closed with the stanza: "And when now in the second century / A traveler wanders

[150] Rio Grandenser Synode, *Kalender Für Die Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinden in Brasilien, 1924*, 42.
[151] See for example Victor Martin Otto Denk's volume admonishing instructors of German language to help maintain its purity faced with the encroachment of French words. Victor Martin Otto Denk, *Die Verwelschung der deutschen Sprache: ein mahnendes Wort an das deutsche Volk und die deutsche Schule* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1885).
[152] Rio Grandenser Synode, *Kalender Für Die Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinden in Brasilien, 1924*, 47.
[153] Ibid., 39.

through Brazilian lands / Then he will surely remark: "How wonderful / That among the palms stand German oaks!" What's more, the "thin" autochthonous fauna (i.e. Brazilians represented as palm trees) are made stronger by the presence of oaks in their national forest—something even an outside observer can recognize.

The contrast between "oak" and "palm" appears in other pieces in the 1924 almanac as well. One particularly interesting instance is "German immigration, a blessing for Brazil," supposedly written by "Bruno," himself Luso-Brazilian. Bruno praises the benefits of German migration to Brazil, saying that the oak "cannot be trimmed to look like a palm tree."[154] While it may be unlikely that "Bruno" the non-German Germanophile actually existed, the deployment of an "outsider's" view in order to shore up community borders remains telling nonetheless. Bruno adds an inter-ethnic voice to the KDE's assertion of the fundamental incompatibility between German and Brazilian races.

The botanical metaphor presents German-Brazilians as not simply the inheritors of *Deutschtum* in a cultural sense, but as an organic, corporal extension of it. In this genetic conception, "German" is a species of plant with its own strengths and qualities. In his essay "German Landscape: Local Promotion of *Heimat* Abroad," Thomas Lekan discusses a similar phenomenon during the same period in the United States. He notes a surge in expressions of German identity that separated "blood" and "soil," a position increasingly supported by a Weimar government recovering from vast territorial losses after the First World War.[155] *Deutschtum* as propagated by the German government in

[154] Ibid., 38.
[155] Thomas Lekan, "German Landscape: Local Promotion of Heimat Abroad," in *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*, ed. Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridental, and Nancy Reagin (University of Michigan Press, 2005), 151–154; 162.

the 1920s, while having a place of origin, does not require a specific soil to take root. Even in a climate hostile to it, the oak clipping springs up identical to its ancestors. In the almanac's metaphorical language, mixing and assimilation (a forest with multiple species of tree and the attempt to disguise one tree as another, respectively) are not enough to alter the *Deutschtum* that each German carries within. Nature herself makes disguising or eliminating that essence impossible.

The fallout from the World War on both sides of the Atlantic dealt Lutherans a blow in the struggle to "preserve" German identity from Brazilian influence. Overseas funding for ethnic associations and church construction, the supply of priests, and pensions for older community members stopped abruptly. Cutting the umbilical cord represented an existential threat to Germans in Brazil and only a new strategy could vouchsafe *Deutschtum* in Brazil. The editors of the KDE referred to the 1920s as a "new age" that necessitated "a closer integration of Germans in Brazil and thus of the Synod into the life of the Brazilian state and people." Rather than the unconscious maintenance that was possible in the 19th century, Germans in Brazil needed to become politically active in order to protect their German identities.[156] Though possibility of a division between cultural and political identity had been present within German-Brazilian thought since at least1904, the KDE's genetic conception of *Deutschtum* made this a do-or-die situation: German identity and Brazilian identity remained fundamentally incompatible.

The different German-language treatments of history and identity speak to the diverse responses to the First World War and the Centenary among German-Brazilian intellectuals. For those who shared the colonizing vision of the Liberal/secularist *Koseritz' Deutscher Volkskalender für Brasilien* and the Catholic *Familienfreund*

[156] Rio Grandenser Synode, *Kalender Für Die Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinden in Brasilien, 1924*, 49.

Katholischer Hauskalendar, the closing of "in-between" space during the First World War was not an existential threat to *Deutschtum*. They themselves felt that the Brazilian nation had room for ethnic identities. Those who subscribed to the vision propagated by the Lutheran *Kalendar für die Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinden in Brasilien* perceived themselves to be under siege by both the government and people of Brazil. Paradoxically, only though greater political participation in Brazil could they ensure their continued cultural separation. These differences demonstrate that, while the importance of certain intra-ethnic cleavages had been lessened during the First World War, the emergence of a single ethnic identity among German-Brazilians remained at least incomplete.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored various understandings of German ethnic identity that circulated in Brazil's south at the end of the First Republic, paying particular attention to narrations of German-Brazilian history. While the experience of the First World War in Brazil and the rapidly changing situation in Weimar Germany influenced the tenor and urgency of these identity discourses, the plurality and vibrancy of ethnic activity in general was symptomatic of the rising salience of Brazil's national question in the period. The multiple and competing understandings of German-Brazilian ethnicity that circulated during the Centenary celebrations in many ways mirrored the national debates of 1920s. While some German-Brazilian elites claimed that both "German" and "Brazilian" were sufficiently open, plural categories to allow for the emergence of hyphenated identities,

others struggled to reconcile the supposed inviolability of German identity with the realities of their (post-WWI) Brazilian context.

Importantly, the era's nativist and nationalist forces attempted to establish clear boundaries of Brazilian national identity, repudiating 19th century ideas about the positive impact of "desirable" populations of immigrants. Thus the putative assimilational power of Brazilian society transformed from a forward-looking, aspirational notion into a retrospective description of Brazil's past—analogous to the rigid Lutheran ideas of *Deutschtum*. The (imagined) historical mixture of indigenous, African, and Iberian peoples increasingly formed the rhetorical basis of the Brazilian nation. In this positive reevaluation of non-white and mixed-race Brazilians' place in the nation, exclusion was less a matter of color than place of origin. As the different national discourses that emerged during the centenary celebrations demonstrate, many Brazilians did not perceive non-Iberian migrants to be possible members of the Brazilian "race." One consequence was the increased social, economic, and political visibility of Brazil's migrant groups who struggled to assert both ethnic difference and national belonging.

Comparing the post-WWI moment in other national contexts helps bring the Brazilian nature of this story into relief. In the United States, WWI had also been a time of popular and state-sponsored anti-German action. German-language schools and newspapers as well as *Vereinswesen* (institutional life) became targets for nativist resentment and government expropriation or closure. However, unlike in Brazil, such bulwarks of German ethnic life in the United States never fully recovered, but fear of nativist reactions can only go so far to explain this decline.[157] Russell A. Kazal suggests that German-Americans' rapid transition to a "subdued" ethnicity was due to the

[157] See the numerous essays in Luebke, *Germans in the New World*, 1990.

increased social importance of whiteness in the 1920s and 30s. The great Migration of thousands of African Americans out of the South caused many German-Americans to abandon the ethnic or confessional solidarities that had previously defined the social landscape.[158] While German-Americans in the United States could be adopted into the white ruling classes by allowing their ethnic difference to fade away, German-Brazilians issued programmatic statements defining their German character while at the same time using it to claim a place of their own within the Brazilian nation.

German ethnic communities in Argentina present yet another trajectory. As historian Benjamin Bryce has shown, German-Argentine communities in Buenos Aires had long accepted bilingualism in religious and educational institutions, even incorporating it in print media. Although the Argentine *Consejo Nacional de Educación* required a certain amount of Spanish-language and Argentine civic instruction in all schools, leaders of bilingual German-Spanish schools often embraced these regulations uncomplicatedly. This was due in no small part to the political and social liberalism dominant in late 19th and early 20th century Argentina. The lack of a strong nativist social sentiment among popular and elite classes in the period meant that ethnic-national identities were not either/or propositions. Similarly, as Bryce demonstrates in contrast to Ronald Newton's study, the First World War had minimal effect on public expressions of German-Argentine identity.[159] As a result, intra-ethnic cleavages between Catholics and Lutherans remained vibrant in Buenos Aires.[160]

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[158] Russell A Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), chap. 12.
[159] Newton, *German Buenos Aires, 1900-1933*.
[160] Benjamin Bryce, "Making Ethnic Space: Education, Religion, and the German Language in Argentina and Canada, 1880-1930" (York University, 2013) especially chapter 8.

One outcome of this heady period of expansion of print culture, associative activity, and educational and religious institutions was indeed a greater visibility of German ethnics within various sectors of Brazilian society. The influx of migrants fleeing the Weimar Republic—many of whom brought capital and technical skills—meant also a greater economic profile for Germans and German-Brazilians. As the next chapter will show, the importance of national and transnational political contexts in forms of ethnic identification could have disastrous consequences. The advent of the Third Reich 1933 and the *Estado Novo* in 1937 would swiftly alter both the space for and the consequences of ethnic identification in Brazil.

Chapter 2
Seeing "Germans" through the Lens of the *Estado Novo*

By the early 1930s, the disintegration of Brazil's Old Republic was complete. Following his contested 1930 electoral defeat by Júlio Prestes, Getúlio Vargas rode a wave of discontent with the *status quo* to Rio de Janeiro and overthrew the outgoing President, Washington Luís. This "bloodless" coup—characterized by Thomas Skidmore as "revolutionaries…pushing on an open door"—ushered in an interregnum of sorts in Brazilian politics.[161] During this period, Vargas held power as provisionary President, a title made legal following the promulgation of the 1934 Constitution. The seemingly *ad hoc* nature of governance in the period only exacerbated the contentious ideological milieu. From a regionalist revolt in São Paulo to the increasing power of both the Brazilian Communist Party on the left and the fascist Integralist movement on the right, the period between 1930 and 1937 was marked by confusion and instability.[162]

Adding to the contentious political situation, foreign political parties and activities remained legal throughout the period, even after the 1934 constitution. For nationalists, domestic involvement of foreign governments—in particular Nazi Germany—represented a direct threat to Brazilian sovereignty. This worry was not unjustified. After 1933, the German government provided financial and organizational support for the Brazilian Nazi Party (founded in 1928), a local Hitler Youth organization, propaganda,

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[161] Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964*, 7.

[162] For an overview of politics during the period, see Leslie Bethell, "Politics in Brazil Under Vargas, 1930–1945," in *Brazil Since 1930*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1–86; Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964*, chap. 1; For a description of Integralism's structure and ideology, its role in Vargas's rise to power, and its subsequent falling afoul of the regime, see Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Las Derechas: The Extreme Right in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, 1890-1939* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), chap. 11.

festivals/commemorations, and academic and scientific exchange programs.[163] The often-quoted fact that the Brazilian Nazi party had the largest registration of the 83 Nazi parties established outside Germany–some 2,900 members—attests to its profile in the country.[164]

Facing a deteriorating political situation and a constitutionally mandated departure from the presidency, Vargas led a so-called "self-coup" (*auto-golpe*) in November 1937. Brazil's government and institutions came under the direct control of the Executive in a new institutionalism that Vargas labeled the *Estado Novo*. Modeled in part on the authoritarian regimes of contemporary Europe, Vargas and his allies set about enforcing a corporatist and centralizing vision for Brazil.[165] The resulting policies anointed certain cultural and social practices as those of "good Brazilians.[166] This new notion of *brasilidade*—Brazilianness—relied on the inclusion of specific (imagined) attributes associated with African or indigenous descent. In this conception, traits the (white) elite had previously considered impediments to the nation's progress became hallmarks of a new national imaginary. The state propagated this ideology of positive

[163] Ana Maria Dietrich, "Nazismo Tropical? O Partido Nazista No Brasil" (Universidade de São Paulo, 2007), 136–138.
[164] This of course still represented a very small number of the ethnic Germans in Brazil. For a nuanced exploration of this tension, see Gertz, *O perigo alemão*, 46–54.
[165] For a summary of the basic contours of the regime, see Boris Fausto, *Getúlio Vargas : O Poder E O Sorriso* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2006) particularly chapter 3; and Robert M. Levine, *Father of the Poor? : Vargas and His Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); A good study on the relationship between public education and corporatism in the Estado Novo is Jens R. Hentschke, *Reconstructing the Brazilian Nation : Public Schooling in the Vargas Era* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007).
[166] See for example Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil*; Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness : Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), chap. 1.; Simon Schwartzman, Helena Maria Bousquet Bomeny, and Vanda Maria Ribeiro Costa, *Tempos de Capanema*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Ed. Paz e Terra, 2000).

racial and cultural fusion by asserting its influence at all levels of society, from neo-natal development and education to public health, media, and the arts.[167]

Attempts to enforce this new *brasilidade* took the form of a "nationalization" campaign aimed at people and groups perceived to be un- or anti-Brazilian. Political parties or movements deemed destabilizing to the Vargas regime's mission were one important target of this repression. The *Estado Novo* persecuted both the leaders and the rank-and-file members of parties across the political spectrum, from the Integralists to the Brazilian Communist Party. Another central target were so-called "foreign" influences, which ranged from the heretofore-legal Brazilian affiliates of European political parties to the country's large populations of foreign immigrants and their Brazilian-born descendants. So-called zones of "de-nationalization," in particular those with large populations of German, Japanese, Italian, and other immigrants and their descendants, deeply troubled both government officials and many Brazilians.[168] Accordingly, this nationalization campaign most affected Brazil's four southernmost states: São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul.

This chapter deals with the shifting understandings of "Brazilian" and "foreign" categories that *Estado Novo* constructed. The relationship between these two categories was key to the creation, regulation, and enforcement of this new *brasilidade*. The chapter also shows the ways that German-Brazilians and other ethnic groups attempted to situate themselves between these two poles, often with negative consequences. It examines elite, discursive levels of Brazilianness and ethnic identities while also exploring how

[167] Williams Maes, "Progeny of Progress," 2011; Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness*; Schwartzman, Bomeny, and Costa, *Tempos de Capanema*; McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil*; Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil*.
[168] Endrica Geraldo, "O 'Perigo Alienígena': Política Imigratória E Pensamento Racial No Governo Vargas (1930-1945)" (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2007).

agents of the state understood and constructed the danger of foreign or "de-national" elements. How did these agents understand and represent Germanness, both as a national (i.e. German citizens) and ethnic (i.e. nationalized or Brazilian-born of German descent) quality? It then illustrates the development of the state repression of foreign or "de-nationalized" elements by tracing the trajectory of the *Federação 25 de Julho* (25th of July Federation) from its early 1930s roots to its dissolution during the *Estado Novo*.

Finally, this chapter addresses the specific case of German-Brazilians seen and understood through the lens of the repressive *Estado Novo* state. To this end, I use documents from the agency most involved in the enforcement of the *brasilidade* campaign: the *Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social* (the Delegacy of Political and Social Order – DOPS).[169] Founded toward the end of Brazil's First Republic, the various state-level DOPS bodies became the principal organs of state surveillance and suppression during the *Estado Novo* regime and afterward. I am not as concerned with the *actual* historical presence of Nazi government agents or their sympathizers—many works of varying quality have covered this topic extensively.[170] Instead, I use such

[169] Here I have chosen to use the moniker DOPS to refer to a web of different institutions that varied in name across space and time, but not in core mission. For example, in Rio de Janeiro, the Delegacia Especial de Segurança Política e Social (DESPS) gave way to the Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social (DOPS) in 1938, which became the Divisão de Polícia Política e Social (DPS) in 1945, which in turn became the Departamento de Ordem Política e Social (DOPS) in 1967. In São Paulo the same organ is known as the DEOPS (Departamento Estadual de Ordem Política e Social). The archivists of the Public State Archive of Rio de Janeiro made a similar decision to use "DOPS" as a catch-all in order to avoid a distracting alphabet soup. See Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, *DOPS: A Lógica Da Desconfiança* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 1993), 22–28.

[170] Stanley Eon Hilton, *Hitler's Secret War in South America 1939 - 1945 : German Military Espionage and Allied Counterespionage in Brazil* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999); Max Paul Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors : The United States Campaign against the Germans of Latin America in World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Nancy Mitchell, *The Danger of Dreams: German and American Imperialism in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1999); Ronald C. Newton, *The "Nazi Menace" in Argentina, 1931-1947* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Marionilde Brepohl Magalhães, *Pangermanismo E Nazismo : A Trajetória Alemã Rumo Ao Brasil* (Campinas: Ed. da Unicamp, 1998); Dietrich, "Nazismo Tropical? O Partido Nazista No Brasil"; Nikolaus Barbian, *Auswärtige Kulturpolitik und Auslandsdeutsche" in Lateinamerika 1949-1973* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS,

documents to understand how agents of Brazilian government repression understood and constructed categories like "German," "Brazilian," and "foreign" in positive or negative valences.[171] I am particularly interested in print and visual materials the DOPS disseminated publicly, in an educational/didactic attempt to give form to the threat of disorder. This strategy reveals the uneven, inchoate, and at times contradictory ways that the Brazilian state defined both its friends and its enemies.

Despite the centralizing tendencies of the *Estado Novo* regime, the various DOPSes retained their initial federalized structure throughout the 1930s and 40s. This resulted in both highly localized experiences of the nationalization campaign and an uneven preservation and subsequent organization of documents. For example, since the documentation was made available in the early 1990s, São Paulo state has organized and recently digitized much of its collections. This has given rise to a veritable sub-genre of historical works and documentary collections dealing with the São Paulo DOPS.[172] Other states have similarly attempted to make their DOPS archives available but with different methods and priorities that have exacerbated the difficulty of speaking about "the DOPS." Minas Gerais has digitized some of its collection, but has organized the archive based solely on institutions or individuals, rather than thematically.[173] The state of Paraná offers an online thematic search engine, but has yet to digitize collections for

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2014); Jürgen Müller, *Nationalsozialismus in Lateinamerika: Die Auslandsorganisation Der NSDAP in Argentinien, Brasilien, Chile Und Mexiko, 1931-1945* (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1997).

[171] For an insightful reflection on the many different historical ends that DOPS materials can serve, see Antonio Luigi Negro and Paulo Fontes, "Using Police Records in Labor History: A Case Study of the Brazilian DOPS," *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 15–22.

[172] See for example Renata Mazzeo Barbosa, *Judeus Em Tempos de Guerra : A Comunidade Judaica E Os "Súditos Do Eixo"* (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2011); Fernanda Torres Magalhães, *O Suspeito Através Das Lentes : O DEOPS E a Imagem Da Subversão (1930-1945)* (São Paulo: FAPESP, 2008); Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro and Boris Kossoy, eds., *A imprensa confiscada pelo DEOPS, 1924-1954* (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado, 2003); Taciana Wiazovski, *Bolchevismo & Judaísmo : A Comunidade Judaica Sob O Olhar Do DEOPS* (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado, 2001); Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, *Inventário DEOPS : Alemanha* (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1997).

[173] http://www.siaapm.cultura.mg.gov.br/

the period.[174] Espírito Santo and Pernambuco have organized their DOPS archives, but studies using these states' documentation are less common.[175] The worst-case scenario is that of records from Rio Grande do Sul, which were largely destroyed toward the end of the military dictatorship in the 1980s.[176] Fortunately, given the privileged position of Rio de Janeiro as the country's capital during the period, its state archive contains correspondence between Rio's DOPS and its sister organizations throughout the country. Historians of other regions have found these documents fruitful even in the absence of local DOPS materials.[177] This chapter uses both Rio de Janeiro's own documents as well as the archived correspondence with DOPSes in Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul to form a regional idea of DOPS activities and attitudes.[178]

The New State of Ethnic Identification

The nationalization campaign, as carried out by the DOPS and other agencies, did not affect Brazil's immigrant groups equally. The hard-to-define quality of "assimilability" was a chief concern, something that Gilberto Freyre, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, and

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[174] http://www.arquivopublico.pr.gov.br/

[175] See for example Pedro Ernesto Fagundes, *Memórias Silenciadas : Catálogo Seletivo Dos Panfletos, Cartazes E Publicações Confiscadas Pela Delegacia de Ordem Política E Social Do Estado Do Espírito Santo. DOPS/ES (1930-1985)* (Vitória: GM Editora, 2012); Ayrton Maciel, *A História Secreta : (prontuários Do DOPs)* (Recife: Edições Bagaço, 2000); Thomas D. Rogers, *Deepest Wounds: A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeast Brazil: A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeast Brazil* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2010).

[176] Though photographic evidence of the destruction of these documents exists, there remains suspicion that much of the archive survived. The 1992 discovery of 4,600 DOPS *fichas* (information cards) at Police Headquarters in Porto Alegre and their subsequent inclusion in the state's Historical Archive has only heightened this debate. See "Os fichados do Dops," *Zero Hora*. June 1, 2013.

[177] Glaucia Vieira Ramos Konrad, "Os Trabalhadores E O Estado Novo No Rio Grande Do Sul: Um Retrato Da Sociedade E Do Mundo Do Trabalho (1937-1945)" (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2006); Alexandre Fortes, *Nós Do Quarto Distrito : A Classe Trabalhadora Porto-Alegrense E a Era Vargas* (Caxias do Sul: EDUCS, 2004).

[178] For a general overview of the history and contents of this collection, see Darian J. Davis, "The Arquivos Das Policias Politicais of the State of Rio de Janeiro," *Latin American Research Review* 31, no. 1 (1996): 99–104; Negro and Fontes, "Using Police Records in Labor History."

other intellectuals posited as the supreme quality of Portuguese colonization—and thus the core of the national myth.[179] Even before the outbreak of World War II, Japanese and German immigrants and their descendants received disproportionate attention from the state. The perceived racial difference between the idealized mixed-race Brazilian and the "Asian" phenotype could mark immigrants and their descendants as seemingly logical candidates for the label "unassimilable."[180] Non-Japanese immigrants from Asia struggled against this conflation of phenotype and national background. In an illustration of this, a Chinese business in Belo Horizonte hung a sign reading "Attention: we are Chinese" in its window. By differentiating themselves from the (supposedly physically similar) Japanese, they hoped to avoid suspicions of disloyalty.[181]

Unlike the Japanese, focus on the Germans was not necessarily racialized; indeed, the perception was somewhat the inverse. As discussed in chapter 1, many Brazilian elites had long feared that Germans and their descendants were *unwilling* to assimilate, thereby denying Brazil a chance at racial "improvement."[182] By the 1930s, the perceived influence of National Socialism among German-Brazilians caused scholars of race and ethnicity such as Gilberto Freyre, Arthur Ramos, and Roquette-Pinto to diagnose such racial thought as an existential threat to mixed-race Brazil. In October 1935 they and nine other thinkers—many of whom went on to play important roles in the *Estado Novo*

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[179] See especially Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande & Senzala : formação da família brasileira sob o regime de economia patriarchal* (Rio de Janeiro: Maia & Schmidt, 1933), chap. 1; and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil.* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Olympio, 1936), chap. 2.

[180] Schwartzman, Bomeny, and Costa, *Tempos de Capanema*, 166; Giralda Seyferth, "Identidade Nacional, Diferenças Regionais, Integração Étnica E a Questão Imigratória No Brasil," in *Região E Nação Na América Latina*, ed. George de Cerqueira Leite Zarur (Brasilia: Editora UnB, 2000), 100; For an account of the nationalization campaign's targeting of Japanese immigrants and their descendants, see Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*, 130–138.

[181] Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*, 134.

[182] Sílvio Romero, *O allemanismo no sul do Brasil, seus perigos e meios de os conjurar.* (Rio de Janeiro: H. Ribeiro & c., 1906); For a contemporary literary treatment of similar questions, see Graça Aranha, *Canaã*, 4th ed. (São Paulo: Ática, 2002).

regime—signed the "Manifesto of Brazilian Intellectuals Against Racial Prejudice." They feared the introduction of "exotic racist tendencies" would be "monstrously inept" and such ideas posed "unforeseeable dangers that would compromise national cohesion and threaten the future of the *patria*."[183] Early in the nationalization campaign, agencies as diverse as the Armed Forces, the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies, and the Council of Immigration and Colonization echoed these sentiments, identifying German communities as possible seedbeds for such ideology and accusing them of disrespect and disloyalty to Brazil and even separatism.[184]

This belief in the assimilational pull of Brazil—in its moral quality—meant that elites perceived the "unassimilated" as having *chosen* not to become Brazilian. Recounting a trip to Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina in 1940, Gilberto Freyre remarked "the German or the Italian begins to nationalize himself or Brazilianize by the practice of small Brazilian acts" such as the manner of walking, eating, gesturing, etc.[185] Only those "hostile to the [Catholic, Luso-Brazilian] formation" i.e. those who refused to assimilate were "against the essential interests of Brazil."[186] Speaking to an audience of U.S. university students in 1944, Freyre again represented the Germans in Brazil as particularly resistant to assimilation and yet, he noted, they often succumbed to the pull of Brazil. Freyre stated, "Portuguese, Spanish Italian, and *even* German

[183] Inácio do Amaral et al., "Manifesto Dos Intelectuais Brasileiros Contra O Preconceito Racial," in *Guerra E Relações de Raça*, by Arthur Ramos (Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Editorial da União Nacional dos Estudantes, 1943), 173.
[184] For the case of the military, see Aurelio da Silva Py, *A 5a Coluna No Brasil : A Conspiração Nazi No Rio Grande Do Sul* (Porto Alegre: Livraria do Globo, 1942); For the military as well as the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies, see Schwartzman, Bomeny, and Costa, *Tempos de Capanema*, 158–164; For the Conselho de Imigração e Colonização, see Aristóteles de Lima Câmara and Arthur Hehl Neiva, "Colonizações Nipônica E Germânica No Sul Do Brasil," *Revista de Imigração E Colonização*, 1941; and Geraldo, "O 'Perigo Alienígena': Política Imigratória E Pensamento Racial No Governo Vargas (1930-1945)," 129–130.
[185] Freyre, *O Mundo Que O Português Criou*, 35.
[186] Ibid., 41.

immigrants…have not hesitated to marry Brazilians of Indian and Negro origin…"[187] Therefore, the enduring *possibility* of assimilation meant that the agents of the nationalization campaign would have to identify just what constituted "de-nationalization" and target it.

Consequently, the *Estado Novo* sought to limit the use of foreign languages in churches, print media, and associations that "sought the perpetuation of [foreign] culture."[188] In 1938 foreign language schools came under pressure to nationalize—in theory meaning closure or replacement of the teaching staff with acceptable Brazilians. However, precisely because of the nebulous criteria for "de-nationalization" and the diffuse nature of the repressive powers, the campaign affected communities and regions seemingly arbitrarily. For example, Japanese-Brazilians have reported in oral histories that the São Paulo police went so far as to confiscate the Japanese books used at home and in 1938, the government forced the closure of at least two hundred German-language schools in Rio Grande do Sul alone.[189] Meanwhile, other foreign-language and ethnic institutions of education went untouched.[190] Historian Roney Cytrynowicz demonstrates that many Jewish schools continued to operate in Yiddish during the *Estado Novo*. For these schools, a visit from the authorities often meant little more than a list of supposed infractions or pressure to nationalize institutions' names. Enforcement remained sparse, rarely going so far as in the case of German or Japanese institutions. One Jewish school, the Sociedade Brasileira de Instrução Religiosa Israelita, even felt secure enough in its

[187] Gilberto Freyre, *Brazil - An Interpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 140. The emphasis here is mine.
[188] Schwartzman, Bomeny, and Costa, *Tempos de Capanema*, 159.
[189] Geraldo, "O 'Perigo Alienígena': Política Imigratória E Pensamento Racial No Governo Vargas (1930-1945)," 136; On the nationalization of the school system in Rio Grande do Sul, see Hentschke, *Reconstructing the Brazilian Nation*, 329–347.
[190] Daniel M. Masterson and Sayaka Funada-Classen, *The Japanese in Latin America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 130–131.

position to hire a Hebrew teacher with a Polish passport in 1942. Evidently the authorities saw little danger in the presence of foreigners at Jewish schools, whereas Japanese, German, and Italian schools remained possible sites of de- nationalization.[191]

Anxiety about distinctly anti-Brazilian racial ideologies brought disproportionate attention from the nationalization campaign's agents to public expressions of Germanness.[192] In Rio Grande do Sul, with large populations of Italians and descendants in addition to Germans, it is clear that the nationalization campaign disproportionately touched the latter.[193] The state's Secretary of Education, J.P. Coelho de Souza, declared at a 1941 conference of the Brazilian Association of Education that "in the Italian colony…the problem of nationalization, in general, does not exist" whereas "without a doubt, the most grave and hard to solve problem is that which the German zone of colonization offers."[194] In his presentation he went on to identify private German-Brazilian schools as the sole resisters to the nationalization of education—an opposition that needed to be "broken" through school closings, the hiring of 1,300 new teachers, and the construction of 128 new public schools.[195] The zeal of the campaign went so far as to prohibit the use of foreign languages on gravestones in churchyards—a restriction that

[191] Roney Cytrynowicz, "Beyond the State and Ideology: Immigration of the Jewish Community to Brazil, 1937-1945," in *Rethinking Jewish-Latin Americans*, ed. Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 96.
[192] Helena M.B. Bomeny, "Três Decretos E Um Ministério: A Propósito Da Educação No Estado Novo," in *Repensando O Estado Novo*, ed. Dulce Pandolfi (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 1999), 152; Schwartzman, Bomeny, and Costa, *Tempos de Capanema*, 158–164; For a broad comparative perspective among various immigrant communities, see, see Giralda Seyferth, "Os Imigrantes E a Campanha de Nacionalização Do Estado Novo," in *Repensando O Estado Novo*, ed. Dulce Pandolfi (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 1999), 218–225.
[193] On the federal government's identification of Germans in Rio Grande do Sul as particularly worrisome, see Bomeny, "Três Decretos E Um Ministério: A Propósito Da Educação No Estado Novo," 153–162; On the state government's similar conclusions, see Rene Ernaini Gertz, *O Estado Novo No Rio Grande Do Sul* (Passo Fundo: UPF Editora, 2005), 148–155.
[194] Coelho de Souza, *Denúncia O Nazismo Nas Escolas Do Rio Grande*, 12; 14.
[195] Ibid., 75–79.

affected the German-Brazilian community almost exclusively.[196]

The country's entry into the Second World War on the side of the Allies in 1942 only exacerbated the situation. The nationalization campaign now had the added pressure of war mobilization behind it and focused increasingly on control rather than assimilation. German and Japanese immigrants and their descendants suffered particularly harsh repression, presumably embodying the enemy through difference.[197] For German-Brazilians, this suspicion lay at least partly in the overt and covert activities of the Third Reich in Brazil; for the Japanese, such imperial machinations appear to have been mere fantasy.[198] Either way, the fact that the vast majority of either group was not actively colluding with foreign governments did not spare them state abuses.[199] This flattening of differences even between immigrants and third- or fourth-generation Brazilians lent further coercive force to the *Estado Novo*'s homogenizing campaign.

A Vision Thwarted: The Rise and Fall of the 25th of July Movement

The increasingly frayed and contentious nature of Brazilian society in the 1920s led many of the country's ethnic groups to assert their identities more publicly. Vargas's Revolution of 1930 did little to change this trend. Only with the advent of the *Estado Novo* did one social force (the state) make a reasonable claim to regulate what forms of identification were or were not Brazilian. Real or imagined connections to foreign countries—particularly national enemies—placed individuals quickly in the "not"

[196] Sandra Jatahy Pesavento, *História Do Rio Grande Do Sul*, Série Revisão (Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1980), 84.
[197] On the repression of the Japanese community, see Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*, chap. 5; On the German case, see Priscila Perazzo, *O Perigo Alemão E a Repressão Policial No Estado Novo* (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado, 1999).
[198] Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*, 135; On Nazi activity in Brazil and Latin America, see Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors*; and Hilton, *Hitler's Secret War in South America 1939 - 1945*.
[199] One historian who attempts to disassociate Nazis, German state actors, German-Brazilian fascists, and the broader German-Brazilian population is René Gertz. See Gertz, *O perigo alemão*.

column. Here, the case of the 25th of July movement will help illustrate the complicated trajectory of ethnic organizations in the period: from local expression to national cultural/political movement to possible site of foreign infiltration in need of regulation.

Following the 1924 celebrations of the centenary of German colonization in Brazil, the date of the immigrants' arrival in southern Brazil—the 25th of July—increasingly became a symbolic focal point for German-Brazilians. In the early 1930s, a group of German-Brazilian elites in Rio Grande do Sul formed the *Kommission pro 25. Juli* (the Pro-25th of July Committee) aimed primarily at lobbying the national government to declare July 25th a permanent state holiday. By 1934, on the 110th anniversary of German settlement in Rio Grande do Sul, Governor Flores da Cunha had designated the date the "*Dia do Colono*" (Day of the Colonist) a holiday recognizing the "German contribution" in the state's development.[200] Though the term *colono* and *colonia* referred to European enclaves in many contexts in Latin America, in Brazil the *colono* broadly meant non-slave labor (as was often the case on São Paulo's coffee plantations) or more specifically to a European agricultural immigrants (particularly the case in the country's south).[201] By designating July 25th the *Dia do Colono*, the government of Rio Grande do Sul had enshrined German immigrants and their descendants as the symbolic core of the broader phenomenon of European immigration and the emergence of free-wage agricultural labor.

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[200] Roswithia Weber, "Mosaico Indenitário: Turismo Nos Municípios Da Rota Romântica -- RS" (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2006), 50–52.

[201] Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, 40–41; On the word's etymology and 19th and 20th century use in Mexico, see Buchenau, *Tools of Progress*, 32–33; For an approach that relates the idea of "colony" to both its agro-economic and ethno-cultural sense, see Giralda Seyferth, "A Colonia Alemã No Brasil: Etnicidade E Conflito," in *Fazer a América: A Imigração Em Massa Para a América Latina*, ed. Boris Fausto (São Paulo: EdUSP, 1999); For an anthropological approach to the contemporary use of the term, see Sérgio Teixeira, *Os Recados Das Festas : Representações E Poder No Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE Instituto Nacional do Folclore, 1988), chap. 5.

The success of the *pro 25. Juli*'s efforts led in part to the founding of the *Federação 25 de Julho* in Rio de Janeiro in 1936.[202] Registered with the Federal Government on July 21, 1936—more than a year before the coup that would lead to the *Estado Novo*'s installation—the *Federação* established its headquarters at a prominent address: in the Odeon building at 7 Praça Floriano, just steps from the Teatro Municipal and the National Library.[203] Both in its self-description and in the composition of its board of directors, the *Federação* was the first secular, expressly German-Brazilian cultural organization on a national scale. Among its founding leaders were Rio-based elites such as Consul Henrique Schueler and *gaúcho* politician (and grandfather of future President Fernando Collor de Mello) Dr. Lindolpho Collor as well as prominent German-Brazilians based in the south such as Fritz Rotermund, heir to the Rotermund publishing house in São Leopoldo, and Pastor Hermann Gottlieb Dohms of the Lutheran synod. The *Federação*'s founders envisioned a series of "nuclei" throughout Brazil, each reporting to and following the lead of the central headquarters in Rio de Janeiro.

The *Federação* published its statutes and other material both in Portuguese and in German, describing its mission as "bringing together all *conterraneos* [fellow countrymen] of German culture and language to the benefit of the Brazilian community." The work of cultural preservation and maintenance—achieved by supporting German schools, establishing a museum and genealogical archive, and promoting cooperation between Brazil and Germany—exemplified this benefit to the Brazilian nation. Such reciprocity is highlighted in the twin ends of "encouraging the understanding of German

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[202] See Gertz, *O Fascismo No Sul Do Brasil Germanismo, Nazismo, Integralismo*, 98.

[203] "Federação 25 de Julho," in *Almanak Laemmert*, 96th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Emprensa Almanak Laemmert, Lta, 1940); "Federação 25 de Julho," July 21, 1936, Fundo: Ofício de Registro de Títulos 1923-1965; No. de Registro 549, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

language and culture among the co-citizens of other origins" as well as "encouraging the understanding of Brazilian culture and language among citizens of German origin." The importance of citizenship—at least rhetorically—further emphasized the putatively *civic* nature of the *Federação*'s cultural mission. To preempt suspicions that this mission might lead to divisiveness among members or between members and other Brazilians, the statutes explicitly prohibited "any and all activities" of a religious or political nature.[204]

However, rather than an expression of integration, the *Federação*'s statutes demonstrated the founders' preoccupation with the future of German-Brazilian ethnicity in the face of rising nativism.[205] In an echo of the wartime need to affirm their allegiances, the *Federação*'s documentation consistently affirmed its members' "unrestricted devotion to the Brazilian *patria*" and promised to "defend the integrity of national territory, the institutions of the State, [and] the family." This commitment evidently went beyond words and played out in the orientation of the *Federação*'s actions. Writing to his superiors, the head of the Brazilian Nazi party, Herbert Guss, lamented:

> Here [the *teuto-brasileiros*] founded the *Federação 25 de Julho*, bringing together Brazilians of the German race from all of Brazil. It should be considered as a defensive movement against the [Nazi] Party. It stipulates—and with good reason—that it should only and uniquely focus on the education of *teuto-brasileira* youth so that they can become good Brazilian citizens. The *Federação* states with good reason that the *teuto-brasileiros* are tired of being automatically isolated from all influential activity in the Brazilian State due to their lack of preparation to become Brazilian citizens and because of which they enjoy a subaltern position.[206]

Thus even though the *Federação*'s bylaws expressly prohibited activities of a political nature, the founders were well aware that the goals of protecting and fomenting German-

[204] "Estatutos Da Federação 25 de Julho," 1936, G IV f, n. 17 c/1, Martius Staden Institut.
[205] On the debates about German-Brazilian identities in the 1930s, see Gertz, *O perigo alemão*, 32–45.
[206] Letter reprinted in Aurelio Py's book, though evidently with the incorrect date. Py has the letter from 1935, but I have found no mention of the Federação earlier than 1936. See Py, *A 5a Coluna No Brasil*, 38.

Brazilian ethnic identities were themselves highly political acts in 1930s Brazil. Historian Käte Harms-Baltzer suggests that the choice of the national capital rather than a city nearer the regions of traditional German settlement attests to the organization's goal of bending the ears of national elites.[207] Similarly, the *Federação*'s stated desire of establishing the 25th of July as a national holiday represents at once a will to commemorate/celebrate an ethnic group's contribution to the nation, but also the longing for *official* recognition of that contribution.

Following the establishment of the *Estado Novo* in October 1937, the *Federação*, like many other ethnic organizations, came under increasing scrutiny. Connections between some members of the *Federação*'s directorate and both the Brazilian Nazi Party and the NSDAP's Foreign Organization (*Auslands-Organisation,* AO) in Brazil became particularly problematic following the April 1938 prohibition of foreign political parties. The exact nature of these connections remains unclear: some historians such as Dawid Bartelt and Ricardo Antônio Seitenfus have portrayed the relationship between the AO and the *Federação* as a slightly antagonistic one. Both see the AO as having designs to coopt the *Federação* as a tool for reaching German-Brazilians but being met with resistance. Other authors such as Andrea Petry Rahmeier have portrayed the relationship between the *Federação* and representatives of the German government and the Nazi party as a close one from the beginning. In his famous and at times paranoid indictment of Nazi infiltration of Brazil, Brazilian military officer Aurelio da Silva Py remarked that

[207] Käte Harms-Baltzer, *Die Nationalisierung Der Deutschen Einwanderer Und Ihrer Nachkommen in Brasilien Als Problem Der Deutsch-Brasilianischen Beziehungen 1930 - 1938*, Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana 14 (Berlin: Colloquium Verl., 1970), 72.

the *Federação* "quickly" became an organ of the Nazi party. Py does not, however, provide evidence to this effect.[208]

Whatever the true character of the affinities between leaders of the *Federação* and AO, the fact remains that Brazilian authorities came to identify the *Federação* as a point of Nazi activity and influence. Following a May 11, 1938 putsch attempt by a small group of Integralists, the Brazilian government redoubled its efforts to control or eliminate political influence it considered "noxious" to national interests. A few weeks later, on June 25, the *Federação*'s Brazilian-born director general Federico Colin Kopp was arrested in Rio de Janeiro. The exact reasons for his incarceration remain unclear, but some sources point to him being caught carrying documents that linked the legal *Federação* with the illegal Brazilian Nazi party. Specifically, some scholars claim these papers amounted to a clandestine plan to merge the Brazilian Hitler Youth with the *Federação*'s own youth and educational programs. The historical record is ambiguous because soon after his arrest Kopp was found dead in his cell—reportedly having taken his own life. It remains unclear whether Kopp's death was indeed a suicide or the result of mistreatment at the hands of Brazilian authorities, perhaps while attempting to extract further information about Nazi activities in Brazil. Although he was not a German citizen, Kopp's death precipitated a further cooling of diplomatic relations between Brazil and Germany as well as the questioning and imprisonment of some *Federação* members

[208] See Dawid Bartelt, "'Fünfte Kolonne' Ohne Plan. Die Auslands-Organisation Der NSDAP in Brasilien 1931-1939," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 19, no. 1–2 (1993): 12–24; Ricardo Antônio Silva Seitenfus, *O Brasil Vai À Guerra: O Processo Do Envolvimento Brasileiro Na Segunda Guerra Mundial*, 3. ed. (Barueri, SP: Editora Manole, 2003), 130–135; Andrea Helena Petry Rahmeier, "Alemanha E Brasil: As Relações Diplomáticas Em 1938" (IX Encontro Estadual de História - ANPUH-RS, UFRGS, 2008); Py, *A 5a Coluna No Brasil*, 39–40.

in southern Brazil.[209] The Brazilian government eventually demanded the recall of Germany's ambassador Karl Ritter and soon thereafter the *Federação* ceased its activities.

Germans in the Eyes of the State

In the 1990s when the Public State Archive of Rio de Janeiro (*Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro*, APERJ) published its first catalogue of the state's DOPS collections, the organizers chose to name the volume *A lógica da desconfiança*, "the logic of suspicion." Here the word "logic" might have implied that there existed a predictable pattern, a consistency by which the DOPS pursued its role of maintaining public order. However, as documents produced during the *Estado Novo* reveal, rather than any single logic, the state's suspicions led to multiple and even contradictory *logics*. The DOPS's understanding of categories such as "foreign" and "Brazilian" as well as the characteristics of various national and ethnic groups was muddy and inconsistent at best. Perhaps in an attempt to interject a coherent order into such a cacophony, the Rio de Janeiro *Delegacia* catalogued its documents internally according to "nationality." Each such "sector" (Italian, Polish, etc.) included information on government agents in Brazil, foreign nationals, and Brazilians of that particular heritage in one indiscriminate location.

If this flattening of national "others" into homogenous categories had indeed represented a logic, one might expect the surveillance of these groups to be roughly equivalent to their relative presence in Brazilian society. In this conception, the large

[209] Harms-Baltzer, *Die Nationalisierung Der Deutschen Einwanderer Und Ihrer Nachkommen in Brasilien Als Problem Der Deutsch-Brasilianischen Beziehungen 1930 - 1938*, 71–75; Bartelt, "'Fünfte Kolonne' Ohne Plan. Die Auslands-Organisation Der NSDAP in Brasilien 1931-1939," 22–24; Seitenfus, *O Brasil Vai À Guerra*, 134; Andrea Helena Petry Rahmeier, "Relações Diplomáticas Entre Alemanha E Brasil - Dezembro de 1937 a Julho de 1939," *Textos de Historia* 16, no. 2 (2008): 193–215.

Spanish-born population of Rio de Janeiro—certainly a national "other" in cultural and linguistic terms—would produce a paper trail larger than the very small Lithuanian population in Rio de Janeiro. However, as Table 2.1 shows, the level of DOPS attention was not correlated with the penetration of foreign influences as embodied by actual immigrants:

Table 2.1: Collection of APERJ DOPS documents by Sector [210]

Sector	Number of Files	Total Sheets	# of Citizens in Brazil as of 1942
German	28	3,040	252,345
Japanese	8	1,211	187,720
Italian	6	608	1,509,310

Instead, people and institutions labeled "Japanese" and (in particular) "German"—including Brazilian citizens identified as part of these groups—disproportionately filled the imaginary space of "suspicious" for the DOPS. On one level, this fact questions the assertion that Japanese and other non-European immigrants represented the extreme national "other" because they did not easily fall on a black/white scale.[211] In fact, it suggests that Germans' imagined unwillingness to assimilate to Brazilian society mirrored the imagined inability of the Japanese to do so. On another level, it demonstrates the disproportionate degree of national danger and subversion with which the DOPS understood and interpreted all things "German" (as opposed to "Japanese," "Polish," etc.). Understanding just what qualified people and institutions as "German" is central to mapping the DOPS's multiple and conflicting *logics* of suspicion.

[210] The figures for the number of German nationals present in Brazil includes over 20,000 Austrians. Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, *DOPS*, 24; "Quantos Súditos Dos Paizes Do Eixo Há No Brasil," *Diario de Noticias*, January 31, 1942.
[211] Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*; Lesser, *A Discontented Diaspora*.

In the broadest sense, how did the *Estado Novo*, via its secret political police, determine who its friends and enemies were? What kinds of people and spaces were most dangerous to the state's goals of establishing and enforcing boundaries between acceptable activities—those of "good" Brazilians—and dangerous ones? Some of the specific "competences" ascribed to the *Estado Novo*-era DOPS in Rio Grande do Sul help provide provisional answers to these questions:

1. Permanently repress propaganda of ideas and facts, as well as acts, tending against the social and political order enshrined in the Federal Constitution.
2. Maintain constant and incessant observation in order to avoid acts or practices that could alter the political and social order.
3. Regulate gatherings and meetings of political and social propagandistic character, assigning them specific dates and times to take place in public or otherwise prohibit them as determined by law.
4. Regulate, in concert with the Ministry of Labor, any and all class entity, associative group, workers' center, union, foundation, or any other such organization as necessary according to the interests of society in general.
5. Maintain direct and continuous observation of factories, headquarters of unions, and similar commercial and industrial establishments, as well as hotels, pensions, boarding houses and such, as well as public houses of entertainment as necessary in exercise of your office.

…

7. Maintain a registry of all extremists, anarchists, and any other elements considered dangerous or prejudicial to the public and social order.
8. Offer the Delegacy of Entrance, Stay, and Exit of Foreigners any information that they solicit relative to activities against the social and political order committed by foreigners that arrive, pass through, or remain in the state.

…

12. To see that laws relative to matters of social and political security are followed and applied accurately.[212]

A picture of imagined agents of disorder begins to emerge: members of trade unions, political extremists, and foreigners were particularly dangerous. More interestingly, these threats were concentrated in certain predictable places like factories, places of employment, and closed spaces as well as public spaces of sociability like hotels, bars, and restaurants. Given the variety of possible danger zones, it was up to individual DOPS agents to interpret possible threats. The documents demonstrate a vast semantic

[212] Decreto Estadual (RS) n. 7601, Dec. 5, 1938.

slippage between categories like "Nazi," "German," and "Germanic" within different agents' reports. This slippage points to a highly contingent and contextualized understanding of threats to public order and even a difficulty at identifying the national other. I will explore the ways that German identity appears in two of the above instances: places of sociability and places of labor.

The Dangers of Ethnic Sociability

Bars and restaurants frequented by certain groups of foreigners or members of a certain ethnic community were easy targets as the establishments often marked their intended public in overt ways. Proprietors conjured visions of cultural or ethnic difference by employing various sorts of imagery. *Bar Alpino* (Alpine Bar), *Bar Rheniana* (Bar of the Rhine), and *Bar Danubio Azul* (Blue Danube Bar) all evoked notions of central European geography. *Bar Hansa* referenced the medieval Hanseatic League of trade in the German states and Scandinavia. Other establishments like *Bar Zepelin* and *Bar Adolfo* made direct reference to Germany's contemporary political and technological realities.[213] Agents of the DOPS took the people and goings on in these spaces to be of automatic suspicion. One report with the provocatively alarmist title "Plans for a Nazi uprising in South America" identified 133 "suspects." Of these possible subversives, 22 worked in hotels, bars, or restaurants.[214]

In a denunciation registered February 1, 1940, the Bar Zepelin in Rio's Ipanema neighborhood was accused of having "German Nazis gathering there and conspiring

[213] *Relatórios* on these and many similar establishments appear frequently in the *Alemão* section of the APERJ DOPS archive, in particular Pasta 19.
[214] "Plano de sublevação Nazista na América do Sul," Pol Pol – Alemão – 1, APERJ

against our regime, thus forming a Nazi cell."[215] The record is unclear whether the denunciation came from a member of the public or from representatives of the DOPS, but the Department's response was two separate reports on the locale. The first, dated April 5 described Bar Zepelin as being "property of the German Oscar Geidel" whose clientele is in "great majority compatriots of Geidel" living in neighboring areas of Rio. While the patrons and their families tended to discuss the "goings-on in Europe," they "did not have speeches or sing the Nazi anthem." The observing agent—referred to only as Investigator 551—could attest to this as he had observed the bar for an "uninterrupted period" and himself spoke German. While the agent took the time to criticize the patrons for taking up too much space and using too many tables, he concluded that, since the bar was "amply open to the street" any illegal manifestations "would certainly attract the attention of passers-by."[216]

The second report, dated April 19, 1940, frames the activity at Bar Zepelin differently. In this version, the bar had indeed once been a site of suspicious activity: "A while ago [*tempos atráz*]…some elements of German nationality had the habit of holding meetings about political developments in their country in a room in the back of the bar." However, Bar Zepelin no longer presented a threat to social and political order because "the establishment has a new owner, Mr. Oscar Geidel, of Germanic origin, that categorically prohibited the continuation of such acts."[217] The investigator does not identify himself.

Two points emerge from the case of Bar Zepelin: first, different DOPS agents did not possess sophisticated or even standardized tools to identify subversive activity.

[215] "Bar Zepelin," February 1, 1940, Pol Pol -- Alemão -- 19, APERJ.
[216] "Informação no 554/S-2," April 5, 1940, Pol Pol – Alemão – 19, APERJ.
[217] "Dossiê Bar Zepelin," April 19, 1940, Pol Pol -- Alemão -- 19, APERJ.

While groupings of German speakers raised suspicion, both reports imply that such conversations, if held toward the front of the establishment, were innocuous. One agent gained confidence in the absence of people singing *Deutschland über alles*, the Nazi national anthem; the other placed faith in Mr. Geidel's will to keep order in his own bar. This faith leads to the second point: in the first version, Geidel appears as "*o alemão Oscar Geidel*" and in the second he is described as "*de origem germânica*." It is not clear from the documentation what Geidel's actual citizenship was, implying that either the DOPS agents did not know or—more likely—did not care. The *Estado Novo* was famously preoccupied with documentation and paper; the DOPS agents surely could have verified Geidel's citizenship status had that been the litmus test for trustworthiness or suspicion.[218] Instead, the second agent places faith in Geidel's discretion because he prohibited unsavory political activity. He uses the moniker "of Germanic origin" to refer to Geidel in order to represent rhetorically that, while embodying an ethnic identity, Geidel was indeed a good Brazilian, regardless of his place of birth. This formulation mirrors the dichotomous, imagined "good" and "bad" Brazilians that pepper popular and government materials from the time.

The discrepancies between agents' reports confirm the findings of Roney Cytrynowicz and others who argue the nationalization campaign was uneven and often incoherent in its identification of dangerous activity and mobilization of its repressive powers.[219] However, the case of Bar Zepelin also reaffirms the importance of different

[218] On the vast bureaucratic attempts to both shape and control immigration and immigrants, see Fábio Koifman, *Imigrante ideal: o Ministério da Justiça e a entrada de estrangeiros no Brasil (1941-1945)* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2012) especially chapters 5 and 6. On the limits of such attempts and the gap between the "letter" and the "spirit" of the law, see Jeffrey Lesser, *Welcoming the Undesirables Brazil and the Jewish Question* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
[219] Cytrynowicz, "Beyond the State and Ideology: Immigration of the Jewish Community to Brazil, 1937-1945."

DOPS agents' attitudes toward ethnicity in the nationalization campaign's effects on individuals and institutions. The record demonstrates that while some agents of the *Estado Novo*'s campaign to construct and enforce a homogenized Brazilian identity did not find a place for ethnicity within the nation, others did. Unsurprisingly, this was particularly the case of DOPS agents who themselves used their own heritage as part of their job.

Another case from sites of suspicious sociability—boardinghouses and hotels—demonstrates the contextual nature of the DOPS's understanding of "German" threats: that of the Hüber boarding house, also known as the *Deutsches Männerheim* ("home for German men"). The DOPS report uses "German" as an umbrella category, referring equally to German nationals, German-Brazilians, and even the (imagined) qualities of Germanness writ large. In an undated *dossiê* on the *Pensão Huber*, an anonymous DOPS agent reported about his visit to the downtown Rio de Janeiro location (see Annex 1 for a full translation of the document). While his assumption that all of the *pensão*'s residents were Nazi sympathizers because they came from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia—a claim bolstered by photographs and tourism materials from the countries—seemed almost banal, the agent makes two important observations.

First, the agent felt that the *Pensão Huber*'s staff treated him insultingly poorly while interacting in Portuguese, meaning when the staff took the visitor to be "just a Brazilian." However, upon switching to German and identifying himself as a German-Brazilian, the *pensão*'s staff began to treat him in a more dignified way, giving him a room among the other "Germans." What the agent does not mention is on what level this case of solidarity worked—was the concierge himself a German national or a German-

Brazilian? More than an oversight, this lacuna mirrors the case of Mr. Geidel from Bar Zepelin: Germanness was varyingly suspicious or not depending on *context* and not on the actual background of the person being identified. Instead of a unified category connected to national origin, *alemão* was a grouping of cultural markers or practices that demanded to be investigated.

Second, in a further erosion of coherence of the category *alemão*, the DOPS agent appeared to create a functional categorization of "*bom alemão*" and "*mau alemão*" that echoed the *Estado Novo*'s formulation of "good" and "bad" Brazilians. It is not a stretch to assume that the agent, who identified himself as German-Brazilian in the documents (rather than simply a German speaker), considered his an acceptable form of Germanness. His criticism of what he found at the *Pensão Huber* then becomes a normative judgment on what a *mau alemão* looks like. In addition to the suspicious wall hangings and tourism adverts for Brazil's wartime enemies, the agent found it curious that many guests were still in their respective rooms. This fact "was very strange, since it was already 10 am and some were still lying in bed." Was this strange behavior for Brazilians or for Germans, or both? His inference is that *bons alemães* and *bons brasileiros* like himself would already be working at such an hour. His final assessment, that the "whole place, in general, seemed suspicious" puts the clearest possible distance between the German-Brazilian DOPS agent and whatever behavior he found at the *Pensão Huber*.

While members of certain ethnic communities—in particular those associated with the Axis powers—gave pause, simply being "foreign" was not the principle measure of danger. For example the presence of United States cultural imports did not conjure

suspicion. An example of this comes from the August 29, 1942 edition of Porto Alegre's *Diário de Notícias* where through a casual juxtaposition, two different kinds of foreign—the dangerous and the benign—existed side-by-side. On the left page of the newspaper ran an article titled "A Grave Occurrence at the *Imprensa Nacional*," a publishing house. The article told of "a German and a bad Brazilian" who had taken a picture of President Vargas off the wall in their office and destroyed it. This "barbarous Nazi act against [Brazil's] sovereignty" was a clear sign of Nazi infiltration and sympathies among Brazil's foreign and ethnic populations.[220] Clearly this sort of "foreign" influence posed a threat. Directly opposite this story was a large drawing of the Disney cartoon character Zé Carioca holding an accordion. The caption read, "Zé Carioca has 'shined' in *Alô Amigos*, the Disney film showing in the cinemas." Whereas foreign nationals and Brazilian citizens expressing political opinions quickly became synonymous with the Nazi menace, a proudly "Made in the U.S.A." cartoon character did not represent a threat to the Brazilian nation.

Finding Danger in the Factory

A *dossiê* on the Brahma Brewery lends insight into the multiple "threats" to social order that the DOPS perceived in industrial spaces. Founded by German immigrants in 1888, Brahma was at the time one of the largest and most important breweries in Brazil.[221] Though a distinctly Brazilian brand by the 1940s, much of the company's capital remained in the hands of Germans and German-Brazilians. As a result, both the U.K. and

[220] "Grave Ocorrencia Na Imprensa Nacional," *Diario de Noticias*, August 29, 1942.
[221] On the history of Brahma and the beer industry in Brazil, see Edgar Helmut Köb, *Die Brahma-Brauerei und die Modernisierung des Getränkehandels in Rio de Janeiro 1888-1930* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005).

the U.S. governments blacklisted Brahma following the outbreak of World War II, removing it only once shares belonging to residents of Germany and to the *Banco Transatlantico Alemão* (German Transatlantic Bank) had been transferred to the *Banco do Brasil*. In the eyes of the DOPS, however, the foreign governments' decision to remove Brahma from the lists did not exonerate its functionaries of possible subversive behavior. A report dated April 9, 1943 claimed that even following its removal "the *Companhia Brahma* continued with its old methods, reactionary against the orientation taken by the country at the time."[222]

These "old methods" were the sorts of hazy subversion that the DOPS found in de-nationalized spaces, which Brahma's shop floor arguably was. Table 2.2 contains a breakdown of the company's over 1,300 employees by nationality appeared in the file to support the necessity of further investigation:

Table 2.2: Breakdown of Brahma employees by nationality [223]

Nation of Origin/Citizenship	Number
Brazilian	885
German	18
Germans—naturalized Brazilians	7
Portuguese	357
Portuguese—naturalized Brazilians	3
Austrians	6
Austrians—naturalized Brazilians	1
Polish	7
Italian	5
Estonians	1
Spanish	5
French	1
Hungarian	1
Romanian	2
Lithuanian	2
TOTAL	**1301**

[222] "Dossiê Cervejaria Brahma," POL POL -- Geral -- 58, APERJ.
[223] Ibid.

Nearly a third of the company's employees were foreign born, though the vast majority of these were of an ethnic background not considered suspicious by the DOPS: Portuguese. Consequently the various reports contained in the *dossiê* focused on the small number of Germans and German-Brazilians working at Brahma—in particular among the executives—and their perceived role in promoting Nazi principles and/or preventing true *brasilidade* from flourishing.

The case of two factory workers, Izidoro Zaluski and João Candido Nogueira de Sá, demonstrates the notional nature of "subversion" as the DOPS understood it. Zaluski and Nogueira da Sá accused the Brahma management of pro-Axis sympathies following their dismissal in early 1943. Specifically, Zaluski and Nogueira claimed that they had been fired because they themselves were "patriots and anti-fascists," organizing for the *Liga da Defesa Nacional*, the *União Nacional dos Estudantes*, and the *Banco de Sangue* within the factory. Such an accusation piqued the investigative instincts of the DOPS, eventually leading to hundreds of pages of documents on various facets of Brahma's activities. Many of these reports had very little to do with the case of Zaluski and Nogueira de Sá, but rather sought to establish a general notion of Brahma's leanings as an institution. In the same report from April 9, 1943 Brahma appears as a source of national danger, where "functionaries of German nationality and ex-Integralist and 'Axis'-sympathizing Brazilians were rewarded with high positions."[224] Another communiqué criticizes the company's failure "to collaborate spontaneously to the war effort and

[224] Ibid.

spiritual mobilization…as other large companies had," further evidencing the management's Axis sympathies.[225]

Much of the blame for these attitudes was laid at the feet of the company's director-president, J. Heinrich Künning, the son of German immigrants who had taken over the presidency of Brahma from his father. The DOPS agents not only confused Künning's actual name (sometimes the documents refer to him as Joseph, other times as Johannes, which was his father's name), and his place of birth (Bremen? Rio de Janeiro?), but also struggled to determine his political sympathies. One report described him as "giving great importance to Axis organizations" and as a "producer of Nazi propaganda."[226] Another letter accused him of having contracted his own information service in order to spy on the DOPS itself.[227] For each interview or report in the *dossiê*, a different vocabulary of subversion or accusation emerged to represent Brahma's director-president.

Rather than showing incompetence or impotence on the part of the DOPS, these uncertainties demonstrate the deeper purpose of these *dossiês*. The goal of the investigations was not necessarily to understand the truth or untruth of the accusation made by Zaluski and Nogueira da Sá. Instead, it was to establish an interpretive field within which certain actions could be understood as subversive (or not). Künning's status in the documents as sometimes Brazilian, sometimes a *teuto-brasileiro*, sometimes a German, and sometimes as a member of so-called "German circles" heightened the notion that Künning represented a danger, even if no proof was provided. Even the fact

[225] Comunicação 131/S-2, "Dossiê Cervejaria Brahma," POL POL -- Geral -- 58, APERJ.
[226] Informação N.128: Companhia Cervejaria Brahma (Sociedade Anonima), January 8, 1943, "Dossiê Cervejaria Brahma," POL POL -- Geral -- 58, APERJ.
[227] "Olindo Denys to Chefe de Polícia Etchegoyen," July 28, 1943, "Dossiê Cervejaria Brahma," POL POL -- Geral -- 58, APERJ.

that Brahma's board of directors included Robert Kutschat, a Jewish immigrant, did not lessen the general suspicion of Nazi sympathies within the company or with Künning specifically.[228]

It appears that Künning himself was aware of the DOPS's vague and notional sense of subversion and he worked to counter it. On March 27, 1942 (prior to the case of Zaluski and Nogueira da Sá) he wrote a letter to the Captain of the DOPS. In the letter Brahma's director-president admitted that while sorting through and burning some old boxes and papers the cleaning staff found a Brazilian flag. "Once this fact was verified, the Directors immediately removed the flag and handed it over to the proper authorities," namely the DOPS.[229] Künning intended his letter to create a paper trail documenting the company's "correct" reaction in the face of something so simple and yet so explosive as the fate of an old flag. This strategy—aimed at allaying misgivings—also helps to reveal the ways historical actors under state suspicion like Künning understood the *brasilidade* the DOPS sought to enforce.

Educating the Public

The DOPS did not limit itself to its legally enshrined repressive, regulatory, and intelligence-gathering powers. In Brazil's south, representatives of the DOPS also assumed a didactic role, "educating" Brazil's citizens about the dangers of Nazi infiltration. More than an anti-Nazi propaganda campaign, the DOPS hosted public exhibitions of confiscated artifacts and published long-format books on "Nazi"

[228] Informação N.128: Companhia Cervejaria Brahma (Sociedade Anonima), January 8, 1943, "Dossiê Cervejaria Brahma," POL POL -- Geral -- 58, APERJ.
[229] "J. Heinrich Künning to the Captain of the Delegado Especial de Segurança Politica E Social," March 27, 1942, "Dossiê Cervejaria Brahma," POL POL -- Geral -- 58, APERJ.

infiltration in Brazil. These efforts publicly shaped the boundaries of appropriate Brazilianness by calling into being a national antipode. In this capacity, the notion of "German" and its derivatives (Germanic, etc.) was not a hazy or contingent notion as in the DOPS's internal documents. Instead, this homogenized notion of Germanness as inherently chauvinist and bellicose differed in every way from the ideal national subject, a "lover of democracy" (as one DOPS agent put it) that did not discriminate based on race, religion, or color.[230] Furthermore, this discursive strategy painted the political police (and the Vargas regime more broadly) as the guarantors of Brazilian nationhood, thus justifying the existence of the *Estado Novo* and its repressive activities. DOPS's didactic materials and events further point to the agency's inability or unwillingness to distinguish clearly between the German national "other" and Brazil's homegrown ethnic German populations.

One widely disseminated example of this didactic inclination was the 200-plus-page *O Punhal Nazista no Coração do Brasil* ("The Nazi Dagger in the Heart of Brazil") published in November of 1943. Written, edited, and published by the DOPS of Santa Catarina, the state to the north of Rio Grande do Sul and recipient of similarly large streams of German migrants, the first edition sold so well that the DOPS released a second, expanded edition in June 1944.[231] The soft-cover volume featured dozens of photographic plates and tables spread among four long-format essays on Nazism, German colonization, the Nazi-fascist roots of Integralism, and fifth column danger. Each of these texts used documents by the DOPS to demonstrate the threat that Nazi activity posed to

[230] Delagacia da Ordem Política e Social de Santa Catarina, *O Punhal Nazista No Coração Do Brasil*, 2nd ed. (Florianópolis: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1944), 19.
[231] The library search tool Worldcat.org shows that at least twenty-five copies the book exist in U.S. libraries alone, attesting to its circulation well beyond the borders of Santa Catarina.

Santa Catarina and Brazil more broadly. This strategy simultaneously demonstrated the competence of the policing authorities at protecting Brazilian society. The provocative and violent title suggested both that Brazil had already been gravely wounded by Nazi infiltration and that Santa Catarina—the source and subject of the book—was at the very core of the nation's struggles.

In his preface, Secretary of Public Safety for Santa Catarina, Antônio Carlos Mourão Ratton, encapsulates the dual propagandistic purposes, saying he had organized the volume to "expose with singularity and gravity the Nazi infiltration in Santa Catarina," and also to convince Catarinenses of the nationalization campaign's value. While he leaves it to other contributors to detail this infiltration, Mourão Ratton situates the current crisis as a long-term struggle between forces of order and civilization on one hand and endemic German chauvinism and cruelty on the other. Such wartime binarisms were commonplace among belligerents in the two World Wars; however, Mourão Ratton's treatment stands out for two main reasons.[232] First, his understanding of the "German danger" is part of a longer Brazilian intellectual tradition of ambivalence about German immigration. He demonstrates this by citing the classic pre-1930s literature on the subject. His prose crescendos to Graça Aranha's fantastically broad assertion that "the history of the German race during its first twelve centuries can be summed up in one act: to invade."[233] Mourão Ratton fleshes out his argument of historical inevitability citing various Imperial German treatises such as Otto Richard Tannenberg's *Groß-*

[232] On the allied side alone, see (among others) Clayton D. Laurie, *The Propaganda Warriors : America's Crusade against Nazi Germany* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996); Garry Campion, *The Good Fight Battle of Britain Propaganda and the Few* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); C. Robert Cole, *Britain and the War of Words in Neutral Europe, 1939-45 : The Art of the Possible* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); Newton, *The "Nazi Menace" in Argentina, 1931-1947*.
[233] Delagacia da Ordem Política e Social de Santa Catarina, *O Punhal Nazista No Coração Do Brasil*, 6–7.

Deuschland: die Arbeit des 20. Jahrhunderts which had identified southern Brazil as an auspicious site for colonial expansion. Thus presented, the WWII-era threats to Brazilian society appear to share a seamless continuity with Prussian-era expansionist dreams and even deeper characteristics of the German national character.[234]

With regard to Santa Catarina's ethnic populations, Mourão Ratton felt German-Brazilians represented a permanent threat to Brazilian society because of their connection to an indelibly expansionist "race." Every German-Brazilian represented a sort of sleeper cell. This becomes clear not only through his commentary, but also in his very word choice. Mourão Ratton preferred to use the antiquated tribal or racial designation "Germanic" (*germânico*) over *alemão*, the demonym that referred most directly to the nation-state of Germany. It was not only possible connections with the Nazi state that concerned the DOPS, it was also the very notion of Germanness:

> The Germanic ambitions [*ambições germânicas*], made gigantic by the ridiculous supposition of being predestined to submit other peoples to its ferocious yoke, will absolutely not survive the conflict that it [sic] once again has unleashed on the world, again repeating within its history of bellicose evolution its dreams of invasion executed with inimitable cruelty and undisguised cynicism.[235]

It was in "de-nationalized" zones that these "Germanic ambitions" held the greatest sway. Much of Santa Catarina was particularly ripe for infiltration of these ideas, but only because so much of the state's population was German-Brazilian. Mourão Ratton paints an almost apocalyptic landscape where German national [*alemão*] efforts help the seeds of Nazism—inherent in all of German descent—germinate:

> *Mein Kampf*, consubstantiating German interests [interêsses alemães], has become the gospel in the Lutheran churches among us, the reading books in their [sic] schools, the preferred manual in social gatherings, the primary book of the *colono*. All of these

[234] Ibid., 8–12; Otto Richard Tannenberg, *Groß-Deutschland: Die Arbeit Des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig-Gohlis,: B. Volger, 1911).
[235] Delagacia da Ordem Política e Social de Santa Catarina, *O Punhal Nazista No Coração Do Brasil*, 5.

> organizations, veiled in recreational, sporting, or cultural pretexts, had but only one penetrating objective: to pave the way for and obey the orders from the 'Fuehrer.'[236]

Crucially, for Mourão Ratton the only Brazilians susceptible to the pull of the Nazis were descendants of German migrants. Thus, short of actually doing away with these ethnic Brazilians, the logical conclusion of the nationalization campaign was the complete eradication of any sign of German identity in Brazil. Only through strict repressive action and a profound nationalization of education could Germanness be rooted out.

By analyzing how Mourão Ratton imagined his enemies, his target audience also emerges: all Catarinenses who did not claim German identity. His rhetoric comes across as much as an exhortation to action as it does an explanation of a threat. He intended to educate Catarinenses about the nature of the "German danger" and thus to garner their support for the DOPS's repressive actions and, more broadly, for the Vargas regime. With *O Punhal*, Mourão Ratton sought to "document [the danger] amply" as a public justification for the "repressive action rigidly put in practice by the Secretary of Public Safety," which is to say, himself.[237] The *Estado Novo*'s abrogation of political rights for all Brazilians regardless of ethnicity was part and parcel of the government's campaign to nationalize migrants and their descendants:

> The reaction against the German danger…had to happen as realized by the Government of Brazil through the fortunate intervention of President Getúlio Vargas in that memorable act of November 10, 1937. Once the [*Estado Novo*] was established, once the political parties dissolved—among which agents of Nazi propaganda had expertly insinuated themselves, once foreign political activities were prohibited, Pangermanism suffered, without a doubt, a mortal blow in Brazil.[238]

The gravity of the threat posed by the Nazi regime and its ever-present *potential* allies—the German-Brazilians—both necessitated and justified the excesses of the *Estado Novo*.

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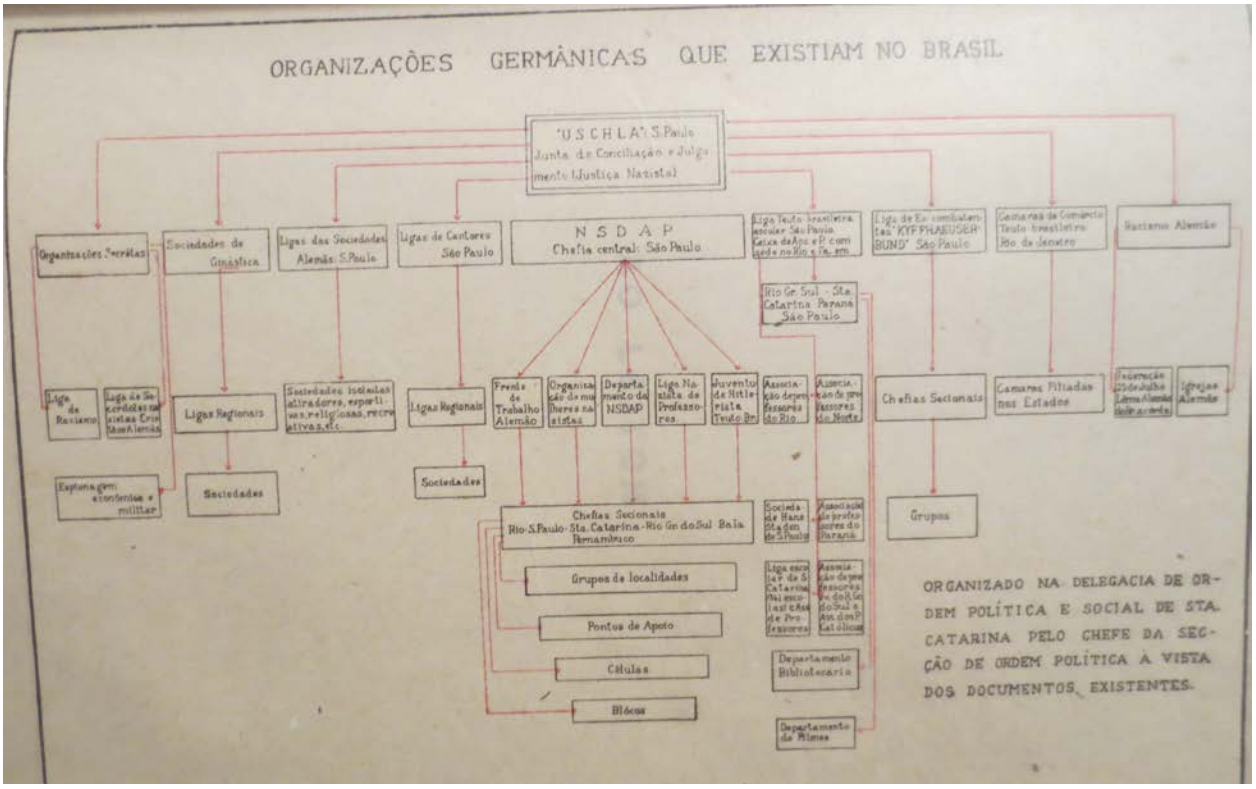
[236] Ibid., 10.
[237] Ibid., 12.
[238] Ibid., 10.

The other pieces in *O Punhal Nazista* echoed both the themes of incompatibility between German ethnicity and a "safe" Brazilian society and the unique ability of the *Estado Novo* to guarantee the latter. In his 74-page exposé on Nazi activity in Santa Catarina, DOPS Captain Antônio de Lara Ribas warned citizens "Nazism is not, as the majority of Brazilians think, just another incident in the life of the nation. In truth, it represents a menacing dagger, pointed at the heart of Brazil."[239] German-Brazilian institutions such as newspapers, industries, schools, and voluntary associations all appeared as sites ripe for Nazification.

The contributors to *O Punhal* employed various visual strategies to make the Nazi threat appear both generalized and proximate. The first was a series of flow charts that "demonstrated" the intimate connections between all visible sectors of German-Brazilian life and the Nazi threat. The first chart, labeled "Germanic Organizations that Exist in Brazil" had at its center the *Uschla* (Nazi tribunals) and the Nazi party itself (2.1). From these two emanated various organizations or bodies that ranged from the concrete (The German-Brazilian chamber of commerce in Rio de Janeiro or the League of German Societies in São Paulo) to the vague such as "German Racism." Readers received visual proof that any organized manifestation of German identity, even "isolated hunting, sporting, religious, recreational, etc. societies," represented vital arteries in a circulatory system of evil.

Figure 2.1: Organizações Germânicas que Existam no Brasil[240]

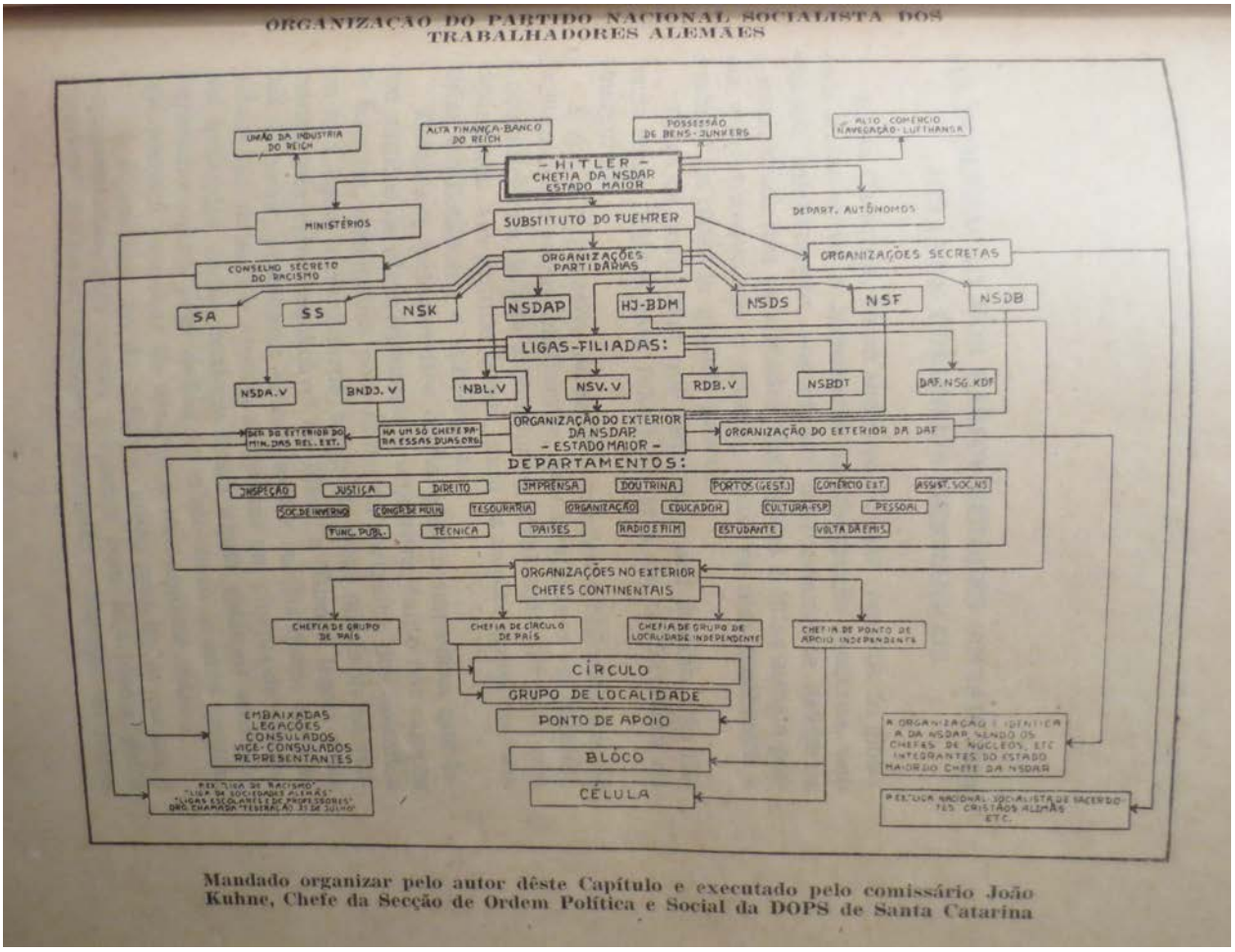
[239] Ibid., 30.
[240] Ibid., 2–3. Because charts and plates are not part of the book's pagination, I have chosen to reference them giving the surrounding page numbers.



The most striking of the flow charts dealt with the organization of the Nazi party (figure 2.2). It provided readers with a seemingly concrete way of linking organized German ethnic associations in Brazil directly to Hitler himself. For example, from Hitler to a secret organization supposedly named "the National Socialist league of German Christian Priests" was only three steps: Hitler to the "Führer's substitute" to "secret organizations." The Federação 25 de Julho and its members were similarly only three steps away from the Führer via the "secret council on racism." Perhaps most insidious was the smallest category of Nazi organization: "cell." Separated in filiation from the formal "circle" that depended on the actual representatives of the Nazi party in Brazil, cells seemingly only responded to the vaguely named "head of point of independent support." While these images' effect on the readers *O Punhal* remains out of reach, the charts and photos revealed the DOPS's propagandistic logic: the threat that German-

Brazilians and their institutions presented must appear to be both constant and existential for Brazil.

Figure 2.2: Organização do Partido Nazi[241]



Brazil's Germans were not the only internal threat that the government wished to classify as existential for its own purposes. The mysterious "Cohen Plan" for a communist revolution in Brazil—the veracity of which has never been established—provided partial grounds for Vargas's 1937 auto-coup.[242] Later, shortly after the Vargas regime broke diplomatic ties with the Japanese empire in 1942, the Department of Press and Propaganda reported a Japanese plan to take over São Paulo and establish "New

[241] Ibid., 16–17.
[242] Hélio Silva, *A Ameaça Vermelha: O Plano Cohen* (Porto Alegre: L&PM Editores, 1980).

Japan" in the Amazon. These fears were bolstered by publications featuring maps of Brazil menaced by Japanese soldiers and dragons.[243] As with the case of these Nazi flow charts, these rumors were meant to shorten the distance between local Japanese-Brazilians and the external threat from the Japanese Empire, thereby justifying the repression of Brazil's ethnic populations.

What is striking about the diagrams published in *O Punhal* is that the corporatist, totalizing vision that the flow charts construct—with Hitler at the center of all aspects of both German [*alemão*] and Germanic [*germânico*] private and public life—could easily have mirrored the idealized result of the political and social changes pursued by the *Estado Novo*. The fusion between the German State, its political party/parties, its labor organizations, the military, etc. and the executive (the Führer) that the DOPS painted as dangerous was in many ways the idea of society that underpinned *Estado Novo*'s reforms. It is this closeness to the structure of the German "reality" that makes the descriptions of Brazil and the Brazilian nation so important. In some ways, the essays in *O Punhal* present Brazil as a mirror image of the Nazi state: authoritarian, but to preserve democracy, repressive of minorities, but to ensure that these minorities did not undermine Brazil's prejudice-free society.

The DOPS effort to educate the Brazilian public about the nature and scale of the Nazi menace went beyond published materials like *O Punhal*. In a remarkable effort, the DOPS organized and hosted a public exhibition of so-called "Nazi Propaganda" in Florianopolis, the capital city of Santa Catarina. Opening in August of 1942—the same month that Brazil declared war on the Axis—the exhibit reportedly attracted thousands of spectators from all over Brazil. Once inside, visitors saw hundreds of artifacts of "Nazi

[243] Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*, 134–137.

propaganda material" that the DOPS had gathered during the five years of the nationalization campaign. According to coverage in Rio de Janeiro's *A Noite* newspaper, the collection included at least one example of every genre of propaganda, including "documents, symbols, flags, labels, etc." In a taxonomic coup, the DOPS had kept one example of each piece of propaganda for indexing purposes, and destroyed all duplicates—reportedly amounting to 18 large trucks' worth.[244]

As a photo of one of the exhibition demonstrates, the DOPS curators (if one can call them that) did not attempt to differentiate between the artifacts in order to construct an interpretive narrative for visitors (figure 2.3). Instead, these items were on display so viewers could see for themselves the dangerous national "other" in its facets. While swastikas and pictures of Adolph Hitler featured prominently, even in the mediocre quality of the photo, objects with less clear connections to National Socialism such as a dagger were also portrayed as subversive. Books and other printed material—presumably in the German language and thus illegible to the DOPS's idealized Brazilian public—were marginalized within the exhibit, squirreled under the display cases. According to *A Noite* this print material amounted to "children's' books with Nazi or German racist propaganda and schoolbooks in German" that the government had confiscated in the process of nationalizing education, as well as "books of properly Nazi propaganda [*propriamente dita*] and racial publicity [*divulgação racial*]." In its secondary role, the printed material indicted the German language as a marker of danger, but only in the most general way possible: possible sites of "propaganda noxious to national interests."[245]

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[244] "Material da Propaganda Nazista," *A Noite*, Aug. 14, 1942.
[245] *Ibid*.

Figure 2.3: Display of confiscated "Nazi" propaganda[246]

Although the documentation on the exposition in Santa Catarina is sparse, what does emerge again is the notion that the DOPS's didactic materials presented Germanness—as a national, linguistic, ethnic, and even notional category—as dangerous. This assertion is strengthened by another photo from the same file in the DOPS/RJ archive. Not specifically of the Santa Catarina event, figure 2.4 shows the "apprehended material" from the house of Friederich.[247] The stylized *mise-en-scène* leaves no doubt that DOPS agents arranged the articles specifically to be photographed and/or displayed, a practice common across the various political police organizations in Brazil at the time. Fernanda Torres Magalhães has referred to this practice as the "theatricalization of an imaginary," meant to conjure up suspicion in the eyes of any observer, DOPS or otherwise.[248]

Figure 2.4: Material confiscated from Frederich Kempter[249]

The notions of dangerous Germanness that filled the DOPS agents' imaginary are clear to see among Friederich Kempter's effects. Some objects such as portraits of Hitler and other swastika-clad bodies clearly evoked the Nazi specter. Others like typewriters and cameras only became sinister when DOPS agents placed them in a specific context. That the two flags in the photo were in fact imperial Prussian flags (not Third Reich or even Weimar-era) either escaped the DOPS investigators or, more likely, still served their

[246] "Photo 12," Pol Pol -- Alemão -- 20, APERJ. Image removed due to lack of copyright permission.
[247] According to the document, Kempter lived on Rua Monte Alegre, which likely refers to the street in the Santa Teresa neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro.
[248] Magalhães, *O Suspeito Através Das Lentes*, 128.
[249] "Photo 41," Pol Pol -- Alemão -- 20, APERJ. Image removed due to lack of copyright permission.

intended purpose. In the imaginary manifested in this display, all things recognizably "German" represented a threat. Such public spectacles constructed a visible, easily recognized national "other" whose historical presence within Brazil was manifest by the displays themselves. For this reason, even if DOPS agents did discriminate between German national and German ethnic identities, the displays served their purposes to present them as one and the same. The German-language books, pictures of the Führer, flags, typewriters, and radios on display became symptomatic of the failure of pre-*Estado Novo* governments to nationalize these domestic strangers. Marking these items as inherently un-Brazilian, the DOPS helped to solve the pre-1930s problem of Brazil's inchoate national identity.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the highly contextual and uneven ways that the DOPS understood one of the most important objects of its repressive mission: de-nationalizing influences. It argued that German nationals, Brazilians of German descent, and the institutions they frequented held a unique place within the poorly-defined category of de-nationalizing influences. They were imagined as possible nodes of Nazi influence and racial thought, which represented an inherent challenge to the *Estado Novo*'s official, assimilationist version of Brazilian identity. However, as archival material reveals, the DOPS lacked a single, unified "logic of suspicion" with regard to Germans. Agents used a host of interpretive strategies and markers to present individuals and institutions as German in "good" or "bad" valences in the *Delegacia*'s internal documents.

This imbedded and contingent judgment contrasted starkly with the DOPS's public, didactic materials. In these books and exhibitions, the DOPS attempted to conjure a concrete and easily understood image of a menacing national "other." What was at stake in these representations was not whether "German" things or people were good or bad, but rather whether they were Brazilian or not. In a political and social context of nationalization, that which was judged fundamentally not Brazilian became dangerous. The books and exhibitions helped demonstrate to the public what *was* and *was not* Brazilian in the governments' eyes. It also enforced the notion that the DOPS and the *Estado Novo* more broadly were the protectors—even the saviors—of the nation from such outside influences.

While the lasting effects of the nationalization campaign on German-Brazilian individuals is difficult to judge, the marginalization or even erasure of Germanness from the public sphere during and following the *Estado Novo* was evident. Many German-Brazilian institutions never reopened after Vargas fell in 1945 and those that did frequently sought to "Brazilianize" their activities. In Rio Grande do Sul the image of the *gaúcho* came to eclipse that of the immigrant as the core of the state's vaunted identity. As Ruben Oliven points out, the second Center of Gaúcho Traditionalism (a regionalist movement that eventually encompassed thousands of centers world-wide) was founded in a zone of German colonization. He asserts this was a local attempt to play down a marker of cultural difference (German ethnicity) in favor of a set of signs and symbols that denoted regional and therefore national belonging (*gaúcho* identity).[250] The blunt

[250] Ruben George Oliven, *Tradition Matters: Modern Gaúcho Identity in Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 64–66.

tools that the DOPS and other agents of the nationalization campaign had deployed had succeeded in re-casting, if not eliminating, German ethnic identities in Brazil.

Chapter 3
Hungering to Help: Ethnic Strategies and the Reemergence of Ethic Identities in Post-War Brazil

"The weather couldn't have been better," Father Rambo reflected in his diary after a long day of eating and drinking; "especially because the heat helped increase the beer consumption." Porto Alegre's so-called *Volksfest des Deutschtums* (popular/folk festival of Germanness) had clearly been a success. An estimated six thousand people attended and consumed over 2,500 liters of beer, four barbequed cows, countless sausages, cakes, candies, and shots of schnapps. One reveler told Father Rambo it would take two weeks without alcohol just for his hangover to pass. Many attendees spoke German openly amongst themselves. "The atmosphere was excellent," Rambo summed up.[251] Best of all, most of the 300 *contos* the festival had raised would be a "clean profit," since the food, drink, and raffle prizes had been donated.[252] This princely sum would go a long way toward defraying the cost of the tenth and final shipment of relief aid from Brazil to Germany. It was May of 1949 and the work of the *Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta* (The Committee for Aid to Hungering Europe) was coming to a close.[253]

As Father Rambo and the other participants in the *Volksfest* were aware, such an event would have been inconceivable just a few years earlier. The *Estado Novo* regime had sought to control people it deemed "bad Brazilians," which included those whose expressions of ethnic identities were incompatible with an idealized Brazilian identity.[254]

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[251] Arthur Balduino Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," May 1, 1949, 1.5.1.1 AR-76, Acervo Documental e de Pesquisa - Memorial Jesuíta - Biblioteca - Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos/UNISINOS.
[252] Approximately US$170,000 as of Nov. 1, 2012. Fundação de Economia e Estatística Siegfried Emanuel Heuser, http://www.fee.tche.br/sitefee/pt/content/servicos/pg_atualizacao_valores.php.
[253] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Allgemeiner Tätigkeitsbericht," n.d., 4, g I a, no 55, Martius Staden Institut.
[254] For examples of the Estado Novo's political police using this language, see "Reloatorio: Protestas Populares Contra O Poder Do Eixe," n.d., Pol Pol -- Alemão -- 3; For its use in the press, see "Grave

The regime shuttered schools, churches, newspapers, and associations linked to Brazil's many immigrant groups and prohibited speaking languages other than Portuguese in public.[255] However, even prior to the so-called nationalization campaign, such a folk festival aimed at and open to the whole of *gaúcho* society would have also been hard to imagine.[256] Catholic and Protestant, German-speaking and Lusophone, male and female, clinking beers and eating sausage together in a self-styled celebration of Germanness would have been strikingly dissonant.

In this chapter I analyze the *Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta* (SEF) as representing a post-*Estado Novo* way of being ethnic, and thus a new way of being Brazilian. The SEF's successes, epitomized by the *Volksfest*, were due to its organizers' strategies. The organizers developed multiple discourses that adopted narratives from the Brazilian public sphere—situating the SEF and its supporters firmly within the nation—while also advocating a novel configuration of Germanness. This new Germanness left little room for the confessional cleavages that had divided the German-Brazilian community prior to the *Estado Novo*. It borrowed and resignified the homogenized, imagined German (*alemão*) that the nationalization campaign had taken as its target. In this way, the SEF helped to reconfigure ideas of both Brazilian citizenship and German identity during Brazil's democratization.

Ocorrencia Na Imprensa Nacional," *Diário de Notícias*, August 29, 1942; For a study of the state's construction of "good" and "bad" Brazilians using the radio, see Andréa Sanhudo Torres, *Imprensa : Política E Cidadania*, Coleção História (Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 1999).

[255] For the nationalization campaign in Brazil's south, see Gertz, *O Estado Novo No Rio Grande Do Sul*, 144–178.; Telmo Lauro Müller, ed., *Nacionalização E Imigração Alemã* (São Leopoldo: Editora UNISINOS, 1994); Cynthia Machado Campos, *A Política Da Língua Na Era Vargas : Proibição Do Falar Alemão E Resistências No Sul Do Brasil* (Campinas: Ed. de Unicamp, 2006); Méri Frotscher, *Identidades Móveis : Práticas E Discursos Das Elites de Blumenau (1929 - 1950)* (Blumenau: Edifurb, 2007); Cláudia Mara Sganzerla, *A Lei Do Silêncio : Repressão E Nacionalização No Estado Novo Em Guaporé (1937 - 1945)* (Passo Fundo: UPF Editora, 2001), chap. 8–10.

[256] For descriptions of the 1924 celebrations of the German immigration's centenary, see Weber, *As Comemorações Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: O "25 de Julho" Em São Leopoldo, 1924-1949*, 33–51.

After the Fall

Toward the end of World War II, the *Estado Novo* faced a rising tide of dissent against the regime's censorship and Vargas's monopolization of power in the Executive. Vargas had used Brazil's participation in the war as reason to postpone the plebiscite initially scheduled for November 1943, as outlined in the 1937 constitution. This prompted a group of intellectuals and politicians from Minas Gerais to circulate a manifesto in favor of redemocratization.[257] As the war wound down, some of the military elite including Minister of War and future president General Eurico Gaspar Dutra, saw support for the *status quo* eroding within the ranks.[258] The country had sent more than 25,000 soldiers on the side of the Allies to fight authoritarianism in Italy, while at home Brazilians lived without elections or guaranteed civil rights. Internationally, tolerance for non-democratic states, even those helping the allied war effort, was beginning to erode. The United States and others began to push ever so gently for an end to the Vargas dictatorship.[259]

In May 1945, Vargas announced that long-promised elections would be held on December 2 of that year. Political parties, formally prohibited since 1937, emerged across the political spectrum and most formally enshrined the principles of freedom of thought, organization, and religion in their platforms.[260] Though he did not present himself as a candidate in the presidential elections, Vargas did play a dominant role in the emerging political system. He even served as president of two of the three main parties.

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[257] Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964*, 48.
[258] Bethell, "Politics in Brazil Under Vargas, 1930–1945," 71–72.
[259] On the role of U.S. ambassador Adolf Berle Jr. in the democratization process, see Stanley Eon Hilton, *O Ditador & O Embaixador : Getúlio Vargas, Adolf Berle Jr E a Queda Do Estado Novo* (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Record, 1987).
[260] The full text of the various party platforms can be found in Vamireh Chacon, *História Dos Partidos Brasileiros : Discurso E Praxis Dos Seus Programas*, 2nd ed., Coleção Temas Brasileiros (Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1985).

However, by October of 1945, the military elite led by General Dutra and then Minister of War, Góes Monteiro—now seeing themselves as the "guarantors of democracy"—removed Vargas from power on the basis of his parties' overtures to the Communists and rumors that Vargas might attempt to postpone elections further.[261]

Following Vargas's removal in October 1945, Brazil continued down the road of democratization, leading to the election of President Gaspar Dutra in December 1945.[262] The promulgation of a new constitution in September 1946—Brazil's fourth since becoming a republic in 1889—in part dismantled the edifice of the authoritarian state. For the first time in eight years, the law provided explicit protection for Brazilians' civil liberties.[263] Though the nationalization campaign officially came to an end, many of the laws underpinning it remained. For example, Portuguese remained the obligatory language of instruction in Brazil's schools, regardless of their affiliation. Similarly, while some of the repressive capacities of the state were dismantled, the political police remained an important arm of government control. Rather than target ethnic groups, the political police turned their attention toward the "red threat" that defined the Cold War.[264] For immigrants and their descendants this meant—at least in principle—a re-opening of spaces for community life and ethnic identification. However, the nature of that identification would be different than before the war.

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[261] Leslie Bethell, "Brazil," in *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944-1948*, ed. Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 51.

[262] On the emergence of working class political action in the post-Estado Novo, see Paulo Fontes, *Um nordeste em São Paulo : trabalhadores migrantes em São Miguel Paulista (1945-66)* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2008), chap. 4; and Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil*, chap. 8.

[263] Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964*, 62–71.

[264] The literature on the political police in the post-war period is vast. Good overviews include Maria Aparecida de Aquino, Marco Aurélio Vannucchi Leme de Mattos, and Walter Cruz Swensson, *No coração das trevas: o DEOPS/SP visto por dentro* (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado, 2001); Ayrton Maciel, *A História Secreta : (prontuários Do DOPs)* (Recife: Ed. Bagaço, 2000); and Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, *DOPS*; One specific study of anti-Communist activity can be found in Oliver Dinius, "Defending Ordem against Progresso: The Brazilian Political Police and Industrial Labor Control," in *Vargas and Brazil: New Perspectives*, ed. Jens R Hentschke (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Having sought to control public expressions of difference for over seven years, the *Estado Novo* had in effect closed certain doors and opened others. The Shindo Renmei, a secret society founded by retired Japanese veterans, initially emerged in 1945 "to maintain a permanent Japanized space in Brazil through the preservation of language, culture, and religion…"[265] However, their hope for space on their own terms *within* post-war Brazilian society was quickly frustrated. The group grew to over 50,000 members and radicalized. Fanatical members denied reports that Japan's emperor had surrendered to Allied forces and engaged in violent crime and even murder. Japanese-Brazilians not aligned with the Shindo Renmei perceived them as a threat to the community and quickly joined forces with government officials to eliminate the movement.[266] Though the nationalization campaign was officially over, Brazilians claiming hyphenated identities still had to prove their loyalties to Brazil by aligning themselves with the nation.

As anthropologist Giralda Seyferth maintains, and the case of Shindo Renmei suggests, the nationalization campaign succeeded in circumscribing the ability of immigrants and their descendants to claim Brazilianness in terms of citizenship *only*. That is to say, the campaign's demand for *cultural* and not just legal proof of Brazilianness hardened the boundaries of the nation. By explicitly rejecting the possibility of cultural difference rooted in immigration, the *Estado Novo* had paradoxically helped to forge minorities *within* the Brazilian nation.[267] The (re)emergence of German identities, as the following analysis will show, sheds light on this process in post-war Brazil.

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[265] Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*, 138.
[266] Ibid., 138–146.
[267] Seyferth, "Identidade Nacional, Diferenças Regionais, Integração Étnica E a Questão Imigratória No Brasil," 107.

Helping Hungry Europe

On April 7, 1946, only five months after the end of the *Estado Novo*, a letter arrived at the *Colégio Anchieta*, an elite Jesuit school in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul. The letter was from a Father Adelkamp to Father Pauquet, a German-born priest resident in Brazil since 1936.[268] Adelkamp was the head of the Swedish branch of *Caritas*, a federation of Catholic relief organizations that traced their roots to the Caritas-Comité founded in Freiburg, Germany in 1895. In his letter, Adelkamp made an appeal to his coreligionist for funds and goods to be used in the Swedish relief efforts for Germany (*schwedischen Hilfswerk für Deutschland*). The letter circulated among a group of German-speaking priests at the Anchieta, causing another Jesuit, Brazilian-born Father Balduino Rambo, to remark that Adelkamp's descriptions of the "need and hunger" in Germany brought him to tears, leaving him "wishing to send a million Cruzeiros himself."[269] Pauquet and Rambo resolved to take the appeal to the German-Brazilian community, both in the urban centers of Porto Alegre and São Leopoldo as well as in the agricultural "colonies" further inland.

As the Jesuits well knew, there would be many obstacles to a relief fund organized by the German-Brazilian community to benefit post-war Germany. The official end to the nationalization campaign had not meant the immediate reemergence of the ethnic institutions that had existed prior to 1937. The Brazilian government largely

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[268] Evandro Fernandes, "'S.O.S. Europa Faminta' Comitê de Socorro À Europa Faminta -- SEF" (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2005), 62.

[269] Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. April 8, 1946; For a good biographical sketch of Rambo, see Gerson Roberto Neumann, "A Muttersprache (língua Materna) Na Obra de Wilhelm Rotermund E Balduíno Rambo E a Construção de Uma Identitade Cultural Híbrida No Brasil" (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2000), 76–77n60.

retained control of schools and the Catholic Church remained reticent to grant permission for foreign-language sermons.[270] Local authorities left over from the *Estado Novo* and temporary *interventores* (Federally-appointed state governors) put in place by the custodian government of José Linhares made decisions on foreign-language press on a state-by-state basis.[271] For example, as late as November 1946, a full two months after the promulgation of the new constitution, police and state-controlled press authorities in Rio Grande do Sul remained vague as to when they would revoke the foreign-language ban—this even as state authorities in the states of Santa Catarina and Paraná had already done so.[272] Consequently, the legal and political environment for a German relief organization was murky at best.

Perhaps more challenging than the institutional hurdles were the continuing echoes of the nationalization campaign in Brazilian society. The campaign had framed suspicion of German-Brazilians not just in terms of their being in need of assimilation, but considered them possible proponents of an ideology that threatened the very core of Brazilianness. These misgivings about German migrants and their descendants did not evaporate overnight. Historian Méri Frotscher holds that in southern Brazil there remained a "consensus in the public sphere as to the necessity to continue investing in the 'integration' of immigrants' descendants into the Brazilian nation." In one striking example from August, 1946, the editor of the Blumenau magazine *O Vale do Itajaí*

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[270] The Catholic Church in Rio Grande do Sul famously supported the nationalization campaigns, particularly during the tenure of Archbishop João Becker (1870-1946). See Arthur Rabuske, "A Nacionalização e a Igreja Católica" in Müller, *Nacionalização E Imigração Alemã*; Arthur Blásio Rambo, "Dom João Becker, perfil de um bispo rio-grandense" in Martin Dreher, ed., *Populações Rio-Grandenses E Modelos de Igreja* (São Leopoldo: EST Edições, 1998); Artur Cesar Isaia, *Catolicismo E Autoritarismo No Rio Grande Do Sul* (Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 1998); Gertz, *O Aviador E O Carroceiro*, 89–123.

[271] The temporary ban on foreign-language press during the First World War ended in a similarly piecemeal fashion. Luebke, *Germans in Brazil*, 205.

[272] Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. November 18, 1946.

specifically chose to adapt the *Estado Novo*'s binary division of Brazilians into "good" and "bad" categories to the local context. A "mau blumenauense" (bad resident of Blumenau) spoke German in public, and a "blumenauense bom e honesto" (good, honest resident of Blumenau) spoke Portuguese.[273]

This delicate context makes the level of success that Jesuits Pauquet and Rambo enjoyed worthy of analysis. The resulting effort became the Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta (The Committee for Aid to Hungering Europe – SEF) and represented one of the first attempts—and certainly the most public—to reconstruct German community life in Rio Grande do Sul after the *Estado Novo*. Between April 1946 and June 1949 the SEF sent ten shipments of relief to Germany, consisting primarily of foodstuffs and clothing. The group's *Vorstand* [executive committee] came to compose an interconfessional group of secular and ordained elites from the German-Brazilian community.[274] Members of the *Vorstand* undertook multiple-week trips in German-Brazilian communities throughout the Brazilian south (Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná) and eventually spawned local outposts as far as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Donations in cash and in kind came from private citizens, church groups, and businesses, most (but not all) with connections along ethnic lines. In total, the SEF successfully sent goods weighing 4,200 tons and valued at 65 million Cruzeiros, roughly US$ 34.5 million today, the vast majority destined for Germany.[275]

The success of their organization came to depend on the skillful deployment of

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[273] Frotscher, *Identidades Móveis*, 199–200; Méri Frotscher, "The Nationalization Campaign and the Rewriting of History: The Case of Blumenau," in *German Diasporic Experiences: Identity, Migration, and Loss*, ed. Mathias Schulze et al. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008).

[274] For a summary of the SEF's activities, see Fernandes, "'S.O.S. Europa Faminta' Comitê de Socorro À Europa Faminta -- SEF."

[275] R$71 million in inflation-adjusted reais as of Sept 1, 2012. Fundação de Economia e Estatística Siegfried Emanuel Heuser, http://www.fee.tche.br/sitefee/pt/content/servicos/pg_atualizacao_valores.php.

multiple discourses that helped motivate local, national, and international support. By publicly adopting contemporary narratives of *brasilidade* while privately working to unite the German-Brazilian community as never before—across confessional and other boundaries—Rambo, Pauquet, and their hundreds of associates sought to guarantee German-Brazilian ethnicity a place in civil society. By making the SEF's activities appear more Brazilian, they were able to accomplish an ethnic goal, a goal that was, in effect, positing a new way of being Brazilian. Accordingly, the organization's activities help us to understand the broader workings of ethnicity in post-war Brazil

Figure 3.1 – SEF shipment being unloaded in in Göteburg, Sweden [276]

Helping Europe, Helping Ourselves

Once Pauquet and Rambo received permission to organize the relief effort from the Jesuit

[276] SEF – Bildarchiv über die Notlage in Deutschland: Versorgungsorganisationen, etc; Acervo Benno Menz. Image removed due to lack of copyright permission.

Provincial Superior (the leader of Jesuits in the ecclesiastical province), they made three related choices that would be key to the material success of their efforts. First, they decided to name their organization The Committee for Aid to Hungering Europe "so that one could work more easily among the Brazilians." Second, all of the donated goods would go specifically to aid Germany. Third, "the distributions of relief [would] go not only to Catholics, because we *needed* the local Protestants."[277] Each of these points deserves further analysis.

First, the Comité knew the situation in Europe was sufficiently explosive that shipped goods should never say Germany—they feared the dockworkers would steal or otherwise endanger the goods. Accordingly, the SEF left the destination off the crates (see figure 3.1).[278] But, how would the name "Aid to Hungering Europe" allow the organization to "work more easily" with Brazilians? The fact that the SEF's organizers were all German or German-Brazilian leaders in the community would have been well known.[279] Thus, the most obvious answer—that by not mentioning "Germany" the Jesuits hoped to avoid raising suspicions with the Brazilian authorities—is not sufficient. True, the various *Estado Novo* prohibitions on ethnic organizations were still in force in April 1946 and they could not risk reviving the specter of "Germans" resisting assimilation and remaining loyal only to Germany. It is also relevant that subtle name changing was an established strategy of skirting state intervention during the *Estado Novo*.[280] However, the question remains as to why Pauquet and Rambo chose to invoke "hungering Europe" when they could easily have silenced the geographical destination

[277] Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. April 9, 1946 My emphasis.
[278] Fernandes, "'S.O.S. Europa Faminta' Comitê de Socorro À Europa Faminta -- SEF," 101.
[279] Ibid., 152.
[280] See Cytrynowicz, "Beyond the State and Ideology: Immigration of the Jewish Community to Brazil, 1937-1945."

altogether and emphasized war victims, coreligionists/Christian duty, or another related image.

The first key lies in Brazilians' complex relationship with the imagined space of Europe. Historically, Brazilian intellectuals had seen the continent as the "source" of the Brazilian nation as well as an idealized future.[281] Though intellectuals of the *Estado Novo* period had sought to nuance Brazilians' inferiority complex vis à vis Europe, their own writings and official policies effectively doubled down on "whiteness" and "Europeanness" as superior qualities.[282] As late as September 1945, Vargas issued a decree-law demanding that policy "preserve and develop, in the ethnic composition of the population, the more desirable characteristics of its European ancestry."[283] The inversion of the traditional order of things—Brazil helping Europe—would have stood out to a national audience, particularly in the south where European migration had been strongest. Furthermore, the Jesuits were aligning themselves with the memory of Brazil's recent participation in the Second World War, framed as an effort to "save" Europe from the Axis powers.[284]

In a similar vein, the Jesuits' emphasis on hunger made very explicit the *type* of work the SEF would undertake (primarily food relief); the effort connected to a theme

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[281] On the "scientific" discourses that reinforced both Brazil's connection to Europe and Europe's "superiority," see Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics* particularly chapter 5; Thomas E. Skidmore, "Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870-1940," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); On the limits of the Europhilic discourse and immigration policy, see Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity* especially chapter 1.

[282] Two books produced in this period re-evaluated the role of non-European influences in Brazil (while at the same time re-affirming Brazil as a European society) are Freyre, *Casa-grande & Senzala*; and Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil.*; For an analysis of 1930s and 40s Europhilism in Estado Novo-era policy, see Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness : Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[283] Quoted in Skidmore Skidmore, *Black into White*, 199.

[284] Rosenheck identifies the "salvation" narrative as one of the three primary effects of Brazil's participation in World War II on Brazilian social and political realities. Uri Rosenheck, "Fighting for Home Abroad: Remembrance and Oblivion of World War II in Brazil" (Emory University, 2011), 303.

current within public discourse during the *Estado Novo*. Brazilian intellectuals had long seen poor nutritional hygiene as a root cause of Brazil's "backwardness."[285] One of the chief proponents of this theory, Pernambucan physician Josué de Castro, diagnosed the country's problems as "principally matters of nutrition."[286] He argued that if mixed-race Brazilians appeared to have a "mental 'deficit' and physical incapacities…[it was] not a disease of race, [but] a disease of hunger."[287] Anthropologist Arthur Ramos placed malnutrition on par with "domestic conflicts" and "emotional neglect" as primary reasons why Brazilian children did not realize their potential.[288] Ramos's ideas became official policy in the Vargas-era school reforms that Ramos himself designed.[289] As educators, Pauquet and Rambo would have been aware of Ramos's campaign. Thus, the Jesuits' emphasis on hunger evoked not only the horror of starvation but also a contemporary Brazilian preoccupation about the degenerative effects of malnutrition.

Seemingly paradoxically, with almost the same pen stroke that first recorded the SEF's name, Father Rambo recorded that he and Pauquet agreed all donations should be destined uniquely for Germany. The tension between "aid for hungering Europe" and "aid for Germany alone" is immediately recognizable when reading Rambo's diary, but he himself did not elaborate on the choice. Much more than simple chauvinism, this represents the beginnings of a multi-faceted rhetorical strategy that manifested itself both in Portuguese- as well as German-language publications. One goal was to build support among German immigrants and their descendants by guaranteeing their collaboration

[285] See Stanley E. Blake, *The Vigorous Core of Our Nationality: Race and Regional Identity in Northeastern Brazil* (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011); and Julyan G Peard, *Race, Place, and Medicine : The Idea of the Tropics in Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Medicine* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
[286] Josué de Castro, *Alimentação e raça.* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização brasileira, 1936), 38.
[287] Ibid., 89–90.
[288] Arthur Ramos, *A Aculturação Negra No Brasil* (São Paulo: Co. Ed. Nacional, 1942), 26.
[289] Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness*, 47–48.

would benefit the "alte *Heimat*" (old homeland)—emphasizing duty as members of a transnational ethnic community.[290] A second goal was to build support within plural, Brazilian society by characterizing the SEF's work as Christian and charitable—emphasizing duty as Christians and as members of a nation. Language served as a tool to deliver the appropriate message to each group; requests to support "alte Heimat" were made in German and appeals to Brazilians' Christian duty were published in Portuguese.

The dynamic relationship between these two becomes clearer in the third founding decision: that relief would be distributed interconfessionally in Germany "because [they] needed the local Protestants." Why did a relief organization founded by two Jesuits "need" the Protestants? One possibility is that Rambo and Pauquet simply followed the money; they realized that to receive backing from the Protestant leaders of business and industry in Porto Alegre, the SEF would have to aid Protestants as well as Catholics.,[291] While it is true Protestants were in the end responsible for the majority of donations, a purely financial answer is not sufficient.[292] Rather, I argue that the Jesuits sought to unite the German-Brazilian community across confessional lines precisely to immunize it against lingering suspicions about the their loyalties. During the *Estado Novo* (and after), the category *alemão* as used by the Brazilian state and many of its citizens contained few—if any—nuances that could not be mapped on a horizontal axis between extremes of good/bad or dangerous/safe (see chapter 2). The suppression of the

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[290] For a history of Heimat discourses and their cultural and political importance in Germany, see Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat: A German Dream : Reginal Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture 1890-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Oliver Geisler, Steffen Schröter Gunther Gebhard, ed., *Heimat* (Ann Arbor: Transcript Verlag, 2007); On the importance of memory in constructions of Heimat, see Friederike Eigler and Jens Kugele, *"Heimat": At the Intersection of Memory and Space* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); On ideas of Heimat in migration/diasporic contexts, see the essays in O'Donnell, Bridental, and Reagin, *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*.

[291] Roche, *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul*, 447–454; For a description of mid-century Protestant-led industry in Porto Alegre, see Fortes, *Nós Do Quarto Distrito*, 177–199.

[292] Fernandes, "'S.O.S. Europa Faminta' Comitê de Socorro À Europa Faminta -- SEF," 118.

intra-ethnic divisions that had been illegible to the state and some in Brazilian society brought the SEF's members into greater alignment with the grouping *alemão* that circulated outside the organization. Put differently, the SEF purposefully bridged religious dividing lines that for many had previously been more socially salient than ethnic identification.

One should not underestimate the significance of this call to ecumenicalism on the part of Pauquet and Rambo. Prior to the *Estado Novo*, confessional identity among German-Brazilians had often played a more central role in community than ethnicity and differing views even resulted in violence.[293] From agricultural settlement patterns to schooling to associational life, emigration to Brazil had not erased the religious solidarities at play in Germany's so-called *Kulturkampf*.[294] Unlike Imperial Germany, the Brazilian empire (1822-1889) remained an officially Catholic nation and Catholicism maintained its dominant role in national identity construction through the *Estado Novo*.[295] The nationalization campaign targeted the homogenized *alemão*—imagined to be Protestant—because Catholic heritage still formed part of Brazil's "mixed" identity. Furthermore, the close connections between some Protestant congregations in Brazil and various organizations in Nazi Germany fanned these flames.[296] For example, the absence of a Lutheran seminary in Brazil until after World War Two meant that pastors were

[293] On the anti-German riots in April 1917, see Luebke, *Germans in Brazil*, 119–146.
[294] For an interesting study of the Kulturkampf focusing on the exclusion of Catholics from official discourses of Germanness as well as their strategies to include themselves in the idealized German nation, see Rebecca Ayako Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany: The Catholic Struggle for Inclusion after Unification* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); For a treatment of the Kulturkampf's effects in southern Brazil, see Schulze, "Protestantismus Und Deutschtum in Rio Grande Do Sul (Brasilien) Am Beispiel Des Inspektionsberichts von Martin Braunschweig (1864 – 1908)."
[295] For example see Lesser, *Welcoming the Undesirables Brazil and the Jewish Question*, chap. 2–3; Freyre, *O Mundo Que O Português Criou* introduction.
[296] Gertz, *O Fascismo No Sul Do Brasil Germanismo, Nazismo, Integralismo*, 73–74; For more on the relationship between the Igreja Evangélica and pangermanist and National Socialist ideas, see Magalhães, *Pangermanismo E Nazismo*, chap. 5.

either German-born or German-trained.

The state's targeting of *o alemão* with little attention to internal divisions forced German-Brazilians to reckon with a homogenized identity based solely on national ancestry.[297] Giralda Seyferth describes the response to this indiscriminate repression as a "hardening" of ethnic boundaries based on national categories (i.e. German). After the *Estado Novo*, this hardening helped to make possible a new ground for solidarities—favoring certain characteristics over others.[298] Put another way, the experience of nationalization actually *strengthened* the importance of a shared "German origin" by reinforcing those identitary boundaries and not others (religion, class, etc.). Obviously various religious identities did not disappear overnight. However, the SEF's founding is a concrete and institutional example of a purposeful re-ordering of the relationships between (trans-national) ethnicity and national identity.[299]

These three examples—the choice of "hungering Europe," the sending of aid *only* to Germany, and the decision to be interconfessional—represent parts of a larger discursive strategy. The leaders of the SEF sought to appropriate narratives and typologies borrowed from their national context in order to (re)assert their status as *of* that context, in this case, the post-*Estado Novo* era of political liberalization and the re-enshrining of civil rights. The SEF therefore represented a form of ethnic or minority action that implicitly claimed similar rights and protections as other groups within the nation.

As an ethnic or minority strategy, this approach is not unique to Germans in

[297] Descendants of German-speakers from Austria and Switzerland were grouped in the category *alemão* for the purposes of the state.
[298] Seyferth, "A Identidade Teuto-Brasileira Numa Perspectiva Histórica."
[299] Lesser and Rein, "New Approaches to Ethnicity and Diaspora in Twentieth-Century Latin America," 30.

southern Brazil. Historian Carlos Meissner finds a similar appropriation among the German community in post-war Costa Rica. Following the German torpedoing of a Costa Rican ship that resulted in the deaths of twenty-four citizens, violent anti-German riots broke out on July 4, 1942. These events, the subsequent seizure of German-Costa Rican businesses, and the internment by the government of Rafael Calderón left the small community "scattered." However, after the country's civil war of 1948, a national narrative of "collective victimization" at the hands of Calderón—now cast as a dictator—took root among Costa Ricans. The German-Costa Rican community was quick to appropriate this narrative, claiming legitimacy within Costa Rica through what Meissner refers to as a "virtuous victimhood."[300] This repositioning allowed for a rehabilitation of the community and the emergence of a new form of trans-national German-Costa Rican identity.

Similarly, in her work on Arab-Argentine literatures, Christina Civantos posits that Arab-Argentine authors purposefully adopted the national(ist) and nostalgic discourses common in the increasingly xenophobic Argentina of the 1920s and 30s. The authors attempted "to create a more legitimate position for themselves as national subjects" by penning stories that dealt with the dominant questions of the time about immigration and assimilation.[301] Even in these texts, a subtle interrogation of those dominant discourses can be perceived. The narratives contain "disjunctures that on some level maintain a sense of alterity vis-à-vis [official] notions of national identity."[302]

The following two sections analyze the crafting of rhetorical strategies on the part

[300] Meissner, "A Resilient Elite: German Costa Ricans and the Second World War" particularly chatpers 6-8.
[301] Civantos, *Between Argentines and Arabs*, 185.
[302] Ibid.

of the SEF's leaders. The first section explores how, in dealing with Brazilian authorities, Pauquet and Rambo weighed the possible advantages and disadvantages of mobilizing certain discourses over others—which ones would emphasize their alterity and which would not. The second section looks at the concept of Germanness (*Deutschtum*) in SEF's dealings with members of the German-Brazilian community. Similar to the organization's interactions with the state and civil authorities, the treatment (or lack thereof) of Germanness was strategic: they aimed at spurring German-Brazilians to support the SEF on grounds of ethnic solidarity. The strategies employed (and the responses) shed light on ethnicity's workings in post-*Estado Novo* Brazil.

Evolution of a Strategy

Just a few months after the SEF's founding, the group had already been able to send two shipments totaling over 450 tons of food, clothing, and other goods to Germany via Sweden, thanks in large part to the support of many wealthy German-Brazilian businessmen. Industrialist A.J Renner contributed the first thirty *contos* as seed money—enough to sponsor nearly one-tenth of the 91-ton first shipment.[303] Despite early fundraising success, by the winter of 1946 the SEF had begun to run into problems. As the Comité prepared for its first "collection" trips into the interior of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, they perceived a reticence—even a fear—among German-Brazilians to participate. In July 1946, Father Rambo lamented that the community "bitterly need[ed]…German language printed materials," but "the printers [were] all cowards

[303] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Allgemeiner Tätigkeitsbericht," 1; For a profile of A.J. Renner, see Ernesto Pellanda, Ernesto Pellanda, *A. J. Renner : Um Capitão Da Indústria* (Pôrto Alegre: Of. Graf. da Livr. do Globo-Barcellos, Bertaso & Cia, 1944); For an analysis of the Renner company in mid-twentieth century Rio Grande do Sul, see Fortes, *Nós Do Quarto Distrito*, 177–199.

[*Angsthasen*]."[304] In August the *Vorstand* sent German-Brazilian community leaders private invitations—printed in Portuguese—to a meeting at the *Sociedade Ginástica Porto Alegre* (called the *Turnerbund* until it 1942 when it was forced to nationalize).[305] Of the 68 invitees, only ten attended the meeting, a "deplorable" result that the *Vorstand* attributed in part to anxiety about such a gathering.[306]

At the same time, the members of the *Vorstand* were dealt a double blow while attempting to prepare the third shipment. Firstly, the SEF suddenly had difficulty obtaining permission from the federal government to send foodstuffs to Germany. Secondly, and more significantly, they had been effectively denied a navicert (permission to move neutral cargo through a naval blockade). According to Rambo, the British government had placed novel restrictions on goods coming across the Atlantic: a limit of 150 tons of goods monthly could be specifically destined for occupied Germany, of which only 10% could be foodstuffs.[307] In the short term, this affected the donations already collected by the SEF, the vast majority of which (by weight) was beans, lentils, lard, tinned meat, and other consumables.[308] In the longer term, the monthly weight limit on goods entering Germany endangered the SEF's ability to collect donations from German-Brazilians with the promise that they would go exclusively to German-speaking

[304] "Balduino Rambo to P. Josef Belser, SJ," July 31, 1946, Acervo SEF -- Correspondencia, Acervo Benno Mentz.
[305] For an institutional history of the SOGIPA, see Haike Roselane Kleber Silva, *Sogipa : Uma Trajetória de 130 Anos ; Publicação Comemorativa* (Porto Alegre: Palloti, 1997).
[306] Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. August 15, 1946.
[307] While I could not find any evidence of such a prohibition in the National Archives of the UK, Rambo does mention the navicert issue in his private diary. However, other documents pertaining to Red Cross shipments from Brazil (likely SEF materials) attest to the British Government's attempts to control the allocation of foodstuffs. Specifically, in correspondence marked March 10, 1947, the Rice Division of the Ministry of Food in London requested that rice from Brazil be sent to East Asia rather than Europe on the grounds that it was a staple crop (and therefore more useful) in the East. See "Balduino Rambo and Enrique Pauquet to Cylon Rosa," August 12, 1946, Acervo SEF -- Governo -- Interventor Federal, Acervo Benno Mentz August 12, 1946. and "G.H. Stanwicks, Rice Division, to S. Sullivan, Supply Secretary," March 10, 1947, FO 371/66760, The National Archives of the UK.
[308] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Allgemeiner Tätigkeitsbericht," 5.

Europe.

In order to calm nerves and overcome legal and logistical limitations, the *Vorstand* set out to build a group of powerful advocates within governmental and ecclesiastical circles. Fathers Rambo and Pauquet resolved to write interim Federal *Interventor* for Rio Grande do Sul, Dr. Cylon Rosa, to ask for help with both the export permit and the local British consul. Knowing the continued patronage and protection of the Interventor would be integral to their present and future efforts, the priests wrote and re-wrote their letter. The different versions of the missive, produced over two days in August 1946, demonstrate how delicate they understood the matter to be. In particular, the fathers worked and re-worked a section of the letter asking for help obtaining a British navicert. Their rhetoric demonstrates the central strategy of appropriating dominant narratives, framing their efforts as Christian, but more importantly as Brazilian.

Presenting the navicert problem primarily as an intercultural issue, the fathers begin their request for assistance by praising the qualities of Brazilianness—presumably in comparison to Britishness. They wrote "the second issue is much graver than [the permission to export foodstuffs], as we know that the charitable and Christian heart of the Brazilian cannot deny alms, even to yesterday's war enemies."[309] Clearly appealing to Rosa's sense of patriotism, Pauquet and Rambo hoped to achieve two other, more subtle rhetorical positionings. As seen above, the German and German-Brazilian organizers of the SEF were constantly anxious about the public image of the Comité. In this passage, since the SEF is the provider/collector of the mentioned alms, those involved exemplify the "charitable and Christian heart of the Brazilian." Here they are invoking what Andréa

[309] This and the following citations come as marked from various drafts of "Balduino Rambo and Enrique Pauquet to Cylon Rosa" August 12 and 13, 1946.

Sanhudo Torres describes as "the legitimate Brazilian, created with moral and civic values, and unique love of country," an idealized citizen imagined during the *Estado Novo* but still very much at the heart of re-democratized Brazil.[310] The SEF's members functioned *as* Brazilians and helped renew that very Brazilianness through their international relief efforts—efforts that in turn preempted suspicions that they worked out of ethnic solidarity for Germany.

The second rhetorical positioning infers that the SEF can be a mechanism for re-integration of ethnic communities into the Brazilian nation. Referencing "yesterday's war enemies," the Jesuits may have been including also the descendants of Axis countries now living in Brazil. While Brazil had fought in Europe, the *Estado Novo* had also waged an internal war of sorts in the nationalization campaigns: "unassimilated" groups became the state's idealized (internal) enemy. Acting on what Pauquet and Rambo identify as the Christian and Brazilian virtue of forgiveness, then, would also imply the peaceful reintegration of these "war enemies" into the Brazilian nation.

The politically delicate nature of this rhetoric was not lost on the Jesuits. German-born Pauquet and Brazilian-born Rambo evidently felt that implied reference to "former enemies" was unwise. Having already corrected minor mistakes in the first draft and gone as far as signing the second, one of them later typed in German in block capitals: "THIS VERSION WAS NOT SENT DUE TO CONCERNS ABOUT THE SECOND PART," that is, the section dealing with the navicert. The third and final version, dated August 13, 1946, eliminates the reference to "war enemies," instead calling the recipients of SEF aid simply "the hungry." Perhaps the Jesuits were not completely confident in the efficacy of their own strategy at this point and chose to focus

[310] Torres, *Imprensa*, 232.

on the material need rather than its causes.

Other changes between the second and third versions of the letter to the Interventor carefully redact any mention of Germany. Initially the priests described aid being funneled exclusively to Germany (in violation of the new British rules) as a product of their subordination to Swedish *Caritas* and disinterested pride in their work:

> …everybody knows that the greatest misery reigns in Central Europe, especially in Germany and the countries occupied by the Russians. It is natural and just that we focus our main attention there; since Russian-occupied zones are impenetrable, we give complete freedom to our central headquarters in Sweden to send our donations wherever they think best…[The English government's demands] are impossible for two reasons: first, because we cannot give orders to our headquarters. Second, because it contradicts our concept of charity, liberty, and personal honor not to help those who need it most.

Had the government suspected (much less found out) that a "Germany only" policy lay at the foundation of the SEF, they might have rekindled accusations of disloyalty. Placing the responsibility for such decisions both logistically and morally on *Caritas* in Sweden was intended to preempt questions about the SEF's first two shipments as well as any further inquiries into the Comité's motives. Pauquet and Rambo, however, opted to change tactics, leaving out the "logical" argument for Germany as the final destination of SEF aid:

> [Complying with the British rules] is impossible for the following reasons: first, because we send everything globally to our headquarters in Sweden, giving them complete discretion, and only they can know where the need is greatest at any one moment. Second, it is not for us, a simple outpost of an international effort, to give orders to the headquarters. Third, because it contradicts our concept of charity, liberty, and personal honor to submit the alms of the Brazilian people to such limitations.

Here again we see an elimination of references to Germany and in its place a rhetorical positioning of the SEF and its supporters firmly within the Brazilian nation. In this final version, the SEF appears a powerless subsidiary of *Caritas* but also defiant before the honor-threatening British rules. Again, the edits between versions reposition the SEF's work to emphasize contributors' Brazilianness.

The boldest attempt to dispel any ambiguity of loyalties comes in the final draft, representing the SEF's work as analogous to the *Força Expedicionária Brasileira* (Brazilian Expeditionary Force – FEB), the contingent of 25,000 Brazilian soldiers who had just returned from fighting the Axis in Europe. While in previous versions, Pauquet and Rambo had compared the SEF and the FEB—claiming to be "a sort of Expeditionary Force of peace and reconciliation"—the final version doubles down on this comparison:

> Without vanity, we are a sort of Expeditionary Force of peace and Christian reconciliation; they who are impeding us in our action should be the first to accept our voluntary collaboration in the task of reconstructing the Mother of western culture, old Europe.

The Jesuits did not merely compare themselves favorably to newly-minted national heroes, but aligned themselves with the FEB's significance in contemporary public memory and political discourse. The historiography on the FEB suggests at least two possible intended effects of this comparison: one outward-looking and one inward-looking. First, narratives of FEB experience connected Brazil with Europe, suggesting that the soldiers "did not really arrive 'there,' but rather, in a sense, came back to 'their sea' – their home."[311] Pauquet and Rambo were at pains to present the SEF as furthering this filial "coming home," but here, as elsewhere in the letter, they took care not to disaggregate the category "old Europe." For the soldiers of the FEB, the bond lay in the *latinidade* shared by Brazilians and Italians, based primarily in romance languages and Roman Catholicism.[312] Mention of ethnic or religious distinctions between Brazilians (i.e. German-Brazilian or not) or Europeans (Italian or German) would cloud the SEF's ability to take up the moral yoke of the FEB's mission abroad.

The second, more inward-looking strategy was an attempt to connect the SEF to

[311] Rosenheck, "Fighting for Home Abroad: Remembrance and Oblivion of World War II in Brazil," 104.
[312] Ibid., 109 as well as personal correspondence with Dr. Rosenheck; On the importance of the idea of Latinidade in Vargas-era representations of Brazil, see Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil*, 236–237.

the FEB's role in Brazil's return to civic life and participatory democracy. The "inextricable contradiction" of one dictatorship (the *Estado Novo*) sending troops to fight against dictatorships abroad was not lost on Brazilians, both elite and popular.[313] Brazilianist Stanley Hilton sees the FEB experience at the root of both General Gaspar Dutra's personal decision to call for an end to the Estado Novo as well as a generalized military support for an end to the Vargas regime.[314] Historian Uri Rosenheck asserts that public memory of the FEB in the immediate post-war period was "strongly inflected…with Brazilians' enthusiasm for participation in the civic life of their renewed democracy." This democracy "resulted from the dual fight for freedom and liberty that saved the world from Fascist and Nazi oppression and from Getúlio Vargas's domestic dictatorship."[315]

Comparing itself to the FEB, the SEF makes an implicit argument for the legality and importance of its own existence. As we have seen, the founding of the Comité came a mere five months after Vargas's removal from power; by August 1946 (time of this petition to the Interventor *Federal*), the promulgation of the post-*Estado Novo* constitution was still a month away. Thus "they who are impeding us in our action," are not only the British refusing to grant a navicert. Rather, "they" are also any who would thwart Brazil's return to democracy by stifling the rebirth of civil society organizations—ethnic or otherwise. Pauquet and Rambo situate the SEF at the intersection of national and civic *brasilidade*—at once the embodiment of "traditional" Brazilian qualities like

[313] Francisco Alves Ferraz, "Os Livros Didáticos E a Participação Brasileira Na Segunda Guerra Mundial," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 47, no. 1 (2010): 33.
[314] Stanley E. Hilton, "The Overthrow of Getúlio Vargas in 1945: Diplomatic Intervention, Defense of Democracy, or Political Retribution?," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 67, no. 1 (February 1, 1987): 1–37.
[315] Rosenheck, "Fighting for Home Abroad: Remembrance and Oblivion of World War II in Brazil," 286.

Christian charity and Europeanness and an example of liberal, democratic, and modern Brazil.

The Jesuits' discursive strategies paid large dividends in securing governmental support at the state and federal levels. Interventor Rosa became one of the organization's chief supporters, helping navigate the changing bureaucratic environment as well as advocating on the SEF's behalf with the British government. A testimony to his level of support is the Interventor's patience as the Comité struggled to understand just which federal authorities regulated their activities. Pauquet and Rambo's initial letter from August 13, 1946 had asked Rosa to intercede with Minister Moreira Sales of the *Conselho Nacional de Exportação* (the National Export Council). They then sent a second letter dated August 28 apologizing for their error and asking Rosa instead to contact Saboia Lima of the *Conselho Federal de Comercio Exterior* (the Federal Trade Council). Evidently, the Jesuits were again mistaken and on October 8—having already sent two telegraphs on behalf of the SEF—Rosa sent a third, this time to Finance Minister Gastão Vidigal who also sat on the Export Council. The government soon granted permission to ship foodstuffs abroad.[316] Rosa's support also paid dividends in the liberalization of regulations targeted at ethnic activity in Rio Grande do Sul. With his permission, the Comité printed a German-language flyer on November 29, 1946—the first sanctioned German-language publication in Rio Grande do Sul since 1941.[317]

The success of the Jesuits' strategy did not end with Interventor Rosa. Within the first nine months of its founding, the SEF counted among its defenders four Federal Deputies, the cardinals of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the Catholic archbishop of

[316] See various letters between the Comité and Interventor Rosa, as well as receipts of Rosa's telegrams to various ministries in (SEF – Governo – Interventor Federal – Acervo Benno Mentz)
[317] Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. November 17, 18, and 29, 1946.

Sweden, the Protestant Consistory of Geneva, and the Vatican. Former mayor of São Leopoldo and Brazilian trade representative in Berlin Guilherme Gaelzer Netto interceded on behalf of the SEF with the Bank of Brazil and various federal officials in Rio de Janeiro. Gelzer Netto also brokered a deal that avoided a possible rivalry between the SEF and the more-established Red Cross in Rio Grande do Sul—one that saw the two organizations working "hand in hand" and guaranteed the SEF a distribution network in Europe.[318] The Interventor of the state of Paraná sent letters to the state's mayors instructing them to aid Father Pauquet during his collection trips through the state.[319]

Given the piecemeal dismantling of the *Estado Novo* and liberalization of the nationalization laws in 1945/46, the support of the local and national officials was essential to the success of the SEF. By projecting the group's mission as a contemporary, post-war expression of fundamental Brazilian qualities, the Comité secured the necessary legal protections. Equally important to the SEF's mission, however, would be its fundraising abilities. To this end, the Comité felt it needed to achieve the seemingly opposite goal of uniting German-Brazilians along ethnic lines. The following section looks at the SEF's German-language strategies, positing that, just as in Portuguese, the experience of the *Estado Novo* and the immediate post-war context determined how the Comité tried to achieve its goals.

Speaking Volumes with Silence: Identity and Language

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[318] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Allgemeiner Tätigkeitsbericht," 2; Fernandes, "'S.O.S. Europa Faminta' Comitê de Socorro À Europa Faminta -- SEF," 121; During his time as trade representative between the Vargas regime and the Nazi Germany, Gaelzer Netto published a book aimed at attracting German investment to Brazil. See Guilherme Gaelzer Netto, *Brasil: O Estado Novo / Brasilien von Heute* (Berlin: Vincenz Sala, 1941).

[319] Oscar Borges, "Letter of Introduction for Henrique Pauquet," July 8, 1946, G III b, n. 88/994, Martius Staden Institut.

Es spricht die Dankbarkeit, "Gratitude speaks" read the November 1946 headline of the SEF's inaugural German-language publication—the first of its kind for five years in Rio Grande do Sul (see figure 3.2). Printed in gothic type, the fliers contained excerpts from hundreds of thank-you letters the SEF had received following the first two relief shipments sent in June and August, 1946. The letters came from organizations and individuals, priests and lay people. The inclusion of names and locations painted a personalized picture of heart-wrenching need and heart-warming gratitude. Elizabeth Gerhartz from Hamburg wrote the SEF's relief "came like a gift from heaven," while Josef Bahle from Paderborn said the donations had "given him back his faith in the [Christian] commandment of charity."[320] Some went into detail about gifts themselves, one saying "the lard was especially welcome as we did not have one more gram of fat." Others focused on the delight of children or the elderly at having their first full belly in months.

At the same time, menacing and persistent need loomed over the joyful descriptions of the relief packages' effects. One refugee at a displaced persons' camp lamented that "for sixteen months many have been sleeping in their own clothes…what is to become of them when it becomes cold? They don't even have a pair of socks."[321] An update from the head of the *Evangelisches Hilfswerk* painted the bleak picture in bellicose tones: "We are fighting a grim battle with adversity and chaos, and we must continue to fight on."[322]

[320] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Es Spricht Die Dankbarkeit," n.d., 2, G III b, n. 88/992, Martius Staden Institut.
[321] Ibid., 3.
[322] Ibid., 4.


„Es spricht die Dankbarkeit."

Figure 3.2: Es Spricht die Dankbarkeit[323]

Surprisingly for a flyer meant to raise the group's profile, the four-page document contained almost no specific message from the Comité. A short introduction explained the provenance of the letters:

> We are in the lucky position to be able to present confirmation of the first shipments' receipt to all the friends and helpers of the SEF. These confirmations come in the form of 102 official and private letters…Only by reading all of them can one get a general impression of these poor people's great joy and gratitude; here we have to suffice with a small selection.[324]

On the final page of the publication, the Comité included specifics of how, when, and where the first two shipments arrived, a description of the third shipment (embarked three weeks prior), and an on-the-ground update from the *Evangelisches Hilfswerk*. In all, the Comité contributed just 19 lines of text to the entire document—5% of the total. All other content came from German letters. Even privately in his diary, Father Rambo downplayed his role, saying the flyer "was written by gratitude, assembled by me, set by

[323] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Es Spricht Die Dankbarkeit."
[324] Ibid., 1.

Siegmann, and printed by Metzler."[325] However, since no text can write itself, the editorial choices in this and the SEF's other German-language communiqués (*Mitteilungen*, or *comunicados* in Portuguese) present fertile ground for analysis of the group's efforts to build support among the German-Brazilian community.

When the SEF published "Gratitude Speaks," the German-descendant population of Rio Grande do Sul numbered between 700,000-800,000, representing approximately 20% the state's population.[326] In the 1940 and 1950 censuses, 393,934 and 344,450 *gaúchos* reported speaking German at home, respectively.[327] That puts a conservative estimate of the state's German-speaking population around 8-10% of the state's total in 1946—a striking number. However, as sociolinguist Joshua Fishman has demonstrated in the case of German speakers in the United States, the self-reporting of language patterns can vary widely given political and cultural contexts. Fishman found that the number of Americans claiming German as a mother tongue declined 36% from 1940 to 1960, but spiked a full 93.6% in the decade from 1960 to 1970. According to Fishman, such fluctuations can only be understood in the context of popular ideas about Germans following the Second World War and what he terms the "ethnic revival" of the 1960s. Thus the numbers gathered during and soon after the *Estado Novo* may actually underrepresent the population of German-speakers present in Rio Grande do Sul.[328]

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[325] Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. Nov 18, 1946.

[326] Jean Roche suggests various strategies for estimating the German-Brazilian population and suggest the 1950 figure could be as low as 740,000 and as high as 900,000. See Roche, *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul*, 133–142.

[327] Walter Koch, "Gegenwärtiger Stand Der Deutschen Sprache Im Brasilianischen Gliedstaat Rio Grande Do Sul," in *Deutsch in Der Begegnung Mit Anderen Sprachen*, ed. Kloss et al. (Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache Forschungsberichte, 1974), 89.

[328] Joshua A. Fishman, "Demographic and Institutional Indicators of German Language Maintenance in the United States, 1960-1980," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, vol. 1: Immigration, Language, Ethnicity (Philadelphia:

Because this flyer represented the re-initiation of German-language publishing in Rio Grande do Sul, it is tempting to conceive of its importance solely as a tool for information dissemination among non-Lusophone communities. However, that "Gratitude Speaks" does not actually describe the SEF's foundation or mission in any detail belies this notion: its readership presumably knew of the organization via Portuguese-language materials, community networks, or word of mouth. Consequently, together with the *Mitteilungen*, "Gratitude Speaks" is better understood as part of a larger vision that took publishing in the German language *per se* to be integral to the SEF's efforts. The early enthusiasm to print in a foreign language—pressing its goodwill with Interventor Rosa—supports this assertion.

Furthermore, as mentioned above in the discussion of the SEF's founding, there is no doubt that the Comité conceived of its work as part of a broader effort to revive ethnic identity. Writing in August, 1946 to the head of the local SEF committee in Porto Novo/Vila Peperi, [329] Father Rambo emphasized the novelty of the community boundaries that their work fostered. He remarked that the SEF had an "even deeper meaning" [einen tieferen Sinn] than relief work, one that would have lasting effects on German identity in southern Brazil. "Working together with the Protestants…successfully brought local *Deutschtum* together in a cooperative effort for the first time." [330] This cooperation had a regenerative power for a "people [*Volkstum*]…that suffered so many losses during the war," both internally and in

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University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 253–254; See also the essays in Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival* (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1985).

[329] Today, the municipality of Itapiranga, SC a relatively new colony of Germans and German-Brazilians at the extreme southeastern corner of Santa Catarina, just across the Uruguay River from Rio Grande do Sul.

[330] "Balduino Rambo to Egon Berger," August 14, 1946, Acervo SEF -- Correspondencia, Acervo Benno Mentz.

relationship to broader Brazilian society.

What advantage did the SEF see, then, in specifically *not* mentioning the ethnic identity of the SEF's founders, the overwhelming majority of its supporters, and the nation-specific targeting of its beneficiaries in its German-language materials? At first glance, the Comité's decision invites two possible interpretations: first, they found it expedient to simply recycle the content of their materials in Portuguese. Father Rambo, the principal but not the sole author of the SEF's publications, did often reuse sentences and even paragraphs from his other writings. For example, an untitled Portuguese-language flyer printed sometime between early June and late July 1947 borrowed lines word-for-word from the Comité's August 1946 letters to Interventor Rosa.[331] Similarly, *Mitteilungen* and *comunicados* tended to follow the same format (a numerical listing of important news, words of gratitude for the local committees, a renewed call for support, etc.) and echoed each other in their general content and tone.[332] However, direct translation between Portuguese and German was a rare exception.

The second possible interpretation is that the Comité decided to maintain its public persona as an ostensibly non-ethnic organization in response to (perceived) political and social pressure, even as it began to publish in a non-national language. Though few outside the German-Brazilian community would have been able to read the fliers, Rambo and others continued to worry about lingering hatred [*Völkerhass*] of Germans.[333] While such ethnic hatred is difficult to demonstrate, it is true that many in

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[331] "Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta -- SEF," n.d., G III b, n. 88/986, Martius Staden Institut.

[332] Compare "a tarefa principal e mais nobre do SEF sempre foi e sempre será a ajuda coletiva para o necessitado anônimo" and "unsere vornehmste Aufgabe ist die Hilfe für den Unbekannten." Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Comunicado n.5," n.d., Acervo SEF, Acervo Benno Mentz; and Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "6. Mitteilung," n.d., Acervo SEF, Acervo Benno Mentz.

[333] See Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. Aug. 7 and Dec. 7, 1946; "Balduino Rambo to Egon Berger," October 14, 1946, Acervo SEF -- Correspondencia, Acervo Benno Mentz.

Brazilian society continued to be suspicious of the country's ethnic groups—and the Germans and their descendants in particular—despite the country's recent transition to democracy. In his 1947 memoir, Infantry Captain Rui Alencar Nogueira recounted his time in Santa Catarina as part of the military police involved in the nationalization campaign. He wrote as if he had been sent to a foreign country on a patriotic mission. Remembering the campaign fondly, he admonished readers that the nationalization campaign "needs to be continued to benefit our progress and the grandeur of Brazil."[334] In a discourse before the Legislative Assembly of Rio Grande do Sul in 1947, German-Brazilian deputy Dr. Bruno Born warned his fellow deputies not to confuse the "genuine national sentiment of our peaceful *colonos*" with the "psychological paradigms…of a Nazi-fascist mentality."[335] Historian Méri Frotcher has found open calls for a renewal of the nationalization campaigns targeting German-Brazilian communities continued until at least March 1949 in such public forums as the glossy national weekly *O Cruseiro*.[336] Furthermore, some vestiges of the nationalization campaign such as restrictions on immigrant communities' schools remained law under following the 1946 constitution.[337] Consequently, the Comité would have understood the importance of treading lightly as they began to print in German, even if they did enjoy the government's blessing.

Still, neither of these interpretations addresses the SEF's strategies *within* the German-Brazilian community. The benefits of suppressing overtly ethnic language in "Gratitude Speaks" and the *Mitteilungen* become evident when seen as part of the SEF's

[334] Rui Alencar Nogueira, *Nacionalização do Vale do Itajaí* (Rio de Janeiro: Masurky, 1947), 137.
[335] Leopoldo Petry, ed., *O 25 de Julho (Dia Do Colono) Em 1946 E 1947* (São Leopoldo: Rotermund & Co., 1948), 22.
[336] Frotscher, *Identidades Móveis*, 202–205; The article in question is Rachel de Queiroz, "Olhos Azuis," *O Cruzeiro*, March 19, 1949.
[337] For an in-depth case study of the effects of these laws two immigrant community schools from different zones of colonization (German and Italian) in the pre- and post-Estado Novo period, see Hentschke, *Reconstructing the Brazilian Nation*, 380–415.

goals: they hoped to unite German-Brazilians as a single ethnic group behind a single ethnic cause—mutually reinforcing means to mutually reinforcing ends. To achieve this, they crafted an implicit appeal that (re)constructed the boundaries of ethnic solidarity along what they believed to be the broadest lines possible: language. Language itself would constitute boundaries, not the content of what was written. This represented a radical shift from the previously dominant identity discourses among German-Brazilians. More importantly, it suggests that the *Estado Novo*'s repression of ethnic groups, while failing to forge a homogenous Brazilian nation overnight, did leave ethnic elites with a discursive vacuum to fill. In an attempt to reassert their power to represent themselves, one possible strategy—and the one chosen by the SEF—was to appropriate the same categorization used by the nationalization campaign.

A closer look at the mechanics of this strategy helps to illustrate this point. As we have seen, "Gratitude Speaks" addresses its readers as an ethnic group only *elliptically*—as a German-language readership and as the implied recipients of the excerpted letters. The majority of the selections include dialogic, second-person references to the reader(s): "the clothing packets *you* sent"; "it is with great rejoicing that I tell *you*"; "I hope *you* will receive our deepest-felt thanks"; "can *you* imagine our joy?" Other passages emphasize a familial bond between SEF benefactors and beneficiaries. Widow Helene Fischer of Hamburg wrote "we accept these gifts as proof that the people of South America remember their *brothers* in Germany and accord them Christian charity in times of harsh adversity." Dr. Gerstenmaier of the *Evangelisches Hilfswerk* included the SEF's supporters in a "*brotherly* community of work, labor, sacrifice, and devotion in the

struggle against adversity and chaos."[338] Was this fraternal bond based in Germanness? In Christianity? In some sort of "human family?"

The same tones pervaded the *Mitteilungen* as well. In the first of the German-language communiqués—labeled number six in ordinal continuity with the Portuguese-language *comunicados* and published in February or March 1947—the Comité wrote that it wished "to construct a single, large emergency association/community [*Notgemeinschaft*] to save of our starving brothers whatever there is left to save."[339] The second *Mitteilung* (the seventh communiqué, published in May or June of the same year) echoed the language of community, equating the "friends and helpers of the SEF" to an "emergency community of suffering and aid" [*Notgemeinschaft des Leidens und des Helfens*]. In the same document, the SEF appealed to the reader(s): "Help us to help, so that our brothers might not die in hunger and despair."[340] Here too the nature of these bonds is not made explicit—that is to say, the basis for the familial relationship between benefactors and beneficiaries remains obscure.

When compared to the language of the *comunicados*, the vague picture of the ties that bind German-speaking SEF participants becomes even more significant. Of the seven Portuguese-language flyers that remain in the archive, family imagery appears only in two—the first of which, a fundraising "appeal to the great SEF family," was addressed exclusively to Brazilians.[341] The second instance explicitly restricts the familial ties to the idea of the Christian family: "Never in the history of humanity has such a catastrophe fallen upon our equals, children of the same Father, redeemed by the same Christ, travel

[338] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Es Spricht Die Dankbarkeit," 1–3 (my emphasis).
[339] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "6. Mitteilung."
[340] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "7. Mitteilung," n.d., Acervo SEF, Acervo Benno Mentz.
[341] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Comunicado N. 13," December 1948, Acervo SEF, Acervo Benno Mentz.

companions toward the same destination."[342] More common in the *comunicados* are references to national or religious categories, such as "the human and Christian generosity of our people" [*nosso povo*].[343] The presence of family imagery in the German and its relative absence in the Portuguese supports the assertion that the SEF conceived of its German-language publications as a tool to foment ethnic solidarity among its readership.

The avoidance of overtly ethnic vocabulary and in particular the complete absence of the concept of *Deutschtum* (Germanness) from all the SEF's printed materials signaled a sharp departure from pre-*Estado Novo* identity discourses. Prior to the nationalization campaign, German-language publications offered ethnic elites a public forum to craft identity discourses aimed at establishing and maintaining ethnic and community boundaries. In the German-Brazilian case, these discourses focused largely on the concept of *Deutschtum* (Germanness) or *Deutschbrasilianertum* (German-Brazilianness) and its qualities. In the words of historian René Gertz, *Deutschtum* as an ideology "defended the ethnic purity and religious and cultural identity of German immigrants and their descendants, it manifested itself against interethnic marriages, [and] defended the maintenance of [the German] language by means of formal and informal education and the cultivation of German customs through various institutions, including religious ones."[344]

Scholarship on the topic demonstrates that the many meanings of *Deutschtum*

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[342] "Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta -- SEF."
[343] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Comunicado N. 4," August 9, 1946, Acervo SEF, Acervo Benno Mentz.
[344] Rene Gertz, "Identidade Nacional E Etnias No Brasil Durante as Duas Guerras Mundiais," in *As Identidades No Tempo: Ensaios de Gênero, Etnia E Religião*, ed. Gilman Ventura da Silva, Maria Beatriz Nader, and Sebastião Pimentel Franco (Vitória: EDUFES, 2006), 70–71.

were fraught and constantly evolving, in particular as relates to religious and political cleavages within the German-Brazilian community.[345] The rise of the National Socialist government in Germany only made *Deutschtum* an even more political and fractured idea.[346] At the time of the *Estado Novo*'s prohibition of foreign language press in 1941, the ethnic discourse of *Deutschtum*, its nature, and how to preserve it were dominant themes among German-Brazilian elites.[347] In this, the German-Brazilian case is similar to other ethnic print cultures: ethnicity *per se* disproportionately preoccupied such publications both in Brazil and elsewhere. For example, a survey of 12,567 items from the French, German, Hispanic, and Jewish presses in the United States found that 95.9% of them contained a reference to ethnicity "per se."[348] Given this preoccupation with ethnicity, SEF's decision not to reference *Deutschtum* but instead to appeal implicitly to

[345] The literature on the different and competing discourses of Deutschtum/Germanidade in Brazil is truly vast. Some of the most important and innovative are Frederik Schulze, "O Discurso Protestante Sobre a Germanidade No Brasil: Observações Baseadas No Periódico Der Deutsche Ansiedler 1864-1908," *Espaço Plural* IX, no. 19 (2008): 21–28; Giralda Seyferth, "A Idéia de Cultura Teuto-Brasileira: Literatura, Identidade E Os Significados Da Etnicidade," *Horizontes Antropológicos* 10, no. 22 (July 2004): 149–97; Marionilde Dias Brepohl Magalhães, "Os Imigrantes Alemães E a Questão Da Cidadania," *Textos de Historia* 1, no. 2 (1993): 50–72; Gertz, *O Fascismo No Sul Do Brasil Germanismo, Nazismo, Integralismo*; Dreher, *Igreja e germanidade*; On the Weimar Republic's role in fomenting Deutschtum discourses in Latin America, see Stefan H Rinke, "Export Einer Politischen Kultur : Auslandsdeutsche in Lateinamerika Und Die Weimarer Republick," in *"Integration Und Transformation" : Ethnische Gemeinschaften, Staat Und Weltwirtschaft in Lateinamerika Seit Ca. 1850*, ed. Stefan Karlen and Andreas Wimmer (Stuttgart: Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1996); On the political and religious factions within German-language press, see Rene Gertz, "Imprensa E Imigração Alemã," in *Imigração E Imprensa*, ed. Martin Dreher, Arthur Blásio Rambo, and Marcos Tramontini (São Leopoldo: EST Edições, 2004); For Lusophone Brazilian intellectuals' understandings of Deutschtum/Germanidade, see Magalhães, *Pangermanismo E Nazismo*, 49–82.

[346] See Gertz, *O Fascismo No Sul Do Brasil Germanismo, Nazismo, Integralismo*, 80–105; For an example of rifts in community associations due to the Nazi's rise to power, see Haike Roselane Kleber Silva, *Entre O Amor Ao Brasil E Ao Modo de Ser Alemão : A História de Uma Liderança Étnica (1868 - 1950)* (São Paulo: Ed. Oikos, 2006), 198; A similar ideological fracturing can be observed among the Italian-language press in Brazil during the 1920s and 1930s. See Marcelo Cintra Souza, *A Imprensa Imigrante : Trajetória de Imprensa Das Comunidades Imigrantes Em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial, 2010), 63.

[347] For an overview of the growing importance in Deutschtum/Germanismo during the 1930s as an increasing worry for Brazilian elites, see Rene Gertz, "Cidadania E Nacionalidade: História E Conceitos de Uma Época," in *Nacionalização E Imigração Alemã*, ed. Telmo Lauro Müller (São Leopoldo: Editora Unisinos, 1994).

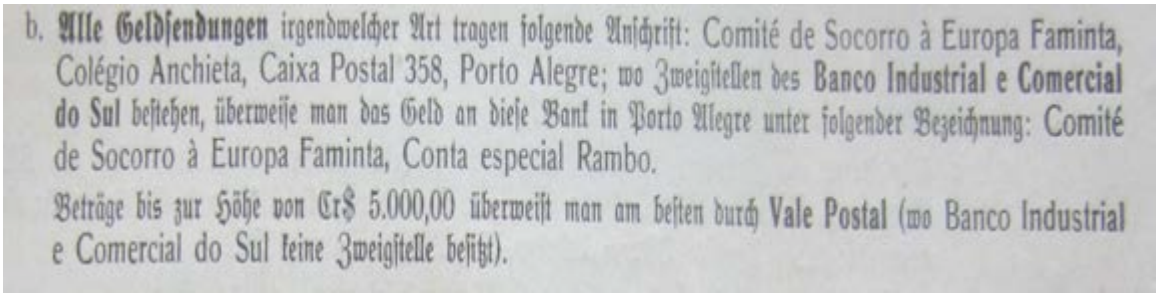
[348] Michael H. Gertner et al., "Language and Ethnicity in the Periodical Publications of Four American Ethnic Groups," in *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival: Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman et al. (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1985), 306.

all German speakers was a novel development.

One striking example of the SEF's assertion that German language and German identity were coterminous was its use of *fraktur* (gothic script or blackletter) for its publications. The typeset had been common in German printing since Gutenberg, a tradition manifested in Rambo's tendency to refer to it as "German letters."[349] Indeed, many German-language publishers in Brazil had imported the types (the metal letters used in printing) specifically to continue the custom. *Fraktur* and German-language print culture in southern Brazil were so intertwined that all three of the most important such newspapers, *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*, *Deutsche Post*, and *Deutsches Volksblatt*, used gothic script prior to 1941.

The typesetter of the *Mitteilungen* betrayed the strength of this association between German language and German-Brazilians in black and white. He set all of the German-language text in *fraktur*, while any and all content that referred specifically to the Lusophone (i.e. extra-ethnic) world appeared in roman type. Street names, addresses, the names of stores and institutions all appeared as they would in a Portuguese-language publication (figure 3.3). Even the group's Portuguese-language acronym—SEF—always appeared in roman font (figure 3.4). This inside/outside typographical differentiation adds a compelling visual component to the ethno-linguistic boundaries established by the SEF's implicit identity discourse.

[349] Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. Nov 18, 1946.


b. **Alle Geldsendungen** irgendwelcher Art tragen folgende Anschrift: Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, Colégio Anchieta, Caixa Postal 358, Porto Alegre; wo Zweigstellen des **Banco Industrial e Comercial do Sul** bestehen, überweise man das Geld an diese Bank in Porto Alegre unter folgender Bezeichnung: Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, Conta especial Rambo.

Beträge bis zur Höhe von Cr$ 5.000,00 überweist man am besten durch **Vale Postal** (wo Banco Industrial e Comercial do Sul keine Zweigstelle besitzt).

Figure 3.3: Addresses in Porto Alegre[350]

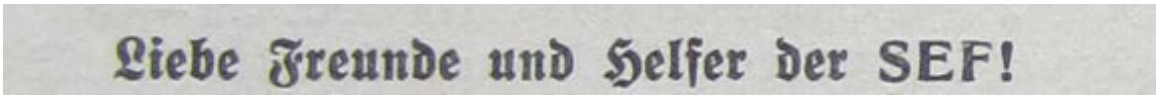

Liebe Freunde und Helfer der SEF!

Figure 3.4: Liebe Freunde und Helfer der SEF[351]

The positing of German-Brazilianness and German-language as coterminous grows out of the experience of the nationalization campaigns. Foreign languages were one of the most obvious targets of the campaign and the mark of "de-nationalization." According to Germanist Gerson Roberto Neumann, the *Estado Novo*'s targeting of language brought Father Rambo to describe its loss as equivalent to German-Brazilians "losing all of their cultural identity."[352] In a 1944 meditational letter, Rambo wrote to God of his anxiety about the future of German identity in Brazil, juxtaposing the image of an innocent baby's first words in its "mother tongue" [German] with the government's targeting of language.[353] Once the fears of overt state repression had passed, the SEF used its public platform to affirm the nationalization campaign's understanding of the boundaries of German-Brazilian ethnicity but illuminate it in an opposite (positive) light.

Here, R.B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller's concept of language *totemization* helps explain the Comité's echoing of the nationalization campaign. First,

[350] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "11. Mitteilung," June 1948, Acervo SEF, Acervo Benno Mentz.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Neumann, "A Muttersprache (língua Materna) Na Obra de Wilhelm Rotermund E Balduíno Rambo E a Construção de Uma Identitade Cultural Híbrida No Brasil," 110.
[353] Ibid., 85.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller note that the association of a language with a particular ethnic group is neither inevitable nor necessary for the emergence or survival of that group. However, once associated with a certain group, a language "can be made into an object, and given iconic status," that is to say, reified and totemized.[354] The nationalization campaign targeted "foreign" language as a totem for ethnic (read: "de-nationalized") groups, equating one with the other. As the authors point out, ethnic groups themselves can deploy totemization in self-defense: "members of a group who feel their cultural and political identity is threatened are likely to make particularly assertive claims about the social importance of maintaining or resurrecting 'their language.'"[355] In this way, the SEF employed the same strategy as the nationalization campaign—equating German language with German ethnicity—but instead in an attempt to (re)establish and protect ethnic boundaries.

John M. Nieto-Phillips finds that ethnic elites in New Mexico similarly totemized language during statehood talks beginning in the late 19th century. In Nieto-Phillips's view, the large Spanish-speaking population of the territory caused anxiety among Anglo-American elites due to negative associations between the Spanish language and national/racial stereotypes about Mexicans. Advocates of the emergent Spanish-American identity claimed their linguistic heritage predated—and therefore existed separately from—these contemporary political and racial realities. Their statement that they could be "'Spanish' in ethnic origin and 'American' in nationality" asserted that

[354] R. B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 236.
[355] Ibid.

those who spoke Spanish were indeed white.[356] By mobilizing a discourse that privileged language, New Mexicans negotiated a new form of being American. While this did help in the process of economic and political incorporation into the United States, in the longer term, Nieto-Phillips finds elite emphasis on language opened self-identified Spanish-Americans to suspicions of being a "cultural enclave." Anglo-American elites quickly dominated political life in New Mexico and understood the continued use of the Spanish language to be a result of Spanish-Americans' resistance to "incorporation" well into the mid-20th century.[357]

Conclusion

It is difficult to evaluate the success of the SEF's strategy. Their fortunes in the first few months after publishing "Gratitude Speaks" and the first *Mitteilungen* were mixed. The fourth shipment, shipped two months after the first German-language materials were printed, was among the smallest of the group's shipments.[358] In contrast to the immediate material results, however, Rambo noted in his diary on December 7, 1946, only a week after the flyer's publication, that interest had picked up. People had begun coming to the *Colégio Anchieta* for more information about the SEF. For Rambo, it was as if "all at once, the hatred of that which is German [had] blown away."[359] That wind also seemed to fill the SEF's sails. The size of the shipments grew exponentially, peaking in October 1947 with the seventh shipment, which carried over 1,000 tons of

[356] John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 92.
[357] Ibid., 174–175.
[358] As the Comité put it later, "in summer, other tasks hindered [their] collection efforts." Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Allgemeiner Tätigkeitsbericht," 3.
[359] Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. Dec. 7, 1946.

food and clothing—more than ten times the amount of the fourth shipment.[360] Whether this response was indeed due to their strategy's resonance is impossible to know.

The size of the SEF's material success becomes evident in comparison with a similar initiative in the United States. The Council of Relief Agencies Licensed for Operation in Germany (CRALOG) was a semi-official organization, endorsed by the U.S. government to coordinate the efforts of various private and religious charities. Unlike its better-known cousin, CARE, which sent its famous packages wherever need was identified, CRALOG dealt only with donations earmarked for Germany. In the period from 1946 to 1948, CRALOG shipped 40,000 tons of aid to Germany, while in the same period the SEF alone shipped 4,200 tons—this at a time when the U.S. economy was 48 times the size of the Brazilian.[361]

The comparison to the U.S. also suggests that the SEF's rhetorical strategy served to forestall any suspicion on the part of Brazilian authorities. According to political scientist Rachel McCleary, CRALOG existed specifically to deter "the formation of agencies by Germans in the United States who might seek to use relief aid for political ends."[362] Even in the wake of the nationalization campaign and the country's participation in World War II, Brazilian authorities did not share this need directly to oversee the SEF's efforts. Although Brazilians' worries about unassimilated populations and foreign infiltration had not dissipated entirely, the SEF's careful representation of its

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[360] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Allgemeiner Tätigkeitsbericht," 6.
[361] Gabriele Lingelbach, "Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe/Council of Relief Agencies Licensed for Operation in Germany," ed. Thomas Adam, *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History* (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2005), 259; Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Allgemeiner Tätigkeitsbericht," 5–7. Information on GDP taken from the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (http://www.ibge.gov.br/seculoxx/economia/contas_nacionais/contas_nacionais.shtm) and the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Economic Analysis (http://www.bea.gov/national/index.htm).
[362] Rachel M. McCleary, *Global Compassion: Private Voluntary Organizations and U.S. Foreign Policy since 1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 68.

work as profoundly Brazilian likely helped to avoid such government intervention.

Reflecting after the "folk festival of Germanness" in 1949, Rambo was doubtless struck by the success of the SEF and the way the Germans in Rio Grande do Sul had come together. Beyond the astounding amounts of material relief sent to "hungering Europe," the SEF and its supporters had come to occupy a place within the Brazilian nation that allowed for such open expressions of identity. Whether he understood that the interconfessional strategy he so fervently employed had helped to further a German-Brazilian identity based on "common origin" rather than language, religion, or economic activity, one cannot know.

That this trajectory would mean an increasingly complex relationship with West Germany and its "official" forms of Germanness is made evident by the SEF's insistence on using *fraktur* script ("German letters"). As famous German typographer Hans Peter Willberg writes, from 1933 the National Socialists had declared *fraktur* to be the official German way of writing. "All official printed matter, school textbooks, and newspapers were reset in *fraktur*."[363] Despite a complete change of course that mandated Roman script in 1941 (the Nazi government had decided it needed to print in "world type" in order to exercise its power more efficiently beyond the German-speaking world) *fraktur* remained associated with the Nazi regime. Its post-war life as a typesetting was relegated to "beer advertisements, hotel signs, and decorative rustic designs" but "as a vehicle of traditional writing [*fraktur* had] been spoiled permanently by the Nazis."[364] Its enthusiastic use by the SEF as an attempt to revive the written German word paradoxically served to distance German-Brazilian media from its German national

[363] Hans Peter Willberg, "Fraktur and Nationalism," in *Blackletter: Type and National Identity*, ed. Peter Bain and Paul Shaw (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 44.
[364] Ibid., 49.

analog.

The question remained, however, as Brazil distanced itself from the *Estado Novo* and more fully embraced civil rights during its "experiment in democracy" (1946-1964), how would the distinctly Brazilian boundaries of German ethnicity continue to change?[365] As Brazil began to question its myths of assimilation and of racial democracy, what spaces were closed or open to the descendants of Germans in southern Brazil? One clue to the consequences of Rambo's strategies lies in a pamphlet he published in July 1958 entitled "It is not yet too late!" In it, he laments the erosion of German culture in Brazil, the decline in German language learning, and the movement away from German-language church communities.[366] Perhaps Rambo himself had learned that the only two things unchanging about ethnic identities are claims to immutability and constant change.

[365] Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964*.
[366] Balduino Rambo, "Es Ist Noch Nicht Zu Spät!," July 25, 1958, G I b, no 338/5, Martius Staden Institut.

Chapter 4
Was will der Centro Cultural 25 de Julho de Porto Alegre?

"What does the 25th of July Cultural Center of Porto Alegre want?" This rhetorical question emblazoned a flyer circulating in Rio Grande do Sul in the spring of 1951. Though the text appeared in German, the preponderance of Portuguese in the headline—the deliberate decision to render it in Portuguese rather than use the Center's name in German—demonstrated that whatever the cultural center wanted, it was a Brazilian desire. The flyer announced a new organization aimed at "fostering the morals and customs our German forbearers handed down to us."[367] The flyer was noteworthy because it circulated openly and in the German language, something that scarcely five years earlier might have meant prison for those responsible. More strikingly, the founding of a German-Brazilian voluntary organization—part of a re-launched Federation of 25th of July Centers—so soon after the *Estado Novo* and the Second World War promised the Centro Cultural 25 de Julho (CC25J) would be a break with the immediate past. The subsequent appeal and successes of the CC25J demonstrate that it was also a break with an earlier past, diverging from pre-*Estado Novo* forms of German-Brazilian sociability, even as it espoused cultural maintenance as its core mission.

This chapter studies the CC25J on two levels. On the local level, this chapter traces the CC25J from its pre-war antecedents to its emergence as the most important German-Brazilian voluntary organization in the region. It identifies its founding members and weighs what their multiple and overlapping reasons for joining may have been. The Center's by-laws and initial promotional material shed light on its founders'

[367] "Was Will Der Centro Cultural 25 de Julho de Porto Alegre?," 1951, G I c, n. 2/2, Martius Staden Institut.

vision, while inscription cards for the Center's first 300 members offer a fine-grained view of individuals who decided to spend time and money to belong to the Center. This global view of the Center's founding members allows for speculation as to their personal reasons for belonging.

The chapter then looks at the CC25J's role in shaping West Germany's foreign cultural policy in Brazil, showing that while "what the CC25J wanted" was a Brazilian desire, it had local and international implications as well. Here I use diplomatic correspondence to argue that local articulations of German identities helped and hindered the Federal Republic's goals in Brazil. Prior to the *Estado Novo* and the Second World War, transatlantic economic and cultural ties had reinforced Germany's centrality in the emergence of diasporic German identities. After the fall of the National Socialists, former ambitions like fomenting German ethnic identities abroad were repudiated both by West Germany's new leadership and by governments throughout the West. The distinctly *Brazilian* sorts of Germanness promoted by the CC25J and its members complicated the West German government's desire to distance itself from its recent past.

Antecedents to the CC25J: *Federação 25 de Julho* and the SEF

Given the contentious post-war environment, many German-Brazilians distanced themselves from expressions of difference, hoping to assert an increasingly homogenous, imagined Brazilianness. The appellation *teuto-* increasingly gained purchase to refer to all people of German-speaking ancestry. It served to untether German-Brazilian identity from the German state and its problematic history.[368] However, for those who claimed a

[368] André Fabiano Voigt, "A Invenção Do Teuto-Brasileiro" (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2008), 11.

specifically German ethnic identity within post-war Brazilian society, the destruction of trans-Atlantic networks and the absence or scarcity of German state patronage caused a reorganization of priorities and solidarities.[369] Intra-ethnic or community cleavages that previously determined associational and public life had seemingly lost much of their salience.

The first German-Brazilian institution to emerge after the war exemplified this new unity: *Socorro à Europa Faminta* (Aid for Hungering Europe, SEF). Founded in mid-1946 by a group of German-Brazilian clerics and laypeople, the group inverted the traditional patron/client relationship with Germany, quickly becoming Brazil's most important relief organization. The group sent over 4,200 tons of goods—mainly foodstuffs—but also served as a clandestine ethnic organization.[370] Nowhere in the group's Portuguese-language materials did the terms "teuto," "Germany," or "Germans" appear. However, from the outset, its leaders conceived of *Socorro à Europa Faminta* as a form of German ethnic work (*Deutschtumsarbeit*), unlike any before seen in Brazil: cross-class, cross-confessional, and cross-citizenship (i.e. including both Brazilian-born ethnic Germans as well as migrants themselves).[371]

The material success of *Socorro à Europa Faminta* alone attests to the compelling nature of its message of unity among German-Brazilians. Their efforts brought in 65 million Cruzeiros (roughly US$34.5 million in today's dollars) in just over three years,

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[369] H. Glenn Penny, "Latin American Connections: Recent Work on German Interactions with Latin America," *Central European History* 46 (2013): 389.

[370] Comité de Socorro à Europa Faminta, "Allgemeiner Tätigkeitsbericht"; Fernandes, "'S.O.S. Europa Faminta' Comitê de Socorro À Europa Faminta -- SEF."

[371] On tensions between more recent German immigrants (Reichsdeutsche) and the established German-Brazilian community, see among others Stefan Rinke, "Auslandsdeutsche No Brasil (1918-1933): Nova Emigração E Mudança de Identidades," *Espaço Plural* IX, no. 19 (2008): 39–48.

even at a time when the Brazilian economy was 1/48 the size of the United States'.[372] Beyond fundraising within the community, the group was integral to the reemergence and acceptance of German identity in the public sphere. In November 1946, the SEF received the first permission to print German-language publications in Rio Grande do Sul since 1941.[373] By May of 1949, the atmosphere had changed enough to bring over 6,000 people together for the group's public *Volksfest des Deutschtums* fundraiser, the first German festival since the end of *Estado Novo*. If we can trust the sources, it was the first-ever German ethnic event specifically intended to attract Brazilians of all backgrounds.[374] The event also marked an inflection point for the SEF as its material purpose had largely become obsolete. This obsolescence was due in part to the United States' dominance in relief work and the improving situation in Europe, but also due to the increased availability of individual and commercial options to send goods to Germany.[375] However, documents in the SEF archive show that the Comité remained busy well into 1950 answering inquiries from German-Brazilians and others about private packages that did not reach their destination and other possibilities for sending aid.[376]

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[372] R$71 million in inflation-adjusted reais as of Sept 1, 2012. Fundação de Economia e Estatística Siegfried Emanuel Heuser, http://www.fee.tche.br/sitefee/pt/content/servicos/pg_atualizacao_valores.php.

[373] Rambo, "Diary of Balduino Rambo," sec. November 17, 18, and 29, 1946.

[374] For descriptions of the sectarian divisions in "German" festivals prior to the Estado Novo, see Weber, *As Comemorações Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul: O "25 de Julho" Em São Leopoldo, 1924-1949*, 33–51.

[375] On the dominance and geopolitical implications of U.S. relief efforts, see Karl-Ludwig Sommer, *Humanitäre Auslandshilfe als Brücke zu atlantischer Partnerschaft: CARE, CRALOG und die Entwicklung der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen nach Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Bremen: Selbstverl. des Staatsarchivs Bremen, 1999); For an example of the private initiatives, see the myriad private package options listed in Arthur Kornhuber, "Weihnachtsliste 1951: Wichtige Mitteilungen," n.d., 1.4.1.1; SEF-1, Acervo Documental e de Pesquisa - Memorial Jesuíta - Biblioteca - Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos/UNISINOS.

[376] See for example "Hugo J. Corsetti to Comité de Socorro À Europa Faminta," September 30, 1949, Acervo SEF -- Correspondencia, Acervo Benno Mentz; and "Deutscher Caritasverband to Comité de Socorro À Europa Faminta," January 17, 1950, Acervo SEF -- Correspondencia, Acervo Benno Mentz.

Toward the end of the SEF's activities, a discussion began among its most engaged volunteers about the best way to further the Comité's *Deutschtumsarbeit* in southern Brazil. Within a year, a group of them had resolved to revive the failed pre-*Estado Novo* 25th of July Federation in hopes accomplishing just that (see chapter 2). Writing years later, a SEF volunteer and future CC25J member wrote that the SEF's cross-confessional and cross-class nature had driven them to start something new. He recalled that

> …in one of the last SEF-meetings someone suggested starting a *Verein* that, together with the spirit of camaraderie that the SEF had inspired, would protect the customs and ways of the old German immigrants and further their cultural legacy.[377]

The resulting Federation sought to replicate the SEF's spirit on an ambitious scale reminiscent of the 1930s incarnation. Its leaders envisioned a loose federation of like-minded yet independent centers throughout the country, all rallying around the 25th of July as a symbol of German ethnic presence in Brazil.[378] Among the initial boosters of the Federation were again some of the most important figures in the German-Brazilian community (some of whom had been involved in the pre-war iteration): politicians Leopoldo Petry and Bruno Born, industrialist Otto Renner, publisher and author Fritz Rotermund, Jesuit and naturalist Father Balduino Rambo, and Professor Theo Kleine.

The Federation's first publication, "*Aufruf des provisorischen Vorstands*," (Call-to-action from the Provisional Executive Committee), revealed the founders' explicit and

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[377] Johann Siegmund Baldauf, "Die Entstehung Des 'Centro Cultural 25 de Julho' von Porto Alegre," n.d., General Collection, Centro Cultural 25 de Julho Institutional Archive. Given this document was printed using a word processor, makes indirect reference to the year of 1974, and Baldauf's advanced age (he was born in 1904) I estimate that this document was produced around 1980.

[378] In this aspect, the Federation resembled North American organizations such as the National German-American Alliance and the Deutsch-Amerikanische Bürgerbund. See Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, chap. 6; and "German-American Leadership Strategies between the World Wars" in Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: U of Illinois Press, 1999).

implicit motivations. The document, which circulated in 1951, made a case that the post-war realities in Brazil demanded a new sort of organization:

> Since the 25th of July of this year, the long-standing efforts to re-start German cultural life have undergone a felicitous transformation…the comforting knowledge that a general reawakening of Germanness [ein allgemeines Wiedererwachen des Deutschtums] testifies to the dawning of a new age…We recognize no difference between potential members, whether they are Brazilian of German descent [Stammes] or *Reichsdeutsche* or Austrians or Swiss…in this way, our work will not suffer as so many other associations did in the past...If our defined purpose—the conscious protection of German language and culture—were to fall away or become untrue, our efforts would lose their purpose…[379]

The *Aufruf* borrowed much from the spirit of the previous Federation, emphasizing it was not an organ of ethnic separatism or isolationism. Rather, it wanted "to protect and further citizenship and love of the Brazilian fatherland and its cultural values."[380] In the eyes of the provisional executive committee, one of these values was some level of cultural pluralism. The publication of the *Aufruf* in German demonstrates this. It also shows the enduring importance of the German language as a marker of German ethnicity.

The differences with the past lay in the new Federation's insistence on its role as both a preserver of its members' German heritage *and* an appropriate agent for the diffusion of Brazilian culture, language, and history—not just to its own members, but more broadly. The 25th of July's post-WWII incarnation, like its prewar predecessor, saw its goals as "the cultivation and diffusion of the language, customs, and traditions of its members for the maintenance of this cultural heritage, placed at the service of Brazil in pursuit of its [national] progress."[381] In the new formulation, members' cultural heritage appears as intrinsically both German and Brazilian. The promotion of "the study and use of the German and the Portuguese language" was not, as it had been in the pre-*Estado*

[379] Federação dos Centros Culturais 25 de Julho, "Mitteilungsblatt Nr 1: Aufruf Des Provisorischen Vorstandes," November 1951, G I c, n. 2/154, Martius Staden Institut.
[380] Ibid.
[381] "Estatutos Da Federação Dos Centros Culturais 25 de Julho," n.d., 3.

Novo Federation, targeted at helping non-Lusophone German-Brazilians assimilate. Instead, the mission to "spread and broaden the understanding of Brazilian and Rio Grande history in all of its cultural and economic aspects" appeared as an intrinsic part of German-Brazilian heritage.[382] Thus the word "culture" in the Federation's name did not refer to a restricted, diasporic notion of German culture whose "natural" location lay across the Atlantic. Instead, "culture" here meant a uniquely Brazilian (and even *gaúcho*) form of German identity, related to but fundamentally distinct from other notions of Germanness.

The assertion of such hyphenated identities had historically been anything but apolitical in Brazil. As with the pre-1938 organization, the new Federation's statutes strictly prohibited "any manifestations or discussions of a political or religious nature."[383] Whether the federation's leaders truly felt it was possible to re-organize the movement and be apolitical is hard to know; what is clear is that their public claim to be a purely cultural (*rein kulturel*) organization resonated profoundly among German-Brazilians. The movement's rapid growth in numbers and geographic dispersion attests to this. Within the first two years the Federation counted at least 18 member-centers. Some even served as official representatives of the German community at the centenary festivities of the state of Paraná.[384] Soon after its inception and throughout the 1950s and 60s, the new 25th of July Federation stood shoulder to shoulder with Brazil's most prominent institutions devoted to German (national) culture and identity, such as the German government-funded Goethe Institute and São Paulo's Hans Staden Institut.

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[382] Ibid., 4.
[383] Ibid.
[384] Federação dos Centros Culturais 25 de Julho, "Mitteilungsblatt Nr 4," March 1954, 8, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut.

Foundation of the CC25J of Porto Alegre

As the Federation was intended to serve as an umbrella organization encompassing various local institutions, a cornerstone of its efficacy and success would be the establishment of a vibrant cultural center in the region's most important city. With this goal in mind, a core group of boosters met in Porto Alegre to plan the founding of the city's representative of the Federation. The men met on August 7, 1951 at the *Associação de Caixeiros Viajantes* to elect a "provisional directorate" and set a schedule for the Center's official launch.[385] The location for the meeting would have been familiar to many in the city's German-Brazilian community as it was the site of two of Porto Alegre's oldest German-Brazilian voluntary associations: the *Musterreiter Club* and the *Deutscher Schützverein*. Founded in 1885 and 1876, respectively, both had come under government scrutiny during the nationalization campaign. Despite rebranding itself the *Sociedade de Tiro ao Alvo*, the *Schutzverein* was forced to close in 1942, conglomerating its membership with the former *Musterreiter Club*, newly-renamed *Associação de Caixeiros Viajantes*.[386] In the two months following the August election, the provisional directorate met five times in open sessions, adding new members and preparing for the group's first full meeting.

Invitations went out that September for the "first orderly General Assembly," to be held the evening of October 9, 1951, again at the *Associação de Caixeiros Viajantes*. As an incentive to turn up for the initial meeting, the provisional directorate offered the

[385] "Alguns Dados Sobre Sua Fundação E Seus Primeiros Anos de Existência, Extraidos Dos Livros de Atas de Sessões de Diretoria E Assembléias," n.d., Arquivo Centro Cultural 25 de Julho de Porto Alegre.
[386] Janice Zarpellon Mazo, "Associações Esportivas de Porto Alegre-RS, 1867-1941," in *Atlas Do Esporte No Rio Grande Do Sul*, ed. Janice Zarpellon Mazo and Alberto Reinaldo Reppold Filho (Porto Alegre: CREF2/RS, 2005), 88, http://www.cref2rs.org.br/atlas/cd/index.htm.

opportunity to "all those who apply before the assembly's opening" to become Founding Members of the *Centro*. This meant a voice in both the election of the first official directorate as well as the drafting of the Center's statutes—a particularly important document as these are legally binding in Brazil. The price of joining would be reasonable, just Cr$20 up front and Cr$10 in monthly dues. Compared to the Cr$5 Brazilians paid in December 1951 to buy the glossy weekly *O Cruzeiro* (similar to *Life* in the U.S.), these fees would not represent a high barrier to most possible members.[387]

At the core of the 25th of July's mission was the "fostering of the morals and customs our German forbearers handed down to us."[388] The following eight pillars represented the core manifestations of this mission:

1. Organizing yearly commemorations of the German immigration on the 25th of July
2. Holding worthy celebrations on the occasion of Brazilian national holidays
3. Christmas celebrations in the style and custom of our fathers/forbearers
4. Society evenings with presentations in Portuguese and German, musical and artistic offerings, choral singing, etc.
5. Fostering of the official Portuguese language, so that the [Center's] members are brought closer, so that it will not be only an obligatory language but also serve to broaden their affective lives. In order to reach this goal, we foresee language courses that also contain lessons and discussions of Brazilian history and literature.
6. Fostering of the German language (presentations, language courses, discussions of German literature and culture, literary evenings, etc.)
7. The establishment of a comprehensive library of German- and Portuguese-language [*landessprachiger*] books
8. Fomenting adolescents' interest in the 25th of July. Introducing young people to the necessity of knowing the naturally-demanded languages of their Brazilian fatherland as well as from their parents' house. Strengthening of their consciousness as Brazilian citizens.

While these goals broadly reflected the Federation's understanding of German-Brazilian culture as a profoundly Brazilian phenomenon, they also show that among the Porto Alegre group German high culture (in particular literature) remained a privileged pole of German identity. In the end, this vision proved appealing enough to attract 124 men and

[387] *O Cruzeiro*, December 29, 1951.
[388] "Was Will Der Centro Cultural 25 de Julho de Porto Alegre?"

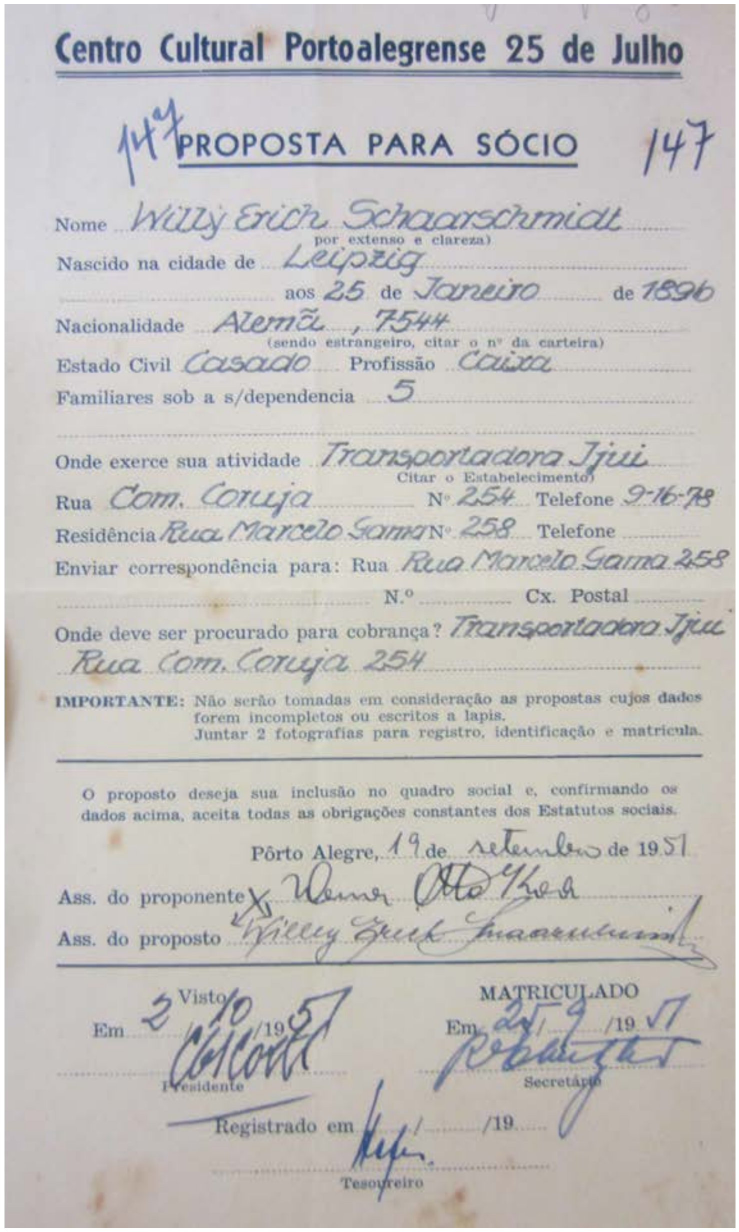
women that October evening, which brought the total number of founding members of the center to 302, of which 289 were men and 13 were women.[389]

Who were the Original Members?

Part of the registration process involved filling out a *proposta para sócio* (membership proposal) covering personal and professional details of the applicant, as well as the *bona fides* of a sponsor—though it appears the sponsorship process was a mere formality at the large initial meetings. Proposals required information on place of birth, citizenship, and profession but, in a demonstration of how irrelevant the matter had become in broader ideas of German-Brazilian identity and community, the forms did not inquire as to one's religious affiliation (see figure 4.1). The Center maintained these forms throughout its history, assigning each new member a sequential number. Today they number well into the thousands. The *fichas* represent a valuable tool to understand the contours of participation in ethnic organizations in post-war Brazil and offer a glimpse into German-Brazilian life in Rio Grande do Sul. The current volunteer director of the Centro Cultural 25 de Julho de Porto Alegre, Ms. Veronica Kühle, kindly offered me access to the Center's institutional archive (essentially a closet full of documents and memorabilia). Unfortunately, after two visits, the Center's administrator abruptly cut off access to the documentation. This meant I was unable to digitize the *fichas* beyond the 300 founding members; a global analysis of the Center's entire membership history remains tantalizingly within reach.

[389] "Alguns Dados Sobre Sua Fundação E Seus Primeiros Anos de Existência, Extraidos Dos Livros de Atas de Sessões de Diretoria E Assembléias."

Figure 4.1: Proposta Para Sócio do CC25J[390]



Centro Cultural Portoalegrense 25 de Julho

147 PROPOSTA PARA SÓCIO 147

Nome Willy Erich Schaarschmidt
(por extenso e clareza)

Nascido na cidade de Leipzig

aos 25 de Janeiro de 1896

Nacionalidade Alemã, 7544
(sendo estrangeiro, citar o nº da carteira)

Estado Civil Casado Profissão Caixa

Familiares sob a s/dependencia 5

Onde exerce sua atividade Transportadora Ijuí
(Citar o Estabelecimento)

Rua Com. Coruja Nº 254 Telefone 9-16-78

Residência Rua Marcelo Gama Nº 258 Telefone

Enviar correspondência para: Rua Rua Marcelo Gama 258

N.º Cx. Postal

Onde deve ser procurado para cobrança? Transportadora Ijuí Rua Com. Coruja 254

IMPORTANTE: Não serão tomadas em consideração as propostas cujos dados forem incompletos ou escritos a lapis.
Juntar 2 fotografias para registro, identificação e matricula.

O proposto deseja sua inclusão no quadro social e, confirmando os dados acima, aceita todas as obrigações constantes dos Estatutos sociais.

Pôrto Alegre, 19 de setembro de 1957

Ass. do proponente

Ass. do proposto

Visto
Em 2/10/1957
Presidente

MATRICULADO
Em 25/9/1957
Secretário

Registrado em / /19
Tesoureiro

Who were the first three hundred who answered the provisionary directorate's invitation to join a new German-Brazilian cultural association? What might have been their motivations for joining? On the aggregate, the membership was middle-aged (the average reported age was 43 ½ years), male, and professionally active. Individuals' ages

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[390] Arquivo Centro Cultural 25 de Julho de Porto Alegre

ranged widely, from 18 year-old Carlos Baur to Julius Diehl, who reported his age at an impressive 93 ½. Fully 58 of the members were 30 years old or younger. It bears mentioning that among the three hundred founding members of the CC25J only thirteen members were female. Of these, only Brunna Sohiella listed her marital status as *casada*; the others were either single (7), widowed (4), or did not list a marital status (1). In the aggregate, however, the vast majority of the founders were married: of the 296 members who provided information as to their marital status, 224 were married with another twelve divorced or widowed. This meant a large number of children became part of the *25 de Julho* community as well. All told, the three hundred members represented a community of at least 793 people.

As table 4.1 shows, the founding members were almost as likely to be foreign-born as Brazilian. The vast majority of the Brazilian-born members came from Rio Grande do Sul, with natives of Porto Alegre holding a plurality at fifty-five. Six other municipalities counted with a representation of five members or more. All told, the founders hailed from over thirty-three different gaúcho cities, towns, *vilas*, and *linhas*. Only five of the eleven non-gaúcho Brazilians hailed from Santa Catarina and Paraná, the other states with the largest German migrations. Among the foreign-born founders, no single city or region dominated. The only cities represented by three or more members were Hamburg (9), Berlin (7), Stuttgart (5), Leipzig (4), and Erfurt (3).

Table 4.1: Birthplaces of CC25J founding members[391]

Origin	# of Members
Brazilian-born	154
Rio Grande do Sul	143

[391] Arquivo Centro Cultural 25 de Julho de Porto Alegre

Porto Alegre	55
Santa Catarina	3
São Paulo	3
Paraná	2
Foreign-born	146
German-born (including Imperial territories lost after WWI and WWII)	133
"Volksdeutsche" (those born outside post-WWII Germany and Austria)[392]	16

Among those who listed dependents, the average CC25J household represented 3.5 people, far lower than the state average of 5.4 according to the 1950 census. Even looking solely at urban populations, the CC25J average still falls far short of the state's urban average household size of 4.9.[393] These figures demonstrate that the CC25J's members were indicative of two simultaneous demographic processes. First, these birth rates reflect the large presence of recent, urban immigrants among the CC25J's members. Scholarly estimates of German-Brazilian family size in the late 19th and early 20th centuries—when family agriculture was more dominant among German-Brazilian economic activity—ranged between 6 and 9 children per family.[394] The German-speaking immigrants that flocked in record numbers to southern Brazil's industrial centers in the 1920s and early 1930s tended to have much smaller families—a divergence seen well into the 1960s when rural family sizes among German-Brazilians far

[392] This number overlaps some with the previous category due to the former Imperial and Weimar German holdings in contemporary Poland (Silesia, Pomerania, East- and West-Prussia). Because they mostly reported their citizenship as "Brazilian" or "naturalized" it is impossible to know their citizenship at birth.
[393] Because the *fichas* do not specifically ask about the breakdown of the family unit but rather for "dependents," it is difficult to gain a clear picture of nuclear family size. While many members enumerated these (i.e. spouse and 3 children), others simply marked a number. Given the many inter-generational possibilities (*fichas* mentioning sisters/mothers/nieces as dependents were not uncommon), I have decided to retain the category "dependents."
[394] Magalhães, *Pangermanismo E Nazismo*, 21; Gertz, Rene, "Os Luteranos No Brasil," *Revista de História Regional* 6, no. 2 (2001): 22.

outstripped the local norms.[395] That only 4.1% of the original members listed a household of six or more (compared to 30.2% of sub-urban and rural households in Rio Grande do Sul) emphasizes the distance of members' day-to-day lives from rural ways of life.[396] This fact is particularly evocative given the importance of agriculture both literally and symbolically in German-Brazilian history and identity constructions.

Second, they also reflect the broader Brazilian patterns of rapid urbanization during the previous decades. Since the 1920s, Brazilian cities like São Paulo and Rio had been growing at astonishing rates, particularly during the *Estado Novo* years. For example, the two industrial capitals grew 68.9% and 58.1% respectively in the decade between 1940 and 1950. Porto Alegre was no different, expanding from a population of 275,000 to over 400,000 in the same period (see Table 4.2). Many of the CC25J members born in Rio Grande do Sul but outside its capital were undoubtedly part of this movement from the countryside to urban areas. The comparatively small size of CC25J founding families thus demonstrates its members represented a modern and integrated sort of German-Brazilian community, divorced from small-holding agriculture and indicative of broader trends in Brazilian society.

Table 4.2: Population and % change for Brazilian cities[397]

City	1920	1940	% Change	1950	% Change
São Paulo	579,033	1,318,539	127.7%	2,227,512	68.9%
Distrito Federal (RJ)	1,157,873	1,526,622	31.8%	2,413,152	58.1%
Porto Alegre	179,263	275,678	53.8%	401,213	45.5%

[395] Gertz, Rene, "Os Luteranos No Brasil," 22.
[396] IBGE -- Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Serviço Nacional de Recenseamento, *VI Recenseamento Geral Do Brasil - 1950*.
[397] IBGE, Censos 1920, 1940, 1950

Economic Activity

Most of the men and women who gathered that spring evening for the first General Assembly of the *Centro Cultural 25 de Julho* would have already put in a full day's work in Porto Alegre's offices, factories, shops, churches, and studios. 221 of the three hundred for whom we have records reported working outside of their place of residence. Another 10 worked from home and 48 reported a profession but not a place of employment. Four of the thirteen female members listed "domestic" as their profession--which could mean they took care of their own homes or that they worked as maids elsewhere. Though the customary names for various forms of work in Brazil were difficult to distinguish, the wide range of professions reported in the *fichas* reveals just how economically (and educationally) diverse the founders of the CC25J were (see table 4.3).

Table 4.3: CC25J members by Professional Category

Professional category	Number of Members
Agricultural	4
Commercial	110
Industrial	57
Domestic	4
Liberal Professions	33
Skilled Labor[398]	38
Academic/Religious/Artistic	27
Students	3
Retired	3

The most common form of economic activity among the *Centro*'s founding members was commerce (*comercio/comerciante/comerciario*), which was reported by 110 of the 279 individuals who listed a profession (39.4%). Commerce encompassed a wide range of activities, from Porto Alegre native Frederico Schertel who worked as a salesman at the Casa das Canetas (literally "the house of pens") to the five German-born members employed in the sales department of the União de Ferros, a major importer of metals and tools.[399] Even Benno Mentz, the bibliophile son and heir of Federico Mentz whose eponymous company had helped in the industrialization and commercialization of products from the areas of German and Italian settlement, reported his profession as *comercio*.[400] The vagaries of the category thus confound any interpretation beyond a comparatively educated and predominantly middle-class group.

Industrial employment was the second most popular profession, as fifty-seven (20.4%) of the founding members reported working in the sector. Here, shedding light on

[398] Here I have included such varied professions as watchmaker, baker, toolmaker, and pilot.
[399] Sandra Jatahy Pesavento, "De Como Os Alemães Tornaram-Se Gaúchos Pelos Caminhos Da Modernização," in *Os Alemães No Sul Do Brasil : Cultura, Etnicidade, História*, ed. Cláudia Mauch and Naira Vasconcellos (Canoas: Editora da ULBRA, 1994), 201.
[400] Paul Israel Singer, *Desenvolvimento Econômico E Evolução Urbana: Análise Da Evolução Económica de São Paulo, Blumenau, Pôrto Alegre, Belo Horizonte E Recife*, ed. Florestan Fernandes, Biblioteca Universitária : Série 2, Ciências Sociais (São Paulo: Co. Ed. Nacional, 1974), 165.

just what respondents meant by "industry" is similarly tricky. The terms *industrial*, *industrialista*, and *industriario* appear to be interchangeable among respondents of varying economic status. One *industrial*, Werner Edgar Müller, just 18 years old, likely worked on the factory floor at Porto Alegre's Brahma Brewery. Others, such as brothers Kurt, Egon, and Otto Renner similarly responded *industrial*, even though they all worked as executives in the large conglomerate founded by their father (a fellow founding member of the CC25J).

The large number of members working for German-Brazilian owned industrial interests—20 members worked for the Renner companies alone—affirms two of historian Alexandre Fortes's assertions in his study of Porto Alegre's working-class Forth District (*Quarto Distrito*). First, Fortes demonstrates that the brand of "social capitalism" practiced by some German-Brazilian industrialists (in particular A.J. Renner) led to improved conditions for workers (child care, family subsidies, etc.) and made employment in such firms more desirable. Second, workers of German-Brazilian descent found it easier to obtain and keep their jobs within these "social capitalist" companies. Fortes finds that the management both deemed German-Brazilians superior workers and associated members of other ethnic groups (in particular Eastern Europeans) with labor organization and syndical movements, thus presenting a putative challenge to the paternal social capitalist order.[401] The tendency among the CC25J membership to employ and be employed by other ethnic Germans bears out Fortes's assertions.

Three other occupational groups add to the notion that the founding members were strikingly diverse. Combined, the number of members I classify as skilled labor, liberal professionals, or artists/academics/priests nearly equals those involved in

[401] Fortes, *Nós Do Quarto Distrito*, chap. 5.

commerce (98 to 110, respectively). Attendees at the first general meeting included six priests, six professors, eleven mechanics, at least six medical doctors, and a smattering of lawyers, journalists, tailors, and painters. Both the varied educational and vocational attainment and the disparity of income among these economic actors attested to a diversity of class and social status among the members.

While the CC25J's reasonable cost of membership made this sort of economic diversity possible, it remains difficult to compare the value of watchmaker Oswaldo Felippe Grub's free time and that of a titan of industry like A.J. Renner. One possible explanation would be that the CC25J was somehow a holdover from the "classic" era of voluntary ethnic/immigrant organizations. As historian José Moya has found with Spanish immigrants in Buenos Aires, multi-class voluntary associations were not necessarily spaces of social mixing. More often, an "immigrant elite" or "aspiring middle classes" assumed leadership roles and the working classes received benefits, often not participating in any of the social aspects of the association.[402] Membership in the group helped to establish ethnic boundaries (immigrant vs. native), though class divisions remained within the association.

A second, more provocative reading would be that in post-*Estado Novo* Brazil, the CC25J's educational and cultural goals resonated among many urban German-Brazilians because education and culture marked them as members of the Brazilian middle class. As historian Brian Owensby has observed, profession or income level was not enough to guarantee a position in Brazil's middle class. Instead, "the middle class

[402] Moya, *Cousins and Strangers Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*, 316–317.

was also a state of mind oriented to a dynamic social and economic arena."[403] In Owensby's formulation, those who belonged or aspired to belong to the burgeoning middle class must negotiate various status considerations from income and social network to consumption patterns and racial identities. The CC25J's explicit rejection of being a mutual-aid society (prohibiting both politics and business discussions) made it a social club for likeminded people. Though some of the members' professions might have put them in the working class economically, rubbing elbows with middle- and upper class German-Brazilians could present an opportunity to gain status. Assertions of German heritage marked members as unassailably white in a society where race and class were inextricably linked. The CC25J's mission as an educational and cultural institution did not only maintain cultural barriers between ethnic Germans and other Brazilians, but it also understood Germanness as coterminous with markers of middle class Brazilianness at the time.

In his survey of Irish-American voluntary organizations, Michael Funchion found a similar progression. Prior to the Second World War, mutual-aid societies for working-class Irish (both immigrant generation and descendants) were the norm, with a few wealthier members subsidizing the rest. These institutions aimed to guarantee the basic social welfare of fellow immigrants and members of an ethnic group. Educational and cultural associations were the vast exception. However, by the 1960s organizations such as the American Committee for Irish Studies, the Irish American Cultural Institute, Irish Arts Centers, and Irish Teachers' Associations came to dominate the landscape of Irish-

[403] Brian Philip Owensby, *Intimate Ironies: Modernity and the Making of Middle-Class Lives in Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 8–9.

American voluntary organizations as the members themselves became more educated and entered the middle class.[404]

Various Networks among the CC25J's Members

In a metropolitan area as large as Porto Alegre—at least 750,000 people by the early 1950s—social, familial, and economic networks played a large role in the recruitment of possible members. The case of some of the CC25J's young female members helps to illuminate this. The women shown in Table 4.4 represented five of the seven female founding members who listed their marital status as single. These young women's decision to join the CC25J together revealed the many, overlapping connections that informed German-Brazilians decision to join.

Table 4.4: Unmarried female members of the CC25J[405]

Name	Birthplace	Birth Year	Employer	Address
Ingeborg Steinsiek	Cachoeira do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul	1925	Bredemies & Co.	Tomaz Flores 74 (Porto Alegre)
Sigrid Heinsich	São Sebastião do Cai, Rio Grande do Sul	1929	Not listed	Tomaz Flores 74 (Porto Alegre)
Cornelia Clebesch	Frankenhausen, Germany	1927	Importadora Americana	Tomaz Flores 74 (Porto Alegre)
Anni Clebesch	Villarrica, Paraguay	1925	Studio "Os 2"	Tomaz Flores 74 (Porto Alegre)
Herta Sporket	Novo Hamburgo, Rio Grande do Sul	1929	Studio "Os 2"	Rua Pelotas 360 (São Leopoldo)

Most obviously, four of the young women lived together in a boarding house at Tomasz Flores 74 in Porto Alegre's Independência neighborhood. Whether this was a boarding house specifically for German-Brazilians is unclear, but certainly it became a space of

[404] Michael F Funchion, ed., *Irish American Voluntary Organizations* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1983), xiii–xiv.
[405] Arquivo Centro Cultural 25 de Julho de Porto Alegre

sociability—ethnic or otherwise—that forged a bond between these women. Looking closer, we see that Anni and Cornelia were likely members of the same extended family, with Anni's family having emigrated from Germany to Paraguay before her birth. Cornelia left Germany later, likely after the Second World War, and retained her German citizenship. Both Anni and Cornelia likely moved to the rapidly expanding capital Rio Grande do Sul without their parents in search of better employment opportunities.

These familial and social connections, however, do not account for the young women's decision to join the CC25J; I argue they were primarily drawn by economic and status considerations. Anni Clebesch worked as a photographer with Herta Sporket at Studio "Os 2" in Porto Alegre. Herta herself commuted into her job from São Leopoldo, some 25 miles north of the capital, and hailed from Novo Hamburgo, one of the earliest German-Brazilian colonies. Herta and Anni's boss, the German-born naturalized Brazilian Wolfdietrich Wickert, also signed up at the founding meeting. Perhaps Herta and Anni brought the idea of joining the *Centro* up to their boss as an opportunity to network with middle class German-Brazilian families? Perhaps Wickert suggested to Herta and Anni that they bring their friends along to meet eligible bachelors from a similar ethnic background?

It is impossible to know at whose suggestion each of these individuals decided to join the *Centro*. However, the social, economic, and familial networks that connect this small microcosm of the *Centro*'s membership supports the notion that CC25J more closely resembled the "modern" cultural and educational ethnic associations, bastions of Brazilian middle class belonging that they were. The founding members' inscription cards alone demonstrate the obsolescence of confessional, regional, and class boundaries

that previously informed German-Brazilian and other ethnic associations. All this leads to the conclusion that the decision to found and join the CC25J responded to novel national and local contexts, re-casting Germanness as a positive quality legible in Brazilian terms.

The CC25J and the Emerging Post-War World

Of course, German-Brazilians were not the only actors in post-war Brazil to identify as culturally German. Representatives of the newly established West German government saw both an opportunity and a possible danger in expressions of German ethnicity abroad. Following the end of hostilities in Europe and the founding of the Federal Republic, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's government worked to project the image of a rehabilitated—if divided—Germany. As Cold War antagonisms began to crystalize, demonstrating respect for democratic principles and institutions, including national sovereignty and self-determination, became integral to Adenauer's *Westpolitik*.[406] The politics of the past (*Vergangenheitspolitik*) increasingly informed the Federal Republic's domestic and foreign policy goals.[407] It was imperative for the government to step out of the imperialist shadow cast by decades of German expansionist pretentions—pretentions often predicated on the (imagined) cooperation of *Auslandsdeutsche* (Germans abroad).[408]

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[406] Scott Erb, *German Foreign Policy : Navigating a New Era* (Boulder, Colo: LRienner, 2003), 22–29.
[407] See Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (University of California Press, 2001); Siobhan Kattago, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (Westport: Praeger, 2001); Norbert Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik: die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit* (C.H.Beck, 1996).
[408] On the foreign cultural politics of the Third Reich in Latin America, see Barbian, *Auswärtige Kulturpolitik und Auslandsdeutsche" in Lateinamerika 1949-1973*, 81–91; and Ernst Ritter, *Das Deutsche Ausland-Institut in Stuttgart 1917-1945 : Ein Beispiel Deutsches Volkstumsarbeit Zwischen Die Weltkriegen* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), chap. 5; On the broader relationships between the Third Reich and Latin America, see Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors*; Nancy Mitchell, *The Danger of Dreams:*

For its part, the Auswärtiges Amt (Foreign Office, AA) attempted to build its Latin America policies—to borrow Glenn Penny's formulation—"atop the wreckage of old relations."[409] The Cultural Division of the AA had to walk a fine line between using cultural foreign policy to reactivate long-standing networks of influence and affinity among German ethnics abroad and raising suspicions of a return to the recent past. Distancing itself from what Norbert Götz has called the "supranational conceptualization" of *Volksgemeinschaft* (literally "people's community," a concept used by German nationalists to refer to German identity divorced from geographic boundaries) would prove critical to such goals.[410] Consequently, the AA opted to focus its energies on language and high culture in hopes of de-politicizing German identities in both their ethnic and national projections. These elite notions were presumably less tarnished by the recent National Socialist past than many of the popular cultural and racialized notions of Germanness that had circulated in Germany since the 19th century.[411]

The reemergence of the Deutsche Auslands Institut as the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (IFA) exemplified the AA's strategies. Whereas during the National Socialist period the Auslands Institut had primarily focused on maintaining contacts between the German state and *Auslandsdeutsche*, the IFA distanced itself from actors claiming German ethnicity outside German national boundaries. Instead, the IFA

German and American Imperialism in Latin America (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999); and Jürgen Müller, *Nationalsozialismus in Lateinamerika: die Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP in Argentinien, Brasilien, Chile und Mexiko, 1931-1945* (Heinz, 1997).

[409] Penny, "Latin American Connections: Recent Work on German Interactions with Latin America," 390.

[410] Norbert Götz, "German-Speaking People and German Heritage: Nazi Germany and the Problem of Volksgemeinschaft," in *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*, ed. Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridental, and Nancy Reagin (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

[411] Mary N. Hampton and Douglas C. Pfeifer, "Reordering German Identity: Memory Sites and Foreign Policy," *German Studies Review* 30, no. 2 (May 2007): 371–90.

sought to promote elite-level cultural and academic exchange.[412] At the institute's re-opening in 1951—attended by German President Theordor Heuss—the IFA's first General Secretary, Dr. Franz Thierfelder, rejected previous links to German communities as naïve:

> The thought that Germans abroad [*Auslandsdeutschtum*] were a bridge to foreign peoples was a well-intended error—at least in a general sense; indeed, as should come as no surprise, they were often an obstacle to understanding…It was neither fruitful for us nor for others.[413]

Of course, these relationships had in fact been fruitful for a great many, particularly in the economic sense. But the spirit of Thierfelder's assessment is clear: the West German government could not afford to be seen as endorsing or fomenting notions of *Volksgemeinschaft* beyond Germany's national borders. Yet, the IFA—and the West German government more broadly—found it impossible to ignore these communities precisely because of these long-standing connections.[414]

Searching for an Ideal Partner

The political stakes could not have been higher in the early 1950s for "getting it right" for both those who professed a German-Brazilian identity and for representatives of the fledgling West German state. It was in this context that the German Consul General in Porto Alegre, Dr. Rudolf Pamperrien, received a request from the CC25J of Porto Alegre to help establish a German-language lending library. Pamperrien enthusiastically passed on the request to both the German embassy in Rio de Janeiro and to Dr. Rudolf Salat, head of the AA's Cultural Division in Bonn, in a communiqué dated August 20, 1953.

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[412] Ritter, *Das Deutsche Ausland-Institut in Stuttgart 1917-1945*, 149–150.
[413] Cited in ibid., 151.
[414] See Eckard Michels, *Von der Deutschen Akademie zum Goethe-Institut : Sprach- und auswärtige Kulturpolitik, 1923-1960* (München: Oldenbourg, 2005), 219–222.

The request fit squarely within the Federal Republic's focus on language and high culture.[415] Indeed, the Cultural Division had earmarked 230,000 Deutschmarks of its 1954 budget—6.1% of its total 3.5 million DM—specifically for books.[416] However, the AA cautiously requested more information regarding the 25th of July Movement.

The thick dossier that the embassy forwarded in response expressed deep-seated concern about what it called the "25th of July movement." Part of the report was a seven-page invective from the German Consul General in São Paulo, Dr. Wolfgang Krauel. His report reflects the double concerns of the AA: the need to reconnect with local German ethnic communities abroad in hopes of furthering the Federal Republic's economic integration into the West and the need to avoid at all costs the perception that this activity was tantamount to ethnic chauvinism. According to Krauel, the 25th of July movement would be deleterious to both goals. He wrote:

> The harm that the 25th of July Organization has already caused and will go on causing if they continue to gain ground is considerable, particularly because its members and followers are not at all in a place to understand what is going on in front of them and what ends the organization's leaders are pursuing…[The group's] events play exceptionally well to people's need for conservative beer songs and peasant music with dances and games; so too does the 25th of July's deep-seated yet ineffectual opposition to the loss of German language, customs, and accomplishments in Brazil. There can be no doubt that the majority of the German-descendants among the popular classes in Brazil's four southernmost states are splashing and swimming about in the middle of the 25th of July's current.[417]

Krauel suspected that the 25th of July movement harbored distinctly political goals: electing German-Brazilians to political office and gaining official recognition and favor among Brazil's political class. Even worse, they disguised these goals with popular images of German ethnicity (beer and dancing), images that the contemporary West Germany government had specifically resolved to discard. For the AA to support such a

[415] Barbian, *Auswärtige Kulturpolitik und Auslandsdeutsche" in Lateinamerika 1949-1973*, 353–360.
[416] Nikolaus Werz, "Kulturelle Und Wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit Seit 1945," in *Die Beziehungen Zwischen Deutschland Und Argentinien*, ed. Peter Birle (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 2010), 190.
[417] "Aufzeichnung über die deutsch-brasilianische Organisation '25. Juli,'" PAAA, B90 568.

political organization would undoubtedly seem undue meddling on the part of any foreign government, but the specter of the *perigo alemão* loomed large in Krauel's condemnation of the 25th of July movement. The embassy agreed and sided with Krauel, recommending that Pamperrien's request be denied. The communiqué further advised that all representatives of the Federal Republic stay as far away as possible from such ethnic organizations with any possible political machinations.[418]

Consul General Pamperrien vehemently opposed the embassy's recommendation. He sent a second letter directly to Bonn, decrying what he saw as the embassy's misrepresentation of the 25th of July movement. Far from threatening West Germany's goals of image rehabilitation, the movement was the best possible partner in that effort. "It would be a very serious situation if we had to break off cooperation with the 25th of July movement. It is the only organization that brings together German-descendants from both confessions and that maintains German heritage with full loyalty to Brazil." While recognizing the "imperfections" in their conception of German heritage, he suggested greater contact with "living" German culture (i.e. official and West German) could help correct this. Non-engagement could risk pushing them further from the de-politicized sort the AA was charged with promoting.[419]

Concerned by the lack of consensus, the AA wrote both the embassy in Rio and the consulate in Porto Alegre asking for more information, recommending that they proceed "with the greatest caution relative to the 25th of July movement."[420] For his part, Consul Pamperrien hoped to allay fears by listing the books that the Cultural Center had requested. They ranged from unimpeachably German standards like Bismarck's memoirs

[418] Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Rio de Janeiro to AA, September 4, 1953; PAAA B90 568.
[419] Pamperrien to AA, September 21, 1953; PAAA, B90 568.
[420] Salat to Pamperrien, October 6, 1953, PAAA, B90 568.

and Marx's *Das Kapital* to general volumes on nature, sport, and travel. Revealingly, they also requested German translations of Spanish- and English-language texts such as Barros Prado's accounts of his voyages up the Amazon and Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*.[421] The list, Pamperrien hoped, would demonstrate both the "high culture" nature of the request and the importance of such texts in language preservation. Evidently, this convinced Dr. Salat at the Cultural Division, particularly in light of the group's promise to make the library open to the public.

The back-and-forth between the various diplomatic outposts and the AA in Bonn demonstrates an important point. While the young Federal Republic seemingly had clear cultural foreign policy goals—namely, the rehabilitation of German national identity abroad to mirror the post-war domestic shifts—in practice there remained confusion about their implementation. Pamperrien and Krauel represented two opposing strategies: engage and support local expressions of German identity (the CC25J) in hopes of steering local ethnic organizations toward the official line or remain aloof with the goal of offering a contrast between German ethnic and (rehabilitated) German national identities.

As the epistolary exchange intensified, the embassy in Rio finally revealed the circumstantial evidence that informed its opposition to the 25th of July movement. Supposedly, members of the 25th of July movement in Curitiba, the capital of Paraná state, had been in contact with Hans-Ulrich Rudel. Rudel, a former Colonel in the Luftwaffe, had emigrated to Latin America in 1948. In time he became a confidant of presidents Juan Perón of Argentina and Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay—both seen by their detractors as autocrats at best, repressive dictators at worst. Though Rudel was precisely the kind of unrepentant Nazi sympathizer, the repudiation of which was a

[421] "Abschrift: Centro Cultural 25 de Julho Bibliothek" PAAA, B90 568.

cornerstone of West Germany's projected image, the embassy's reliance on hearsay betrays the lack of local knowledge to guide the AA's course of action.[422]

In response, Pamperrien claimed that unlike other West German diplomats in Brazil, he did indeed possess firsthand knowledge of the 25th of July movement and thus was a better judge. In one final appeal he indicted the embassy's logic, imploring his superiors in Bonn not to reject the 25th of July movement based on rumors that one subsidiary branch had interactions with a character like Rudel. Pamperrien made his appeal in terms intended to carry added weight given West Germany's tenuous relationships with Jewish populations around the world. He tells a story about an acquaintance of his in Porto Alegre, a local Jewish leader who had openly rejected the idea of German *kollektivschuld* (collective guilt) on the basis that it was painted with too broad a brush. According to Pamperrien, the AA should take a similar approach to that of the Jewish leader when considering the 25th of July movement. While there was no solid evidence of any association with Rudel, Pamperrien emphatically stated that all the 25th of July members he knew had "remained far from neo-Nazi movements." Similarly, the events he had attended at the Center had remained "unpolitical, purely cultural" affairs. Surely, he felt, one bad apple should not ruin the bunch.

More significantly for the AA's mission, Pamperrien pointed to the lack of infrastructure and financing necessary to become a counterbalance to local ethnic institutions, a stand-alone beacon of the de-politicized (West) German culture. He implied that if the AA truly wanted to strengthen the officially endorsed sort of German culture—rather than the populist "beer songs and peasant music" the São Paulo consul so abhorred—the only possible solution would be to find a local partner. Because all of the

[422] Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Rio de Janeiro, to AA, January 9, 1954; PAAA B90 568.

leaders of the German-Brazilian community that Pamperrien found acceptable were already members, the 25th of July Center represented the only possibility.[423] In the end, the necessity of finding local partners, no matter how imperfect, became clear. In May—a full nine months after the Consul's initial request—Dr. Salat authorized the book donation. However, he only authorized the transport of 50 books, advising continued caution in interactions with the 25th of July movement.[424]

Such apprehensions about the 25th of July movement quickly subsided and the movement emerged as a key AA partner in Brazil. Throughout the 1950s, the West German government would grant Porto Alegre's 25th of July center's requests for musical instruments, teaching materials, and even a movie projector. Other institutions within the Federation also benefitted from German funding, with the largest contribution being 85,000 DM in 1963 to help construct a summer mountain retreat for youth in southern Brazil.[425] This enduring support attests to both an increasing alignment between the AA's goals and the 25th of July's activities as well as a growing recognition among West German officials that cooperation with local organizations played a crucial role in their cultural political goals in Brazil.

Conclusion

The 25th of July Federation/Center/movement stood at the intersection of decades-long trajectories in local, national, and transnational histories. The local advantages and disadvantages of "being German," evolving official and popular understandings of the Brazilian nation, and even German government policy all shaped the 25th of July's

[423] Pamperrien to AA, March 17, 1954; PAAA B90 568.
[424] Salat to Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Rio de Janeiro, May 4, 1954; PAAA B90 568.
[425] See the documentation in PAAA B96 338.

trajectory. The societal aspirations that might have brought 31-year-old Kurt Arnaldo Halbig to the first CC25J meeting in October 1951 responded to and shaped the institution itself. A bachelor and salesman, Halbig might have been looking for economic and professional opportunities, seeking to find a spouse from within the German-Brazilian community, deeply interested in German language and literature, or simply looking for a pastime—each consideration played into the public profile of the CC25J. In turn, the 25th of July "movement's" character and activities played a role in shaping the West German government's cultural foreign policy strategies in Brazil.

While this chapter has not argued that the example of German-Brazilians is unique among Brazil's many ethnic groups, their story stands out for its complexities. For example, the open cooperation between the Italian government, the Brazilian government, and ethnic Italians in matters of immigration and cultural foreign policy during the immediate post-war era would have been unthinkable in the West German case.[426] The global post-WWII repudiation of certain discourses of Germanness highlights the transnational politics of hyphenated identities.

It is important to remember that assertions of such identities were inherently claims of pluralism within a nation and as such belie the notion that either ethnicity or national identity could develop in isolation—or, indeed, that they were discrete phenomena at all. Kazal has convincingly argued this in the case of German-American associations following WWI.[427] In the post-*Estado Novo* context, public expressions of ethnicity were necessarily political precisely because they challenged dominant ideas of the Brazilian nation. Though not entirely new, the form these challenges took was in part

[426] La Cava, *Italians in Brazil*, chap. 2.
[427] Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, chap. 8–9.

a continuation and in part a departure from previous historical moments. Though elite conceptions of Brazilianness represented a great degree of continuity, the implications of German identity had shifted greatly. By observing these shifts without reproducing historical actors' claims to apolitical or ahistorical identity, the high stakes and multi-faceted agendas at all levels reveal themselves.

Chapter 5
Rhetorical integration, embodied difference: the Sesquicentenary of German migration's divergent discourses of identity

Early in 1974, the marketing team in charge of raising interest and awareness about the coming 150th anniversary of the German migrants' arrival to Rio Grande do Sul had a singular task: how to represent German-Brazilians' cultural and ethnic difference while emphasizing their complete integration into Brazilian society. As the official poster for the Sesquicentenary (Fig 5.1) shows, the marketing team chose to display two libations, both seemingly inseparable from the cultures they represented, in an allegorical toast. The first was a frothy beer stein evoking Germanness; the second, a *cuia*, the archetypical vessel for *chimarrão*, a drink recognizable as a symbol of *gaúcho* identity.[428] The slogan "*Alles Blau*" (literally, "everything's blue")—a specifically German-Brazilian dialect version of "*tudo bem*" (everything's fine/great)—stood in for "cheers." These images conveyed friendship and compatibility between two distinct cultures. The accompanying text, however, departed from such images of harmony between two groups and instead emphasized German migrants' assimilation into Brazilian society. It read "…Rio Grande do Sul commemorates 150 years since the arrival of the first German immigrants, whose magnificent work of labor and tenacity…is an admirable example of integration and confidence in the destiny of Brazil." Even in the creation of a major marketing campaign, the organizers of the Sesquicentenary could not avoid the tension between full belonging and forms of difference.

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[428] Authors in other contexts have used the drink as a sign of other ethnic groups' integration as well. See, for example, Jacques Schweidson, *Judeus de bombachas e chimarrão* (Porto Alegre: Editora José Olympio, 1985); For an in-depth study of gaúcho regional identity as both a reaction to and yet partly constituent of Brazilian national identity, see Ruben George Oliven, *Tradition Matters: Modern Gaúcho Identity in Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

Figure 5.1: Sesquicentenário da Imigração Alemã[429]

Such choices carried with them high stakes, as 1974 brought unprecedented public attention to German migration and ethnicity in Brazil's past and present. In addition to the 150th anniversary of German migration—part of a two-year state-sponsored commemoration of migration to Brazil—the year saw the rise to power of Brazil's first president of German descent, General Ernesto Geisel. With Geisel came heightened interest in economic and scientific cooperation with West Germany, particularly in the aftermath of the oil embargo and subsequent shifts in U.S. policy toward Brazil.[430] In this context, the Sesquicentenary commemorations affirmed both German-Brazilian ethnic exceptionalism and the group's putatively seamless integration into the Brazilian nation in ways that reflected the military regime's particular version of *brasilidade*.

This chapter explores the various ways that the Sesquicentenary celebrations produced divergent discourses of belonging and difference. On one hand, they asserted an image of German-Brazilians as full members of the Brazilian nation. The notion of German-Brazilians' full "integration" into Brazilian society stood out in promotional material, media coverage, and the organizational committee's internal documents. On the other hand, notions of German ethnicity deployed throughout the celebrations conveyed both difference and even superiority vis à vis broader Brazilian society. Understood in the context of the military government's widely disseminated (and often enforced) version of *brasilidade*, the tension between the poles of belonging and difference

[429] "1824-1974 ALLES BLAU!," n.d., K VIII a, n. 133, Martius Staden Institut. Image removed due to lack of copyright permission.

[430] Nara Simone Viegas Rocha Roehe, "A Indústria Automobilística E a Política Econômica Do Governo Geisel: Tensão Em Uma Parceria Histórica (1974-1978)" (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, 2011), 84–97.

revealed the advantages and disadvantages of ethnicity in post-economic miracle Brazil.[431] The figure of military president Ernesto Geisel, himself German-Brazilian, and the ways in which both contemporary sources and subsequent analyses have interpreted his trajectory provide a further point of analysis. These examples demonstrate that the Brazilian national context is key to understanding the discourses of Germanness that circulated in 1974 specifically and during the period of military rule more broadly.

Beyond domestically oriented discourses of German-Brazilian history and identity, the festivities were also intended to foment links between Brazil and West Germany. These attempts by local and national political elites to mobilize certain identity discourses, and thereby fuel this approximation, carried unintended consequences. Appraisals of Germanness that allowed Sesquicentenary organizers to make claims to "model minority" status responded to a web of specifically Brazilian considerations. The presence of a large contingent of West Germans at the Sesquicentenary opened the door to a very different reading, one informed by more than a century of divergent historical trajectories. This chapter closes by reflecting on the interpretive limits of the goals that Brazilians—both ethnic Germans and others—attempted to achieve by mobilizing certain sorts of Germanness. Such "transnational" limits underline the salience of national-level analysis of ethnic identity formations.

Celebrating Germanness in time and space

By the time of the Sesquicentenary, Brazil's military regime had been in power for over a decade. During this period, the government had increasingly favored a centralized,

[431] On various mechanisms of social control and repression during the military regime, see Carlos Fico, *Como eles agiam: os subterrâneos da ditadura militar : espionagem e polícia política* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 2001).

developmentalist economic policy. In particular, the regime sought to modernize the country's capital markets, control inflation, and attract foreign investment with the goal of expanding the industrial sector, particularly focusing on production and export of manufactured goods.[432] The result was an unprecedented period of sustained growth during the presidency of General Emílio Médici (1969-1974) that came to be called Brazil's "economic miracle." Even with average GDP growth per annum of 11.2% between 1968 and 1973, industrial activity expanded at an impressive 13.3% per annum over the same period. Consequently, industry came to represent over 36% of the Brazilian economy, up from 29% in 1967 and 19.8% in 1947.[433] While industry had long been central to Brazilian governments' "dreams of development," the military regime had made unprecedented advances toward its goal of what it considered "modernization."[434]

The economic miracle came during some of the darkest times of the military's 21-year regime. The promulgation of Institutional Act Five (AI-5) in December 1968 had dissolved Congress, suspended habeas corpus, ratcheted up state censorship of the media, and ushered in the systematic use of torture as a method of social control.[435] However, the stream of good economic news proved a source of propaganda both to bolster support

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[432] Werner Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 7th ed. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2014), 73.

[433] Marcelo de Paiva Abreu, "The Brazilian Economy, 1930-1980," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, vol. IX (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 378; Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 66.

[434] Marco Aurélio Cabral Pinto, "O BNDES E O Sonho Do Desenvolvimento: 30 Anos de Publicação Do II PND," *Revista Do BNDES* 11, no. 22 (2004): 51–79.

[435] Elio Gaspari, *A Ditadura Envergonhada* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002), 333–362; James Green, *We Cannot Remain Silent: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); On the effects of AI-5 on Brazilian music, see Christopher Dunn, *Brutality Garden: Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2001), chap. 4 and 5; On the censorship of books, see Sandra Reimão, *Repressão E Resistência: Censura a Livros Na Ditadura Militar* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2011); For a first-person account of the dictatorship's use of torture, see Lina Sattamini, *A Mother's Cry: A Memoir of Politics, Prison, and Torture under the Brazilian Military Dictatorship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

for the military's policies and to distract Brazilians from the regime's excesses.[436] Under president Médici, a re-invigorated *Assessoria Especial de Relações Públicas* (Special Advisory Board for Public Relations) rolled out various propaganda campaigns to tout the government's message of national progress. Television's rapid penetration into the everyday lives of urban Brazilians (the percentage of urban households with a television more than quadrupled between 1960 and 1970) only heightened the government's propagandistic capacity.[437]

In his study of the military's propaganda efforts, Brazilian historian Carlos Fico sums up the government's message as that of *otimismo*.[438] Fico broadly defines otimismo as "the collection of convictions about Brazil's great potential and the consequent positing of Brazilians as optimistic, hopeful, believing in the future," and finds that various forms of *otimismo* had long been a strand of thought among Brazilian elites. Different manifestations included the conviction that Brazil's natural resources destined it for future greatness; the belief that racial mixing and European immigration could genetically lighten the country's population and solve its "race problem" (*branqueamento*); and the post-1930s neo-Lamarckian idea that public programs could socially (rather than genetically) "whiten" the Brazilian nation.[439] Fico argues that the dictatorship sought to resignify or "re-invent" *otimismo* to suit its purposes, both as a set

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[436] Ronaldo Costa Couto, *História Indiscreta Da Ditadura E Da Abertura: Brasil: 1964-1985* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 1998), 111.
[437] Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-85* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 110–112.
[438] I have chosen to use the original Portuguese to emphasize the analytical category as Fico defines it.
[439] Carlos Fico, *Reinventando O Otimismo : Ditadura, Propaganda E Imaginário Social No Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro Brasil: Fundação Getúlio Vargas Editora, 1997), chap. 1; Francisco José de Oliveira Vianna, *Raça e Assimilação* (Rio de Janeiro: Companhia editora nacional, 1938); Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness : Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); On the broader implications of the neo-Lamarckian turn in Latin American social thought, see Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics : Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

of aspirations as well as guidelines for Brazilians' everyday life. A dominant tone for government propaganda and an ideology underpinning the regime's censorship activities, *otimismo* constituted "the base of a significant web of social self-recognition" during the period.[440] As such, *otimismo* helped to condition the boundaries of *brasilidade*. The realization of the country's intrinsic potential—the realization of its true self—depended on "certain rules of conduct, of civility" that the government's propaganda used modern media to propagate.[441]

Particularly important among these "rules of conduct" were assertions of love of country, of union among Brazilians, and of social cohesion as ensured by the military government. The public face of these assertions was primarily propaganda campaigns produced by the *Agência Nacional* (National Agency, AN), the inheritor of the Vargas-era *Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda* (Press and Propaganda Department). During the military government, AN was the most important media and communications organ of the government, creating campaigns for radio, television, and cinematic shorts. Carlos Fico sees one such campaign in particular as the epitome of this ideal: *Este é um País que Vai pra Frente*– "this is a country that is moving forward." The campaign depicted children of "various races, types, and genders" carrying Brazil's national yellow and green colors.[442] While recognizing a multiplicity of social types, the campaign used the image of children to propose a future of national unity, where being Brazilian trumped any other form of identification.[443] Another AN short from 1976 entitled

[440] Fico, *Reinventando O Otimismo*, 17.
[441] Ibid., 23.
[442] Ibid., 127.
[443] Historian Cari Williams Maes has shown that children had long been used to represent Brazil's national future. Cari Williams Maes, "Progeny of Progress: Child-Centered Policymaking and National Identity Construction in Brazil, 1922-1954" (Emory University, 2011).

Miscigenação (Miscegenation) featured a nude woman identified as Pindorama—commonly thought to be the Tupí word for Brazil—peacefully met by Portuguese caravels. From this encounter sprang a Technicolor world of science, industry, and cooperation. The accompanying lyrics captured this spirit, saying "Indian, mulatto, and white—all the colors, they're all for one."[444] In Fico's estimation, these campaigns "cross-dressed (*se travestia*) as de-politicized," going to great lengths to portray values like racial harmony and racial mixing as "noble sentiments" and profoundly "Brazilian values." This of course papered over possible tensions between sectors of Brazilian society.[445]

The combination of the racial mixing ideal, long present in elite conceptions of Brazilianness, and the military regime's vision of progress is significant.[446] Here, positive assertions of racial difference ran counter to the regime's *otimismo* and thus represented a threat to Brazil's "disciplined march toward the company of developed nations."[447] In an instinct reminiscent of the Vargas regime, the military government took both racial discrimination *and* racial pride as two-sides of the same un-Brazilian coin. Historian Jerry Dávila illustrates this seemingly paradoxical position with the military regime's rejection of the notion of "African diaspora." On one side of the coin, the regime interpreted the concept of transnational Africanness as incompatible with Brazil's racially mixed reality. As Dávila puts it, the regime asserted "there were no blacks in Brazil who were not first Brazilians," meaning that such forms of ethnic

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[444] The Brazilian National Archive has made this and other Agência Nacional videos available at http://www.zappiens.br/portal/instituicao.jsp?idInstituicao=8

[445] Fico, *Reinventando O Otimismo*, 129–130.

[446] On the racial mixing ideal and its enduring power in Brazilian society see, among many others, Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande & Senzala : formação da família brasileira sob o regime de economia patriarchal* (Rio de Janeiro: Maia & Schmidt, 1933); Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White : Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness*.

[447] Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-85*, 111.

identification could amount to a violation of the "correct" Brazilianness. On the other side, the military government eschewed the idea because it might also invite criticism of contemporary Brazil's "racial situation," meaning the enduring gulf of social status between lighter- and darker-skinned Brazilians.[448] This doublespeak at once recognized the existence of racial inequality while denying the possibility of salient differentiation between Brazilians along racial lines.

For their part, German migrants and their descendants in Brazil had at various moments been imagined to embody the qualities of industry and progress, qualities that Brazilians, by the same logic, lacked (see chapter 1). The military regime's brand of *otimismo* in many ways transformed those previously ethnicized markers of difference into idealized national characteristics. At a moment in time that witnessed and celebrated both industrial growth and (violently imposed) order, long-held notions of Germanness and contemporary assertions of Brazilianness aligned as never before.

A "German" at the heart of Brazil

The inauguration of Brazil's first German-Brazilian president, Ernesto Geisel, on March 15, 1974 gave this comingling a symbolic figurehead, raising the profile of German presence and ethnicity in Brazil as never before. Geisel was the son of German immigrant Augusto Geisel and Lydia Beckmann, the Brazilian-born daughter of a German Lutheran pastor. Born in 1907 in the small city of Bento Gonçalvez, some ninety miles from the state capital Porto Alegre, Geisel belonged to a small number of German-Brazilian families in a region dominated by Italian immigrants. At home,

[448] Jerry Dávila, *Hotel Trópico: Brazil and the Challenge of African Decolonization, 1950–1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 249–250.

Ernesto and his siblings spoke primarily German dialect, though he never learned to read or write the language.[449] During his presidency his accent, as one long-time resident of Rio de Janeiro once commented to me, betrayed his "immigrant" origins.[450] Whether he indeed had a German accent is immaterial—in fact, other Brazilians have told me his accent was simply rural *gaúcho*—the anecdote shows the prominence of these perceptions of difference in Brazilians' memories.

On the day of Geisel's inauguration, the *Jornal do Brasil*—a newspaper known to be resistant to the dictatorship's censorship efforts—ran a piece entitled "Today Estrela prays for Geisel's success."[451] The article told of the reactions in the predominantly German-Brazilian town of Estrela, Rio Grande do Sul where both sides of Geisel's family had roots. It was here that Geisel's father had taught at the local school and his maternal grandfather had worked as a Lutheran priest. Interviews with members of the local population emphasized their rustic simplicity and their good will toward Geisel. Above all, the article sought to construct Geisel's roots as different from those of the Brazilian mainstream by emphasizing his family's lack of Portuguese language, their Lutheranism, as well as their hard work. The reporter even located some of Geisel's second cousins who exclaimed in German "you can't take pictures of us. We're too simple and dirty from the farm…we're just simple *colonos*!"[452]

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[449] Maria Celina D'Araujo and Celso Castro, eds., *Ernesto Geisel*, 5th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1998), 15–30.
[450] Conversation with Rt. Rev. Edmund Knox Sherrill, September 2011
[451] Tania Cantrell Rosas-Moreno, *News and Novela in Brazilian Media: Fact, Fiction, and National Identity* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 41; For a series of interesting firsthand accounts of the uneven nature of the dictatorship's censorship of print media, see Alzira Alves de Abreu, Fernando Lattman-Weltman, and Rocha, eds., *Eles mudaram a imprensa: depoimentos ao CPDOC* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2003), 176–211.
[452] Eunice Jacques, "Estrela Reza Hoje Pelo Êxito de Geisel," *Jornal Do Brasil*, March 15, 1974.

My purpose here is not to argue that Geisel actually embodied a certain kind of Germanness or to evaluate his persona or his career using some ethnically coded criteria. Instead, I wish to highlight the ways that those around Geisel, those who evaluated his personality and tenure in office, often used notions of Germanness to interpret his figure. Geisel's Minister of Justice, Armando Falcão, held Geisel's work ethic and leadership skills as a natural outcropping of his German heritage. He wrote:

> Permanent intellectual curiosity, conscious adhesion to the Christian philosophy of life, integral respect of the humanity of his peers, firm and serene action in all circumstances would all be the indelible marks of the son of a German immigrant educated in the school of work and discipline.[453]

Historian Thomas Skidmore has echoed this interpretation, arguing that Geisel's public persona "was the stereotype of a German in Brazil—stiff, rigid in expression, and quite alien to the informal give-and-take of Brazilian politics." This analysis posits that despite his demeanor, Geisel was able to work more effectively behind the scenes in a government divided between hard-liners and moderates, both of which were accustomed to a more "Brazilian" leadership style.[454] Even Geisel himself linked his personal discipline to his "severe" Lutheran upbringing, remembering in an interview that as a child his parents would not let him play with the local Italian children because they were "poorly behaved, cursed a lot, [and were] dirty." His parents hoped to ensure that he and his siblings "did not become contaminated with [the Italians'] lack of proper upbringing."[455]

Geisel and others' perceptions of him show to what extent the qualities often ascribed to people of German descent—seriousness, industriousness—dovetailed with the regime's self-image and its projected future for the Brazilian nation. The military's

[453] Armando Falcão, *Geisel: Do tenente ao presidente* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1995), 179.
[454] Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-85*, 209.
[455] D'Araujo and Castro, *Ernesto Geisel*, 19.

economic and social policies, referred to as "conservative modernization" for their aspiration to advance the country's economy without altering existing social/power relationships, were predicated on the orderly and "correct" conduct of Brazil's citizens.[456] Rather than the "German danger" that had permeated representations of ethnic German populations just a generation earlier (see chapter 2), the imagined qualities of Germanness had come to closely resemble the regime's proscriptions of proper Brazilianness. Such an *esprit de temps* afforded the organizers of the Sesquicentenary a symbolic field within which to assert that German migration had been a boon to the Brazilian nation and that German-Brazilians, in their Germanness, stood out as aspirational examples of Brazilianness.

Evoking the Past, Commemorating the Present

The events surrounding the Sesquicentenary were the result of unprecedented cooperation between the German-Brazilian community and the state and national governments. Whereas the centenary celebrations fifty years earlier had been a largely privately funded and local affair (see chapter 1), in 1973 and 1974 governor Euclides Triches of Rio Grande do Sul issued a series of decrees appropriating funds for the event.[457] The result was a "Biênio" (two-year event) of Immigration of Colonization meant to commemorate both 150 years of German immigration and 100 years of Italian settlement (though the

[456] Fico, *Reinventando O Otimismo*, 27; On the politics of conservative modernization, see Steven M. Helfand, "The Political Economy of Agricultural Policy in Brazil: Decision Making and Influence from 1964 to 1992," *Latin American Research Review* 34, no. 2 (1999): 3–41; On developmentalism and the Military Regime, see Jerry Dávila, *Dictatorship in South America* (John Wiley & Sons, 2013), chap. 2; On avant-garde responses to the military regime's conservative modernization policies, see Ismael Xavier, "The Humiliation of the Father: Melodrama and Cinema Novo's Critique of Conservative Modernization," *Screen* 38, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 329–44.

[457] The first of these was state decree No. 22,410 issued on April 22, 1973.

German Sesquicentenary was the larger and more publicized of the two events).[458] During the ensuing months, the Biênio's various committees coordinated municipal, state, and federal government participation. The results ranged from small regional celebrations to campaigns with a national profile and from early March through to the festival year's ceremonial close on December 22, 1974.[459]

Perhaps the most widely disseminated of the national-level commemorations was the design of a series of "Migratory Streams" stamps issued by the national postal service (figure 5.2). The series featured Brazil's most significant migrant groups (Portuguese, Italian, German, Japanese, etc.), showing their place of origin, their trajectory to Brazil, and images of their "typical" architecture and/or lifeways.[460] The stamps' release coincided with the Sesquicentenary celebrations, situating German-speaking migrants at the very center of the nation's entire migratory past. That the official launch of the "Migratory Streams" series took place in São Leopoldo in May, 1974, just two months before the festivities, further raised the national profile of the Sesquicentenary.[461]

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[458] For a detailed account of the economic preparations for the Biênio, see Nara Simone Viegas Rocha Roehe, "O Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul Em 1974 Como Corolário Das Relações Econômicas Brasil Alemanha" (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, 2005).
[459] "Sesquicentenário Alemão: Encerradas Comemorações," *Diário de Noticias*, December 22, 1974.
[460] For an extended reflection on the "Migratory Streams" series as a whole, see Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[461] "Livro de Atas Da Comissão Executiva Dos Festejos Do Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã," March 6, 1974, Comissão Executiva dos Festejos do Sesquicentenário da Imigração Alemã: Livro de Atas, Museu Visconde de São Leopoldo.

Figure 5.2: Imigração Alemã Stamp[462]

During the build-up to July 1974, coordination for the festivities honoring German migration fell to the Executive Committee of the Sesquicentenary of German Immigration, which was comprised of business, political, and economic luminaries, all of German-Brazilian extraction. Through its selection of events and their tenor, the Executive Committee in large part shaped the kinds of Germanness on display during the events of 1974. These identity discourses tended to emphasize precisely the qualities that linked Germanness to the military regime's script of aspirational national qualities. Chief among these was German-Brazilians' role in the development of Rio Grande do Sul's industries—a theme explored by several Brazilian scholars.[463]

During the weeks surrounding the festivities themselves, organizers invited the public to Sesquicentenary Exposition in Novo Hamburgo. The Expo housed representatives from 149 German-Brazilian owned businesses in a purpose-built hall with over 70,000 square feet of space, including a beer hall with capacity for 2,000 people. In the Executive Committee's own words, the Expo was intended to "show off the evolution

[462] "Formação da Etnia Brasileira – Imigração Alemã," Associação Filatélica e Numismática de Santa Catarina, http://www.afsc.org.br/selos/selossc_ate1980.html.
[463] Roehe, "O Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul Em 1974 Como Corolário Das Relações Econômicas Brasil Alemanha"; Roswithia Weber, "Mosaico Indenitário: Turismo Nos Municípios Da Rota Romântica -- RS" (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2006).

of these businesses and the contribution of German immigrants and their descendants to the development of Brazil." That over 350,000 people visited the Expo in just three weeks attested to the power and reach of the Sesquicentenary's portrayal of German-Brazilian identity.

A glance at the official album of the Sesquicentenary confirms the centrality of industry and economic activity to the kinds of Germanness favored by the event's organizers. The nearly 350-page book featured colorfully illustrated treatises on German-Brazilian history and culture—from art to language to sport—interspersed with one-page profiles of German-Brazilian industries. In total, over one hundred German-Brazilian companies like "Máquinas Marek S.A.," "Grupo Hoechst do Brasil," "Kipper S.A. – Indústrias Cerâmicas," and "Schmidt Irmãos S.A." appeared in the album's pages. With few exceptions, these companies were involved in heavy industry and agro-export, from textile and food processing to machinery and chemicals. While it is likely these companies paid a fee to appear in the book, the editors presented the texts (in both Portuguese and German) as integral parts of the book. The presence of more typical advertising—distinguished in both its typography and content—from firms like Bayer do Brasil and Grupo Strassburger revealed a desire to present contemporary industrial activity as a seamless piece of the fabric of German-Brazilianness.[464] These tangible examples of German-Brazilian industry and entrepreneurship easily evoked the military's ideals for *brasilidade* while also bolstering and complicating the rhetoric of their complete integration into the Brazilian nation.

[464] *Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã: Album Oficial* (Porto Alegre: Sociedade Editora de Publicações Especializadas EDEL, 1974).

Beyond such explicit echoes of developmentalist ideals, the Sesquicentenary festivities also included subtler mapping of German-Brazilians as a model or even superior segment of Brazilian society. Two events in particular—the "Queen of the Sesqui" beauty competition and the allegorical reenactment of the arrival of the immigrants during the official celebrations on July 25th—visually situated German-Brazilians at the extreme white end of Brazil's black/white racial spectrum. These spectacles of whiteness were intelligible because they were constructed and interpreted in a Brazilian context—a fact that belied the military government's imagining of Brazil as a harmonious *mestiço* nation where race was de-politicized.[465]

Pageants of whiteness

On a warm summer evening in mid-February 1974, leaders of Rio Grande do Sul's civic and business community gathered at the elegant restaurant on the top floor of the Palácio do Comércio in Porto Alegre for the official launch of the "Queen of the Sesquicentenary of German Immigration" beauty contest. During his remarks, the president of the Sesquicentenary's Executive Committee, Rodolpho Englert, situated the beauty competition at the heart of the Sesquicentenary's message of German-Brazilian integration and contribution to Rio Grande do Sul specifically and Brazil more broadly. More than a sexually charged event designed to pique interest in the larger commemorations (a familiar marketing strategy in the Americas[466]), Englert intended the competition to:

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[465] Fico, *Reinventando O Otimismo*, 129–130.

[466] Lok C. D. Siu, *Memories of a Future Home : Diasporic Citizenship of Chinese in Panama* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 58–63; or a history of beauty pageants in general and of the most iconic--

> …pay homage to the Rio Grande do Sul woman, descendant of the pioneers that came beginning July 25, 1824…[I]t was she that, as a wife and a daughter, shared those difficult times of trial. It is also she who is responsible, in great part, for the conquest of new lands and the victory over an aggressive and hostile environment. She was truly the strong woman of whom the Holy Scriptures speak, and because of this, she is deserving of our most reverent homage."[467]

Beyond assertions of German-Brazilian women's Christian virtues, Engelert's words positioned German migrants at the very heart of *gaúcho* (and therefore Brazilian) history, which to them exemplified the qualities of ingenuity, hard work, and progress. Symbolizing the integration of German migrants into Brazilian culture also informed the "general norms" of the event. As a principal motivation for the competition, the Executive Committee listed the "affirmation of the marked presence of the valuable stream of Germanic migrants in the racial integration of the Riograndense community and the Brazilian nationality."[468] The Queen would then embody both complete integration into the Brazilian nation *and* German-Brazilians' racial/ethnic difference from it.

The Executive Committee's choice of a beauty contest as venue for developing and disseminating these discourses of German-Brazilianness was not surprising. By the 1950s beauty pageants were privileged sites for negotiations of race and regional identities in Brazil.[469] More broadly, as Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje note in the introduction to their collection of essays on beauty pageants as a global phenomenon, such contests are opportunities to "showcase values, concepts, and behavior that exist at

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Miss America--in particular, see Sarah Banet-Weiser, *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), chap. 1.

[467] "Sesqui da Imigração Alemã terá sua rainha de beleza", *Correio do Povo*. 17 Feb., 1974.

[468] Comissão Executiva dos Festejos do Sesquicentenário da Imigração Alemã, "Concurso 'Rainha Do Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã' : Normas Gerais," n.d., Comissão Executiva dos Festejos do Sesquicentenário da Imigração Alemã: Correspondências, Convites, Concursos, Museu Visconde de São Leopoldo.

[469] Courtney Campbell, "The Brazilian Northeast, Inside Out: Region, Nation, and Globalization (1926-1968)" (Vanderbilt University, 2014), chap. 6.

the center of a group's sense of self and exhibit values of morality, gender, and place."[470] Anthropologist Lok Siu nuances this line of thinking in her study of diasporic Chinese identities in Central America. Siu argues that pageants are more than just simple assertions of a homogenous group identity, but rather spaces of contestation. "What is at stake in the beauty contest involves not only who gets to represent the…diaspora, but also what qualities are deemed to be idealized characteristics of that diaspora."[471] The competition would in effect construct and inscribe idealized German-Brazilian ethnicity on the body of its winner, the Queen of the Sesqui.

Following the launch of the competition, the executive committee made public the rules for the Queen of the Sesqui. Contestants needed to be Brazilian-born women, at least 16 years of age, single, and a quarter or more of German descent (as attested to either by their own last names or the maiden names of their mothers). In order to be considered, the women had to be nominated by local institutions such as gymnastics associations, commercial associations, social clubs, and so on. Each club was allowed to nominate one young woman to compete in the regional contests and then each of twenty-two regions would send its nominee to the final competition in Porto Alegre.[472] Though institutions of a specifically German ethnic character nominated many of the ultimate entrants, these were not the only entrants. The contestants would be judged on "physical beauty, affability, and intellect" (*beleza fisica, simpatia e intelectualidade*).

Importantly, the rules stated explicitly that the participants did not necessarily need to speak German. Instead, heritage speakers of the language were to be awarded

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[470] Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, eds., *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 2.
[471] Siu, *Memories of a Future Home*, 75.
[472] Comissão Executiva dos Festejos do Sesquicentenário da Imigração Alemã, "Concurso 'Rainha Do Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã' : Normas Gerais."

extra points from the various levels of judges. On one hand, this fact revealed the shift from previous notions of Germanness and the German language as coterminous (see chapters 1 and 2). On the other, the bonus points awarded bilingual competitors demonstrated that even in a competition intended to inscribe the bodies of young women with a *visual* sort of ethnicity, the association between German language and German-Brazilian identities had not completely vanished. This latent association of authenticity with linguistic competence is something that Lok Siu has also observed in her work.[473]

While the basic qualifications for entry into the competition were relatively open, the explicit requirement to be at least one quarter of German origin (determined by at least one German surname among contestants' grandparents) pointed to something Englert and other organizers did not explicitly mention as a motivation for the competition: the assertion of (embodied) difference implicit in an ethnic beauty pageant. Consciously or unconsciously, the competition located the basis of this difference in German-Brazilians' unimpeachable whiteness as set against the background of Brazilian society. This represented an ethnic variant on the shifts in idealized national "type" that Communications scholar Sarah Banet-Weiser has found with the Miss America pageant in the late 20th century. There, the inclusion of women of different racial backgrounds among the contestants responded to the development of a multicultural vision of U.S. national identity. The effect was to lessen the potency of identity politics at a moment when diversity had become "hip."[474] The Queen of the Sesqui—rather than being the "face of the nation" at a time when *mestiçagem* dominated official notions of Brazilianness—would be the face of German-Brazilian difference.

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[473] See Lok C. D. Siu, "Queen of the Chinese Colony: Gender, Nation, and Belonging in Diaspora," *Anthropological Quarterly* 78, no. 3 (2005): 511–42.
[474] Banet-Weiser, *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World*, 18–21.

It was not only Brazilians of German descent who helped to envision this difference. Unlike other facets of the Sesquicentenary, the beauty competition purposefully incorporated various civic, political, and economic luminaries:

> Deputy Victor Faccioni, president of the Coordinating Commission of the Biênio of Colonization and Immigration; Secretary of Tourism Roberto Eduardo Xavier; Rodolfo Englert, president of the Commission of the Sesquicentenary of German Immigration Celebration; Carlos Hofmeister Filho, president of the Sub-commission of the Celebration of the Sesquicentenary; Fábio Araújo Santos, the director-president of JH Santos S/A; Janeta Hoeveler, Miss Rio Grande do Sul 1974; Virgínia Rigatto, *Rainha das Piscinas do Rio Grande do Sul* [literally the "Queen of Swimming Pools of Rio Grande do Sul," a curious title I could not find any further information on]; journalist Flávio Carneiro, head of the Promotions Department at the Caldas Júnior media company; Carlos Miranda Krügger, representative of Varig airlines; Alfredo Berends, representative of Lufthansa airlines; and Flávio Spohr, the well-known tailor.[475]

It seems unlikely that this was designed to avoid accusations of ethnic chauvinism that had haunted German-Brazilians during the 1930s and 40s (see chapter 2). The composition of the jury attested to the fact that certain physical attributes already connoted racial difference from Brazil's normative *mestiço* image. The pageant's winners would embody a Germanness constructed not just by German-Brazilians but also in negotiation with notions of Germanness and Brazilianness held more broadly.

Coronation of whiteness

Between February and July, various local and regional pageants whittled down the pool of possible Queens of the Sesquicentenary. Extensive coverage in local and regional newspapers attested to the efficacy of the pageants as a public relations tool. Some of these articles used evocative shorthand when referring to the event, calling the competition the "Queen of the German Immigration." While this was likely a way of avoiding the cumbersome word "sesquicentenary," it emphasized the pageant's symbolic

[475] "150 Anos Mais Uma Rainha E Duas Princesas Em Quatro Horas de Tradição E Muita Beleza," *Folha Da Tarde*, July 22, 1974.

anointing of a symbolic figurehead for an entire (putatively homogenous) ethnic group.[476] In the end, twenty-seven finalists from the zones of German colonization in Rio Grande do Sul participated in the finals in Porto Alegre.

The competition took place a week before the Sesquicentenary events themselves so that the Queen and her two Princesses could preside over the events on July 25th. The evening consisted of two separate events based around types of clothing. The first would be a promenade in a design of the contestant's choice. The second would require the contestants to wear a "typical costume of a region of Germanic Europe." Beyond the prestige and status that came with representing the German-Brazilian community during the Sesquicentenary festivities—the Queen and the two runner-up Princesses each received all-expense-paid travel for two to different destinations. The Queen won a 15-day tour of West Germany for two; the Princesses would travel for five days to Manaus, the capital of the Amazon region.

While the destinations for these trips—West Germany and the Amazon—evoked the imagined origins of German-Brazilians, they also situated the Queen of the Sesqui competition within its national and international context. The winner's trip, provided by Varig and Lufthansa, was a multi-destination tour of "modern" Germany.[477] This notion inscribed a certain idea of Germany—capitalist, democratic, western-oriented, compatible with the military government's own politics—on the supposed "home" of Brazil's ethnic Germans.[478] None of the promotional materials or press coverage I have

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[476] See for example "Rainha Da Imigração Alemã Motiva Colônia," *Diário Popular*, April 7, 1974.

[477] On the emergence of a specifically West German identity--oriented toward the US and away from its Soviet-aligned sister country--see Mary Fulbrook, *German National Identity after the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002); and the essays in Hanna Schissler, *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[478] Many scholars of ethnicity in the Americas have similarly traced the effects of political change in the "home" country on diasporic populations. See, among many others, Raanan Rein, *Argentina, Israel, and*

found even mentioned the existence of the German Democratic Republic, even though a substantial percentage of German migrants to Brazil came originally from territory then claimed by East Germany and Poland.[479] This silencing indicates that the sort of Germanness that event organizers hoped to embody aligned with perceived West German ideals and identity and specifically *not* with the East.

The choice of Manaus as the destination for the two runners-up similarly reflects a specific understanding of Brazilian national identity at the time. The Amazon had long been a font of Brazilian identity discourses, as well as the object of projects aimed at national "progress." Successive moments of political and economic interest in the region like the rubber boom of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the *Estado Novo*-era attempts to integrate the region's productive capacity in particular demonstrated the Amazon's importance in notions of national progress.[480] Various immigrant groups' attempts to claim national belonging by "finding themselves" in the Amazon attest to the region's symbolic role in constructing Brazilianness.[481] It was during the 1964-1985 Military Regime that the integration of the Amazon into the national economy became a crucial national project.[482] Exploring the link between Brazilianness and the government's infrastructure projects—as exemplified by the *Rodovia Transamazônica*

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the Jews: Perón, the Eichmann Capture and After (College Park: University Press of Maryland, 2003); John Tofik Karam, *Another Arabesque : Syrian-Lebanese Ethnicity in Neoliberal Brazil* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007); Sarah M. A. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White : Race and Ethnicity in the Early Syrian American Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

[479] For a case in which pre-migratory geographic distinctions retained some of its salience in Brazil, see Joana Bahia, "'O Perigo Alemão': Breve Análise de Um Conflito Étnico," *Anuário Antropológico*, 1998, 151–79.

[480] Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850-1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983); Seth Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

[481] Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity : Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 108; Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, 117–118.

[482] Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-85*, 144–149.

(Transamazon Highway)— became the subject of many literary and cinematic treatments during the 1960s and 70s.[483] That the prize for the two "Princesses" of the Sesqui would be a trip to the heart of the Amazon rather than more obvious centers of national culture like Rio de Janeiro or Bahia further aligned the beauty competition's design with official ideas of *brasilidade* at the time. The two German-Brazilian *gaúchas* would travel to the very heart of *otimista* Brazil.

The finals on the evening of Saturday July 20, 1974 assembled a crowd of over 3,500 people, record attendance for the *Sociedade de Ginástica de Porto Alegre* (The Gymnastic Society of Porto Alegre—SOGIPA).[484]. The choice of venue was significant to presenting the competition as an ethnic and wholly Brazilian event. The SOGIPA had begun its institutional life in 1867 as the *Deutscher Turnverein* (The German Gymnastic Association) but during the *Estado Novo* had successfully "Brazilianized." By the 1970s the SOGIPA had abandoned any official claims to being a German-Brazilian ethnic association; rather it was (and remains) a venue for large events of all sorts in Porto Alegre.[485] The competition's location may have evoked notions of a German cultural space for some, but for most it was simply a logical location. That the press failed to mention the connection attests to this ambiguity. Similarly, a 30-minute performance by *carioca* singer Cláudia (who would go on to star in the first Portuguese version of Andrew Lloyd Weber's *Evita*), included songs like Paulo Sérgio and Marcos Valle's

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[483] Sophia Beal, *Brazil Under Construction: Fiction and Public Works* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), chap. 5; Sara Brandellero, "Bye Bye Brasil and the Quest for the Nation," in *The Brazilian Road Movie : Journeys of (self) Discovery*, ed. Sara Brandellero (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013).
[484] "Lia Lautert: Rainha Do Sesqui Que 3.500 Pessoas Applaudiram," *Folha Da Tarde*, July 22, 1974.
[485] Haike Roselane Kleber Silva, *Entre O Amor Ao Brasil E Ao Modo de Ser Alemão : A História de Uma Liderança Étnica (1868 - 1950)* (São Paulo: Ed. Oikos, 2006); Haike Roselane Kleber Silva, *Sogipa : Uma Trajetória de 130 Anos ; Publicação Comemorativa* (Porto Alegre: Palloti, 1997).

"Mais de trinta" and Vinícius de Moraes's "Se todos fossem iguais a você," unassailably middle-class Brazilian selections.[486]

The scored entry sheets belonging to one member of the jury (it remains unclear which one) have survived in the archive of the Executive Commission held at the *Museu Visconde de São Leopoldo*. These sheets reveal the ways that a whitening ideal played into the deliberations, consciously or unconsciously, of who represented idealized German-Brazilianness. Annex 1 contains a sampling of the candidates from lowest final score to highest. An undeniable pattern of preferences emerges as the judge's scores increase: a predilection for light skin, blue eyes, and blonde hair. The judge's top five contained only one brunette. The one contestant to whom the judge awarded a nearly perfect score, Lia Beatriz Lautert, had long, straight blonde hair, blue eyes, and clear, light skin. The other judges agreed that Lautert epitomized Germanness and crowned her Queen of the Sesqui, Queen of the German Immigration.

Blonde hair and blue eyes had long been a stereotyped marker of German ethnicity in Brazil, both in positive and negative valences. In literary representations of German-Brazilians, features such as light hair, light eyes, and light skin often marked characters' immigrant backgrounds. This was particularly the case when contrasted with the dark hair and brown eyes of "Brazilian" characters.[487] Following the *Estado Novo* and the Second World War, a period during which certain sorts of whiteness could mean a rejection of the "racial democratic" ideal, blonde hair and blue eyes could be markers of

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[486] "150 Anos Mais Uma Rainha E Duas Princesas Em Quatro Horas de Tradição E Muita Beleza"; On Bossa Nova and its role in creating an image of Brazilian national music both domestically and internationally, see Dunn, *Brutality Garden*, chap. 1; Charles A. Perrone, "Myth, Melopeia, and Mimesis: Black Orpheus, Orfeu, and Internationalization in Brazilian Popular Music," in *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalization*, ed. Charles A. Perrone and Christopher Dunn (New York: Routledge, 2013).

[487] See various examples in Ivânia Campigotto Aquino, "A Representação Do Imigrante Alemão No Romance Sul-Rio-Grandense: A Divina Pastora, Frida Meyer, Um Rio Imita O Reno, O Tempo E O Vento, E A Ferro E Fogo" (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2007), chap. 3.

a Brazilian national "other." In 1949, Raquel de Queiroz, the famous author and editor-in-chief of the country's main glossy lifestyle magazine *O Cruzeiro*, published an article entitled "Olhos Azuis" ("Blue Eyes"), about her recent travels to Brazil's southern states. In it she used blue-eyed people she had seen as a metonym for unassimilated ethnics, even advocating for the reestablishment of the nationalization campaign. For the author, light hair and light eyes were troublingly un-Brazilian.[488] In contrast to Queiroz, in 1952 a member of a prominent Porto Alegre business family, José Carlos Daudt, published a defense of German-Brazilian identity and history entitled *Brasileiros de Cabelos Loiros e Olhos Azuis* (Brazilians with blond hair and blue eyes). For Daudt, blonde hair and blue eyes were indeed markers of German ancestry, but did not call into question German-Brazilians' national belonging.[489] During the Queen of the Sesqui competition, the press focused intensely on the contestants' coloring, with one article referring to "the blonde queens of the Sesqui," the plural "queens" implying that women of any other coloring would simply be incongruous.[490]

In the context of the military dictatorship, the notion that German-Brazilians were by nature so white as to be synonymous with blonde features was not innocuous or un-political. As historian Barbara Weinstein has shown in the case of 1930s São Paulo, the consolidation of "racial democracy" as dominant national discourse led in part to the emergence of racialized and geographic notions of modernity—always a normative judgment. She argues that São Paulo in particular "became associated in Brazilian culture not only with industry, modernity, and economic progress, but also with

[488] Rachel de Queiroz, "Olhos Azuis," *O Cruzeiro*, March 19, 1949.
[489] José Carlos Daudt, *Brasileiros de Cabelos Loiros E Olhos Azuis* (Porto Alegre: Editora Catos Ltda., 1952).
[490] "As Loiras Rainhas Do Sesqui," *Jornal Da Semana*, July 21, 1974.

whiteness."[491] Such associations continued and even intensified during the military dictatorship's *otimista* propaganda campaigns, with female sexual desirability becoming another quality largely coded "white" in the national public sphere.[492]

The Queen of the Sesquicentenary physically reified the overarching message of the festivities in general: as motors of progress and development—coterminous with whiteness—ethnic Germans epitomized the military's ideal Brazilians. Here, the Queen and the Princesses stood in contrast to an *implied* mixed-race Brazilian norm. Other important events during the Sesquicentenary, however, incorporated Afro-Brazilians into the visual landscape. Their presence specifically drew attention to German-Brazilian somatic difference—whiteness embodied. Most striking among these was the focal point of the 25th of July festivities: the allegorical reenactment of the migrants' arrival.

Diverging paths of whiteness

In the weeks and months leading up to the 25th of July, the press covered the preparations extensively, bringing information about German-Brazilian immigration and the Sesquicentenary commemorations to a broad audience. In total, the *Correio do Povo*, the most important daily in southern Brazil, dedicated no fewer than fifty articles to the festivities and to German-Brazilian history during the period. Major national newspapers such as *Folha de S. Paulo, Estado de S. Paulo*, and *Jornal do Brasil* also covered the event. Dedicated issues of national glossies *O Cruzeiro* and *Manchete* carried articles titled "The German Brazil" and "Europe in Brazil." Without exception these articles

[491] Barbara Weinstein, "Racializing Regional Difference: São Paulo Versus Brazil, 1932," in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, ed. Nancy P. Appelbaum and et al. (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2003), 238.
[492] Amelia Simpson, *Xuxa: The Mega-Marketing of Gender, Race, and Modernity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

reproduced images of industry and progress that the Executive Committee had crafted. Many of these took the presence of German-Brazilians and their culture as constitutive of Rio Grande do Sul's status as European and thus modern (and white). The important newsmagazine *Veja* even judged the material progress of southern Brazil to be "a German miracle from the wild forests."[493] Representations of German migrants and their descendants as models of cultural and economic progress remained a constant in the lead-up to the main event.

The highly choreographed celebrations that took place both inside and outside of Rio Grande do Sul attested to the date's national scope. Beyond the main festivities in São Leopoldo, the Executive Committee organized events in Porto Alegre, Pelotas, São Lourenço, Santa Cruz do Sul, and various other municipalities in the state.[494] Outside Rio Grande do Sul there were multiple commemorations in zones of German settlement in Santa Cruz and Paraná. There were even events in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, most evocatively an ecumenical religious celebration at the São Paulo Cathedral featuring the city's Cardinal, Paulo Evaristo Arns, along with Lutheran leader Albrecht Baeske and chief Rabbi Fritz Pinkuss.[495] Boosters for the 25th of July and the German ethnic presence it commemorated organized across state and religious boundaries to maximize the date's visibility.

While news of the Sesquicentenary spread outward, a large number of political, civic, and military luminaries converged on São Leopoldo for the July 25th commemorations. President Ernesto Geisel, his wife Lucy, and their daughter traveled to

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[493] "Domando a Urwald" *Veja* No. 308, 31.7.1974, p. 63.
[494] "Programação Geral Dos Festejos Do Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã," n.d., Comissão Executiva dos Festejos do Sesquicentenário da Imigração Alemã: Correspondências, Convites, Concursos, Museu Visconde de São Leopoldo.
[495] "Ein Unvergessliches Ereignis in Der Kathedrale São Paulos," *Deutsche Zeitung*, July 28, 1974.

Rio Grande do Sul to preside over the festivities. Accompanying them was a constellation of political luminaries: Euclides Triches, the governor of Rio Grande do Sul; the Brazilian Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Treasury, and Labor; the President of the Supreme Court; and numerous state and federal Deputies furthered the air of official sanction from the regime. Cardinal Vicente Scherer, Archbishop of Porto Alegre, offered a mass of thanksgiving before the festivities commenced. With this level of secular and religious benediction, the festivities—and in particular the allegorical parade that was their focal point—would amount to what Carlos Fico refers to as a "'correct reading' of Brazilian society and history."[496]

Much to the chagrin of the event's organizers, July 25, 1974 was a cold and drizzly winter's day in São Leopoldo. While dignitaries enjoyed a luncheon offered at the *Sociedade Orfeu*, São Leopoldo's oldest German-Brazilian voluntary association, thousands of Brazilians braved the weather to ensure a spot from which to watch the allegorical reenactment of the German migrants' first arrival.[497] The performance itself—referred to alternately as a *desfile* (parade) or as a *replica* (reenactment) in the documentation—took place in the *Praça do Imigrante* (Immigrant's park) on the banks of the Rio dos Sinos. The park was a fitting site for the festivities as at its center stood the monument erected on the occasion of the centenary of the Germans' arrival in 1924. Around 1:45pm the ship bearing actors representing the first migrants began its upstream voyage on the Rio dos Sinos, powered by rowers (figure 5.3). Meanwhile thousands of

[496] Fico, *Reinventando O Otimismo*, 19.
[497] On the Sociedade Orfeu, see Eloisa Capovilla da Luz Ramos, "O Teatro Da Sociabilidade: Um Estudo Dos Clubes Sociais Como Espaços de Representação Das Elites Urbanas Alemãs E Teuto-Brasileiras: S. Leopoldo. 1850/1930" (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2000).

spectators in the *Praça do Imigrante* listened to selections by German composer Richard Wagner.

Figure 5.3: The Immigrants' Arrival[498]

Once the boat reached the *Praça do Imigrante*, the reenactment of the disembarkation of the first immigrants—the foundation myth of the German-Brazilian heritage on display that day—commenced. Throughout the presentations, an epic poem entitled "Utopia Yesterday, Reality Today" boomed over a loudspeaker. The words were a paean to the civilizing qualities of the imagined "European man" and his positive effects on the "Brazilian man."[499] The intended message of the event was clear: with the arrival of the German migrants began a felicitous process of transformation for Rio Grande do Sul and Brazil. Importantly, this process resulted from German-Brazilians' hard work, self-reliance, and dedication to progress.

What stands out in photographs of the reenactment, however, is not the "German" families but rather the presence of perhaps a dozen shirtless black men representing slaves, performing the bulk of the physical labor (figures 5.4 and 5.5). Neither the historiography nor popular memory placed slaves on the same voyage up the Rio dos Sinos (though the German migrants quickly adapted to the opportunities provided by slave holding).[500] In an allegory meant to emphasize German migrants' work ethic and pioneering spirit, the temptation would be to silence the role of enslaved peoples rather

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[498] "Fotos Do Biênio Da Colonização E Imigração," n.d., K VIII, n. 133, Martius Staden Institut. Image removed due to lack of copyright permission.

[499] Jair Quintino Libero, "Utopia, Ontem: Realidade, Hoje," June 1974, Recortes de Jornais: 1974: Sesquicentenário da Imigração Alemã, Museu Histórico Visconde de São Leopoldo.

[500] See, among others, Marcos Tramontini, *A Organização Social Dos Imigrantes : A Colônia de São Leopoldo Na Fase Pioneira, 1824-1850* (São Leopoldo: Editora UNISINOS, 2000).

than display it so prominently.[501] The striking contrast invites two different possible interpretations, both showing the reenactment to be an attempt to de-historicize and "Brazilianize" the (historical) Germans.

Figure 5.4: The disembarkation of the immigrants[502]

Figure 5.5: Slaves carrying the immigrants' effects[503]

First, it is possible that the inclusion of Afro-Brazilians amounted to an attempt to increase the visual diversity among the reenactors. This would bring German-Brazilian history more in line with contemporary representations of the Brazilian nation (think of the somatic diversity of cartoon children in the *Este é um Pais que vai pra Frente* campaign). It would also subtly suggest that the contact and comingling (*convivência*) among races that many thinkers posited as the cornerstone of Brazilian nationhood were fundamental to the German-Brazilian story as well.[504] However, this interpretation would run counter to the declarations of whiteness witnessed during the Queen of the Sesqui pageant.

Instead, it is more probable that the reenactment's choreographers projected and inscribed a familiar division of labor between whites and blacks onto the foundational moment of German-Brazilian history in order to emphasize the migrants' whiteness. This representation fit more squarely within the 20th century tendency among Brazilian

[501] For a meditation on the power relationships between representer and represented in the production of historical discourses and memory, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).
[502] "Fotos Do Biênio Da Colonização E Imigração." Image removed due to lack of copyright permission.
[503] Ibid. Image removed due to lack of copyright permission.
[504] Freyre, *Casa-grande & Senzala*.

social thinkers to conceive of colonial Luso-Brazilians as abhorring physical labor.[505] Even as the organizers constructed a rhetorical Germanness synonymous with self-reliance and hard work, the visual representations of manual labor remained the purview of Afro-descendants. Here two conceptions of whiteness—whiteness as associated with the Portuguese inheritance and whiteness as associated with modernity and progress—blend together.[506]

As if to correct this incongruity, the most important daily newspaper in southern Brazil, the *Correio do Povo*, completely elided the presence of the black reenactors. In its coverage of the event, the paper described "an act of rare beauty," the high point being "the arrival of an old ship, powered by oars, transporting 43 immigrants (27 men and 16 women) in a commemoration of what happened on the same day exactly 150 years before."[507] These numbers only include the reenactors representing the first 43 immigrants—the ships, in fact, carried many more people up the river. Indeed, none of the Portuguese-language accounts I found made any mention of the half-nude black bodies present in the allegorical representation, reifying notions of self-reliance and ingenuity at the core of German-Brazilian identity and history. The observers from the media either did not agree with or—more likely—could not make sense of these contrasting conceptions of whiteness. The Sesquicentenary album too did not reproduce any photos of these Brazilians of color, effectively whitewashing the history of German migrations as well as future memories of the Sesquicentenary celebrations. Taken

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[505] See, among many others, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes Do Brasil*, 26th ed. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995), chap. 2–3; Gilberto Freyre, *Brazil - An Interpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), chap. 1.

[506] This is in many ways the inverse of the process that Anadelia Ramos found in judgments about Bahia. Anadelia A. Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2010).

[507] *Correio do Povo*, July 26, 1974.

together, the "official" memory's erasure of the black bodies present during the reenactment indicated the cognitive dissonance between different conceptions of Germanness circulating in the various events.

Whatever the intended effect of the inclusion/exclusion of black slaves from the visual and textual narration of the events for Brazilians, the large contingent of West German nationals at the event further complicated the transmission of the organizer's messages. In the build-up to the Sesquicentenary, the Brazilian press and executive committee members had taken the West Germans' participation as a demonstration of (diasporic) historical continuity, a marker of how German the German-Brazilians were.[508] For state and federal government officials, the West German representatives were important possible sources of foreign investment and the Sesquicentenary was an opportunity to foment cooperation between the two countries.[509] The outcome, however, was not exactly as intended. The following section traces the reactions to the Sesquicentenary festivities among the West German contingent, exploring how the dialogue between nationally constructed (Brazilian) notions of Germanness complicated the transnational connections so many Brazilians desired.

Transnational limits of representation

At the invitation of the Executive Committee and the Brazilian national government, West Germany had sent an impressive group as official representatives, numbered by the

[508] A glance at the vast press coverage of the West German participation confirms this. See, among many others, "Alemães Chegam Para O Sesqui," *Folha Da Manhã*, July 24, 1974; "Presidente Da Volkswagen," *Jornal Do Comércio*, July 24, 1974; "Alemães Desembarcam Hoje Nas Barrancas Do Rio Dos Sinos," *Zero Hora*, July 25, 1974; "República Federal Da Alemanha Associa-Se Aos Festejos Do Sesquicentenário Da Imigração," *A Voz Da Serra*, April 11, 1974.
[509] Roehe, "O Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul Em 1974 Como Corolário Das Relações Econômicas Brasil Alemanha."

reputable *Folha de S. Paulo* at over 1,500.[510] Led by the ambassador to Brazil and veteran diplomat Horst Röding,[511] the dignitaries included Franz Josef Strauss, president of Germany's second-largest political party, the Christian Social Union, and former Minister of Nuclear Energy and of Defense; Hans-Hilger Haunschild, Minister of Research and Technology; Dr. Richard Jaeger, Vice President of the lower house of the West German parliament; and Dr. Bernhard Vogel, the minister of culture for Nordrhein-Westfalen, among others. A large press junket followed their group, including representatives from major outlets such as Deutsche Welle, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, the Süddeutsche Zeitung, Deutsche Presse Agentur, and the German TV channel two.[512]

The Executive Committee and the Brazilian press took this contingent of German nationals as recognition of the close cultural ties between the German-Brazilian community and the West German state; as a marker of authenticity. The *Correio do Povo* was particularly breathless that the head of Deutsche Welle's international short-wave programming would broadcast live from São Leopoldo.[513] However, the presence of so many German politicians and journalists—all of whom had lived through Second World War and Allied occupation—revealed the unintended ambiguities of the Sesquicentenary's take on German identity. Perhaps in no other western nation were the politics of memory and national identity such a "minefield of exploding sensitivities," to borrow historian Mary Fulbrook's phrase. The rise and defeat of the Nazi regime and its

[510] "Fotos Do Biênio Da Colonização E Imigração," n.d., K VIII, n. 133, Martius Staden Institut.
[511] Röding was a career diplomat who built his reputation at the Foreign Office in Bonn. After Brazil, he became West Germany's ambassador to Poland. See Henning von Wistinghausen, *Im Freien Estland: Erinnerungen Des Ersten Deutschen Botschafters 1991-1995* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2004), 233.
[512] Rodolfo Englert et al., *Relatório Da Comissão Executiva Para Os Festejos Do Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã No Rio Grande Do Sul* (Porto Alegre: Escola Gráfica-Educandário São Luiz, 1974), 19–20; 33–34.
[513] "Jornalistas da Deutsche Welle vão fazer transmissões de Porto Alegre" *Correio do Povo*, July 25, 1974.

vainglorious image of German history and identity, followed by the bisection of German national territory by the iron curtain, meant that "all public representations were fraught with taboos, surrounded with controversies, subjected to acute debate, analysis and critique."[514]

Certain aspects of the reenactment would have stood out to the West German delegation. For example, the use of Wagner during the allegorical reenactment may have appeared inappropriate or at very least naïve. As David Monod points out in his study on music and the denazification programs, members of the United States' Information Control Division—charged with the re-democratization of occupied German—had seen Wagner as an "intoxicating drug of [German] nationalism" and repressed Wagner's repertoire.[515] Indeed, for years following the end of hostilities, Wagner's family and his music remained highly controversial, being expropriated and marginalized by the cultural authorities in 1940s and 50s Bavaria.[516] Similarly, the folkloric caricature of popular German foodways and music on display during various events may have had the opposite of the desired effect in the minds of the West German delegates.

Because the diplomatic correspondence from the time remains unavailable, these conclusions remain only speculative. However, West German press coverage provides one view into participants' reactions. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, southern Germany's most important newspaper, only dedicated one article to the entire trip. Dripping with irony, it carried the headline "Financial transactions and oompah music on the Sinos River: festival guests get tapped [for investments]." The article's author, Manfred von

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[514] Fulbrook, *German National Identity after the Holocaust*, 79.
[515] David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945-1953* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2005), 98.
[516] Ibid., 253–263.

Conta, criticized the use of supposedly German symbols—*volksmusic* (German popular music), sauerkraut, sausage, cheese, beer—to further public and private investment in Brazil. In particular, he chastised the German contingent for complicity with the regime, pointing out that "on the same day that the festival queen rolled through São Leopoldo to oompah music at the head of a folkloric dance group," Porto Alegre's *Correio do Povo* printed a pro-democracy manifest calling for an end to the military government.[517] For its part, West Germany's most important daily, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, did not even print coverage of the festivities despite having one of its correspondents present with the press junket.

While concerns about associations with the military regime certainly troubled the West German press corps, the presence of the half-naked representations of slaves during the allegorical reenactment revealed the stark divergence in the role of race in Brazil and post-World War Two West Germany. The West German journalist von Conta found the uncomplicated representation of slavery and Afro-descendant subservience vis à vis the German immigrants both shocking and offensive. Unlike the Brazilian accounts that omitted the presence of black reenactors, von Conta used images meant to shock his readers with images of falsehood and futility. He opened his article about the centenary: "the crouched negro slaves pushed symbolically with their oars in the brown waters of the river Sinos, while a diesel motor moved the boat toward land."[518] In West Germany, where the very word *Rasse* (race) was associated with a dangerous past, this mental picture could not help but evoke negative reactions. Von Conta continued with his thick satire and vitriol, questioning the intentions of both the West Germans and the Brazilians.

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[517] "Die Festgäste Werden Angezapft," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, July 31, 1974.
[518] Ibid.

Von Conta ironized that Christian Social Union President Strauss was "certainly the most discreet among the festival participants" because he had paid for the trip himself blatantly only to sell German-built aircrafts to the government in Brasilia.[519] Von Conta's article amounted to an indictment of the sort of Germanness presented in the Sesquicentenary celebrations as well as the goals of its German-Brazilian organizers and West German participants.

Conclusion

The political and civic elites that planned and carried out the Sesquicentenary festivities deployed Germanness to a variety of ends and with a variety of outcomes. In terms of international economic and political cooperation, it appears likely that the West German and Brazilian governments used the event to begin discussions for what would become the largest transfer of nuclear technology in history. Between the July 1974 and June 1975, the Brazilian government carried on semi-secret talks with the West Germans that would end in an accord for the construction of up to eight nuclear reactors in Brazil, as well as the technology to enrich uranium.[520] The accord itself—condemned by the U.S. government and called "nuclear insanity" by the New York Times—represented a direct challenge by both Brazil and West Germany to the nuclear balance of power between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.[521]

The only hint of this mission I could find in the Portuguese- and German-language press in Brazil, as well as in the West German press, was a casual mention in the *Estado de S. Paulo* from July 23, two days before the festivities. The author noted

[519] Ibid.
[520] Gaspari, Elio, *A Ditadura Encurralada* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004), 130–134.
[521] "Nightmare Upon the World," *The New York Times*, June 13, 1975.

that various representatives from the German-Brazilian Commission for Scientific and Technological Cooperation had met with government representatives at Itamaraty, the Foreign Ministry. Among them were "various specialists in nuclear physics, data processing, and aeronautic and aerospace technology."[522] This circumstantial evidence leads me to believe that these series of high-level meetings were at the root, as much as anything, of the large West German presence at the Sesquicentenary events.

More central for the Executive Committee and the German-Brazilian elites who shaped the Sesquicentenary's discourses of Germanness was the rehabilitation of Germanness on the national stage. Presenting ethnic Germans as fully integrated into the Brazilian nation and at the same time superior within *mestiço* Brazil seemingly presented a paradox. The Sesquicentenary's organizers attempted to recapture the model minority status that some 19th and early 20th century Brazilians had ascribed to (idealized) German migrants—namely, eugenic superiority. At the same time, the organizers also attempted to capture the *zeitgeist* and assert Germanness as a positive addition to contemporary (developmentalist, military) Brazil.

In this desire, the organizers of the Sesquicentenary were not alone. Recent work on the 1970s has shown that despite the state-sanctioned negation of the possibility of hyphenated Brazilians (the *mestiço* nation), the decade witnessed the (re)emergence of various public articulations of ethnic difference. Focusing particularly on novel black or Afro-Brazilian identities, Sérgio Costa and Omar Ribeiro Thomaz argue that the elevation of the "ideology of *mestiçagem*" to a "civil religion" during the military regime was accompanied by an increasing desire of different Brazilians to "seek novel channels

[522] "Brasil comemora os 150 anos da imigração alemã" *O Estado de São Paulo*. 7.23.1974.

of expression of cultural identities and the rediscovery of ethnic roots."[523] They propose a periodization of Brazilian ethnic history based on the perceived efficacy of "assimilationist policies, combating ethnic associations, the elimination of education in foreign languages, and even the open political persecution of those who wished to retain their status as 'foreigners.'"[524] This conception groups the 1930s through the 1970s as a period of ethnic dying-out and increasing assimilation to an official national ideal (with some folkloric exceptions). By the second half of the 1970s, the process of political "opening" and eventually democratization that began under Geisel was mirrored by a flourishing of ethnic identification. The Sesquicentenary celebrations might even serve as a starting inflection point for this second period.

For Costa and Ribeiro Thomaz, this ethnic flourishing primarily meant the emergence of valorized social difference based on color—that is, on racial rather than national/immigrant origins. They focus on the struggle of certain historical actors to "establish a coherent and organic connection between the black body and an African cultural matrix vaguely defined as 'black culture'" within an "officially" mixed national imaginary.[525] Here they echo Livio Sansone's observation that the 1970s and early 1980s were "a period of growth and creativity for black organizations and black culture," a period when "black culture and religion gained more official recognition."[526]

What both Sansone and Costa and Ribeiro Thomaz gesture toward but do not explore are the novel hyphenated identities linked to Brazil's immigrant groups that

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[523] Sérgio Costa and Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, "Do Discurso Nacionalista Único Às Novas Etnicidades: Política, Anti-Racismo E Reafricanização," *Iberoamericana* 4, no. 14 (2004): 146.
[524] Ibid.
[525] Ibid., 148.
[526] Livio Sansone, *Blackness Without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 25.

similarly emerged during the period of political opening. Here, the intertwined economic and social interests at play in the Sesquicentenary and its discourses of Germanness were not exceptions. Anthropologist John Karam has argued for the role of economics in this ethnic (re)emergence. He found the emergence of an "Arab ethnic project" born concurrently with Brazil's insertion into the global neoliberal economic moment in the 1970s. For Karam, the ethnic Syro-Lebanese business community seized the opportunity to define themselves as privileged intermediaries with emergent Middle Eastern economic powers.[527]

The public reemergence and recognition of German ethnic identities in Brazil—exemplified by but not limited to the Sesquicentenary celebrations in 1974—supports the notion that the mid-1970s were a moment when ethnic identities flourished for a variety of reasons. Beyond the perceived economic advantages of ethnic distinction (gaining economic status), the German-Brazilian case also shows the enduring power of whiteness in determining social status across Brazil's *longue durée*.[528] Although explicit associations of Germaneness with whiteness would have run afoul of official national identity discourses of *mestiçagem*, organizers of the Sesquicentenary went to great lengths to construct German-Brazilians' (perceived) racial difference.

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[527] Karam, *Another Arabesque*.

[528] Florestan Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Skidmore, *Black into White*; Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness*; Peter Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," *Daedalus* 129, no. 2 (April 2000): 83–118.

Conclusion

Blumenau, Santa Catarina is one of Brazil's most iconic sites of German settlement.[529] Founded by Hermann Blumenau in 1850 as an agricultural colony, many of the town's 19th century buildings were constructed in Germanic style, with half-timbered facades, dramatic gables, and carved wooden accents. This association between Germanness and Blumenau has been a long one: on a visit in 1940 Getúlio Vargas pronounced that he was pleasantly surprised to find Portuguese was not completely unknown among its citizens.[530] By the late 1970s and early 1980s Blumenau, like other cities of European colonization in Brazil's south, looked for ways to affirm its immigrant history while taking advantage of the burgeoning domestic tourism industry for economic benefit.[531]

Blumenau held its first Oktoberfest—a version of the Bavarian autumnal harvest festival first celebrated in Munich—in October 1984. Though it fell during the Southern Hemisphere's spring, the event traded on notions of Blumenau's authentic Germanness.[532] Its organizers used the well-known symbols of Oktoberfest (beer, pretzels, Bavarian *trachten* clothing, etc) to project this authenticity.[533] The strategy

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[529] The classic treatment of German colonization in Blumenau and the Itajaí valley is Seyferth, *A Colonização Alemã No Vale Do Itajaí-Mirim ; Um Estudo de Desenvolvimento Econômico*.
[530] Getúlio Vargas, "Trechos Do Discurso Em Blumenau," *Guahyba* II, no. IV/V (1940): 63–65.
[531] Teixeira, *Os Recados Das Festas*.
[532] On notions of authenticity and collective memory at Oktoberfest, see Leonie Herbers, "Das Blumenauer Oktoberfest -- Ein 'Deutsches' Fest?: Diskurse, Kulturmanifestationen Und Kollektive Erinnerung, 1984-2009" (Freie Universität, 2011).
[533] By the mid-20th century these Bavarian symbols had come to represent German national identity on an international scale. On the special role of food in the emergence of post-World War Two German identities, see Sanna Inthorn, *German Media and National Identity* (New York: Cambria Press, 2007), chap. 4; On the "bavarianization" of ethnic German identities in the United States, see Joy Adams, "Going Deutsch: Heritage Tourism and Identity in German Texas" (University of Texas, 2006); On the importance of clothing in Oktoberfest traditions, see Gerda Möhler, *Das Münchner Oktoberfest : Brauchformen Des Volksfestes Zwischen Aufklärung Und Gegenwart* (Munich: Kommissionsbuchhandlung R. Wölfle, 1980).

worked, with Blumenau's version of the Bavarian tradition quickly became the second largest in the world behind only the version in Munich itself.[534]

The scale of Blumenau's success was overwhelming. By the fourth edition in 1988 over a million national and international visitors streamed into the *Parque Vila Germânica* (Germanic Village Park), a large purpose-built campus whose architectural language of half-timbered shops, beer halls, and flower-filled squares invokes both Blumenau's historic center and an imagined, idealized German *dorf* (village). During the three weeks of German-themed reverie, participants consumed more than 720,000 liters of beer (over 190,000 gallons).[535] However, such smashing success did not prove sustainable. After its peak in 1992, attendance steadily dropped, reaching only 579,000 visitors in 2010. In this Blumenau may have been a victim of its own success as other southern Brazilian cities with strong ties to German migration began their own Oktoberfest traditions.[536] That Oktoberfest was a major economic motor for the city meant that decisions about the each year's edition reflected city leaders' hopes and strategies for restoring Blumenau's Oktoberfest to its former size (and profit).

Accordingly, organizers of Oktoberfest's 28th edition likely felt particular pressure to develop a marketing strategies that could best help return the festival to its former success. In early 2011 they settled on a campaign around the theme "Aqui Todo Mundo Vira Alemão" (Here, Everyone Becomes German). The main image—emblazoning everything from posters and websites to flyers that circulated nationally—

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[534] By comparison, the Munich version currently averages around six million visitors per year. See http://www.muenchen.de/int/en/events/oktoberfest/history.html. For an interdisciplinary look at aspects of Blumenau's Oktoberfest, see the essays in Maria Bernadete Ramos Flores et al., eds., *Oktoberfest: Turismo, Festa E Cultura Na Estação Do Chopp* (Florianópolis: Letras Contemporâneas, 1997).
[535] http://www.oktoberfestblumenau.com.br/oktoberfest/estatisticas-passadas
[536] Some of the most notable are held in Santa Cruz do Sul and Igrejinha, Rio Grande do Sul

featured three models representing "typical" Brazilian types: a lighter-skinned brunette, an afro-Brazilian man, and a woman whose features Brazilian friends and colleagues have described to me as between indigenous and East Asian (see figure 6.1). This ambiguity between the archetypical "third pillar" of Brazil's racial triangle (indigenous) and one of its most emblematic migrant streams (Japanese) only strengthens the image's message. The three different phenotypes were clearly intended to represent and invoke the country's multi-racial and multi-ethnic society. At the same time, these three people in particular appeared in this advertisement because they each flaunted widely held ideas of Germanness, i.e. because they do not "look" German. The campaign implied that by deploying or consuming the various symbolic items displayed in the advertisement—a large beer stein, a Bavarian *Werdenfelser* hat (called simply *chapeu alemão* or *chapeu de Fritz* in Portuguese), and a headband with flowers—one could take part in/be part of German ethnicity. Germanness was not simply possessed or embodied by the descendants of German migrants; instead, through certain patterns of consumption and travel, the qualities of Germanness were available to all Brazilians.

Figure 6.1: Aqui Todo Mundo Vira Alemão[537]

Although the year did not see the hoped-for uptick in attendance, the organizers considered the campaign a success since attendance stayed relatively constant despite the absence of a *feriadão* (long weekend) in the schedule.[538] The campaign went on to garner the 2012 *Top Turismo* prize from Santa Catarina's local chapter of the Brazilian Association of Sales and Marketing Directors.[539] The campaign's success lay in playing

[537] http://acontecendoaqui.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/image-oktober.jpg
[538] http://www.oktoberfestblumenau.com.br/oktoberfest/edicoes-anteriores/2011-mais-de-563-mil-pessoas-visitaram-a-28-oktoberfest
[539] http://www.acontecendoaqui.com.br/aqui-todo-mundo-vira-alemao-case-criado-pela-free-vence-premio-top-turismo-2012/

with broadly held notions of the relationship between "everyone" (i.e. Brazilians of all racial and ethnic backgrounds) and "Germans." The notion that Germanness was a quality everyone could embody simultaneously struck two dominant chords in Brazilian racial ideologies. First, it echoed enduring conceptions of Brazilians as fundamentally mixed—that thanks to the assimilational power that defined the nation, all Brazilians regardless of appearance embodied or could embody characteristics of Brazil's constituent races and ethnicities. Second, it played on the aspirations of a swelling middle class for whom moving up the economic ladder doggedly involved a deep-seated process of cultural and even physical whitening.[540]

Other reactions to the ad campaign demonstrated that not everyone agreed that the outcomes were positive. During my visit to the 2011 Oktoberfest, I stopped in eight or ten of the shops in the *Parque Vila Germânica* selling Bavarian hats, beer steins, chocolate, pretzels, and other "German" products and attempted to strike up conversations with the *blumenauenses* working there. When I inquired about their opinions on the advertising campaign, at least three commented that it had caused a stir among the "real" German-Brazilians of Blumenau. One shopkeeper in particular mentioned that it had been covered in the local press, though I have as yet been unable to locate any related articles. In the eyes of these locals, the use of an Afro-Brazilian to represent Germanness was inappropriate. For the same reasons the organizers of the sesquicentenary in 1974 worked to assert that unimpeachable whiteness was an integral part of German-Brazilianness (see chapter 5), some *blumenauenses* did not think that everyone could (or should) become German. In a city settled by German immigrants and

[540] On the importance of "white" in white-collar jobs, see Owensby, *Intimate Ironies*; On aspirations of whiteness and their connections to notions of progress and modernity, see Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity* (Durham: Duke UP, 2015); Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness*.

where ninety percent of residents considered themselves white, such a campaign projected the wrong image.[541] Tourists from other parts of Brazil came to Blumenau in order to see and experience precisely what was unique to the place and its inhabitants: unadulterated and authentic forms of Germanness.

The varying reactions caused by the advertising campaign illuminate the multifaceted role of ethnic identities in contemporary Brazil. For some in Brazil's south, notions of "Germanness" or "Europeanness" represent cultural capital to be mobilized to a variety of ends. Whether attracting tourists with promises of an authentically "German" experience in Blumenau or selling the south as Brazil's most "European" (read: developed/civilized) region to investors, the imagined whitening properties of German migration is never far off. For others, being German-Brazilian still represents a set of phenotypical and cultural characteristics that constitute ethnic and community boundaries: one either is or is not German-Brazilian. It is distinctly Brazilian that these two conceptions coexist; indeed, for Brazilians, they do not appear to be mutually exclusive.

* * *

This dissertation has offered up various snapshots of Brazilian history, differing in time and place, but each marked by tensions between the part and the imagined whole.[542] Specifically, I have detailed attempts by self-described ethnic Germans (the part) to control the contours and social meaning of Germanness within Brazilian society (the whole). I have also demonstrated how this imagined whole, in practice, represents the

[541] In the 2010 census, 89.86% of residents in Blumenau considered themselves white. These municipal-level statistics are available at www.sidra.ibge.gov.br/

[542] Here I am borrowing this formulation from Ruben George Oliven, *A parte e o todo: A diversidade cultural no Brasil-nação* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1992).

many contexts within which ethnic Germans conceived of such attempts. The various positive and negative qualities *ascribed* to Germanness at different historical junctures amounted to a grammar of identification. At times this grammar was incentivizing or inspiring, lining up the idealized projections of governments and other elites with the outlines of an idealized Germanness. At other moments, it was proscriptive, putting fixed (even coercive) boundaries on what forms, if any, of Germanness might take within Brazilian society. Throughout, it was this grammar that rendered the ongoing conversation between the part and the whole mutually intelligible.

On the eve of the centenary of German migration to Rio Grande do Sul, this conversation was in many ways just beginning. During the 19th century the positive and negative qualities that Brazilians ascribed to Germanness had existed largely apart from ethnic Germans themselves. The events of the First World War brought the part and the whole into conversation as never before. The popular and (to a lesser extent) state-sponsored action against German-Brazilian individuals and institutions demonstrated the inevitability of such conversations, as well as the consequences of misunderstandings. The various discourses of Germanness that swirled around the 1924 centenary amounted to attempts at shaping this emerging conversation. The establishment of the *Estado Novo* and the advent of modern communication technologies like the radio brought with them the greater insertion of the state into the lives of Brazil's citizens. Concomitantly, this heightened the salience of elite national projects. The authoritarian state's coercive power in essence enhanced the proscriptive qualities of this grammar, rendering certain forms of identification unintelligible and subject to correction.

In the aftermath of the *Estado Novo* and the Second World War, many of Brazil's ethnic groups hoped for a reemergence of ethnic life in the public sphere—a new beginning to the conversation between the part and the whole. In doing so, they attempted to master a novel grammar of identification that privileged Brazilianness. For German-Brazilians, certain characteristics like the German language, intra-ethnic cleavages along confessional lines, and German ethnic chauvinism became ungrammatical and receded or even disappeared from German-Brazilians' lexicon. Others like zeal for education, industry, integration, and progress—both idealized characteristics of both Brazilianness and whiteness—increasingly appeared as traits that German-Brazilians in particular embodied. During the military dictatorship, the state's censorship and repressive powers again heightened the proscriptive power of the grammar of identification. Notions of Brazil as a *mestiço* nation free from racism—summed up in its *otimista* propaganda campaigns—dominated. However, unlike during the *Estado Novo*, long-held notions of Germanness lined up with contemporary national projects, allowing German-Brazilians to assert themselves grammatically as a model minority. The conversation between the part and the whole had in some ways become an echo chamber.

It was only toward the end of writing this dissertation that I recognized the unspoken importance of whiteness throughout these conversations. At every juncture, whether Germanness emerged as a Brazilian ideal or as the ultimate Brazilian other, Germanness remained synonymous with a certain kind of whiteness. What changed were popular and elite conceptions. Theirs was not the Luso or Iberian whiteness that Freyre and other thinkers placed alongside Indigenous and African as the constituent parts of

idealized Brazilianness. Instead, to borrow Matthew Frye Jacobson's phrase, it was a whiteness of a different color.[543]

The largest groups of European migrants (Portuguese, Italians, and Spanish) seemingly fit easily within the "European" side of Brazil's imagined racial triangle due to perceptions of shared culture or heritage. The Portuguese and the Spanish represented continuity with the Iberian founders of colonial Brazil. The Italians, though many had also been targets of the nationalization campaigns, appeared then and now as culturally closer to the Brazilian core. Various historians and even Coelho de Souza, the State Minister of Education during the *Estado Novo* whose categorical denial of hyphenated ethnicity opened this dissertation, have indicated there existed "natural" affinities based on Mediterranean or Catholic heritage.[544] In his 1941 denunciation of Nazism, Coelho de Souza went so far as to assert that "within the Italian colonies…the problem of nationalization, in general, does not exist."[545]

Non-European immigrants like Japanese, Koreans, and Syro-Lebanese—and to a certain extent Jews—destabilized the tripartite division between Indigenous, African, and European. Their status as "other" to each of these three racial categories confounded elite Brazilians' attempts to classify them. However, as Jeffrey Lesser has shown, members of these immigrant groups often recognized the benefits of being legible through the lens of the racial triangle. Theories of Jewish connections to Brazil's indigenous populations and Japanese whiteness within Asia attest to the desire of various

[543] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).
[544] For early examples, see Manuel Diégues, *Etnias E Culturas No Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, Serviço de Documentação, 1952), 61–64; Thales de Azevedo, *Italianos E Gaúchos* (Porto Alegre: A Nação/Instituto Estadual do Livro, 1975), 227.
[545] Coelho de Souza, *Denúncia O Nazismo Nas Escolas Do Rio Grande*, 12.

parties to make a round peg fit in a square hole.[546] The ways their outsider status played out in Brazil's 20th century both called into question and affirmed the dominance of the racial triangle theory of Brazilian society.

As the only numerically significant group of Northern European arrivals, German-speaking migrants presented a third, related yet discrete vector. Since the earliest days of the 19th century, many Brazilian elites imagined Germany and Germans to be fonts of civilization, an ideal to which to aspire, the embodiment of what Brazil is not (but might be). At certain moments this has made Brazil's ethnic Germans a model minority, at others their "sort" of whiteness has been seen as dangerously un-Brazilian. Chapters two and three discussed the 1930s and 40s context in detail, but examples from more contemporary times abound. One particularly scathing one came in 1991 against Xuxa, the blonde bombshell from Santa Rosa, Rio Grande do Sul. The singer, whose birth name is Maria da Graça Meneghel, famously dated soccer god Pelé in the 1980s and made a name for herself as the host of the country's most popular children's show. On her program, *Xou da Xuxa*, she frequently appeared with a group of young side-kicks, the *baixinhos* (little ones), the vast majority of whom echoed her blonde features. In an article in *Folha de S. Paulo*, one of Brazil's most important newspapers, filmmaker Arnaldo Jabor wrote that

> "Xuxa emerged from the lap of a black man into the world of the media. And a strange birth it was for Pelé to perform. A 'pure' blonde, practically an actress in a Nazi film…emerging from the bed of the 'black god'…[Xuxa] proceeded to build an empire of blonde purity, a Third Reich of eunuch 'baixinhos.'"[547]

[546] Lesser, *Welcoming the Undesirables Brazil and the Jewish Question*; Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity*.
[547] Arnaldo Jabor in Folha de S. Paulo. 26 Sept., 1991, cited in Simpson, *Xuxa*.

Jabor's racialized language demonstrates how one could still in the 1990s be "too white" to fit comfortably into the "European" side of Brazil's core myth.

These observations lead me to depart slightly from Barbara Weinstein's arguments in her recent and masterful *Color of Modernity*.[548] In it, Weinstein traces the ways that in the mid 20th century the São Paulo elite painted their self-portraits using the hues "Brazilian," "white," and "progress" to (re)present São Paulo and its residents as both the best Brazilians and the consummate non-Northeast. Her emphasis on the contingent and comparative ways in which racialized regional identities emerge is well placed. However, Weinstein overlooks the entire region just south of São Paulo in the construction of Brazilian whiteness. In so many ways, the South's immigration patterns, topography, climate, economic activity…seemingly everything has been naturalized within the Brazilian imagination as "white," even somehow *more* white than other regions. While *paulista* identities may represent the white of the imagined triangle nation, this dissertation has shown that the whiteness that German-Brazilians were imagined to embody at times rendered them liminal Brazilians, confoundingly outside the triangle.

To conclude, the story of German-Brazilian identities appears a microcosm of larger national questions of race, region, and nation. Scholars of Brazil's northeast have recently shown the very deliberate processes by which the region became the naturalized "home" of certain sorts of racialized Brazilianness. Bahia in particular has emerged in the popular imagination as both Brazil's piece of Africa and the source of the African piece of Brazil's national puzzle. This sort of distinction emerges from complex desires to be different from the whole on both a personal, identitary level and in a public,

[548] Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity*.

recognizable, even commodified way.[549] As anthropologist Ruben Oliven points out, quests for unique, local or regional forms of identification are most compelling precisely as the pull of the "whole" is at its strongest.[550]

After seven years, I am left pondering the historical relationships between Germanness and southern Brazilian regional identities, in particular the complex constructions of *gaúcho* identity. Here, personal experience leads me to believe that in contemporary Brazil, *gaúcho* is both a regional and a racialized (white) category. Upon making my acquaintance, Brazilians from other regions of Brazil split down the middle as to whether I am *gaúcho* or foreign. My southern Brazilian accent aside, the two (mutually exclusive?) possibilities both draw on my tall stature and my light complexion to indicate a departure from undifferentiated Brazilian phenotypes. How did *gaúcho*—a historical type that originally referred to cowboys of mixed indigenous and European descent—come be a category that connotes non-Iberian (read: possibly foreign) sorts of whiteness? The answer, I believe, lies in part in the enduring ways that northern European immigration—in particular German—plays into the Brazilian imagination.

This dissertation has traced the historical roots of the Germanness that continues to be reconfigured and repurposed to various ends in southern Brazil. However, the effects of such associations on the day-to-day lives—political, cultural, and economic—of all Brazilians remain to be seen. For example, could associations between Rio Grande do Sul and the countries of northern Europe help account for the fact that at least six of Brazil's presidents since 1945 were either born or made their political careers in the

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[549] Patricia de Santana Pinho, *Mama Africa: Reinventing Blackness in Bahia* (Duke University Press, 2010); Stanley E. Blake, *The Vigorous Core of Our Nationality: Race and Regional Identity in Northeastern Brazil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011); Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia*.
[550] Oliven, *A parte e o todo*.

state? What does German-Brazilian supermodel Gisele Bündchen's worldwide success reveal about perceptions of Brazilian beauty? How might *gaúcho* identity play into access to national and international credit on Brazil's agricultural frontier? While these questions—and many others—will have to wait for another forum, it is clear that echoes of 19th century dreams and realities of German migration continue to reverberate in the Brazil of today.

Annex 1: Translation of DOPS communiqué[551]

Information No 20: Deutsches Männerheim, Rua Riachuelo, No 220

(The translation is "German Men's Home" [*Casa dos homens alemães*]

This is a boarding house, now called "Pensão Huber." There many Germans, Czechoslovakians, and Austrians find themselves installed. It is natural that, where elements of these three nationalities exist, they all have the same political opinion, which is, favorable to the 'Axis,' since, were that not the case, they would not all be residing under the same roof.

It is interesting to note that one of our agents, upon entering the establishment and asking about rooms, the boarding house's employee, initially asked him his nationality. Since he declared himself to be Brazilian, said employee asked the agent to accompany him, taking him to a barn at the rear of the building. Our agent, noting the employee's indifference and disinterest, quickly declared himself to be Teuto-Brazilian, expressing this fact in the German language. Immediately the employee turned around and, visibly more satisfied and showing greater respect, asked the agent to accompany him to the main building, this time carrying himself much more amicably and in the German language. He insisted on telling the agent that many Germans resided in that boarding house and the air was a friendly one [*a cordialidade era bastante*].

Our agent observed the existence of various German pictures, as well as a lot of advertising [*bastante propaganda*] and photos relating to tourism. There were many guests staying there—or rather, there were various foreign people in their respective rooms, a fact that was very strange, since it was already 10 am and some were still lying in bed. The whole place, in general, seemed suspicious [*o ambiente, em geral, apresentou-se, suspeito*].

[551] "Dossier: Pensão Huber," n.d., Pol Pol -- Alemão -- 4, APERJ.

Annex 2: Queen of the Sesqui contestants ranked from lowest to highest scores[552]

[552] All images housed in a box marked Comissão Executiva dos Festejos do Sesquicentenário da Imigração Alemã, "Concurso 'Rainha Do Sesquicentenário Da Imigração Alemã' accessible at the archive of the Museu Visconde de São Leopoldo. Images removed due to lack of copyright permission.

Primary Material

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