



O SISTEMA DE PARCERIA E A
IMIGRAÇÃO
EUROPEIA

THE SHARECROPPING SYSTEM
AND THE EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION



JOSÉ EDUARDO HEFLINGER JÚNIOR

Camponeses do Pfalz - Countrymen of the Pfalz
Die Pfalz Eine historische Fotoreise, von Theo
Scharzmüller. Institut für pfälzische Geschichte
und Volkskunde - Kaiserslautern - Pfalz
Germany, 2006.





Unigráfica Indústria Gráfica Ltda. - 2014

O Sistema de Parceria e a Imigração Europeia
The Sharecropping System and the European Immigration

José Eduardo Heflinger Júnior

Capa: Press Paper

Motivo Capa: Embarque de emigrantes no Porto de Hamburgo - Século XIX - Acervo Link to Your Roots - Hamburg - de
4ª Capa: Escritura de desistência de parte de uma hipoteca que constava na homologação da concordata concedida pelos credores da Vergueiro & Cia., por sentença datada de quatro de outubro de 1865, e ratificação de outra efetuada pelo *London and Brazilian Bank* em 26 de junho de 1871, envolvendo a Fazenda Ibicaba e o Sítio da Itaporanga, propriedades pertencentes à Vergueiro & Cia.

Fotos na dobra da Sobrecapa: José Eduardo Heflinger Júnior e a tripulação da *Swiss International Air Lines*, empresa que apóia o autor desde o ano de 2005 no empreendimento de suas pesquisas na Europa - Foto do autor com os Srs. Claudio Leoncavallo, Cônsul Geral da Suíça e o Cônsul Suíço François Duvanel, Foto dos senhores Jens Nitschke, diretor do *Ballin Stadt Auswanderermuseum Hamburg*, Antiohy Lirouadys (esposa do presidente da Bosch e representante da Fundação Robert Bosch, Eckhard Kupfer, diretor do Instituto Martius Staden SP, Maria Helena Leone e José Eduardo Heflinger Júnior, diretor do *Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center* (Evento de abertura da mostra *Auswanderung nach Brasilian über das Halbpachtsystem* ocorrida no Ballin Stadt Auswanderermuseum Hamburg / Novembro 2011).

Revisão Ortográfica: Profª. Maria de Lourdes Zaros Giralde (UNICAMP)

Pesquisas na Suíça, Alemanha, França, Itália e Portugal:

José Eduardo Heflinger Júnior e Maria Helena Leone Heflinger

Traduções / Translations:

Alemão Gótico (corrente) - Português: Instituto Martius - Staden (Birgit Fouquet, Daniela Rothfuss, Gerhard Springweiler, Hannelore Kirchhoff, Michaela Stork, Sílvia Rey-Warkentin e Veronica Yamaguchi) Dra. Eva Maria A. Boeckh Haebisch - IEBA - Instituto de Ensino Brasil Alemanha (Ribeirão Preto) - Prof. Rudolf Schallenmüller

Francês - Português: Ideia Escola de Línguas - Isaura Yuko Miyamoto Miike

Português - Inglês: Irene Sinnecker Levin - Idéia Escola de Línguas - Peter John Walker

Editoração Eletrônica: Press Paper Comercial Gráfica Ltda.

Fotografia: Alexandre Kantowitz - V.D.R. Fotografias

Imagens: Acervo Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center
Obras de Guillaume Michaud - Musée Historique de Vevey - Suíça

Fotos Link to Your Roots - Hamburg - de

Acervo Dr. Lotte Köhler - München - de

Ballin Stadt Auswanderermuseum - Hamburg - de

Biblioteca Paulo Masutti Levy

Impressão / Printed: Unigráfica Indústria Gráfica Ltda. - 2014

Obra incentivada pela Lei Rouanet 8313/91 - Ministério da Cultura - Pronac: 131278

Vendas / Sales: Unigráfica Indústria Gráfica Ltda. +55 019 3034.0115 (19) 3444.8810 • (19) 99643.2855

imigracao.resgate@hotmail.com

carlota.schmidt@gmail.com

Dados Internacionais de Catalogação na Publicação (CIP)
(Câmara Brasileira do Livro, SP, Brasil)

Heflinger Júnior, José Eduardo

O sistema de parceria e a imigração europeia =
The sharecropping system and the european
immigration / José Eduardo Heflinger Júnior ;
[traduções/translations Irene Sinnecker Levin ,
Idéia Escola de Línguas, Peter John Walker] .
Limeira, SP : Unigráfica, 2014.

Edição bilingue: português/inglês
ISBN 978-85-98942-25-4

1. Alemães - São Paulo (Estado) 2. Colonização -
História 3. Escravos 4. Fazenda Ibicaba
(Cordeirópolis, SP) - História 5. São Paulo
(Estado) - Colônias - História 6. Suíços -
São Paulo (Estado) 7. Vergueiro, Nicolau Pereira
de Campos, 1778-1859 I. Título. II. Título: The
sharecropping system and the european immigration

14-05478

CDD -981

Índices para catálogo sistemático:

1. Sistema de parceria : Imigração europeia :
História 981



AGRADECIMENTOS ESPECIAIS • *SPECIALS ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS*

Swiss International Air Lines

Dra. Lotte Köhler - Köhler Stiftung - München - de

Paulo Masutti Levy - Presidente da Associação Pró-Memória de Limeira

Sr. Theodoro Hayden Carvalhaes - Proprietário da Fazenda Ibicaba - Cordeirópolis - SP

Eckhard E. Kupfer - Diretor do Instituto Martius - Staden

Ballin Stadt Auswanderermuseum - Hamburg - Port of Dreams - Museu da Emigração - Hamburgo - Alemanha

Volker Reimers - Geschäftsführer BallinStadt Auswandererwelt Hamburg

Consulado Geral da Suíça em São Paulo, Brasil

Claudio Leoncavallo - Cônsul Geral da Suíça em São Paulo

François Duvanel - Cônsul da Suíça em São Paulo

Consulado Geral da República Federativa da Alemanha - São Paulo

Friedrich Däuble - Cônsul Geral da República Federal da Alemanha em São Paulo

Dra. Eva Maria A. Boeckh Haebisch

João Luis Scholl

José Roberto Maluf

Ministério das Relações Exteriores - Brasil

Consulado Geral da Suíça em São Paulo - Brasil

Embaixada do Brasil em Berna - Suíça

Embaixada do Brasil - Lisboa - Portugal

Rudolf Schallenmüller - Cônsul Honorário da República Federal da Alemanha - Ribeirão Preto - SP

GIGA - German Institute of Global and Area Studies (Hamburg)

Gilberto Calcagnotto M. A. Lic. Phil. - Universität Hamburg

Dra. Vânia Kahrsch - Universität Hamburg

Dr. Albrecht Schmidt

Antonio Francisco dos Santos

Clodoaldo Fontanetti - Londres - UK

Ari Osvaldo Favetta

Dr. Rui Tetsuo - Vila Franca de Xira - Portugal

João Ernesto Dierberger

Ingeborg Dierberger

Françoise Lambert - Curadora do Musée Historique de Vevey - Suíça

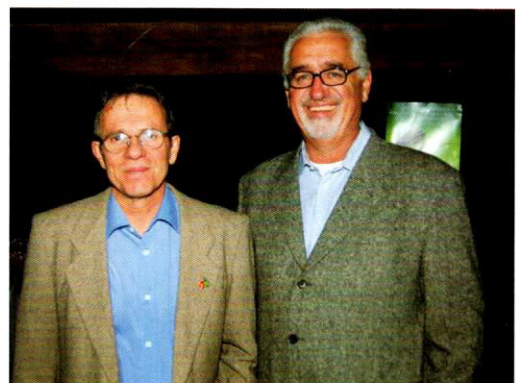


FONTES DOCUMENTAIS • DOCUMENTAL SOURCES

Swiss Federal Archives S FA - Berna*
Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz - Berlin - Deutschland
Staatsarchiv des Kantons Luzern
Swiss National Library NL (Berna)
BallinStadt - Auswanderermuseum - Hamburg - de (Museu da Emigração de Hamburgo)
Institut Für Pfälzische Geschichte und Vollesleunde - Kaiserslautern - Pfalz - de
Dr. Roland Paul
Adelheid Lelle
Christa Becker
Institut Für Pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde Kaiserslautern - Pfalz - de
Standesamt Gau-Algesheim - de
Dr. Lotte Köhler Collection - München - de
Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo
Arquivo Histórico - Museu Imperial - IPHAN - MINC - Petrópolis
Acervo Fotográfico Fazenda Santa Gertrudes • www.fazendasantagertrudes.com.br
Associação Pró-Memória de Limeira - SP - Brasil
Biblioteca Paulo Masuti Levy
Centro Municipal de Memória Histórica - Limeira - SP - Brasil
Deutsches Auswandererhaus - German Emigration Center - Bremerhaven - Deutschland
Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha - (Direktor - Lutz Schilling) - Deutschland
Landesarchiv Berlin - Deutschland
Link to Your Roots - Hamburg - Emigration Research Service - Deutschland
(Franz Scheuerer - Ole von Beust - Duane C. Butcher - Dr. Renate Müller)
Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais - Torre do Tombo - Lisboa - Portugal
Rádio e Televisão de Portugal (RTP) - Lisboa - PT
Luisa Vaz e Jacinto A. R. Godinho
Arquivo Distrital de Viana do Castelo - Portugal
Arquivo Distrital do Porto - Portugal
Staatsarchiv - Hamburg - Deutschland
Biblioteca Nacional - Lisboa - Portugal
Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Rudolstadt - Deutschland
Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein - Deutschland
Ministério da Defesa Nacional - Marinha - Capitania do Porto de Leixões - Portugal
Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz - Deutschland
Dra. Alexandra Esteves - Viana do Castelo - Portugal
Governo Civil do Distrito de Braga (Gabinete do Governador) - Portugal
Staatsarchiv Bremen - Deutschland
Ev. Luth. Kirchengemeind Westensee - Deutschland
Marion Lauer - Ev. Luth. Kirchengemeind Bovenau - Deutschland
Fundação Biblioteca Nacional - Brasil
Coleção Paulo e Maria Cecília Geyer / Museu Imperial - IPHAN - MINC
Museu Paulista / Universidade de São Paulo
Solaris Edições Culturais e Produções Ltda.
Museu Histórico e Pedagógico Prudente de Moraes - Piracicaba - SP
Museu Histórico e Pedagógico Major José Levy Sobrinho - Limeira - SP
Musée Historique de Vevey - Suíça



O autor e a Dra. Lotte Köhler, presidente da Köhler Stiftung de Munique



José Eduardo Heflinger Jr. e Paulo Masuti Levy
Presidente da Associação Pró-Memória de Limeira



Sumário

| | |
|--|----|
| <i>Prefácio Paulo Masutti Levy - Presidente da Associação Pró-Memória de Limeira</i> | 10 |
| <i>O Pioneiro no Sistema de Parceria</i> | 13 |
| <i>Vergueiro & Companhia</i> | 18 |
| <i>Inauguração da Colônia Senador Vergueiro</i> | 20 |
| <i>Imigração de Suíços pelo Sistema de Parceria</i> | 25 |
| <i>Colônia Superagüi</i> | 28 |
| <i>O Emprego do Sistema de Parceria na Província de São Paulo</i> | 37 |
| <i>Importação de Parceiros do Holstein</i> | 39 |
| <i>As Cartas enviadas por Thomas Davatz (1855/1856)</i> | 41 |
| <i>Deputados e Senadores discutem o Sistema de Parceria</i> | 55 |
| <i>Revolta dos Parceiros nas Colônias de Ubatuba</i> | 55 |
| <i>Motivos pelos quais a colonização pelo Sistema de Parceria não obteve êxito na Província de São Paulo (J. J. Tschudi)</i> | 71 |
| <i>A Decadência do Sistema de Parceria</i> | 79 |
| <i>A Ruína da Vergueiro & Companhia</i> | 83 |
| <i>O Destino da Fazenda Ibicaba</i> | 87 |

Summary

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Preface - Paulo Masutti Levy - Associação Pró-Memória de Limeira</i> | 10 |
| <i>The Pioneer in the the Sharecropping System</i> | 117 |
| <i>Vergueiro & Company</i> | 122 |
| <i>Inauguration of Senator Vergueiro Colony</i> | 123 |
| <i>Swiss Immigration by Sharecropping System</i> | 127 |
| <i>Superagüi Colony</i> | 130 |
| <i>The employment of the Sharecropping System in the Province of São Paulo</i> | 135 |
| <i>Import of the sharecroppers from Holstein (1852)</i> | 137 |
| <i>Letters by Thomas Davatz (1855 - 1856)</i> | 139 |
| <i>Deputies and Senators Discuss the Sharecropping System</i> | 153 |
| <i>The Rebellion of Sharecroppers in the Colonies of Ubatuba</i> | 151 |
| <i>Reasons why the colonization by the Sharecropping System has not been successful in the Province of S. Paulo (J. J. Tschudi)</i> | 168 |
| <i>The decadence of the Sharecropping System</i> | 175 |
| <i>The Ruin of Vergueiro & Company</i> | 179 |
| <i>The fate of Ibicaba Farm</i> | 183 |

808
Familie Häfliger
von Büron & Knutwil & Triengen
Kulmerau, Wilihof und Winiken



Wappen der von Obstfelder



im 15. Jahrhundert.





Associação
Pró Memória
de Limeira

Preface

I have followed the research undertaken by the author who, for thirty years has attended the archives of various countries in search of original documents relating to the Sharecropping System implemented by Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro, from the mid XIX century. The crossing of the content found in the documents kept in the collections of Brazil, Germany, Portugal and Switzerland have surprised researchers. The curiosities obtained in the studies of documents produced in Gothic German, French, Italian and Archaic Portuguese have contributed greatly to the enrichment of the Brazilian historiography; and not a few academics, national and European, have grounded their doctorates and masters studies on curiosities published by José Eduardo Heflinger Junior.

The book *Sharecropping System and European Immigration* focuses on an exciting theme and fosters deep discussion about the importance of the pioneering Senator Vergueiro in the colonization of Brazil by the introduction of European labor in the coffee culture, and consequently the substitution of slaves for free labor. For decades, scholars have discussed the reasons for the Rebellion of the Sharecroppers, held in 1856 in Ibicaba Farm. Heflinger found in the collection of the Swiss Federal Archives in Bern numerous manuscripts (letters) sent by Thomas Davatz to the trader Gustav Lutz and to Mr. Heinrich David, Consul General of Switzerland, between late 1855 and December 1856. This dossier of immeasurable rarity reveals extremely curious facts about the theme. The book also addresses the concern of deputies and senators acting in the imperial period, with the problem of labor that at the time, was consisted of African slaves.

Thus, I invite readers on a journey into the XIX century, a period when, being hired by the Sharecropping System, Europeans sought shelter in the Brazilian land and contributed to the development of our country.

Paulo Masuti Levy
President of the Association Pro Memory of Limeira

Cafezal da Fazenda Ibicaba - Henrique Manzo
Óleo s/ tela - Acervo Museu Paulista - USP



The background of the page is a sepia-toned illustration. In the upper portion, a large three-masted sailing ship is docked in a harbor. In the background, a hillside town with a prominent domed building is visible. In the lower portion, a large group of people, likely immigrants, are gathered on a wooden structure, possibly a ship's deck or a pier, with some individuals raising their arms in a gesture of celebration or protest.

PIONEER IN THE
EMPLOYMENT OF
EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS
BY THE SHARECROPPING
SYSTEM



Viana do Castelo - Minho - Portugal
Drawing by João de Almeida
Archive of Viana do Castelo Collection - PT.

VIANNA DO CASTELLO

Brooch that belongs to Carlota Brune (Schmidt) with Senator Vergueiro's image. Image bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - Dr. Lotte Köhler Collection - Munich - Germany.



Women from Minho - Portugal - Image bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center. Image taken from the miniseries "Ei-los que Partem" (Here they are leaving) produced by Portuguese Radio and Television of Lisbon, Portugal (RTP). The production relied on the advice of J. E. Heflinger Jr.



The Sharecropping System



Slaves sifting coffee inside the engine room building on Ibicaba Farm - Limeira-SP. (currently Cordeirópolis-SP.) Image bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - Dr. Lotte Köhler Collection - Munich - de.

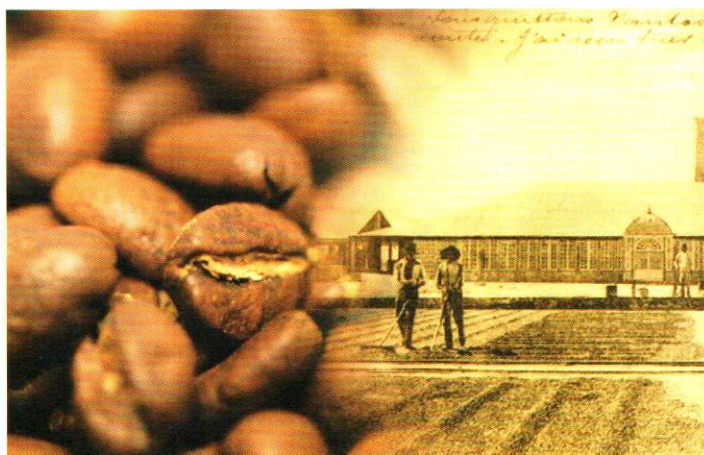
(1) Brazilian currency of the period (translator's note).

(2) Old measure of weight equivalent to approximately 15 kilograms (translator's note).

(3) Law Eusebio de Queiroz enacted on September 4, 1850, prohibited the slave trade to Brazil.

In terms of its employment in agriculture, the Sharecropping System consists of the equal division of profits obtained in crop, between the landowner and the individual that works on it. The first provides the capital represented by land, crop or anything similar, and the second provides labor: clearing the land, sowing, tending the crops and taking charge of the harvest. In the mid XIX century, the employment of European immigrants hired by the Sharecropping System in the coffee plantations had, more or less, the following model: after deduction of expenses with the yard, processing, transportation to the port, storage, taxes, commissions to brokers, losses for different reasons, etc., net profit was split equally between the farmer and the agriculturist. For this reason, the colonists were also called partners or sharecroppers. With regard to coffee, in 1820, Brazil exported ninety seven thousand and five hundred sacks, and in 1859 the number increased to over two million. The value of the exported product tripled in a short period of time. In 1840, it was close to eighteen thousand *contos de réis*,⁽¹⁾ and in 1858, this value tripled. Reports attached to the Vergueiro Process, kept in the Federal Archive of Bern, suggest that the most

significant harvest was in 1860/61, reaching nearly three million sacks for export. That meant approximately eighty million *arrobas*,⁽²⁾ amounting to eighty thousand contos de réis. Increased production demanded the employment of a larger number of Africans, not only to take care of the coffee and sugar cane crops, but also to help with transportation to the granaries and ports. For this reason, in the period between 1840 and 1850, over thirty thousand slaves were imported per year. From 1851⁽³⁾, except for illegal trafficking, there was a decrease in negotiations and the price of slaves rose significantly. This reality forced farmers to seek labor in Europe, taking advantage of the precarious situation of some regions of the Old World.



Pioneer in the employment of European immigrants by the Sharecropping System



In a letter sent by Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro on January 6, 1852, to José Tomás Nabuco de Araújo, President of the Province of São Paulo, we have collected the following statement on the employment of the Sharecropping System in Imperial Brazil: "Impressed by the decline of agriculture threatened by the abolition of slave trade, I designed a Patriotic Society to protect immigration. Although there was a favorable response, my illnesses denied me the necessary strength to carry it forward. I abandoned the project, not the idea. After some time, always restless with the desire to work on it, I took upon myself the task of founding a colony of some size, based on the principle of association or sharecropping, the one that, to date, still seems to be the only feasible model I can offer my compatriots to imitate. I prepared the coffee plantation and imported ninety Portuguese colonists "... (1) International pressure, mainly undertaken by England, against the trafficking and use of slave labor in Brazil caught the attention of Vergueiro regarding the difficulties we would face in the future. Africans constituted the driving force

of the sugar cane and coffee crops, so it explained the import of European workers in an attempt to replace the slave labor for free labor. After heavily criticizing the Imperial Government about the poorly and disorganized experience undertaken in the late 1820s (2) aiming at establishing colonial settlements in the Province of São Paulo, Senator Vergueiro brought in 1841, at his own expense, ninety Portuguese from Minho to his Ibicaba Farm (3) where he constituted the first sharecropping colony of Brazil. Vergueiro assumed the costs with shipping companies and transport from the port of Santos to the farm, and until the colonists could obtain the results of their work, he provided them with food and necessaries. Each family was responsible for a portion of the coffee plantation, tending the crops for the harvest. After the commercialization, the profit was divided into equal parts and debts incurred with the mentioned advances were gradually repaid, by charging 6% interest per year.

In an attempt to reconstruct the events that occurred in the mid XIX century, we have undertaken research in many European archives situated in the regions that promoted emigration to Brazil by the Sharecropping System. In Portugal, we have visited the archives of Minho and Torre do Tombo. In the police department, and in all the correspondence with the administrators of the Council, we have found references about the people engaged through the existing network in Alto Minho. Documents dating from the 1850s indicated that most emigrants left Portugal illegally. The emigration agents did not enjoy a good reputation with authorities. The head of the police department considered this initiative as white slavery. The agents promised the more ignorant Portuguese a superior life condition, creating expectations that could never be accomplished. We found cases of minors who requested the issuance of passports without the consent of their parents, who later attended the police stations complaining about the activities of the emigration agents, accusing them of having misled their children. The agents hired and boarded any individuals, including those guilty of death crimes or theft. There was a very well organized network involving shipping companies and captains of vessels. This plot was discovered by the Portuguese authorities, who began to demand a very strict control, consisting of inspections on the ships that left the ports towards Brazil.

Regent Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro. Oil on canvas by Túlio Mugnaine, Paulista Museum - USP.

(1) (Official Letter) Report sent by Senator Vergueiro to the President of the Province of São Paulo on January 6, 1852 (Collection of Historical Archives of the Imperial Museum - Petrópolis - Pack 117 - Doc 5786).

(2) (In Session No. 84 of the Government Council, on October 18, 1828, Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro heavily criticized the model adopted by the Brazilian government for the establishment of colonial settlements (Santo Amaro in São Paulo / 1827/1829), ceding land to foreign immigrants).

(3) Property of Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro located in Limeira, State of São Paulo. After the emancipation of one of its sub-districts, it became part of the municipality of Cordeirópolis.





City of Porto - Minho XIX Century - Portugal. Image taken from the miniseries "Ei-los que Partem" (Here they are leaving) produced by Portuguese Radio and Television of Lisbon, Portugal (RTP). The production relied on the advice of J. E. Heflinger Jr.

(4) Notice of the Palace of Rio de Janeiro, dated January 7, 1845, sent by Ernesto Ferreira França to Manoel da Fonseca Lima e Silva, President of the Province of São Paulo.

(5) Translation of note No. 101 (Rio de Janeiro, December 17, 1844, signed by Hamilton Hamilton, Extraordinary Envoy and Plenipotentiary Minister of Her Majesty The Queen to The Imperial Government - Collection of Public Archive of the State of São Paulo. Document published in the book *Itacaba: Cradle of Private European Immigration*.

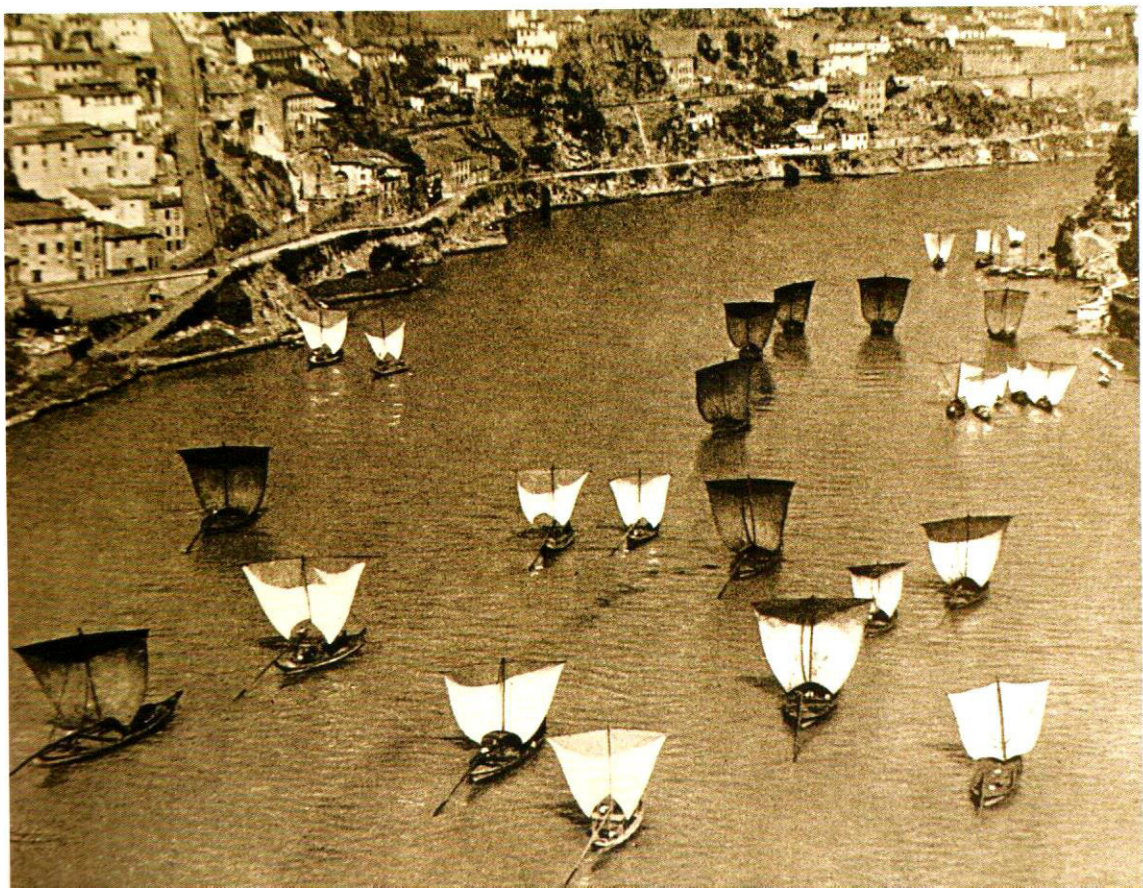
In the late 1850s, the Civil Government of Porto undertook actions to supervise emigration to Brazil. The Civil Governor began to check if agents were qualified people as provided by law. A procedure was implemented to verify if the contracted people were leaving of their own free will and aware of the obligations and burdens that they would be subjected to. The Civil Government had no power to interfere in the kind, time and conditions of the ticket payment, but only in the way that those conditions were reported and linked to the engagement. After everything was settled, to ensure compliance with the agreed upon between the parties, each emigrant

kept a copy certified by the responsible authority, who in turn, also kept a copy of the original contract. The Navy Quartermaster undertook the inspection. After the inspection, people were forbidden access to the vessels. In 1859, emigration agents continued to break the law. We found a document containing the seal of the Civil Government of the District of Porto accusing Antonio Joaquim d'Andrade Villares, agent who represented Vergueiro & Co., of practicing illegalities.

Numerous documents from the State Archive of São Paulo suggest the influence exerted by the Vergueiros with authorities, including privileges, exempting them from the inspection conducted on the vessels at the Port of Santos. (4) Vergueiro exercised power over provincial and port authorities, and this condition facilitated the introduction of illegal colonists. (5)

In 1842, being involved with the Liberal Revolution, Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro was arrested, and the pioneer sharecropping colony of Brazil disbanded. In the report sent on January 6, 1852 to the President of the Province of São Paulo, the Senator commented on the episode: - "Amidst my greatest enthusiasm, that called all my attention to that object, I suffered such troubles that, after the dismantling of the colony, I did not feel strong enough to rebuild it and any hope of making it succeed, due to my age. This time, I have even abandoned the idea".

Rabelo Boats on their way to Porto (Porto - Portugal). Viana do Castelo archive - Portugal.



Vergueiro & Company



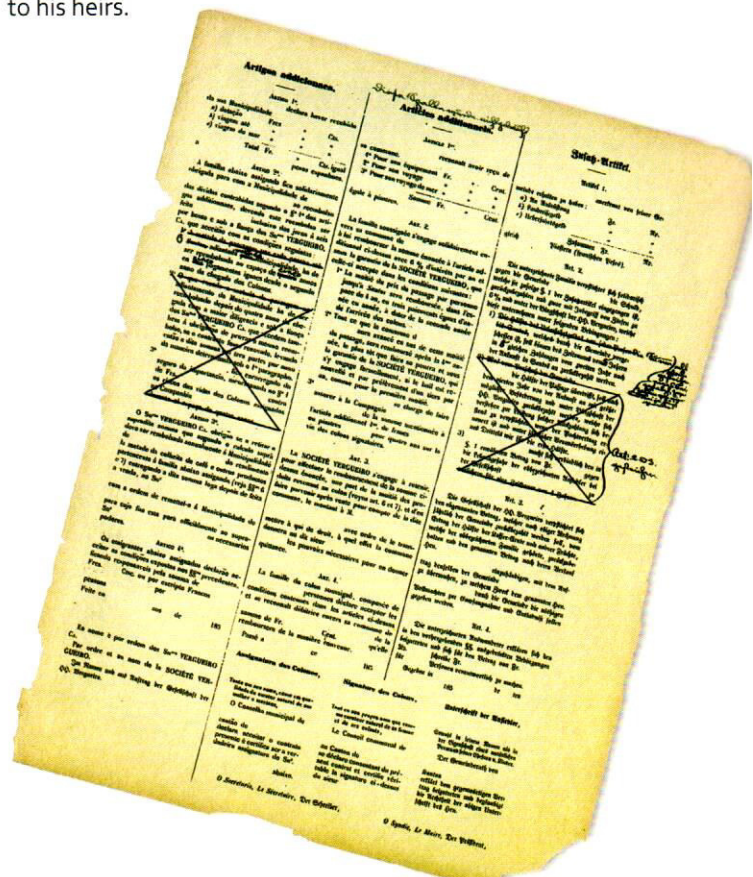
(1) Collection of the Public Archive of the State of São Paulo.

Port of Santos Gerodetti, João and Cornejo, Carlos, Recollection of São Paulo in Postcards - Memory Albums.

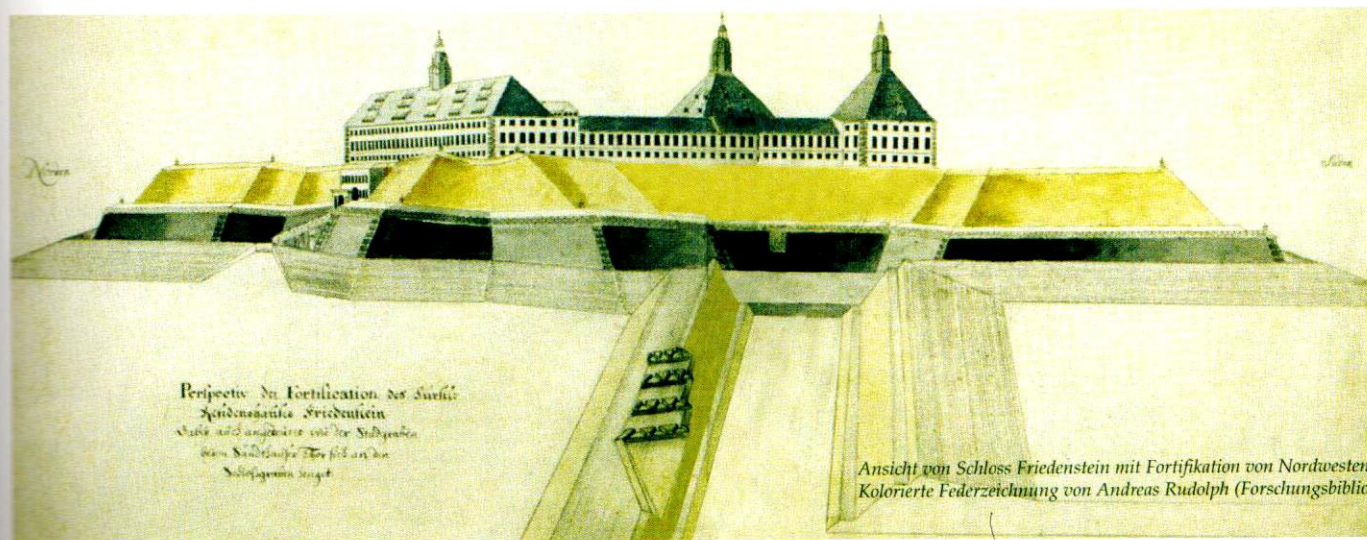
Partnership Agreement printed in three languages by Vergueiro & Co. (nineteenth century - Bank of Documents (Microfilms) of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - Swiss Federal Archives Collection - Bern - Switzerland.

In 1845, in order to contribute to the cause of colonization, Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro offered an amendment that was approved in the budget. The Imperial Government authorized, by law 369 of the 18th of September of the same year, the expense of two hundred contos de réis to import colonists hired by the Sharecropping System. In the official letter dated February 25, 1846, (1) the Government of the Province of São Paulo, on behalf of the Imperial Government, made the invitation to the reception of immigrants, taking responsibility for the transport costs. According to the report of Minister Joaquim Marcelino de Brito, dated 1845, the invitation was addressed to the farmers from all provinces, however, only Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro accepted it. We can imagine the dimension of responsibility that this action required, because the farmer would be in charge of supplying the needs of many alien families. Vergueiro knew that he could not assume this task alone and to solve the problem, he joined some of his children and constituted Vergueiro & Company Civil Society for Agriculture and Colonization, in the villages of Limeira, São João do Rio Claro, and a Commercial Society in Santos, for business commissions in general, buying and selling coffee and other genres of the country. The headquarters were at Number 38 Praia Street, in the city of Santos. After suffering some modifications on May 8, 1852 the contract was substituted, the company's funds were

raised to 300:000 \$ 000, the Senator's part being 234 shares of one conto de réu each, Jose Vergueiro's 40 and Joaquim's 26. The Senator would be director of the society, while he lived, Jose Vergueiro the first administrator and Joaquim the second. The society would not be extinguished by the death of a partner, and the rights of the deceased would be transferred to his heirs.



Inauguration of Senator Vergueiro Colony



Fortification of
Friedenstein Castle
- Gotha - Thüringen -
Germany - Gotha
Image bank of Carlota
Schmidt Memorial
Center Collection
- Thüringisches
Staatsarchiv -
Germany.

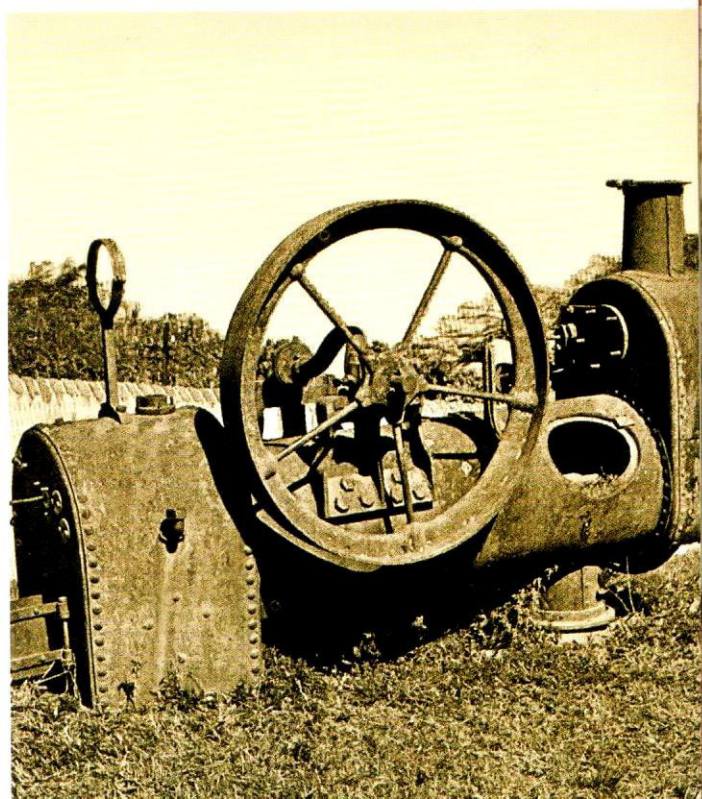
At the end of March 1847, four hundred and fifty citizens of Rheiland -Hessen, Pfalz and Schleswig Holstein embarked at the port of Hamburg, and in June of the same year, arrived at the Port of Santos. The following month, they joined some Portuguese who had remained in Ibicaba Farm after the crisis of 1842, and inaugurated the Senator Vergueiro Colony. The success of the first immigrant experience involving German citizens contracted by the Sharecropping System, informed by letters sent by immigrants to their friends and family, encouraged emigration. In our researches undertaken at Staatsarchiv Rudolstadt (Thuringia/Germany) we found the report "Emigration to Brazil and its Brilliant Success", registering positive facts depicting the emigration occurred between 1847 and 1851⁽¹⁾.

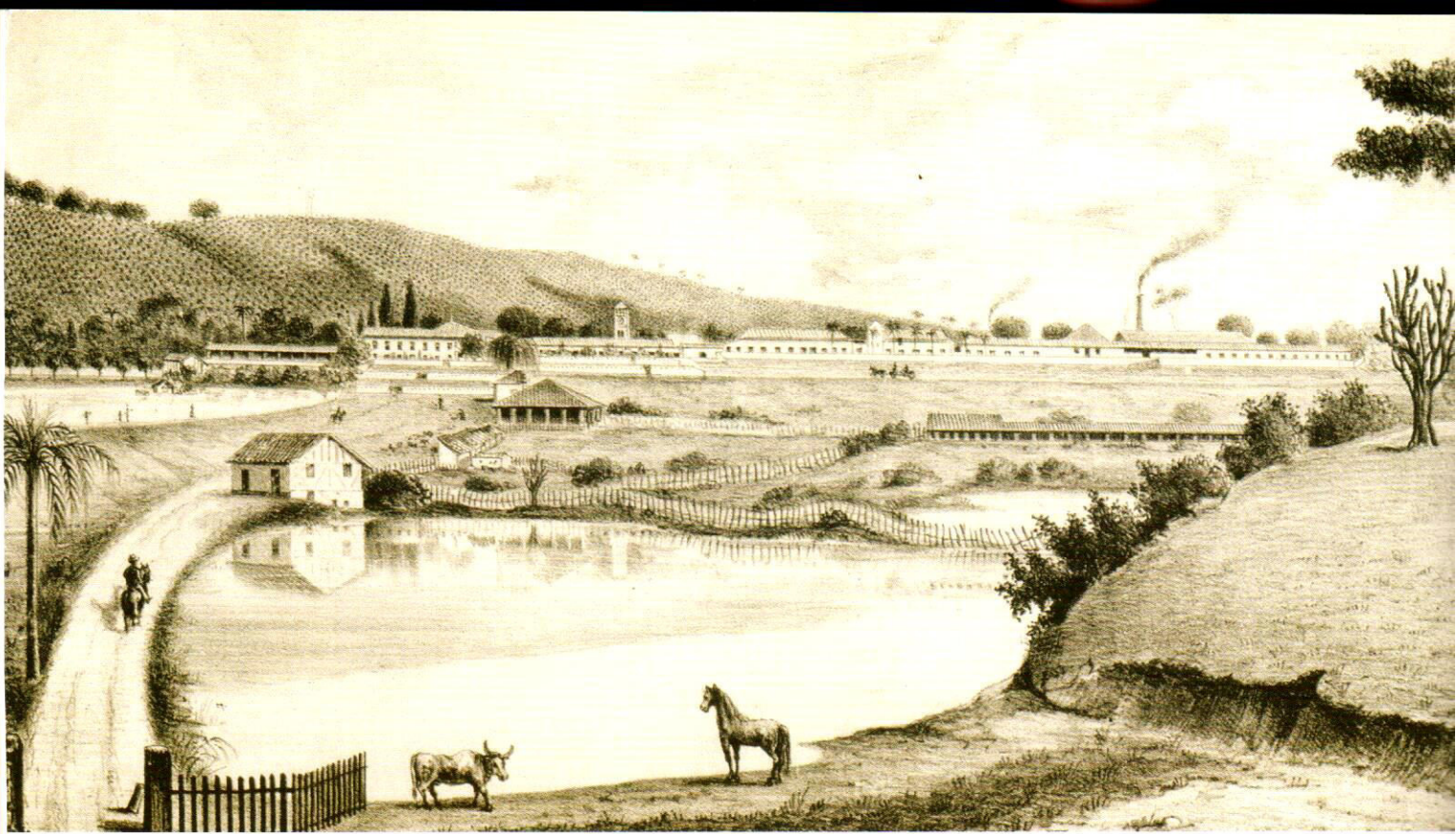
Documents dating from the same period record the other side of the story. In Brazil, the foreign colonists had difficulty communicating, especially because of the language barrier. They devoted themselves to work and spent years and years without learning Portuguese. Catholicism predominated and the German and Swiss Protestants suffered discrimination. For a long time, the Protestant aliens could not bury their dead in the cemeteries, and they were often victimized by slander, being used as a shield to cover up political disagreements, especially between the Liberals and Conservatives. Numerous official letters stored in the collection of the Public Archive of the State record the war climate installed in the Village of Limeira during the 1849 elections. The representatives of the Conservative Party uttered accusations in an attempt to tarnish the name of the liberals, among who figured Se-

nator Vergueiro. The conservatives had formed an armed group to intimidate voters and justified it by stating that they were trying to defend themselves from "hosts of opposition", formed by well-armed foreign colonists. Mr. J. Silva Diniz, then Justice of the Peace, officiated to the president of the province, contesting the claims, reporting that the foreign colonists were quiet and peaceful in their colonies. Because of the difficulty with the language, a few stammered some words in Portuguese, so they did not engage in political affairs that warmed the climate on the land of Morro Azul and Tatuibi, primitive names of the region where the municipalities of Limeira, Cordeirópolis and Iracemópolis are located.

(1) The document
in the collection
of Staatsarchiv
Rudolstadt -
Ministerium
Rudolstadt,
I. Abteilung
(Staatsministerium)
- Nr. 1826 was
published in the book
Ibicaba: Cradle of
European Private
Immigration.

Locomotive on
Ibicaba Farm - Levy
Family Collection.





In the report sent to the President of the Province of Sao Paulo on January 6, 1852, Senator Vergueiro reported the constitution of his company and the arrival of the first Germans in Ibicaba: - "In 1846, I was invited by the President of the Province, on behalf of the Imperial Government, to receive colonists, being responsible for the tickets, this invitation was also made to many people, and I believe in all provinces. This initiative has revived my idea, and without the vigor to carry it out, I invited some of my sons to create the Vergueiro & Company Society ⁽²⁾, that in 1847 received four hundred and twenty-three German colonists required by the government that was responsible for the amount of thirty-two contos, two hundred thousand reis, for two, three and four years. With these Germans and a small remnant of Portuguese from the first attempt, Senator Vergueiro Colony began in July 1847 ⁽³⁾. In the beginning, all the colonists were very happy as their fortunes improved significantly as a result of the benefits of the Society, without the harshness of the back country, and they were eager to work in return for profit. Unfortunately, very few were experienced farmers, and these were the ones that persevered. The others, artisans or vagabonds, slackened and lost interest. Workshops were established to provide work for a few, some were sent to work in the farmhouse, and others were allowed to find jobs outside the colony. These were just palliative measures and, in part, contrary to the purposes of the establishment. It was necessary to permit many of them to depart, at the risk of losing what

they owed, and to date, the colony has not yet been purged of all the unfit members. I do not think that this impropriety of colonists is an eventuality, rather I believe it will be an inherent characteristic of all imports. The business is under the responsibility of shipowners and their agents, the former seek cargo for their boats and the latter a commission per person. The Consuls' certificates are not issued based on their own knowledge, but on that of others. And who will deny them to those who emigrate? It is a necessary evil, against which we have to be forewarned. The only solution is to have an abundance of colonists, so that each one may be employed according to his habits. As the number of sharecroppers diminished and the necessities of the establishment increased, Vergueiro & Co. Society asked the government to continue with their promised aid because we felt entitled to it as the only ones who replied to the invitation in 1846, taking the risks of founding a new major enterprise. The reply was that there were no allocated funds in the budget, but, as compensation, payment of the debt would be postponed for one year. The Society, trusting that the Legislative Body would not fail to designate sufficient funds for such a unanimously important endeavor, doubled its efforts and imported sixty five Germans, but it was a greater failure than the first group, since there was not a single colonist qualified for agriculture. Recently, we have imported fifty Portuguese colonists and expect better results. On the other hand, the Society's two hundred and fifty slaves, of all ages and both genders, had to be di-

Lithograph of the Ibicaba Farm - Paulo Levy Collection.

(2) The most important company of Brazil in relation to the import of European immigrants, that under the sharecropping contract began to work mainly in the coffee farms of the Province of São Paulo.

(3) Ibicaba Farm Colony, located in the village of Limeira - Province of São Paulo.



verted from the sugar plantations, bringing an important factory with two mills to a halt, to take care of the coffee plantations that had been set apart for the colonists. We have persevered in increasing our plantations and have bought another larger piece of property to accommodate four thousand sharecroppers, since only amidst a populous colony will it be possible to create educational institutions and other conveniences to excite spontaneous immigration, which will be hard or tardy if centers of attraction are not formed. Under these circumstances, Vergueiro & Co. Society, in danger of suffering losses due to the stagnation of the invested capital, and desirous of carrying on with the undertaking we had begun by instigation of the government, as soon as the law of September 18, 1850 was published, granting credit for the importation of colonists, solicited the continuation of the promised support. These requests were repeated for a second and third time, with intervals, without obtaining any dispatch or indication of the government's intentions on the issue. Only during a session of the Senate in 1851, was I able to discover why I had received no endorsement: the government had yet to establish the rules for the execution of the law of public lands and, to this date, they labor under the same uncertainty and lethargy. Finally, the colonists, now reduced to three hundred and twenty seven people, are far from living up to their potential without failing on the new plantations that are being formed. The coffee of Ibicaba Farm, which is processed together with that from the Colony, for each of the last two years, has been estimated at twenty three thousand arrobas. The colonists would receive half of the net crop if only they could do all the work assigned to them. They are planting nothing but coffee now, as well as crops for their own sustenance, and selling

some butter and a few surplus products. However, this is not the only application that the landowners intend for them. We also intend to employ them in the sugar plantations and have planted fifteen thousand mulberry trees and will experiment, if convenient, with the silkworm. We have also been considering a dairy and some workshops helped by mechanics, and have not underestimated any other initiative that might be useful to the system. However, for the moment, it does not seem prudent to try out new objects before the possibilities for the first one, already familiar to them, have not yet been exhausted. Therefore, Your Excellency, this is what the Senator Vergueiro Colony has been up to at the moment and the possibility of what it could be, if provided with sufficient labor. I have the deepest conviction that it shall be of exceedingly great public utility, not only as model that could be improved, but also as a nucleus to attract those who emigrate and offer them ready and viable means to come and settle here. The pamphlet written by Perret Gentil, who has studied the colony carefully, shall provide Your Excellency with more information about it."

In the Staatsarchiv Bremen we found a report by V. Schaumann, vice-consul of that city in Santos, sent on May 9, 1849 to the Consul General of Bremen in Rio de Janeiro. Schaumann reported the importance of the Port of Santos, its proximity to Rio de Janeiro and its vocation for the establishment of businesses. The diplomat said that colonization was still moderate and suggested that the Brazilian government should give more support to encourage it. He praised the healthy climate of Brazil and reported: "In 1847, we received 500 colonists from Hamburg and we are awaiting more 400".⁽⁴⁾

(4) Document in the collection of Staatsarchiv Bremen 2 C.12. b.7.

Ibicaba Farm Colony
- Oil on canvas by
Emiliano Bernardo
Silva.



RIKA

SWISS IMMIGRATION BY SHARECROPPING SYSTEM

AFRIKA

Chamboury le 26 Dec. 1851
Au Dr Gaudet à Juedesburg

UNE LETTRE

SUR

L'ÉMIGRATION AU BRÉSIL,

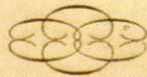
AVEC UN

RÉSUMÉ DES DÉMARCHES

FAITES

par M. Charles PERRET-GENTIL,

Consul général suisse à Rio-Janeiro.



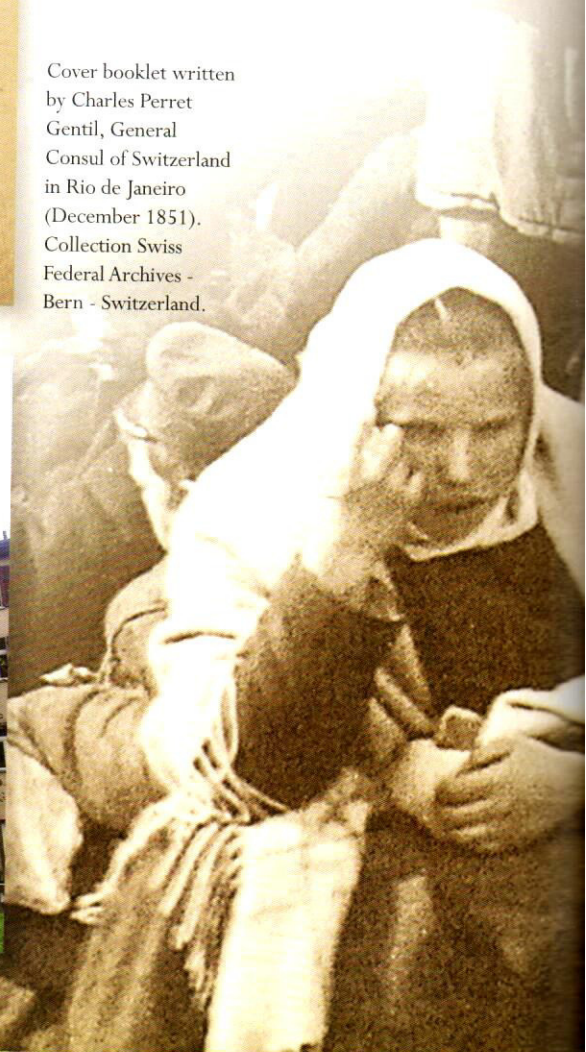
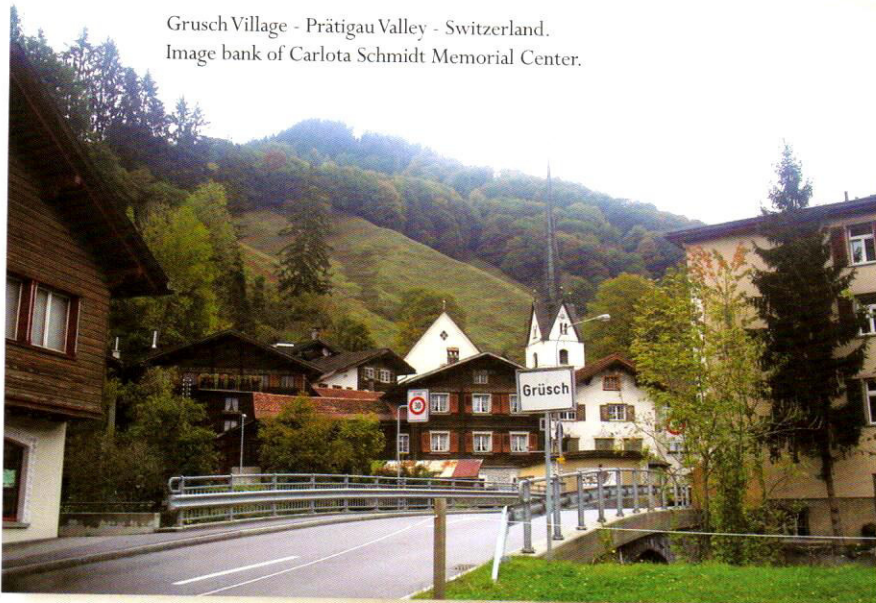
DÉCEMBRE 1851.



Peasant family of the Valley di Blenio - Italian Switzerland. Swiss National Library Collection - Bern). Bank of Images Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - Paulo Levy Collection.

Cover booklet written by Charles Perret Gentil, General Consul of Switzerland in Rio de Janeiro (December 1851). Collection Swiss Federal Archives - Bern - Switzerland.

Grusch Village - Prätigau Valley - Switzerland. Image bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center.



(1) "Recordações de Infância de Carlota Schmidt no Ibicaba", "Ibicaba - O Berço da Imigração Europeia de Cunho Particular", "A Revolta dos Parceiros na Ibicaba" and "E Os Italianos Chegaram".

Since the first immigration experience the consuls and Swiss envoys issued reports on the movement of colonization in Brazil. Diplomats informed that, year after year, the introduction of immigrants increased its importance, however, at that moment, emigration was a precipitate attitude. They thought it would be safer to emigrate to the USA. A document dated 1851 recorded the yellow fever epidemic that punished the country and claimed many lives. The mailer cited the report (pamphlet) by Consul Perret Gentil, who had praised Vergueiro Colony, whose translation he was awaiting.

Contrary to this information, that same year, Charles Perret Gentil, then Consul General of Switzerland, and Jose Vergueiro, the Senator's son and director of Vergueiro & Co., persuaded the Swiss municipalities to grant advances to fund travel for their citizens. The hirer would charge these amounts on future colonists and would be responsible for reimbursing them. Many Helvetic communities readily accepted, thinking that it was a solution to the problem of poverty, however, based

on extensive documentation captured in Brazilian, Swiss and German archives, we can guarantee that many communes included, in the lists of emigrants, individuals who had no experience in agriculture, elders, sick, and miserable families loaded with young children. These localities promoted a cleaning by getting rid of bad character elements that should be in prison causing expenses to public coffers. These people were listed as aggregates of families who were forced to accept them under threat of not being benefited with travel advances. A solidarity clause was also included in the sharecropping contracts, it obliged those employed to pay the debt of all individuals listed in the contract, including those who refused to work, sick, dead or fleeing from the colonies. In the future, this requirement was one of the reasons for the debt of thousands of colonists. On the other hand, with rare exceptions, Brazilian farmers were not sensitive enough to develop a respectful relationship with the immigrant colonists. They were used to treating African slaves inhumanly. This subject has been discussed in our previous volumes. ⁽¹⁾

Emigrants awaiting boarding in Port of Hamburg (Germany). Ballin Stadt Port of Dreams Collection (Emigration Museum of Hamburg-de).



Superagüi Colony

Charles Perret Gentil who had so far held the post of Consul General of Switzerland in Brazil, not only was one of the greatest encouragers of the Sharecropping System, but also decided to start undertaking it. In the early 1850s, after ending his diplomatic post, he decided to found a colonization company, and in order to do so, he chose the gigantic and almost unpopulated Paranaguá Bay to constitute the Superagüi Colony.⁽¹⁾ At that time, the region belonged to the Province of São Paulo and had a considerable forest wealth, an extensive area of fertile land irrigated by fishy rivers that offered facilities for transport of agricultural production by sea. We have found at the Swiss Federal Archives in Bern a dossier containing information on the subject. On September 11, 1851, Charles Perret Gentil, as purchaser, and Mr. David Stevenson and his wife, Madam Jacintha, as vendors, all residing in the city of Rio de Janeiro, established, in the presence of the registrar Pedro José de Castro, a contract of purchase and sale of an area called Superagüi. It was an old property of the Jesuits which later belonged to the estate of the late Jose Narcizo Coelho. These lands were acquired by auction by Mr. Stevenson in the Orphans Court of the city of Paranaguá, then Province of São Paulo. The Superagüi Farm included "a share of land on the island Ilha das Peças, to the North sea, limited on one side by Peças River and Baguassu River and on the other by the islands Pinheiros and Comprida, located on the Pinheiros Bay. A share of land called Superagüi, starting from Barra de Superagüi until Barra de Ararapira, limited on this side by extending until where Viradouro Velho River flows into the sea, and from there following the path to Barra do Rio Segredo on the north, and from this land to Pontal da Barra do Superagüi".⁽²⁾ Perret arranged the purchase of Mr. Stevenson's property for the sum of nine thousand reis in three installments. The first, for the value of two contos and five hundred thousand reis at the moment of signing the property deed at the notary, the second and third, both in the amount of three contos and two hundred and fifty thousand reis, in two and three year period after the date of the deed drawn up on 14 January 1852 by Joaquim José de Castro, Civil Law Notary in the court and city of Rio de Janeiro. The purchaser had taken the compromise not to sell, authorize or establish any business involving the farm before full payment of the cited debts. The Superagüi Colony located on Paranaguá Bay, was settled by selling lots to European immigrants, mainly Swiss, and by hiring natives and immigrants, under the sharecropping regime. He did not follow the contract model adopted by Vergueiro

and Co., not obliging himself to give the colonists the needed items. He allowed the use of land and the sharecroppers who worked on it got half of the agricultural production. We found at the Swiss Federal Archives in Bern a petition, dated February 2, 1852 sent by Perret's colonists to Emperor Don Pedro II. All colonists who signed this document were Brazilian or Portuguese. Here's an updated synthesis of the original document: "We the undersigned, residents of the lands of Superagüi, frontier with the city of Paranaguá, owned by Mr. Charles Perret Gentil, Consul General of Switzerland, have lived up to the present, in a state of misery from lack of education and convenient direction for fishing, without enjoying the benefits of culture, for lack of the necessary resources for subsistence, we come to make to Your Imperial Majesty the following exposure: Since Mr. Perret Gentil founded the principles of a colony in the aforesaid lands, and demonstrated to the undersigned which were the means to be employed and the way forward to improve our unhappy fortune, we foresaw a more flattering future and decided to try this means of achieving prosperity, by adopting the system of colonization and the sharecropping agricultural work. Being away from the city and any important establishment the undersigned became sloppy, lacking all resources, such as religion, education, and the help of medicine. Mr. Perret Gentil's establishment made us feel hope for a major improvement of our social status and being useful to our country, reaching through work, a position that could allow us to transmit to our children education, morals and love of work. But, Lord, Your Imperial Majesty knows that for men who have always been disgraced and deprived of all, it is costly to leave this state without a powerful help to begin the agricultural work, without being forced to deviate from that occupation, to seek subsistence for the families, when not producing agriculture. Such an obligation is the major impediment to hinder the development of our desires and encourage us to begin a new course. Your Imperial Majesty has always been solicitous to your subjects, and that is why, knowing all the benevolence of Your Imperial Majesty to favor what might improve the fortune of natives and contribute to the development and improvement of Brazil, we the undersigned, come with this submissive exposure respectfully to beg Your Imperial Majesty to look down at them and help facilitate the colonial establishment of Mr. Perret Gentil, on which our future fortune depends upon. Hoping to receive mercy - Superagüi - frontier with the city of Paranaguá - 19 January 1852".

I have published the texts transcribed from ori-

(1) Superagüi: name of Tupi-Guarani origin meaning "Queen of Fish".

(2) Auction documented by the office of the registrar Antonio Caetano de Cruz - Collection of Swiss Federal Archives.



ginal documents without any orthographic correction, mainly for us to have a notion of the degree of culture flaunted by the authors of these valuable pieces, or even to consider the non remote possibility that someone more knowledgeable or interested might have written them.

It is written in the deed solemnized in Deed Book No. 196, sheet 116, by Notary Joaquim José de Castro, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, that Perret paid, on December 17, 1852, the two installments that had to be paid after two and three years from the date of the deed drawn up on January 14, 1852. Perhaps he anticipated these payments to get rid of the impediments relating to the commercialization and use of the lands of Superagüi. On his trip to Switzerland undertaken in late 1851 or early 1852, he negotiated some areas with about fifteen Helvetic families who dreamed of a promising future. On May 17, 1853, according to the deed drawn up by Mr. Antonio José Pinto, notary of the city of Paranaguá, Perret declared that his brother, Mr. Augusto Perret Gentil owned half of the farm.

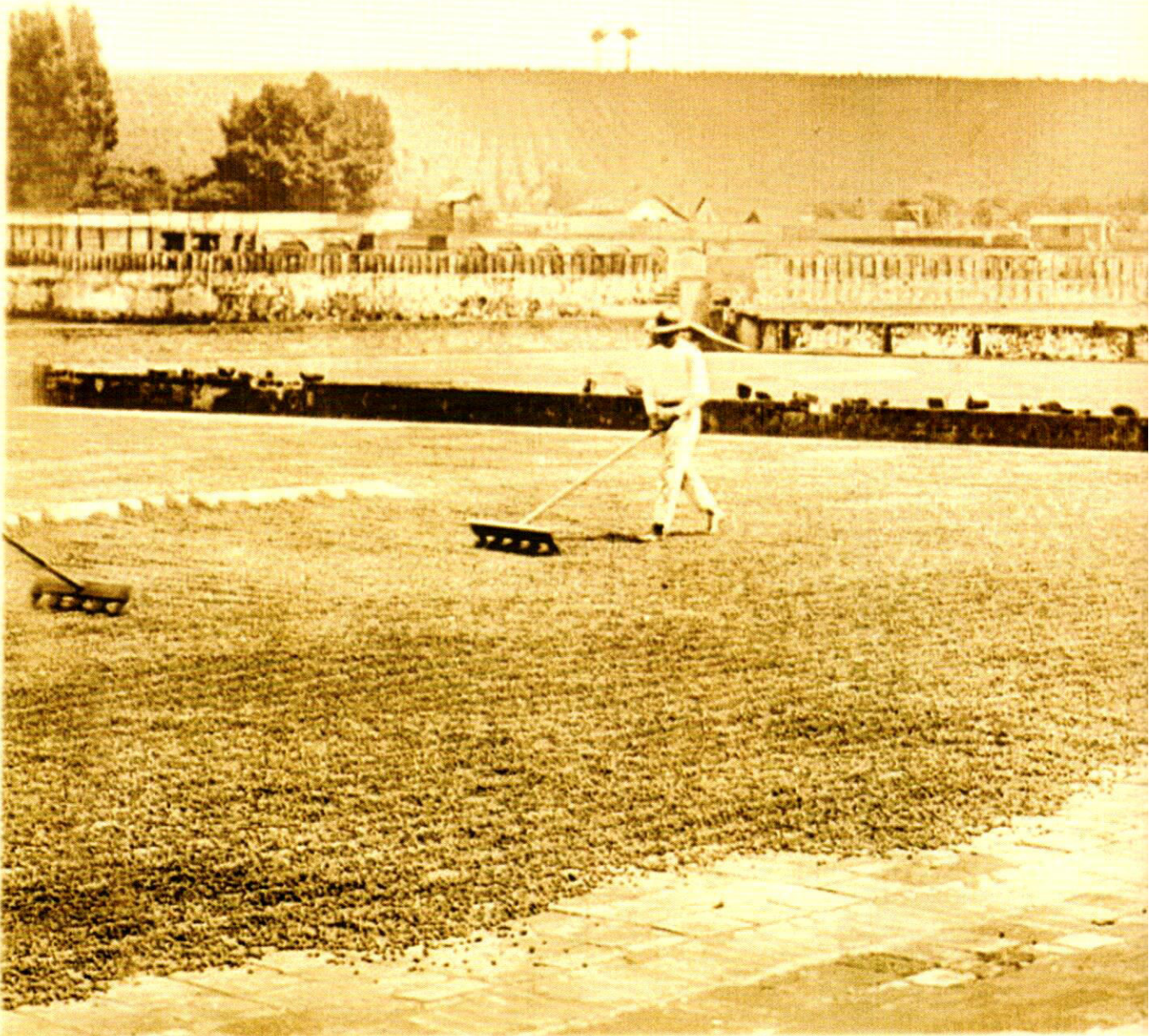
On August 29, 1853, by Law 704, sanctioned by D. Pedro II, the County of Curitiba was separated from the Province of São Paulo, becoming part of the Province of Parana. In 1860, when Superagüi housed a population of four hundred and twenty people, Perret sent an official letter to the Emperor, requesting assistance for implementation of a school and a religious temple in the colony. We have not found documentation support to say whether he was attended or not. In 1861, the colony produced wine and sugar; had a brickyard, sawmill, shipyard, mills to benefit coffee, cassava, rice, sugar cane and exported coffee and fish.

In October 2011, we were at the Musée Historique de Vevey, where they keep drawings by Guillaume Henri Michaud (1829-1902), known as William Michaud, Swiss born in Vevey who in 1852 settled as a planter in Superagüi. In 1854 he married Maria Custodia do Carmo, native of the place. According to documents found in Vevey, we have learned that only in 1864, after receiving the inheritance on the death of his father, Michaud could finally pay his debts with Charles Perret Gentil. The many letters that he sent to his family, as well as his works in graphite and watercolors, in gouache and varnish reveal interesting facts and images of the sharecropping colony founded by the former Consul General of Switzerland. Françoise Lambert, curator of the mentioned museum, has sent us valuable images and authorized us to translate and publish the mentioned letters. Michaud and his Alsatian neighbor Sigwalt, who assumed the duties of Sheriff in Superagüi, dedicated to growing grapes in Morro Bar-

bados, producing the wine called "Petit Bordeaux". We found in the official report to the Assembly, on March 31, 1877, the following quote: "the wine that is produced in the colony has been well accepted in the capital". Michaud taught the first letters to the colonists and rendered services to the ill based on his knowledge of alternative medicine. He hosted Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay (Viscount Taunay) and his entourage, during his visit to Superagüi in 1885. There are different explanations for the stagnation of the colony's growth. In 1875, Dr. Ermelino de Leão, President of the Province of Parana, noted in his report that the colony had prospered, but after the death of Charles Perret Gentil it had fallen into discouragement. Other scholars have credited the decline to the lack of government support. The Federalist Revolution (1893/95) also caused severe shocks to the colonists. Many houses were looted, including the aforementioned artist's. He reports that in 1900 there was a population of 1480 souls in Superagüi. At that time, among all the Swiss, Italians and Germans who had arrived in the mid XIX century, only Michaud and Giovanni Batista Rovero were left. In 1920, the population was reduced to 125 people. Michaud died on September 7, 1902, and was buried in the wonderful Superagüi, where he had lived with his beloved Custodia and had brought up his nine children.

Egypt plant with yellow flowers - Orchid family. Watercolor, gouache and varnish on paper drawing - William Michaud. Musée Historique de Vevey Collection.





Coffee Terrace on Ibicaba Farm - early twentieth century
Image Bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center
Paulo Levy Collection.



(1) Reports by Dr. Heusser, Chief Justice Manoel de Jesus Valdetaro and Plenipotentiary Minister Jean Jackes Tschudi were published in the books: "The Rebellion of the Sharecroppers in Ibicaba" and "Then the Italians Arrived".

The employment of the Sharecropping System in the Province of São Paulo

Documents of the period written in Gothic German, French and Archaic Portuguese found in numerous European and Brazilian archives reveal the importance of the employment of the Sharecropping System by Vergueiro & Company. Following the example of Charles Perret Gentil, many Brazilian farmers, especially those established in the Province of São Paulo, encouraged by the results achieved in the colony of Ibicaba Farm during the first years, placed orders for Vergueiro & Co. to import and transfer colonists. The company continued its plan to intensify the immigration current, aiming to replace hand labor and was already preparing new facilities to do so. The Vergueiro House appointed Mr. Schmidt as agent to sign contracts in Hamburg and Mr. M. Valentin to be in charge of transporting emigrants. The Imperial Government of Brazil, under various pretexts, denied the assistance to the above initiative, however, the Government of the Province of São Paulo, through the Provincial Law of July 19, 1852, guided the establishment of the contract to import colonists on August 4, 1852, which was renewed on September 15, 1854. At that time, the British were patrolling the Brazilian coast with greater intensity and obtaining slaves became an expensive feat.

In just one decade (1847-1857), Vergueiro & Company transferred over sixty thousand European immigrants to numerous coffee producers. Based on the reports by Dr. Heusser, chief judge Manoel de Jesus Valdetaro, jurist Sebastião Machado Nunes, Mr. Jean Jackes Tschudi, on diplomatic correspondence, on documents from the Swiss Confederation, from the Chamber of Deputies of Rio de Janeiro and numerous Brazilian, Portuguese, German and Swiss archives, we have found data on the constitution of thirty-nine sharecropping colonies in the Province of São Paulo. ⁽¹⁾

We cannot close the question or accept this data as definitive. We believe in the possibility of finding new documents that could have recorded the names of other colonial settlements founded under the sharecropping regime. This initiative undertaken by Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro allowed the mentioned province to stand out before others that composed the Empire of Brazil. On May 13, 1888, when the abolition of slavery occurred, São Paulo was more prepared to replace the captive labor.



Import of the sharecroppers from Holstein (1852)

(1) We quote as examples the families Asbahr, Kühl, Brammer, Dibbern, Jürgensen, Tank, Muller, Hardt, Stahl, Greve, Lorenzen and others.

Typical residence of the region (Bovenau - Holstein - de) and a view of the road near Rendsburg - de Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center Collection.

In previous volumes we have published data on the import of thirty-six families coming from Holstein ⁽¹⁾ undertaken on March 1852 by Vergueiro & Co. Twenty-seven families were incorporated into the São Jerônimo Colony, owned by Senator Francisco Antonio de Souza Queiroz. The other nine, totaling 70 people, went to Sete Quedas Colony, owned by Joaquim Bonifacio do Amaral. In 1856, fourteen families left their farms and bought a tract of land on Feital Farm, owned by Francisco Pires. They divided this land into small properties and contributed to give a German connotation to the Pires neighborhood, in the village of Limeira. These families imported by Vergueiro & Co. were incorporated successfully to Brazilian communities.



View of the Road near Rendsburg - Germany (XXI Century)
Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center Collection.

Chorus of Pires District, which was founded by Germans who came from Holstein in 1852 to work on São Jerônimo Farm - Limeira-SP. To the left, conductor Henrique Marques, son of a slave who was recognized for talent and dedication to music.



Letters by Thomas Davatz

(1) Emigration Agent who rendered services to Vergueiro & Co. with the Swiss municipalities.

After the management undertaken by Charles Perret Gentil and Jose Vergueiro with the Swiss communities, the Helvetic engaged by the Sharecropping System began to emigrate to Brazil. After they had signed the sharecropping contract with Vergueiro's company, with brokering of agent Emil de Paravicini,⁽¹⁾ two hundred and sixty-six people left Basel. Among them figured Thomas Davatz, Swiss from Fanas, Canton of Graubünden. On April 20, 1855, at the Port of Hamburg, nine Prussians were incorporated into the group that boarded the ship "Kronprinz Ernest August".⁽²⁾ After their arrival at the Port of Santos, the immigrants were conducted to Ibicaba and Angelica farms, the latter, located in São João do Rio Claro, was also owned by Vergueiro & Co., and was inaugurating its colony. Some municipalities of the Prätigau Valley instructed Thomas Davatz, born in the village of Fanas (Canton of Graubünden), to send information about the conditions of the colonists in the Province of São Paulo. From January 1856, when he already held the position of schoolmaster at Senator Vergueiro Colony, he wrote the report expressing heavy criticism on the treatment given to colonists. We have found in the Swiss Federal Archives (SFA) in Bern, numerous letters written in Gothic German sent by the schoolmaster of Ibicaba Farm to the Swiss trader Gustav Lutz, resident of Rio de Janeiro, and to Mr. David Heinrich, then Consul General of Switzerland. I had the pleasure of providing translations of those rarities, which record events that occurred in the colony, between October 1855 and December 1856. To mock the surveillance on his correspondence, undertaken by the directors of Senator Vergueiro Colony, Davatz indicated to trader Gustav Lutz the safest way to address his letters. Dr. Joseph Cooper Reinhardt⁽³⁾, then resident of Limeira, was one of the addressees chosen by the Swiss colonist. After the mentioned doctor had left the village, he also had the collaboration of Johann Christoffel Salutz, the tavern keeper of that locality. Despite all this care the direction of the colony became aware of the content of the letters and the report. Dr. Gatticker, who provided medical assistance in Ibicaba and other sharecropping colonies, had revealed the details of that document to Mr. Jonas, director of Senator Vergueiro Colony. Based on the letters

sent by the Helvetic colonists from Santo Antonio Colony (Piracicaba) to the Consulate General of Switzerland in Rio de Janeiro, we were compelled to judge that the doctor was doing double play.⁽⁴⁾ He gained confidence of the immigrants who believed in his good intentions and considered him a friend and advisor; they exchanged confidences, and revealed compromising facts that could not have come to the knowledge of the farmers. Davatz asked the "good doctor" to evaluate his reports. The schoolmaster of Ibicaba wanted to hear his opinion, before sending them to the Swiss authorities. Even Dr. Gatticker confessed to another colonist that during a visit he made to his home in São João do Rio Claro, Mr. Jonas, director of Senator Vergueiro Colony, took advantage of the doctor's moment of relaxation and read the document that he had forgotten on the couch of his residence. In the letters sent to Gustav Lutz we could evaluate the despair of the citizen from Fanas, who repeatedly pleaded for the addressee's help to undertake an escape from the pressure that the colony's administrators put on him, for him to change his mind and write a positive report on the colonization by Sharecropping System prevailing in Ibicaba and other colonies of the Province of São Paulo. Davatz asked Mr. Lutz to examine whether the members of the Swiss Benevolent Association in Rio de Janeiro and the Consulate General of the Helvetic Confederation were trustworthy, and after making sure they were, begged the trader to convince them to intervene in the dire situation of the colonies administered by Vergueiro & Co., especially Ibicaba. Perhaps some good soul could grant an advance to pay off his debt and so he and his family could start a new life in São Leopoldo or the new Santa Cruz Colony, in the province of Rio Grande do Sul. Despite his precautions, he denounced that many of his letters were violated. After the colony's director became aware of the information leak and the possibility of accomplishing a dreaded inquiry, the treatment given to Davatz became milder. In his letters, the schoolmaster said his life was in danger and he feared to be arrested to a Limeira jail, where they used to lock those who resisted the mistreatment or fled the farm. The contract law of 1837, still in force, was very strict, and comments indicated that Vergueiro had the prison keys.

(2) The passenger list of "Kronprinz Ernest August" belongs to the collection of Staatsarchiv Hamburg (image pg 42).

(4) The letters sent by the colonists of Santo Antonio Colony (Piracicaba) to the Helvetic diplomats, kept in the collection of the Swiss Federal Archives in Bern, were published in the book *Historical Farms in the Province of São Paulo*.

(3) According to reports by Dr. Maria José Ferreira de Araújo Ribeiro, from the Memory Center at UNICAMP, Dr. Joseph Cooper Reinhardt, naturalist and physician from Philadelphia - Pennsylvania - United States of America, who since 1843, had settled in Brazil, having lived in various locations: in the capital Rio de Janeiro, Faxina, in the current state of Paraná and in Sorocaba, São Paulo. Dr. Reinhardt, in June 1855, hosted in Limeira, the American Consul in Rio de Janeiro, Pastor James Fletcher, who came to know the experience of Ibicaba Farm and its sharecropping system with Swiss and German colonists to cultivate coffee. During this visit the doctor told Fletcher about the incidence of a disease called Choking Evil that had an endemic character in rural Brazil. This disease is now known as a manifestation of the Chagas disease.



In the first letter sent by Davatz addressed to Gustav Lutz, dated October 20, 1855, the schoolmaster of Ibicaba said he was grateful to God for having emigrated to Brazil and for enjoying with his family, a quality of life greater than that which they would be experiencing in Switzerland. Many authors have elected Thomas Davatz as the great Helvetic hero of the century before last, for singing in verse and prose his courage, determination and detachment in his endeavor to defend his countrymen against Vergueiro & Company. I think these researchers were not aware that the schoolmaster wanted to become an agent of emigration/immigration, as well as the administrator of a colony he dreamed of

constituting in the south of Imperial Brazil. Despite having signed a contract with the Vergueiro House, he undertook efforts to discredit the Colony of Ibicaba Farm with the Consulate General of Switzerland, as well as before the administration of the eleven Helvetic communities that had instructed him to write a report on the conditions faced by the European immigrants hired by the Sharecropping System to work in the coffee farms of the Province of São Paulo. I am publishing here, in modern English, the most relevant information from the letter written by the colonist from Fanas to the entrepreneur Gustav Lutz in October 20, 1855.

Letter sent for Thomas Davatz to the entrepreneur Gustav Lutz on October 20, 1855 (first page).

An Herrn Gustav Lutz & Comp. in Rio Janeiro.

Gefrey empfangen!

Die Nachricht, dass Sie sich entschlossen haben, sich in Brasilien niederzulassen, ist mir sehr angenehm und ich hoffe, dass Sie sich dort glücklich und erfolgreich niederlassen werden. Ich habe Ihnen einige Informationen über die Lage der Kolonie von Ibicaba mitgeteilt, die ich hoffe, Ihnen bei Ihrer Entscheidung zu nützen wird.

Die Kolonie von Ibicaba ist eine sehr schöne und gesunde Gegend, die sich in der Provinz von São Paulo befindet. Die Bodenverhältnisse sind sehr gut und die Ernteerträge sind sehr hoch. Die Kolonie ist sehr gut ausgestattet und die Arbeiter sind sehr fleißig und zuverlässig. Ich hoffe, dass Sie sich dort sehr wohl fühlen werden und dass Sie eine erfolgreiche Kolonie gründen werden.

Ich habe Ihnen auch einige Informationen über die rechtliche Lage der Kolonie mitgeteilt. Die Kolonie ist eine rechtlich anerkannte Einrichtung und die Arbeiter sind rechtlich geschützt. Ich hoffe, dass Sie sich damit zufrieden werden. Wenn Sie weitere Informationen benötigen, können Sie mich jederzeit kontaktieren. Ich werde Ihnen gerne weiterhelfen.

"To Mr. Keller Lutz & Co. in Rio de Janeiro.

Dear Sir!

- I am a man without resources, the father of nine children, three of whom were called to our eternal and true life. As a poor man I used to exercise in Fanas, Canton of Graubünden, Switzerland, the professions of schoolmaster and agriculturist. For the first I received my training in Beuggen, in Basel, owned by, for me, the unforgettable Mr. Inspector Zeller, and for the agricultural profession I was prepared at home during my youth. As you might already know, the wages of a schoolmaster in Graubünden are also very low, ranging from one hundred to two hundred francs, for five month work. I received in my poor community a salary of 102 francs. It is also insignificant the income of agriculture in my municipality. Land prices are so high that it takes a few fertile years for the value of the fruit extracted from a piece of land or grass, to be equal to four percent of the price of the land. In my country, under such circumstances, I had to fight against poverty for several years, but not so much for being in need. God has always preserved me mercifully, and poverty has always impelled me to depend on the Lord God, who I had the good fortune to meet during my time of confirmation. We have gone through troubles and needs, but have always relied on the help of the Lord. One such example occurred last spring. In April, the good Lord guided me safely to a place where my family and I needn't go through lack of food, to the contrary, as we are reasonably orderly colonists, we even enjoy more credit and can expect to get what we need from the administration of Ybicaba Farm, while now in my old country, many certainly have to languish in great need. So far, the Lord has helped me faithfully and mercifully, and he will continue to bless me, this is my prayer. The poor living in the eleven evangelical communities of Prätigau, my native valley, all hope to find someone here that could sustain their body and soul. On the occasion of my departure, they instructed me by an official statement signed and sealed by all these communes, to write a faithful and true report of the local and colonists' conditions. They also advised me orally to engage on the foundation of a community in an appropriate place so that the emigrants coming from these eleven locations could gather and implement a correct system of church and school to preserve our customs and culture. The plan has been shared with a very efficient priest who is a believer, and he would like to join in the emigration based on these models. Since I started the trip, I had decided to work to accomplish this task which I consider as my main local job. This desire is so much stronger now that I made sure that the conditions in the south of Brazil, in relation to fertility of soil, healthy climate, state constitution, laws, and other issues, might favor the new immigration and colonization of the poor, hardworking and law-abiding Europeans. The south region of Brazil would be more appropriate and certainly offers better conditions than the local colonies, which are not at all as brilliant as they falsely propagate in Europe. The Europeans who signed an agreement with the company of Mr. Vergueiro and expected to come to Ybicaba or another colony of his property, practically as sold people, as the facts show, were unaware that those who are here, have been totally abandoned when it comes to Christian and religious life, education of children, and also in relation to worldly things they have fallen into such positions that, in our view, resemble slavery. I emigrated through contract with the Vergueiro House in Santos and I have mentioned in my report that if a community was installed in a fertile, healthy, and appropriate place, and was administrated by a strong direction, it could prosper, if its residents were orderly and active people. I am at your disposal to go to Europe personally, to deal with the communities and establish an agreement with the patricians who want to emigrate, in order to lead them to Brazil. Obviously, I would give more attention to emigrants who are good, honest, smart, and would invite believers of other cantons to incorporate the group, to launch a good basis and nucleus so that a community could be founded. It would be light on the mountain in this great country. How much could we do in such a community with an educational institution and teacher and evangelical training? In my opinion, the community should be installed on land granted by the state in the provinces of Paraná or Rio Grande Sul. In the province of São Paulo the best land is already owned privately. For various reasons it would not be advisable to choose a province further north, under a warmer climate. The southern regions, particularly the two mentioned provinces, would be adequate to Europeans, because there, the heat is not so intense, facilitating their way of life, the planting of European fruits, as well as cereals, vegetables, being also convenient to raise livestock. Thus, the immigrant, especially the Swiss one, would not have to struggle to adapt".

Davatz commented that he had difficulties to accomplish his task because his debts to Vergueiro & Co. were accumulating. He confided to Mr. Lutz that so far, he owed one conto and six hundred and fifty thousand reis and that counting the three aggregates, his family consisted of six people above the age of ten and five individuals below this age range. He mentioned other obstacles, such as surveillance on the colonists' correspondence by the farm direction, prohibition of travels, etc... - "Nor can I share my goal with the directors because, probably, if I did ask such questions they would close all ways and doors. The farm lords do not like to hear plans about the formation of such communities. They prefer to have all immigrants in their hands. So, I am in every way impeded and tied. In this situation of mine, I put to you the most gentle and urgent request, that is, to present this most important issue to a man of knowledge and influence, perhaps the Swiss consul, a member of the Ministry or, finally, some reliable citizen, the following questions:

1) Would the State cede enough suitable and fertile land on a healthy location to house several hundred orderly people, confessed evangelicals, who wish to found a community in the provinces of Parana and Rio Grande do Sul?

2) After encouraging the formation of such community, would the State facilitate the import, without taxes, of new and old appliances, tools and equipment for the residents of the community, or would they tool up the aggregates in some other way, so that they could pay for this benefit in installments?

3) If I was allowed to lead Swiss emigrants to one of the two provinces mentioned above, more specifically to the community that would be founded there, could I, like the Vergueiro House in Santos, receive certain remuneration and be certified and authorized by the Government as import agent?

4) What steps should I take to accomplish this proposal?

Please, I beg you to provide, as soon as possible, the answers to these four questions and inform me urgently. If they are partly or completely positive I need to know, as fast as possible, to try and provide the money needed to pay my debts, and to establish myself in another location in order to start work without delay.

Obviously, the future community would be subject to the determinations of the State Constitution and the laws of the country. The money that emigrants would need for their installation would be advanced by their respective Swiss communities. I've resorted to your kindness so much and have made so many demands, that I almost do not have the courage to send you this letter. However, I still need to ask you another question: - I'm about to finish writing a relatively extensive travel description, a short report destined to the eleven communities in Graubünden ⁽¹⁾, as well as several letters to individuals. I wish to dispatch them to Europe, but, as they have told me, if I addressed them directly to Switzerland, these documents would never leave Brazil. For this reason, I ask you, Could I send you this printed material so that you could be kind enough to dispatch them by mail, from Rio de Janeiro?

(1) Canton of Graubünden.

In my position, I cannot do otherwise, I need to bother someone and require help, for this reason I turn to a Christian. Forgive me for making one more request "... - "Have you received news from Europe? It would be a miracle to know how our people are dealing with the wars, the rise in the cost of living, etc... I could edit a weekly magazine, similar to the Christian People Post of Basel. Do you have any idea how much it would cost to publish it?

Finally, I wish God may bless you and protect you and your dear family, especially at this moment devastated by diseases and injustices. May His angels protect you! "

Davatz concluded the letter by requesting absolute secrecy to the addressee.

- " Yours sincerely, with affectionate greetings

Ybicaba, October 20, 1855

Thomas Davatz, colonist and schoolmaster at Ybicaba, Province of São Paulo"



Thomas Davatz family. Rudolf Schallenmüller Collection.

The correspondence had the following attachment: "For me to keep calm about the whereabouts of this letter, I beg you to kindly inform me on the first post, if you have received it, and if you can resend the reports and letters to Europe. This is extremely urgent. About the other issue, the foundation of a community, it will probably not be possible for you to give me an immediate reply. I'm sure you will be devoted to this issue as soon as possible.

So that your letters to my person are not violated, I beg you to send them to the following addressee:

Dr. Joseph Cooper Reinhardt
Limeira - Province of São Paulo"

Yours devoted and grateful
(a) Thomas Davatz



Gustav Lutz replied in the month following Davatz's letter and the Swiss colonist wrote to the trader again. I have omitted some phrases due

to repetition of the complaints and I am publishing this correspondence in modern Portuguese:

"To Sir Gustav Lutz, trader in Rio de Janeiro

Ybicaba, February 20, 1856

Dearest Mr. Lutz,

Diseases and other inevitable obstacles have prevented me, so far, to acknowledge the receipt and thank you warmly for sending your friendly letter, dated November 22, 1855. Please receive, now, my deep gratitude for your benevolent interest, which is so amicably expressed in your letter informing me the news. You will see that I am badly in need of them. I should respond to you on some points, but as I hope to see you soon, I will save some due responses, and go straight to what has oppressed me for some time. You may deduct by the requests I made in the two letters to the Small Council of Graubünden and to gentlemen [.....], Father Wilhelm and Father Ludwig. Please read these two letters and just totally believe in me, because I have not requested help without advice. Oh! How I wish I could and had the authorization to disclose my entire situation! But I cannot do so. Our director told me sternly that I should not underestimate him, stating that he had the power to find out to whom and what I have written. He is more than secret police. If it weren't for the Lord God my solace, help and support, I really wouldn't be able to find a way out. And what has led me to this situation? Certainly nothing, except having scrupulously reported the local circumstances, which fairly illuminates some points, on which I would still like to keep a veil for a long time. However, it fell into the hands of our director through Dr. Gattiker, from São João do Rio Claro, who had introduced himself as a good friend. This has been my offense! For this reason I have been threatened with perpetual imprisonment and placed under police surveillance and I am subject to being victimized by something worse. They have also found out that I wrote to you once and scolded me for it. The director told me that he is aware of everything. To this letter and its attachments I hope to have found a safe way. If perhaps I'm mistaken, I mean, if my letters fall into the hands of the colony's director, a friend of his, or the Vergueiro House, my God! May the Lord preserve me with mercy and may my letters find the right way, open ears, hearts with compassion, goodwill and charitable hands! Oh yes, dear Mr. Lutz, please, also do for me whatever you are able to. Please talk to your good friends at the Swiss Benevolent Association in Rio de Janeiro, if you are really convinced that its members shall maintain total secrecy, until I am safe. For God's sake, on my behalf beg to some noble philanthropist to give immediate help to a poor man who innocently came to a sad and dangerous situation, and to be gracious to his innocent family. As you may see, I first asked the help of Graubünden and surely it will come. If this help comes from Switzerland, there will be considerable time before it arrives, and during this waiting period, my debts will grow considerably, as will difficulties. Soon, I will deliver my coffee and reap my crop. For this reason, I am making an urgent and amicable request that I shall be helped as soon as possible and, God willing, next March, or at the latest in April, I shall advance to Rio de Janeiro and escape. Perhaps the Lord will touch this or that heart and grant a poor and troubled family with a gift. Even if this does not happen, I hope that someone, especially the Swiss Benevolent Association can help me with sufficient advance, or to put up bail to the Vergueiro House, so that we may be rescued. It would be a loss to remain here. As I hope for the gift of God, I have nothing to fear. Surely, He has put me into this situation, so I am not discouraged. Surely, He will release me without harming anyone and without causing disadvantage because, first, I shall certainly count on the help of Graubünden, second, I believe that my God will lead me happily home, where I will present my report and travel report before the authorities and the people, without passion and exaggeration, but totally true and open, and third, if my difficult and wonderful behavior is known, certainly Christian love in Graubünden and throughout Switzerland, mainly in Basel, will give me the pleasure of finding many gifts"... "If all Christian philanthropists, especially the Swiss Benevolent Association, could consider all this, taking into account that they have helped impostors, and decide to listen to a poor, gifted child of God crying out for help, no doubt, I will thank them. So, I hope that my request will not be rejected. May God lead you and all parties whose eyes and ears might receive my request to accomplish my rescue, and richly reward all merciful charity in time and deeply! As I do not know if I can take my request directly to the Swiss Benevolent Association, I will not do it, I beg and authorize you, dear Mr. Lutz, to do everything to achieve the mentioned objectives on my behalf!

Finally, please be so kind as to resend my two letters to the Small Council of Graubünden through the fastest way; whether it may happen through the Association or diplomatic channels, the better it will be. Your answer to my letter you can address directly to me, to Ybicaba, in Limeira. Dr. Reinhardt moved a few months ago, and I do not trust Dr. Gattiker anymore. But please, do not mention at all, in your reply letter, that I have complained and intend to go home. Simply write if the answer to my request is affirmative or negative. If it is affirmative, I ask you to attach the desired letter of bail. Should we sell here everything we can to alleviate our luggage? Would it be better if we traveled by land or by Santos to Rio? The trip to Rio frightens us more. We would be honored if we could find capable, orderly good sailors, on our sea voyage.

Do you know of a job for the poor [Joos] Davatz, who I did mention in my letter to Graubünden? Should I take him along to Switzerland?

Over the past two months, hasn't a gentleman named v. Salis of Graubünden, who was here at the Colony, arrived in Rio de Janeiro? He belongs to a distinguished good family, and any advance made to him would certainly be returned.

May the Grace of God be and stay with you and with your dear ones, and also glorify your devoted and grateful

(a) Thomas Davatz, schoolmaster and colonist in Ybicaba”

Additional notes: p. 2 (x) - “The authorities and people of Switzerland are often told splendid reports that lie. Would it not also be right to clearly show the truth, under the light of my experience? I firmly believe that God has sent me mainly to accomplish this task.”

p. 3 (lateral): “Finally, when I’m in Rio, we could discuss the report as well as other issues. I am willing to show all my writings, instructions, and be responsible for everything. But before that, I cannot do it.”



Letter sent for Thomas Davatz the entrepreneur Gustav Lutz on February, 20, 1856 (part of first page)

On March 22, 1856, Davatz sent to Mr. Gustav Lutz several letters and one print. Here is the main correspondence in modern Portuguese:

“Ybicaba, March 22, 1856

Dear Honorable Mr. Lutz!

As you can see, I've written the attached letters for some time. At the time, my hope to send them safely was not materialized and so I had to wait for the right moment. Now I hope to have found a safe and reliable way. As you can evaluate in the attached letters, my position and relationship are still the same. They have been friendly with me again, however, I fear this kindness more than explicit anger. The few good friends, whom I could find (including the colonist you mentioned earlier), have advised me to leave the colony as soon as possible. Rush creates necessity. Based on the problems recently experienced by a colonist, I could see not only the difficulty of sending letters here, but also of leaving the colony. The colonist had found a good place in São Paulo where he intended to move. He had to give it up. No driver wanted to take his family and luggage to the capital of the province. Old colonists have also realized that it is difficult to undertake the journey here. Regarding this issue, I need you to seek advice with your friends and let me know your position on the matter. Forgive me dear Mr. Lutz for causing you such hard work and terrible nuisance. In my bad and compromised situation, I need to seek help from good friends. Please forgive me and help me!

My desire, namely my return, I can surely trust to my faithful Lord Savior. In my prayers, He has given me the certainty that I will go back and that He will give his rich blessing for my return. Even facing situations of war with the lords, the thing cannot be changed. - The Lord will provide and guide.

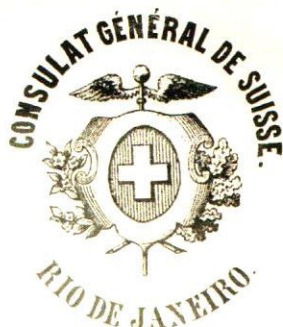
Your affectionate friend

(a) Thomas Davatz”



We have found in the Swiss Federal Archives correspondence sent on April 9, 1856 by Mr. Heinrich David, Consul General of Switzerland, to the trader Gustav Lutz, in which the reader can

clearly see that, at the aforementioned time, the diplomat was not yet convinced that he should assist the schoolmaster of Senator Vergueiro Colony. Here is the translation of the correspondence:



"Rio de Janeiro, April 9, 1856

To Mr. Gustav Lutz

In my opinion, the papers submitted. [...] to me are very important so that I can dare to make a decision or to pronounce a sentence, especially considering the few days left before we send the mail pouch (diplomatic correspondence), plus the significant work, which, at the moment, have been pressing me from all directions. Furthermore, the insinuations contained in the reports by Thomas Davatz are opposed to everything I was told so far, by reliable, impartial fellows and by my acquaintances. However, I do not know Mr. Davatz, but judging by his letters, he seems to be more of a complaining woman than a man. With respect to this behavior, Mr. von Salis, who emigrated in the same group, and recently returned to his homeland with my help, acted the same way. Salis lived with us. He happened to be a distant relative of Gsell and a friend of the Xavier and Salis families that I met in Chür. For this reason, he had the opportunity and safety to unburden without fear. Like Davatz, he had the same tearful tone of fear of death + prison. In a private and more detailed conversation I had with Mr. von Steiger, I thought the reason for the unrest is, first, the inability of the mentioned people, who knew nothing about colonization beyond what they read in the Swiss Robinson! Mr. von Steiger agreed with my opinion and promised to get accurate and reliable information on Ibicaba and Davatz. I have to wait for them.

In my opinion, Davatz is not so poor and needy to be entitled to the aid of our society, hence as president of the Benevolent Society I had to refuse his request. As Consul General I cannot act, although I have been named by the Federal Council, I shall probably not decide to accept this commission. To the Consul General, such an important issue should also be worthy of reflection. As Heinrich David I cannot act, because Davatz has addressed you. Therefore, based on my involvement in this matter, I must refuse. I would still like to make another observation to you. I already knew the reports Davatz entrusted you, in fact, he sent similar documents to Europe by Mr. Salis. My conversation with von Salis in an attempt to collect more detailed and secure information about this important subject, has not led to any results and only reinforced my opinion on too much exaggeration, lack of courage and inability by Davatz. If you have another opinion, based on valid reasons, either by exact knowledge of the conditions in Ibicaba, or the character and credibility of Davatz, whom is totally unknown to me, I beg you to let me know, because I do not want to do injustice to anyone. With regard to your request, as President of the Benevolent Society I can only rubricate before receiving more secure data, which might indicate a procedure.

Yours sincerely with attention and dedication

(a) H. David"

SOCIÉTÉ
Philantropique Suisse
à Rio de Janeiro



On May 25, 1856, Davatz wrote to Gustav Lutz again. He mentioned that on April 26th, he had received a letter from the trader, dated the 12th of the same month, and that it was torn and open. After pouring into lamentations, which I prefer to disregard not to bother the reader with vain repetitions, the schoolmaster informed that the sub-director of the colony apologized for having opened the mail by mistake, however, as reported

by the schoolmaster, he assured that he had not read it. Davatz wondered if he should believe in the word of the man in charge of separating and delivering the letters to the colonists, or take into account the statement by Mr. Jonas, director of Senator Vergueiro Colony, who had stated that he monitored the colonists' correspondence. Given this event, the schoolmaster of Ibicaba wrote the following:

"To Mr. Gustav Lutz in Rio de Janeiro.

Ybicaba, May 25, 1856.

Honored Mr. Lutz!

Although I have been taken by the desire to believe in the possibility of carelessness, I feel inclined to ask you that in the future the name Vergueiro should not be inserted in the address, but simply: Thomas Davatz, colonist in Ybicaba close to Limeira, Province of São Paulo. Thus, the letters will remain in the town of Limeira and I will have to go there to rescue them. However, if the address mentions the name Vergueiro, the letters will come to the local farm, and I would like to avoid that. In the future, could you please observe it and also pass this information to Mr. Consul - General H. David. Should he write to me, I beg him to kindly pay attention to the destination registered in the correspondence. If the facts to be communicated are very important, I beg you and Mr. David to make a return receipt for delivery of the letter. The necessary expenses I shall soon reimburse. With regard to the letter to Mr. Consul-General, I want to wait until more urgent and important facts occur, because I do not want to cause turmoil. It would be against my principles. Certain requirements and requests, which I would like to beg him, I did not, for I did not know whether I will receive the assistance requested in the correspondence I sent on the 20th of February. If against all expectations I do not receive help, there would be no reason for me to write to Mr. David; but I should have God's support to go to São Leopoldo or to the new colony Santa Cruz, Province of Rio Grande do Sul. As the written and oral reports state, these colonies are also in need of religious and school organization, and that would be the most important thing to me. I was informed that the mentioned establishments are looking for evangelical schoolmasters, and I would be glad if I could fill this gap and find an occupation, as well as a settlement for my family, for us to make our living. Do you believe, faithful Mr. Lutz, that in the future, after I communicate with Santa Cruz or São Leopoldo, I could direct a request to the Swiss Benevolent Association in Rio de Janeiro, so that they could kindly forward me the amount needed to pay off Ybicaba Farm before I move? I have learned that this association was formed with the purpose of providing such help. So, with a little bit of luck, such aid might not be denied to me, anyway, I got into this difficult situation unintentionally, and for other reasons I cannot stay here much longer. Please strongly recommend me to these gentlemen, and also tell me everything you know about that colony or what you may come to know without much effort. If you may, please let me know the postal address of the director of Santa Cruz, as well as of the evangelical parish there, however, with respect to the addresses, you do not need to make much effort, because in an emergency I will find a way to submit the letters, without the names, just to the laudable directors and the venerable evangelical parish in Santa Cruz, is it not true? I wish, however, that, if possible, please send me Mr. Follenweiden's address, who spent considerable time here last year. I greatly admire him. If he founds his own colony, I shall have complete confidence on its direction. In a simple way I will also give some replies to your first letter. They are the following: Professor Dürr, as I learned here, really surrendered to drinking and so he had to leave Ibicaba. This occurred for his involvement in the great theft of religious books and writings. This material was sold in part here and elsewhere and the profit he spent on drink. After he left, he wandered in great misery for a long time, until he found a good placement, teaching French to two different children for the sum of 800 thousand reis per year. After that, even his brother, the plumber, who had severed ties with him, considering his appropriate behavior opted for reconciliation. Rumor has it, Mr. Dürr has also lost this placement due to continued drinking. Currently, I have no news of his whereabouts. According to my judgment, the deposit of bibles built by your South American friend with our director is rarely used, unfortunately. Regarding school and religion classes the situation here is terribly sad " ... "Recently, on the day of Pentecost, colonist Meier, a pen friend, whom I have mentioned earlier, began to read a sermon to the local Protestants. He has been using the good books he has purchased from me, for example: Steinhöfer Glaubensgrund, Riegers, literature grounded in passages from the Gospel of Matthew. I have begged God to grant mercy and blessing to the project! About the good magazine, the Volksbote of Basel (People's Post), I beg you not to subscribe and not to send me copies of previous years. Why not, you should imagine. - I consider your opinion about organizations on colonization and emigration in general very important. Finally, I still ask you to let me know quickly, if possible, if this letter came into your hands in the right way. If I do not receive response within a period of four or five weeks, I will resend another letter, through a faster route, so I hope. I thank you for the prompt attention to my many requests, and I beg you not to be angry for causing you too much work again. God help me to get to a place where I needn't bother you anymore.

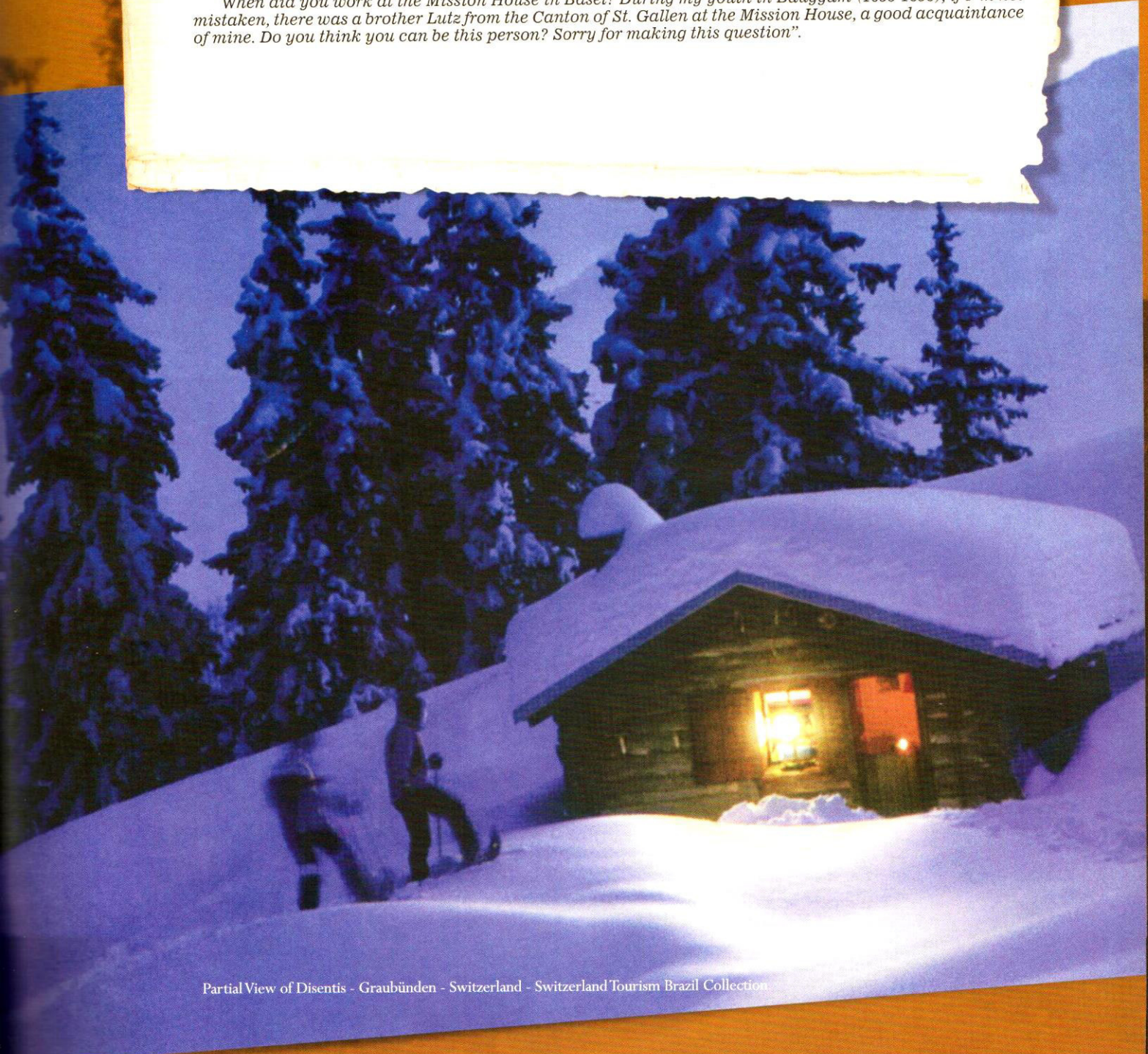
With regards and friendly greetings

*Yours grateful and submissive
(a) Thomas Davatz*

"Will this friend of yours come here again this year? I would like to talk to him".

Note on the side of the letter:

When did you work at the Mission House in Basel? During my youth in Bauggam (1835-1838), if I'm not mistaken, there was a brother Lutz from the Canton of St. Gallen at the Mission House, a good acquaintance of mine. Do you think you can be this person? Sorry for making this question".



Partial View of Disentis - Graubünden - Switzerland - Switzerland Tourism Brazil Collection

Thomas Davatz corresponded with Lutz again. Here is the translation of the letter sent by the Swiss from the Canton of Graubünden on September 1856:



"Ybicaba, 25 Sept. 1856

To Mr. Gustav Lutz, in Rio de Janeiro

Long ago, I should have given an answer to your valuable letter of June 11th, and I did not do it because at that time I was victimized by a large and intensive supervision by the directors of the colony. Now, as a local friend might take the letter to you, I want to risk responding and informing you that I received your letter quoted above on the 7th of July. Externally it was completely undamaged and in good order, but when I opened it, carefully and gently, as usual, it was torn and disfigured internally, in summary, it clearly showed that it had been violated. I really do not know what other security measures I will, yet, have to suggest to you in relation to addressing, but the accuracy of taking this step, as I wrote to you on my last letter as a supposition confirmed by many colonists, has unfortunately proved to be true. May God forgive and change the hearts of sinners, in whose hands we are entrusted and free us from this.

Your request for me to personally address the Consul General, I would like to accomplish. I shall have on my behalf, as well as on other colonists', much to write to him, but after such experiences with the letters, I will not risk it. So, I beg you on my behalf and the colonists' that you may ask Mr. H. David to prepare or indicate a safe way for me to write to him and reveal all our concerns. This should be a great necessity, but nearly impossible. Yes, please ask him to send help. Lately, my image has improved considerably. They never cease to praise me and treat me with great honor. Next month, I will start a German public school, I am also responsible for ministering services on Sundays and feast days of the Protestant religion, for teaching religion to adults, visiting the sick, when they wish, speaking at funerals, directing the male choir, anyway, I have been invited to participate in everything, whereas formerly I used to be under police observation. For all these jobs I will receive an annual salary of 430 thousand reis. Of this amount, the sum of \$ 327 will be paid by the colonists and \$ 103 by the Vergueiro House. I should be very happy with my situation and, in any case, I should have a great reason to thank God for the change and help, for I can hope not to incur into more debts. Even though I now have better prospects for a year, still the honest and poor families who urgently beg me to look for a way to help, will not be helped, consequently, the opinion that they have about me could also change every day. As I can understand clearly, and several colonists have assured me, the good treatment has only one foundation: my reports are feared and, at the moment, they want to keep me with a good sense of humor. But this situation will not last long. Also, not the students' parents will pay most of the \$ 327 for my salary, but the colonists, Catholics and Protestants, who comparatively enjoy a better financial situation. A great dissatisfaction prevails with some of them. Faced with this situation, my public employment could have a short duration. Because of this, you can easily deduce that I will need to seek, for me and for other good parents, indebted like me, whose quantity could easily exceed the amount of 20 or 30 individuals, a better location, where we could find a more promising homeland, and create a decent system of school and church. To that end, I and several honest men would like to address the Consul General with a request, as soon as we know of a safe way to deliver it in hand. Again I beg you to ask the Consul General on our behalf, to indicate such safe way. Please recommend us to Mr. David to do his best, and tell him that of all the difficulties, the hardest is not being able to tell him how much we have suffered. Oh! A request concerning emigration to the local colonies is also needed. The way some Swiss communities encourage their poor through payment of travel expenses for emigration, or at least grant them resources to get rid of those who are inconvenient, is certainly disgusting; but I know municipalities, including my native community, in which the conditions of the local colonists were described so convincingly and irrefutably that they, with the laudable purpose of providing their poor with a better lasting existence, will give them the means to travel, and in part have already done it". Davatz commented on the need to demoralize the emigration agents, disclosing in the Helvetic communities the cruel methods and the difficulties faced by immigrants in the Brazilian colonies". We should be able to shut up these unscrupulous agents, but it is so difficult! May God help us!

I thank you for not having commented my actions with Mr. José Vergueiro and urgently ask you to continue doing the same. I ask you again to keep my issue private. With the Consul General you can talk about everything I have written, and if necessary I will write to him further on, but with other people I beg your utmost care.

The attached letter belongs to a woman here, it is addressed to her parents and siblings who live in Switzerland. She addresses family issues and does not engage much in others. Could you be so kind as to deliver it safely to the post office, so that it can, if possible, arrive to its destination quickly? This lady has already sent a letter to her family, but they did not receive it, therefore it would be very important for this second letter to arrive to its destination quickly.

That's all, for now. [strikethrough excerpt] and kindness, for which I present to you my friendly gratitude, in the future [strikethrough excerpt] to be recommended, and confirm receipt of this letter as soon as possible, as well as its attachment, but in which the greatest [strikethrough excerpt] is observed. [corroded excerpt]

Warm greetings

Yours devotedly

(a) Thomas Davatz "

(1) On October 16, 1856 Davatz and other colonists signed a letter sent to Mr. Heinrich David, Consul General of Switzerland. We have found the original kept in the Swiss Federal Archives, in Bern, and are now publishing its translation.

"To Mr. David" (1)

Consul General of the Swiss Confederation in Rio de Janeiro.

If only were the undersigned and most colonists not under such sad conditions as to need to address this letter to your high office, they would really not dare to bother you with such an important request. The condition in which we find ourselves and the great confidence we have in your person and post, encourage us to start, through this correspondence, an extremely important work for us and many others. Moved by an even greater hope, since we: 1.) have heard rumors and truly believe that the Imperial Government intends and strives to transform the free European immigrants, happy residents of this fertile land, into owners and citizens, and does not want to let them fall into a class of people that almost resembles slavery, like an egg to another; like us 2.) are clearly aware that, in relation to them, on whom our step could fall like a dark light, we are in full legal right and shall not let any injustice grieve them, which could befall us: 3.) rely mainly on the omnipotent help of our merciful God, in whose name we have also started our important work.

In these lines, to demonstrate the full range of what we seek and desire, the reading as well as the writing for us, would be monotonous; especially the statutes in sufficient detail, we simply beg you, decent and earnestly for God's sake that you shall go with our desire before the Imperial Government of Brazil, that you shall represent us before them with all the strength of your position and post and on our behalf may ask them to welcome our request, which includes those that in consequence of a favorable response would join us to take part in what we require, according to § 4 of our statutes; may the government give us ways and means to be able to achieve what we according to § 2 have put as the aim of our effort. To achieve our goal, should it be necessary that you address the Provincial Government of Rio Grande do Sul, or in relation to money and other steps: kindly on our behalf and request intervene in favor of your poor countrymen and please follow all paths which might lead us to our goal. In order to do this, we grant you, more formally through this letter, absolute power of attorney.

Forgive us for asking you Consul General such a great request. We still do not understand the national language sufficiently to come before the local authorities; in addition, it is even difficult for the colonist to have the power to dispatch more extensive letters to the authorities correctly. If these obstacles did not exist, we would like to take the initiative and cause you less effort.

You will be surprised that from Ybicaba, an exemplary colony, has come such a request and will surely think that we are dissatisfied or a kind of people who had imagined and dreamed that emigration would be characterized by a lifetime of fun. We witness before God that it is not so. We do not want to praise ourselves, nor to speak ill of our boss; but we ask you, as the Swiss Consul General, or the Imperial Government to thoroughly investigate the local conditions to find answers to the questions that we list below, in part for the colonists, in part for their contracts and account books, in part for the administration books, and ultimately, for the public announcements of the coffee price in Santos, as follows: 1.) How were the debts of the colonists, who arrived here in the last 3 or 4 years, formed? 2.) What was the position of the debts of the entire colony in the late 1853? and now? 3.) How large was the average debt of a family at the time? and how much is it now? 4.) Currently, how much is the cost of food on the farm compared to the cost years ago, and in other places? and how have they been achieved? 5.) A piece of land to grow enough food needed for subsistence is destined to all colonists, and would it seem fair to the eyes of a righteous man that the lord of the colony should charge and keep half the profits of any product sold? 6.) How has coffee been sold in Santos, and what are the declared and calculated selling prices for the colonist? 7.) 3 alqueires of coffee are necessary for 1 arroba of dry and clean coffee bean, or not? What were the results obtained experimentally? 8.) How much do the colonists usually receive for 1 alqueire of coffee? 9.) How much was the achieved profit so far with the coffee harvest of all the colonists together in a good year and a bad year? What was the average profit for each family in both cases? 10.) Have the agreements of the colonists been punctually maintained in relation to house rent and coffee calculation, etc.? 11.) Which coffee trees and how much profit do the new colonists generally receive? Do the colonists, who received money for their trip to Brazil from their homeland communities without interest, need to pay interest here or not? 12.) Does interest of 6% fall over the goods and the money received from the farm, from the day of receipt? 13.) Is there freedom of information on the local conditions, especially free correspondence between here and the old country? 14.) Can anyone report freely and without danger about the local conditions, and what were the general experiences with faithful narratives? 15.) How has the good reputation of the system of local colonization emerged in the past, and how is it maintained now? 16.) Are the measures and weights, with which the coffee harvested by the colonists and the food delivered to them by the management of the farm, officially measured? And how is this done?

We have reported these seventeen questions with the intention of suggesting an investigation by you and by the government. We have also formulated a question to you and ask you to kindly answer it: Is it true that the Imperial Government gave the Vergueiro House ten thousand reis as commission for every person over 10 years old who emigrate to Brazil and for every two children aged 1 to 10 years to enter the country? In our agreements it is written that we should not pay any hospital expenditure of the poor, i.e., medical expenses; in this respect we were warned; but nothing was mentioned about the credit of a commission.

If the answers to the above seventeen questions are cleared by people, official ways and sources, as described above: we need not fear the judgment of people who know the law; we are also convinced that the Imperial Government shall authorize our request and take us somewhere and give us conditions, where we do not have to agree with almost everything that is required of us, and we need not content ourselves unconditionally with what we are given as a reward of our work, but quite the contrary, we could be enjoying the merit of our work and also be happy with our lives. We beg once again for such investigation to be made, if possible, quickly. We believe that it is appropriate to undertake it in such a way that it will not look like it was sought and requested by us colonists, at least until we are saved from here and pulled out of the

terrible "chicaneries" to which we would be exposed. The situation would be very bad for us, especially for the author of these lines and statutes, namely Thomas Davatz that previously, because of a report he wrote accurately, was prevented from carrying out his desire to send it home. He was also placed under police guard, threatened with life imprisonment and, at this moment, for him to be in good mood and satisfied with the local conditions, he has been highly praised and encouraged by receiving for obvious reasons, honor in abundance, and now the responsibility for the school, as well as for preaching at Sunday Masses, festive occasions, teaching religious classes for the young, and coordinating the local male choir, with a fixed salary of 430 thousand reis, paid by the Vergueiro House. Formerly the Vergueiros paid only 50 thousand reis for the school and now 103 thousand reis. If he is made responsible for the opening of an inquiry, the situation for this man (Davatz) could worsen considerably. However, even if this occurs, we will not give up our request for an investigation. It is really necessary, and we do not want it to degenerate, because of all the colonists, among whom, no doubt, unfortunately, many are the type who we do not want to admit in our future society, for this reason we have also reserved in the statutes the right to property {...}.

Just a few more observations regarding our statutes. We have included a request aiming at the indication of a homeland in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul. We have done it because we heard that the weather in the cited province is also better for Swiss and German, than the one here, that there are also types of German cereal and fruits prosper on trees and the language, lifestyle, and in general the German way has been strengthened. We have also appreciated all this. But in case, although we do not believe it, it is not possible for the government to give us a simple piece of good land in the mentioned province, we would also be happy and grateful if we might receive at the local province, in a good place, the desired land. This is the first observation; the second consists of the following: To objectify our purpose, to facilitate the receipt of the necessary advance safely, we have included in our statutes (§ 5) a solidarity guarantee. But if the Imperial Government or the Government of the Province of Rio Grande do Sul, or another person assumes the debts and anticipates what is needed, without requiring the solidarity guarantee: indeed, it would please us. This would lead to a good result, especially because some of the families who have no debt and also have some money, usually belonging to the best homes, would join our society, contributing for our colony to have a greater chance of having a happy development, otherwise, these families would not join us. If we receive this great favor, we will be careful to attract only correct and decent families, and will subject to a direction chosen by the Government. Third observation: We cannot evaluate how many people would join us and what would be the size of the land destined for this purpose. But it is likely that if we were granted the favor mentioned in the second observation, our society could rise to at least thirty families, right at the beginning. If this happens, and we deeply hope that our colony may progress as desired, it is very likely that many correct and decent people from Switzerland will come and join us. The preparations for this were made nearly two years ago. Thus, the number of residents in the colony could grow considerably in a few years, requiring a large piece of land to meet the demand. Fourth observation: If the Consul General or the Government so require, we have already recorded in the statutes that they can be modified. We are well prepared for such modification. We know that we are not lawyers, trained to elaborate constitutions and laws. If they are established otherwise, we will accept with gratitude. – So, these observations are enough.

May the Consul General be so kind as to keep this letter attached, in case we need defense, we could receive it back. As we do not want to miss the next post, so we absolutely have no time to make a copy of it. As to the statutes we will keep a copy in hand!

Your answer please address to Mr. Philipp Zumkeller, colonist at Ybicaba - Limeira, Province of São Paulo and close it very well, more than usual. Previously, letters had to go through a dangerous cliff. To be able to deliver this letter to you safely, as well as the attached statutes, we sent it to Mr. Lutz, recording the aforementioned Zumkeller as sender, whose name is less well known. – To Mr. Lutz you can inform everything. We beg you to treat our issue as privately as its very nature allows.

Finally, once again we request that you use for ourselves and better others, all the power of your position and post, take our business to the right place before the State Government, and represent us with all your strength there and elsewhere.

In joyful hope that this happiness can be shared with us, we sign with the greatest consideration

Ybicaba, October 16, 1856

Thomas Davatz, from Canton of Graubünden, Switzerland
Johannes Schlittler, from Niederurnen, Canton of Glarus, Switzerland
Heinrich Schlittler, from Niederurnen, Canton of Glarus, Switzerland
Ulrich Riffel, from Stüfa, Canton of Zurich, Switzerland
Philippe Zumkeller, from Gratvach, Canton of Fribourg, Switzerland"



"Ybicaba, December 6, 1856 (1)

To Mr. Gustav Lutz, trader in Rio de Janeiro

Most honorable Mr. Lutz,

Ilmos Gnos
Heller Lutz & Comp
Rua de Sabão N.º 44
Rio de Janeiro.

Before your letter of October 8th arrived safely, namely on October 17th, a long letter to Mr. David, the Consul General, signed by me and several other colonists was delivered to the post office in Limeira. For caution, we sent a brief notice to you and not directly to Mr. David. In my letter of September 25th, I requested a return receipt to the post office [...], so that we could not have the slightest doubt that it had come right into your hands. As I have not received any notice that the correct addressee received the aforementioned correspondence and as recently there has been a daring and dangerous violation of the postal secrecy near us, we feel free to ask you to tell us if that letter has reached its destination. Of course, if this has not happened, we will complain immediately. Also we would be grateful if you kindly take the opportunity and communicate how the Consul General has received our letter, if it has really reached Rio de Janeiro. We would also like to know if the rumor that has been circulating here for some time, is true. They say a Swiss delegate in charge of investigating the local colonies has come to Rio de Janeiro. We have noticed that the staff of the farm is waiting for this visit, not with joy and gladness, but with fear and astonishment. Probably, in preparation for this fatal investigation, the prices of sugar and pork on the farm fell down, the former decreased from 8 to 5 and the last from 12 to 8 vinténs per [...]. We colonists will welcome the delegate with great joy, expecting him to be a man who cannot be dazzled and bribed.

We feel obliged to give a warning to the Consul General as well as the Swiss Benevolent Association regarding a colonist from São Jeronimo, an unruly man, who as we have heard, drinks, steals, chews loudly and lies very well, moves from colony to colony and says he will take a letter to Rio to appear in person before the Emperor and free the colonists from their pressure. He is called Felix Davatz, relatively tall, with strong structure, black eyes, black curly hair, and protruding lips, especially the upper lip, a medium nose, a round chin and black eyebrows. At times, he wears a thick beard and stutters a little. We do not remember other details. He has a wife and two small children. The first, like him, knows how to lie, slander and steal. Without the execution of these practices, they would have starved, however, through these arts they got the food they needed, at least so far. The two children are worthy of compassion, and for me, the undersigned, it is particularly difficult, because I'm the godfather of the youngest. I could not do anything for the benefit of this boy who is almost two years old and his sister who is a little older, except instructing them about the spiritual salvation. If this man comes to Rio, please do not mention this information, because in that case he will take terrible revenge timely. For individuals, authorities and corporations (Consul and Benevolent Association) not to suffer damage, and consequently will not have to deprive the poor of noble gifts, we believe it is necessary to warn them.

I received your letter from October 8th, intact and correctly, on the 26th of the same month, and I thank you kindly for the information you provided. Your future answer, please kindly address to "Mr. Johann Christoffel Salutz, tavern keeper in Limeira". The street and number of his house I do not know, however, in that small town it does not matter, because he personally goes to the post office and rescues his correspondence. With this detour we can prevent your letters from arriving at the local farm. Do not be angry with us for bothering you again and please help us as much as you can to achieve our certainly good and important purpose.

With affectionate greetings and the assurance of our highest esteem, I sign our request and on behalf of all the colonists who signed our previous letter.

Devotedly

(a) Thomas Davatz - Colonist and schoolmaster".

[Handwritten signatures and text on a separate piece of paper, including:]
Lutz
Colonisten Haus
Für den Colonisten Haus


Letter sent by the schoolmaster of Ybicaba to Mr. Gustav Lutz in December 6, 1856. Swiss Federal Archives - Bern - Switzerland.

Drawing of a colonist house - São Jeronimo Farm. It was inserted on the side of a letter sent by Felix Davatz to his relatives who resided in the Canton of Grisons. Swiss Federal Archives - Swiss National Archives Collection - Bern - Switzerland.

As I've mentioned in other books, in the late 1856, at the moment when Davatz informed Senator Vergueiro that he had sent his report to the Swiss authorities, there was such a change in mood that it caught the attention of the colonists. Swiss and Germans acted to support the schoolmaster, who guaranteed that the sharecroppers only wanted to carry out an investigation to evaluate the relationship between colonists and bosses. The farmers accused the sharecroppers of exaggerating the methods employed to voice their complaints and showed concern on the fact that they were armed. From the year 1857, the Swiss Confederation and the Brazilian Government sent emissaries ⁽²⁾ to undertake investigations in the sharecropping colonies of the Province of São Paulo, especially those

that housed Swiss citizens hired and transferred by Vergueiro & Co. We have already published, in our latest books, the details of these evaluations conducted in dozens of colonial settlements. Thomas Davatz, leader of the rebellion in Ibicaba, was deported. The impact of this event in Europe and the awareness of irregularities in the colonies influenced the management and continuation of the sharecropping system, contributing significantly to discredit it. The rebellion fomented positive and negative articles in German and Swiss newspapers. Obviously, we do not intend to repeat the issues already published in our books, but rather present to the reader other facts related to immigration by the Sharecropping System.

(1) Footnote with list of emissaries and dates of investigations.

First pages of the German and Swiss newspapers "Allgem. Auswanderungs Zeitung (Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Rudolstadt and Auswanderungsblatt (Switzerland) (XIX Century).

Allgem. Auswanderungs-Zeitung.

Dr. Vatterer.
Echter Jahrgang
N. 17.



Der Bericht von Herrn Dr. Vatterer.
[Detailed text of the report follows]

Allgem. Auswanderungs-Zeitung.

Dr. Vatterer.
Echter Jahrgang
N. 18.



Der Bericht von Herrn Dr. Vatterer.
[Detailed text of the report follows]

Neues Schweizerisches Auswanderungsblatt.

N. 2.
Echter Jahrgang
N. 2.

Der Bericht von Herrn Dr. Vatterer.
[Detailed text of the report follows]

Neues Schweizerisches Auswanderungsblatt.

N. 6.
Echter Jahrgang
N. 6.

Der Bericht von Herrn Dr. Vatterer.
[Detailed text of the report follows]

Deputies and Senators Discuss the Sharecropping System

Many Brazilian deputies and senators called the Vergueiros speculators and others believed that their peers should respect Senator Vergueiro, who had rendered outstanding services to the development of Brazil. Some legislators criticized the government for having, so far, invested large sums in the formation of nuclei based on donation of land to foreigners, and allocating only crumbs to subsidize immigration by the Sharecropping System. Following the prohibition of trafficking Africans, although the practice continued illegally,

the country went through an economic revolution and experienced a significant crisis. The farmers of São Paulo tried to fill this gap by buying slaves from the Northern provinces for exorbitant prices. The small crop, cultivated on the coast, lacking labor, produced less, causing rise in prices and scarcity of foodstuffs. From 1856, politicians understood the urgency of taking decisive action to hire workers, mainly for the coffee plantations. Agriculture required ready aid without which the country would suffer significant economic damages.

Slaves on Ibicaba Farm. José Vergueiro Album. Image Bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - Dr. Lotte Köhler Collection.



The Rebellion of Sharecroppers in the Colonies of Ubatuba

The rebellion of sharecroppers in Ibicaba Farm caused obstacles to the import of European immigrants. Colonists claimed that they were being harmed, and the way things were going, they would never pay off their debts. Sharecroppers established in numerous colonies complained of mistreatment and denounced the partiality of justice when judging their causes. On the other hand, deputy Barbosa da Cunha in his speeches in the Council of Rio de Janeiro on the 17th and 26th of August 1857, considered that the solution adopted by the Imperial Government to meet the demands of the sharecropping colonists of Ubatuba had fomented complications and rebellions in other colonial settlements. The legislator said that the municipality housed colonies with sharecroppers imported by Vergueiro & Co. He mentioned the examples of Nova Olinda and Perequê-Mirim, both owned by Major Francis-

co José de Castro, and Santa Cruz owned by Colonel Luiz Antonio Pereira, as well as others, founded by Frenchmen who had settled many years ago. Barbosa da Cunha commented that Santa Cruz and Perequê-Mirim marched with regularity, however, Nova Olinda Colony had no prospect of a future that would compensate the sacrifices of the colonizer and satisfy the hopes of its aggregates, whose aversion to work was recognized. In this settlement, as reported by the deputy, some colonists seized animals belonging to a neighbor, claiming they had caused damage to their crops. The captors themselves evaluated the losses and demanded payment to cover them. As the owner of the animals did not agree, the colonists refused to return them. The neighbor appealed to the police authority that sent his registrar to convince the sharecroppers to release the animals that they had retained by force. Howe-

Building of the
Presidential Province
of São Paulo - Imag
Bank of Carlota
Schmidt Memorial
Center - Dr. Lotte
Köhler Collection
-Munich - de.





ver, they refused to obey him. The authority issued a search and seizure warrant sending two bailiffs to the colony. The sharecroppers offended one of these representatives. To ensure compliance with the warrant, the police chief resented the bailiff accompanied by a force. Even so, they resisted, culminating with the arrest of some colonists. According to the deputy's testimony, the sharecroppers, advised by a foreigner known for disturbing the colonies, did not address their complaints to the Imperial Government, but to Mr. Heinrich David, Consul General of Switzerland in Rio de Janeiro. They referred to the local authorities as capricious and complained that they had been victimized by violence. Alerted by the consul, the Government advised the President of the Province of São Paulo to investigate the occurrence. Not willing to rely solely on local authorities, the president ordered the law judge of the district to go to Ubatuba. Still according to the testimony of Deputy Barbosa Cunha, the police chief responded to the accusation in the most complete and satisfying way and the president of the province transmitted all the information to the Imperial Government. The law judge reported that the colonists had resisted the action of justice, then were sued and legally arrested. He acknowledged that there was sufficient evidence to convict the resisters, but as they were foreign colonists he acquitted them, not to discourage Swiss emigration to the country. New representations, all fomented by the colonists of Nova Olinda, were addressed to the Consul of Switzerland. Mr. Heinrich David talked to Councilor Pedreira, Minister of the Empire, who was willing to end these controversies, and allowed the diplomat to visit the colony. Deputy Barbosa da Cunha believed that "if the minister knew the temper of that consul he would not have acted that way. So far, all the colonies of the municipality were in perfect quiet, except Nova Olinda, populated by many idle and turbulent individuals. On September 11, 1856, the Swiss consul arrived in Ubatuba accompanied by Dr. Sebastião Machado Nunes, interim inspector of the Department of Public Land. They visited Nova Olinda and acknowledged that the lands were not of good quality, which was not a new fact. Arrangements had already been made by the owner, who had removed part of its colonists to another farm with crops and new lands. However, Mr. H. David exhibited evidence of his prevention, only giving attention to the colonists. He disregarded the information provided by the owner and such were his exaggerations that sometimes Dr. Machado Nunes was forced to counteract them. His action should have been limited to that place, however, he decided to visit all the colonies of the municipality"..."In

Santa Cruz, the diplomat acknowledged that the lands were magnificent; that the coffee plantations were new; that the colonists were well accommodated and that the food was satisfactory. The director general of public lands stated in his report that the quality of the colonists who were there was not good in general, however, some behaved regularly and it would be possible that in the future, the establishment could show an advantageous result. Naturally, some colonists were satisfied and others not. Two or three who had directed their complaints to the consul, seeing that he supported them in the strongest terms, began making exaggerations and, little by little, the colonists, who the day before, had been very happy, also began to make complaints. Without waiting for the explanations of the owner, who was absent, and not attending to Dr. Machado Nunes' reflections, Mr. David concluded his investigation. He told the colonists that their contracts were not being met and that he would force the farmer to pay them compensation. The Consul of Switzerland promised that he would get magnificent land from the government elsewhere, in order to remove the colonists from that locality. The colonists deluded themselves with the transfer to a better place and forgiveness of their debts"... "These promises caused disorder. The day after the consul's departure, all refused to work". The legislator said that if there were any irregularities, the issue should be brought to the courts of the country that were appropriate for judging disagreements between colonists and farmers. Thus, in the opinion of Deputy Barbosa da Cunha, the result of the diplomat's visit to Ubatuba was as follows: - "On the occasion of his arrival, on the 14th of September, there had been only a single colony disgusted by the poor quality of the land, and after his return to the court, all colonists were under insubordination!" In consequence of the efforts undertaken by the Consul Heinrich David, the Imperial Government sent the steamboat Santa Cruz, with the interim inspector of public lands, in order to deal with the farmers the transference of the colonists to the Province of Espírito Santo. The deputy unburdened: - "I regret that, while these foreign colonists received land in another province, with six years to pay off their debts, the employers suffered another treatment, to the point of being imposed a forced transference, a harsh treatment to our farmers who at the expense of their sacrifices established colonies in the country!"... The deputy considered that this event discouraged farmers from the north who had intended to invest in colonization. "The colony of Mr. Novaes Cunha, in Lorena, was also dissolved in a singular way. As I was informed, the colonists set fire to the coffee planta-



tions. Burdened with ticket debts and knowing that others had government funding for transportation and donation of land, the colonists from the colony of the Viscount of Galard Bearn did not want to work by the Sharecropping System anymore, and parted causing serious losses to the owner".

I have found in the Swiss Federal Archives an official letter sent on September 29, 1856, by Mr. H. David, Consul General of Switzerland, to the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs. We have translated this document that allows the acknowledgement of another version of this fact. *"The undersigned takes the liberty to solicit serious attention of the Imperial Government on the event in Ubatuba, on very serious issues, whose solution can influence the European emigration to Brazil. Informed by Dr. Sebastião Machado Nunes that he had received an order from the Minister of Interior to go to Ubatuba, to get information on the state of the colonies established on the outskirts of this city, the undersigned considered his duty to accept the invitation of the Imperial Government ... Upon arriving in Ubatuba, Dr. Sebastião Machado Nunes, Mr. Alves and the undersigned went to the farm, recently named Nova Olinda, which people used to call "Old Farm" for many years, owned by Mr. J. F. de Castro. (1) Mr. Castro houses in Nova Olinda and somewhere else two leagues away, called "Baixo da Serra", sixty-eight Swiss (twenty-three died before our arrival), who were sent by the Vergueiro House & Co. from Santos. May Your Excellency allow me, before going into details about Nova Olinda, to talk about this new kind of dealing or trafficking that*

Vergueiro & Co. invented, some time ago, and that they explore so advantageously for their pecuniary interests. Senator Vergueiro had conceived the Sharecropping System and the prosperous Ibicaba Colony is an irrefutable proof of the noble and generous views of His Excellency. Unfortunately, the director of Vergueiro House & Co. in Santos (2) seems to have abandoned the Senator's system, establishing himself not as colonizer; but as emigration agent, using his father's honorable name to attract colonists, who were, then, transferred to whoever paid them a commission of ten thousand reis per head, without being interested in the fate of these poor people. Families that consist of numerous smaller members were, thus, burdened with fifty thousand to one hundred thousand reis. The contract signed in Switzerland does not mention this tax that is not based on justice and the rights of peoples. I claim for the removal of the ten thousand reis per head inserted in these new contracts. In Switzerland, they had promised to establish the colonists in the highlands of São Paulo. Upon arriving in Brazil, they were delivered elsewhere, without their consent and even without worrying about their well-founded protests, they were charged eight thousand reis per head for this far journey to Ubatuba. In the name of justice, I protest against the eight thousand reis per head unfairly charged to the colonists. The Old Farm of Matinha pompously christened as Nova Olinda is mainly just used and barren land; the coffee trees, which the fate of the engaged sharecropping colonists entirely depend upon, are old and do not produce enough to give a chance of benefit. Unlike the green aspect, pe-

(1) it is Mr. José Francisco de Castro.

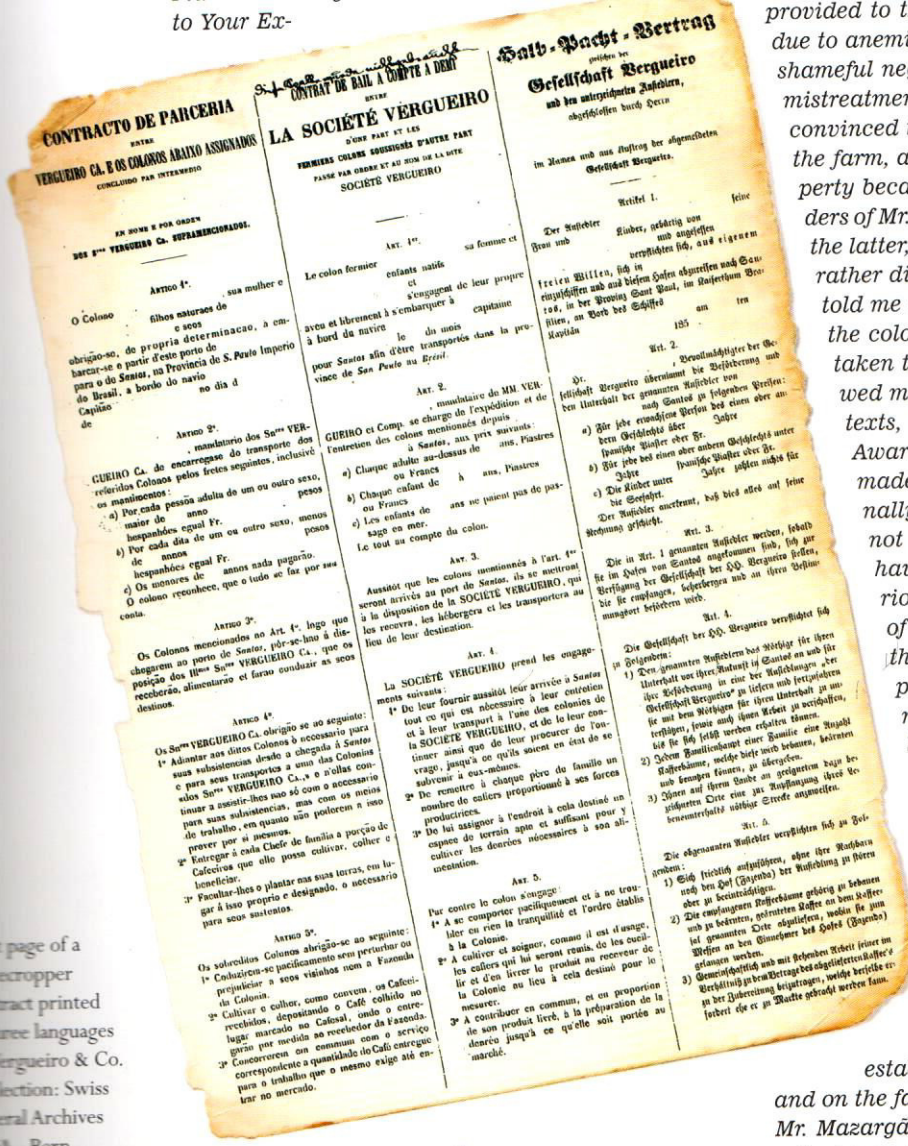
(2) José Vergueiro, fourth son of Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro, director of Vergueiro & Co.

Coffee Stock Market - City of Santos-SP. Gerodetti, João Emilio and Cornejo, Carlos; Recollection of São Paulo in Postcards and Memory Albums.



cular to Brazilian farms, more than half of this property resembles an African desert, peppered with some shrubs burned by the sun ... All conditions of the contract have been violated. Instead of being a good land, barren land, old coffee trees and not very fertile; instead of good food, the quality of the food is below any criticism, the coffee is harvested by blacks, and the colonists overcharged with values that they do not owe. Having agreed with Dr. Sebastião Machado Nunes, and to prove to the Government the goodwill of the Consulate General I give up all claims for damages which could be due to the colonists by the manifest breach of contract, demanding only the cancellation of the same on the following bases: - 1) Removal of the fee of ten thousand reis per head charged by Vergueiro & Co. - 2) Removal of all debts, with which the colonists were overcharged for their supplies - 3) Instantaneous transference of colonists to another establishment. I take the liberty to observe to Your Ex-

cellency, that the arrangement I propose should be accepted not only for the colonists in Nova Olinda, but that this should also include the colonists who left Mr. Castro, with his own consent, before and after the arrival of the Chief of the Imperial Government. If the state of the colonies of Mr. J. F. Castro have a non encouraging aspect, also Santa Cruz Farm, owned by Mr. Luiz Antonio Pereira, where he has forty-one Swiss colonists (fourteen died), offers a spectacle that is heart-tearing. Human forms withered by maltreatment and poverty begged to leave Brazil, and on behalf of all that is most healthy, to be removed from the unhappy place where they are whining. It is true, but difficult to prove, that the colonists of Mr. Pereira starve and require supplies to the charity of the inhabitants of Ubatuba, and that the colonists established on the farm of Mr. Robillard have contributed several times to meet the most urgent needs of their unfortunate compatriots. It is also a fact that during their disease, no medical care was provided to them. We saw a man who lost an eye due to anemia and two sick children because this shameful neglect has made them blind! As to the mistreatment, from what I saw and heard, I am convinced that it happened. The first director of the farm, a German, told us that he left the property because he could not comply with the orders of Mr. Pereira to hit the colonists. Regarding the latter, all of them swore in tears, they would rather die than remain in this sad place. They told me that a few hours before our arrival in the colony, the colonist Heinrich Speich was taken to be hidden by two blacks, as he showed marks of recent blows. Under futile pretexts, they prevented us from seeing him. Aware of our repeated instances, they have made us the most beautiful promises; finally, the colonist did not appear and will not appear until the marks of the blows have disappeared. This fact is very serious and here, I call the Swiss attention of the Government. I will not add anything to this sad picture, but I beg the Imperial Government to remedy these scenes of misery and cruelty. I demand, on behalf of my country, the annulment of the contract made with Mr. Luiz Antonio Pereira on the bases I had the honor to propose, on the occasion of my information on the Colonies of Mr. Castro. In closing, allow me, Minister, a few words about the information that Mr. Mazargão, the Police Chief of Ubatuba, forwarded to the Imperial Government, both on the general state of the Swiss colonies established in the production of that city, and on the fact of the imprisonment of six colonists. Mr. Mazargão is beginning to put into slavery two colonies of Mr. J. F. Castro, one in Perequê-Mirim



First page of a microreprograph contract printed in three languages by Vergueiro & Co. Collection: Swiss Federal Archives - SFA - Bern - Switzerland.



where, according to him, everything is going wonderfully and the other in Nova Olinda, that according to the chief's opinion, there are only lazy and fugitive colonists. I disagree with Mr. Mazargão, Perequê Farm is in no better situation than the other one. Long ago, encouraged by Mr. Castro, the colonists looked for other jobs, therefore Perequê is not a happier colony, just because the colonists are no longer there. The sharecroppers of Nova Olinda, so misjudged by the chief, contrary to what was said, are all there, except those whose death has rescued them from misery. Mr. Mazargão is unfair, even when he speaks on the fertility of the farm, which we all know is not true. He is unfair when speaking about the resistance of the colonists, in the famous case of the captured animals. We saw the man injured by the soldiers, the terrible instigator, whom they wanted to blame for the abuse of weapons. He is a poor, slow, weak and feeble man, who according to some, did not serve the chief. Actually, the author of the whole tragedy was Mr. Jose Dias Pacotilha, chief of the soldiers. While riding a horse and armed with a sword, he was the one who took the initiative to attack the colonists. I protest, therefore, against this inaccurate information and, it cannot and should not, in any way, affect the decision of the Government of His Imperial Majesty. The undersigned has no right, nor any desire to meddle in the business that only belongs to the Government of the country. However, it is his duty to make the necessary arrangements with the Government of the country, so that these indignities, abuses and excesses of zeal that have occurred in the unfortunate business of Ubatuba, shall not be repeated. By ending the conscientious report of what I saw and observed in Ubatuba, I cannot conceal from Your Excellency that the steps and measures of the Imperial Government should be quick and without delay. I take the liberty to make you aware that if the Consul General did not require compensation for the poor mistreated and deceived colonists, he expects the same generosity of the Imperial Government. I hope that the unfortunate and degrading event of Ubatuba can be forcefully terminated as required by the generosity, justice and clear interest of Brazil. The undersigned takes this opportunity to renew to the Minister the assurance of his high esteem and perfect consideration. (a.) H. David"

In his speeches at the Imperial Council in 1857, Deputy Barbosa da Cunha declared that the same Swiss consul, who had caused the dissolution of the colonies of Ubatuba, exerted great influence on the existing confusions in the farms of Ibicaba, São Jeronimo, Bery and others. ⁽¹⁾

- "When disturbances occurred in those establishments, the Consul General of Switzerland was under immediate and active correspondence with those colonists". The head of the insubordination movement was the schoolmaster Thomaz Davatz, according to the deputy's evaluation he was a man

imbued in the most dangerous doctrines regarding socialism. "He was the instigator and the center of those movements. I have, here, his writings to prove that the advice he gave the colonists was part of a plan to contribute to the failure of colonization in São Paulo. This schoolmaster was expelled from the colony, came to court and was welcomed by Mr. Heinrich David". The deputy reported that Davatz insinuated to the colonists "that they should settle in some backwoods, where they could preserve the language of their country, their customs and not mingle with Brazilians, so that with the lapse of time, they could form a larger population, preserving their uses, their laws, and maybe also their bonds of confederation. This is certainly a doctrine that is not appropriate for the colonists"... Barbosa da Cunha suggested that to ensure the future of colonization, the imperial government should proceed with some severity to the mentioned consular agent, whose acts disturbed the colonies and harmed his own countrymen. He also submitted copies of the letters sent by Dr. Heusser and Mr. Diethelm ⁽²⁾ to the Helvetic colonists informing them that Mr. H. David wanted to negotiate with the government on two bases: "1) If the Helvetic municipalities consent to lose the advances granted to the families of Swiss colonists in the Province of São Paulo, the government will terminate the existing contracts between them and the farmers, to establish them in areas that the same government will give them for this purpose. 2) If the Swiss communes refuse to lose the advanced amounts, in this case, to ensure that the colonists could obtain from the government, the payment of the advances with our money and establish the colonists on land that the government will give them". The legislator commented: "Well, these promises made by an agent of the Cantons and the Secretary of the Consulate General of Switzerland could and should have had consequences"... "As they are expecting the government to pay their debts without charging interest, the colonists are crossing their arms and awaiting removal to another place... To reply to the exaggerated complaints by Mr. H. David to the Imperial Government, officiated after his return from the Province of São Paulo, the former minister of foreign affairs sent him a note, dated the 25th of October last year, written in the beautiful language that Mr. Paranhos ⁽³⁾ knows how to employ, in which he refuted all his arguments against the agents of Swiss colonists. How comes gentlemen that the Imperial Government was the first to recognize that these complaints were unfair, and then finally accepted the colonists to be removed from Ubatuba? This has only occurred after they consented that a particular colony was examined

(1) The farms Ibicaba and São Jeronimo, owned by the senators Vergueiro and Francisco Antonio de Souza Queiroz respectively, were located in the village of Limeira (Province of São Paulo).

(2) Sent by the Swiss Confederation in 1857, to undertake an investigation into Ibicaba, as in other sharecropping colonies of the Province of São Paulo.

(3) José Maria da Silva Paranhos (Viscount of Rio Branco).



(4) President of the Swiss Confederation.

(5) In the letter sent on April 29, 1856 by Heinrich David to Senator Manoel Felizardo, Director General of Public Lands, the Consul General of Switzerland recorded eulogistic opinions about the Sharecropping System. In a letter dated April 10, 1858, sent by the Marquis of Olinda to the Viscount of Maranguape, in charge of the Business Ministry of the Empire, the sender commented on the inconstancy of H. David. In this correspondence the Marquis of Olinda attached a list of colonists who had left Ibicaba Farm with favorable balance (pg 64) (documents belonging to the collection of the Swiss Federal Archives in Berne published in the book *The Rebellion of the Sharecroppers in Ibicaba*.)

José Vergueiro, his wife Maria Umbelina, the adopted daughter Catharina Drenkhan, grandchildren and Miss During - José Vergueiro Album - Image Bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - Dr. Lotte Köhler Collection - Munich - de.

and visited by a man who should have been more grateful to this evidence of deference. "On June 8, 1857, Heinrich David sent a note to his predecessor commenting that the contracts celebrated between the Brazilian entrepreneurs and the colonists, when literally observed, were very advantageous to the first ones. David also wrote: "No protection can the colonists expect from the judicial authorities. As they do not understand the language of the country, they cannot sustain their rights before the Brazilian courts". When referring to the sharecropping contracts in force at Ibicaba Farm, the diplomat stated that the sharecroppers did not get any useful results from their work, and that after three or four years, they were much more indebted than upon arriving at the colony. His statements echoed in the Swiss Confederation, and in an official letter sent on December 2, 1857, by Mr. Formery⁽⁴⁾ to the Viscount of Maranguape, he demanded attitudes by the Brazilian Government to compel compliance

with the sharecropping contracts. Before the disturbances in Ibicaba Colony and the detailed report undertaken by Dr. Heusser, after an inquiry made in Senator Vergueiro Colony, Mr. Heinrich David used to consider the Sharecropping System a solution to alleviate the suffering of the poor who emigrated from Switzerland to Brazil.⁽⁵⁾

Politicians had different positions regarding the applicability of the law of 11 October 1837 to the sharecropping contracts. There was a disagreement among the judges as to its employment and the attitude generated insecurity to the farmers.

Deputy Rodrigues dos Santos issued the following opinion in the Council of Rio de Janeiro on the 17th and 26th of August 1857: "As the Honorable Minister of Justice is present, who is responsible for ensuring the security and defense of property, I shall call his attention to this object because undoubtedly the state of those colonies commits the interest of our citizens and public safety.



There are about twenty thousand foreigners, and most of them heavily armed and protected by a law practice that advocates against the action of the owners ... The Sharecropping System, the only one that can save our current crop, still does not have a regulation to judge matters between colonists and their agents! Which safety or incentive will the citizen have to establish a colony, if one day he will be forced to report to a foreign consul, or will be forced to fight a government agent who also requires a report? If he behaves badly as colonizer, the provision of the law should be applied to him, but it is only fair that he should have the same right against the contracted colonist, but to comply with this, there should be a good law to guarantee the interests of colonization". Deputy Gavião Peixoto believed that to obtain colonists the farmers should pay the cost of their tickets and transportation to the farms, indeed they had to assume numerous expenses. - "And what is the guarantee given to these men? Certainly they should at least be provided with means to force work on the colonist, who decides to leave without cause or be absent before completing the term of the contract or compensating the amount owed. Moreover, we need to establish strong fines and severe penalties against those who tempt and entice colonists, or introduce anarchy, disorder and

rebellion into the colonies. In the Province of São Paulo, the issue of the moment is colonization by the Sharecropping System or by salary, on which depends its well-being in the present and its future prosperity. However, it shall collapse if effective and rapid remedies are not wisely applied, if the additive is not accepted, if the provisions of the law of 11 October 1837 are not extensive to the contracts made by this system, if the rights and obligations of the contracting parties are not well-fixed, and finally, if the position of the owners and farmers is not protected. The lack of legislation to regulate these contracts in a positive way certainly competes with the unpleasant occurrences which, in December last year took place in Senator Vergueiro Colony, the most important of the existing colonies in the Province of Sao Paulo". Deputy Gavião Peixoto stated there was a plan that threatened public order, but the government, being aware of the fact, did not try to fight it, and not even ordered those hundred and fifty colonists to be disarmed! Trying to prove the seriousness of the situation, he submitted official letters sent by the municipal councils of the villages of Rio Claro ⁽¹⁾ and Limeira ⁽²⁾ to the Vice-President of the Province of São Paulo, expressing the concern of the councilors regarding the mentioned event.

(1) The Municipal Council of Rio Claro forwarded to the Vice President what was deliberated by its members on 23 February 1857. "Honorable Sir - We have fulfilled our duty in leading to the knowledge of Your Excellency the status of this municipality and adjacent ones with respect to public safety, in full confidence that Your Excellency shall exert your power to accomplish it. This municipality abuts on the less depopulated side with the municipalities of Constituição, Limeira and Mogy-Mirim, and on the other side comprises the parishes of Bethlem with 11 leagues distance, of Brotas with 12 leagues, and goes onto the municipality of Araraquara, extending on the left of the rivers Mogy-Guassu, Pardo and Paraná, until converging with the Tietê River. And knowing that evildoers take refuge in less populated places, where there is no power of authority, the drawing we just did shows that in this municipality their asylum begins, whence it follows the need to bring to this village, a respectable force to destroy them throughout the extensive district, protecting the neighbors as well. Such was the state of this locality, when new occurrences made this measure become more necessary and more extensive. Your Excellency might be better informed about the event in Ibicaba Farm than we are, but what runs around here and is known, is enough to terrify some and discourage others; and all that, when a large agricultural movement impressed by Vergueiro & Co. with import of colonists and the example of its practical application had seized the population, having already established many colonies and planned others. We ignore the plot, but the indisputable facts are that the Swiss sharecroppers of Senator Vergueiro Colony organized under the direction of a secret society, they armed themselves, being in correspondence with other colonies, counting not only with their cooperation, but also with the help of some slaves and unhappy Brazilians. They are planning to form a Free State. We are not afraid of their achieving their damned purposes, but rather of the damage of disruption. The colonists are still proud and armed, it is essential to disarm them and show them their impotence. This can only be done without bloodshed and with dignity, with a respectable force, and this is what we incessantly beg to Your Excellency, may God preserve you for many years. "Palace of the Municipal Council of Rio Claro, February 23, 1857".

(2) At the end of February, that same year, the Municipal Council of Limeira Village informed the vice president of the province that after the rebellion of the colonists in Ibicaba, public safety in the municipality was under threat and the population was scared. There was news or rumors regarding a plan devised by the German sharecroppers and those of other colonies, also involving slaves, aiming at their freedom. This news terrified the people, and especially the farmers. Councilors believed that to ensure the future of colonization and the tranquility of the inhabitants of Limeira Village, it was important to send a police force and adopt legislative measures aimed at regulating the execution of the Sharecropping System, whose purpose was to supply the crop with labor. "No wonder this movement has happened since there are, in a small circle, more than three thousand foreign souls with only one profession! What surprises us is that we have been so happy so far, without an unlucky star to muddy the horizon, as we now see. The council rests on the zeal of Your Excellency that in view of the above, you shall vote on the measures that claim our position. May God bless Your Excellency for many years, as it should be. Palace of Municipal Council in Limeira Village, in extraordinary session on 25 February, 1857. - Illustrious and Honorable President of the Province. - Antonio Roberto de Almeida. - Manoel Ferraz de Camargo. - Dionysio José Franco. - Antonio Manuel de Abreu. - Manoel Ferraz Pacheco. - João José de Sampaio Junior. - José Antonio Rodriguez. - Conformed. - Secretary Andre Antonio de Lima".




were still armed, fact that was threatening public peace. The council of São João do Rio Claro solicited disarmament and the execution of some police measures that could ensure compliance with the rules to prevent the colonists from leaving their colonies with impunity or without express permission of their owners. The councilors suggested that the government should sustain a respectable force, composed of more than one hundred soldiers, divided between the villages of Rio Claro and Limeira, with the task of securing public peace. In the view of the council, before this attitude, the colonists would be subject to their duties because they would recognize the existence of a ready force, sufficient to suppress their abuses. Deputy Gavião Peixoto proved to be perplexed regarding the treatment of this serious situation, according to his opinion, it was threatening public safety in the province. - "Well, gentlemen, the government was content to send the delegate of public lands that arrived at Ibicaba only on January 29th, and despite his good wishes, good manners and prudence, he could not succeed. The Chief of Police arrived even later, and I am informed that he had left the capital with only eight soldiers, so without force, he could do nothing and indeed did nothing. He returned to São Paulo and left the colonists still armed, as unhappily and oddly as they still are". To continue his documental exhibition, the deputy read letters and certificates issued by Dr. Heusser, commissioned by some cantons of the Swiss Confederation to examine the sharecropping colonies of the Province of São Paulo, addressed to the head of Vergueiro & Co. and Mr. Vollet, director of the Swiss Confederation, after the accomplishment of the aforementioned investigations. ⁽¹⁾ During his stay in Brazil, Heusser had praised Vergueiro & Co., however, when he returned to his homeland, the Swiss envoy, strangely, presented a report to the authorities of his country, in which he wrote heavy criticism on Vergueiro and Co.. His writings encouraged negative publications in German and Swiss newspapers. On April 26, 1857, José Vergueiro bothered with some statements that were contained in a letter from Dr. Heusser, dated the sixth of that same month and year, sent a communication to the former Consul of Switzerland, Mr. Charles Perret Gentil, who had accompanied Captain Diethelm to check all the accounts of the colonists in Ibicaba and Angelica Farms, asking him to explain in writing the considerations identified by his compatriot. Here is Perret's reply to his letter: "Illustrious Sir - Having been p.p., since January 20th until April 16th of this month, to the colonies of Ibicaba and Angelica, observing, studying and following the various phases of the events that took place in these colonies, I am able to reply to the questions that Your Lordship asked in the letter of April 26th, though I have not read the

letter supposedly written by Dr. Heusser, which is the cause of those questions. I have already given to Your Lordship my written opinion on the complaints and claims that were initiated to the colonists to cause a disturbance, and that they presented to the Illustrious Brigadier Machado, however, I shall answer the indicated questions. 1) Your Lordship was not required to submit to any claims by the colonists of Ibicaba and Angelica. Rather, the colonists deluded by false hopes and incited by various parts, did not complain to you, only after the colonists were disabused, became peaceful and started taking care of their jobs, Your Lordship asked us to inspect the accounts and do the right thing. 2) All colonists of Ibicaba and Angelica were invited to present their account books. The undersigned, with Mr. Diethelm, employee at the Consulate General of Switzerland, examined and conferred them, and found them in accordance with the rules except for some accounting errors, both favorable and unfavorable to the colonists. The errors were corrected without having the slightest disturbance or requirements... 3) No colonist asked or demanded that Your Lordship hire Captain Diethelm to be the general director of your colonies. The initiative was yours, because if there had been a demand, you would not have joined in, nor would I have advised you to do it, on principle. When there was a change in the direction of Ibicaba Colony, the appointment of the new director did not please the colonists, however, there he stayed, and the prosperity of families reflected the profitable effects of a firm and vigilant direction, with the rules and instructions that Your Lordship gave during his stay in your establishments, thus replacing a direction that had sinned for its weakness and carelessness. This is what I have to say for now, being your friend and servant. (a) Charles Perret Gentil - Santos, April 27, 1857".

Opening a parenthesis in the reports alluding to discussions undertaken by Brazilian legislators about the Sharecropping System, more precisely in the speech of Deputy Gavião Peixoto, I have considered important to remember that: 1) in correspondence sent by H. David on April 29, 1856 to the Federal Council of his country ⁽²⁾, 2) in the considerations expressed by Dr. Heusser in his report submitted to the Government of the Helvetic Confederation ⁽³⁾ and 3) in the conclusions issued by the Council that met in late 1850, to advise the Federal Assembly of Switzerland about immigration to Brazil ⁽⁴⁾, the representatives of Switzerland themselves wrote heavy criticism on the way the Helvetic treated emigration to Brazil (documents belonging to the Swiss Federal Archives of Bern translated from Gothic German and French).

(1) Letters by Dr. Heusser sent to Mr. Vollet, Director of the Swiss Confederation on 03/04/1857, and to José Vergueiro on 04/04/1857 (documents belonging to the Swiss Federal Archives) were published in the book *Ibicaba: Cradle of European Private Immigration*.





(2) In the aforementioned correspondence, dated April 29, 1856, H. David unburdened: "The Swiss cities, without any pity, send overseas the elderly, sick, weak people, or families fallen into misery and burdened by children at low age".

(3) Dr. Heusser also recorded in one of his letters to the Swiss government: "The responsibility for the misfortune generated by colonists incapable of working falls essentially upon the emigration agencies and cities of origin. I have found in the colonies old soldiers, former convicts, lazy people, but, as I shall prove, they are victims of unpardonable flippancy and barbarity. Among them there are elderly people from 70 to 85, invalids, cripples, people with wooden legs, blind ones and perfect scoundrels. What makes the conduct of the cities even graver is that not only did they send these unfortunate people, but also imposed them to healthy young colonists. It was under this express condition that the latter were able to receive advance payments, being obliged to feed the old and helpless people and even to pay for their debts after their deaths! For example, the city of Gaechlingen, in the canton of Schaffhausen, only sent a small number of invalids, but, on the other hand, they joined brave and honest people with former convicts or felons who could only escape imprisonment through emigration. Nevertheless, all these individuals received from the communal authority a single certificate of good conduct! No doubt such people could have caused misfortune to others".

(4) Considerations issued by the aforementioned Council to the Swiss Federal Assembly which met in the late 1850, to advise the Helvetic Confederation regarding the emigration to Brazil by Sharecropping System: "The state of the Swiss colonists in the Province of São Paulo is far from desperate. If some injustices were committed in the beginning, due to error or misunderstanding, they have already been remedied. It is not impossible for hardworking colonists to achieve independence and fortune by undertaking the duties of the sharecropping contract. If many families are in deplorable conditions, part of this responsibility should be imputed to their own members or to their cities of origin. We must not forget that the documents we have just analyzed are not new. They report a former state of affairs and since then, the situation has been modified by a fact of great importance. We are talking about the intervention of the Brazilian government in the whole issue of colonization. This event has two distinct periods. The first recruitments of Swiss colonists in the country were the result of private initiative and had no governmental control. The abuses they reported and the lamentable facts that occurred belong to this first period. With the purpose of preventing these errors, the Brazilian government immediately stepped in to supervise the colonization. This intervention was outlined in a series of general measures, which we succinctly list below:

1st) The creation of a permanent commission under the name of "General Administration of Public Lands" invested with powers of high supervision on emigration, being in charge of registering and distributing land. To carry out this work, a credit of 18 million was allotted to offer security to the initiative.

2nd) Protection was granted to large companies that received the right to establish colonization enterprises by means of certain guarantees that would ensure the welfare of immigrants.

3rd) Supervision of the emigration agents in Europe.

Even after taking these general measures, the Brazilian government did not lose sight of the issue of the moment and of the necessity to immediately help the colonists who had arrived during the first period and were unhappy. In order to solve the difficulties between them and the landowners, the government annulled their contract and transported the immigrants from a colony in Ubatuba to another province and gave them land. Similarly, when the sharecroppers at Ibicaba made their complaints, a respected magistrate was sent to the site to conduct an investigation. This mission, as we have seen, immediately terminated some of the abuses but also achieved a much more important result. In fact, Mr. Valdetaro, the magistrate in charge of the evaluation, did not limit himself to examining the details of the situation, but endeavored to learn the general causes which contributed to the colonists' distressing situation and suggested ways to remedy them. He recognized the need to reinforce the action of the courts by facilitating the arbitration of complaints arising from the contracts and inspiring the immigrants with more confidence in the judges' impartiality. The Brazilian government immediately responded to their commissioner's suggestions and decided to establish special legislation and jurisdiction to guarantee the rights of the landowners as well as to protect the colonists. They appointed an authority who was above local influence to visit and inspect the establishments, with the necessary power to correct eventual irregularities. Thus, all issues raised by the different parties shall be solved summarily. The Imperial Government has also nominated lawyers to defend the colonists free of charge. Always imbued with the desire to protect the weak, they published a decree appointing consular agents outside the maritime ports and customs cities. Thus, the foreign consuls will be able to defend the interests of their countrymen even in the interior of the country where their action has been difficult so far. Finally, a bill destined to regulate the issue of marriage between non-Catholics was presented in the legislative councils. All these measures are recent, and therefore, only in the future shall we be able to question their efficacy. They testify, in all cases, the solicitude of the Empire in favor of colonization. Let us take a quick look at the issue in Switzerland. We should have collaborated with the excellent intentions of the Brazilian government, but we failed to do so. It was our duty to supervise the engagement of the colonists, but to the contrary, this was delegated to the arbitrariness of the cities. We should have reined in the greed of the emigration agents; however, they were left to do as they pleased. In contrast, we did nothing but complain, and the management committee has proposed that the Federal Assembly expressly solicit the Federal Council to ban emigration to Brazil. It is a rather risky proposal. It is natural for the abovementioned consultative organ to have power over emigration. This issue has long been left free to arbitrariness or in the hands of the canton governments who did not have the means to handle it efficiently. The federal authority only has the prerogative to order the necessary resources to intervene effectively in favor of the colonists. They must also be granted the necessary power to organize this issue. A ban on emigration might provoke a constitutional issue that could compromise the success of all previous negotiations. We cannot ignore the benevolent intentions and worthy deeds of the Empire of Brazil. We believe that the Federal Assembly will understand the situation and conclude that it is more convenient to reach an amicable agreement with the authorities of that country regarding the attitudes that must be taken to deal with the complaints of the colonists. By so doing, they will render the latter a great service".





Postcard: The new and the old main houses of the Ibicaba Farm. (Beginning of the XX Century).

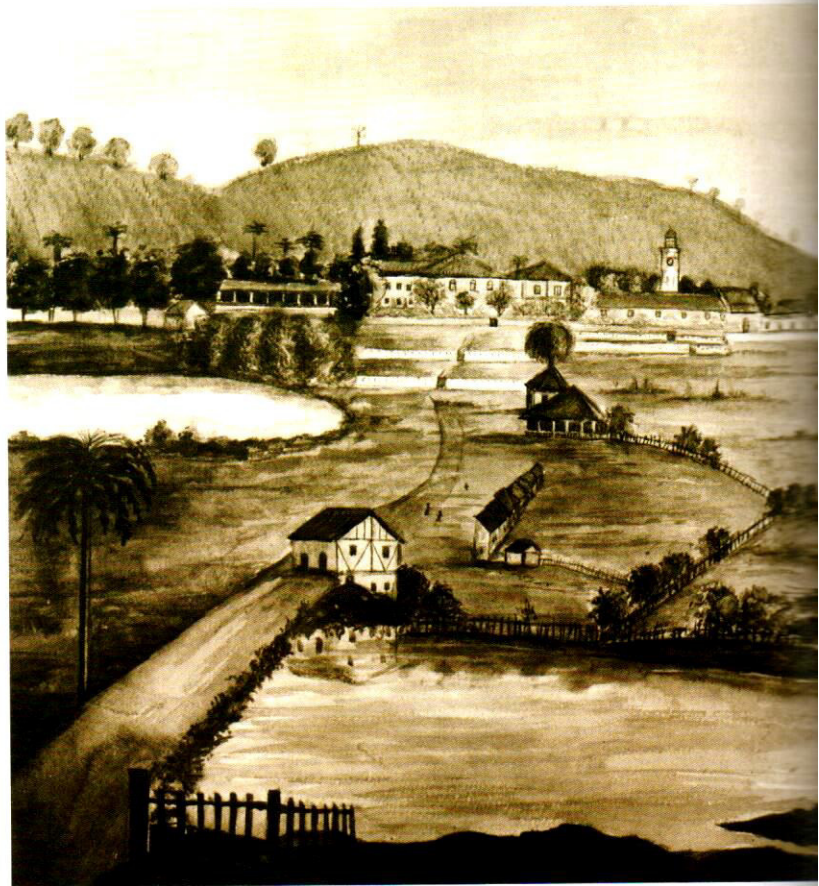
(1) Heinrich David - Consul General of Switzerland in Rio de Janeiro.

I believe that the diversity of information and positions on the subject has led us to question the reasons why the Swiss government changed its opinion about immigration by the Sharecropping System, imposing impediments to emigration to Brazil. Would it be costly for the Swiss Confederation to simply confess the errors admitted by the Council to the Imperial government of Brazil? If this occurred, the removal of the unhappy colonists to other lands, as well as the payment of their debts, would be left to the coffers of Switzerland. On the other hand, there could have been a delay when the Swiss diplomats operating in Brazil had to diagnose the injustices committed by Brazilian farmers to their countrymen. I believe that each of the countries involved in the process, pursuing their own interests, organized strategies to evade their responsibilities. Anyway, this judgment is up to the readers and doubt obligates us to continue our research on the theme.

Returning to the debates occurring in the Council of Rio de Janeiro on the 17th and 26th of August 1857, we are now publishing more details of the speech delivered by Deputy Gavião Peixoto, in order to prove the undue intervention of the Swiss consul H. David in the rebellion of the sharecroppers in Ibicaba. The legislator read the letters written by Dr. Heusser and Mr. Diethelm to Dr. Gattiker, doctor who provided services to the colonies of the Vergueiros and other establishments located in Piracicaba, Limeira and Rio Claro. Here is a summary of these correspondences, despising vain repetitions and non relevant subjects: -"My dear Gattiker! Regarding Diethelm it is only a question of whether Vergueiro wants or not to assure his promises in writing. If not, Diethelm will be sent by the ministry to São Paulo to arrange the other colonies. Meanwhile, it is only necessary for the colonists to remain silent and to this end, I am sending you a new proclamation by David. ⁽²⁾ I cannot explain to you

how heavy my responsibility will be, in case the diabolical deal is broken. Mainly, I fear for the people with Dr. Elias, ⁽²⁾ because they will be forced to resort to violent means, in case they are denied food. I beg you therefore, on behalf of the friendship that brought us together again, which on my part is certainly pure and holy, to do whatever you can to avoid a disaster. You have influence with Dr. Elias and in case of necessity, you could help with money. As soon as you hear that

General View of Ibicaba Farm. Drawing by unknown author. Image Bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - José Vergueiro Album - Dr. Lotte Köhler Collection.



(2) José Elias Pacheco Jordão was the owner of Bery and Coivitinga Colonies, located in São João do Rio Claro.

(3) Schlittler was one of the leaders of the rebellion of the sharecroppers, who was aggregated to Angelica Farm owned by Vergueiro & Co.

Dr. Elias has decided no longer to provide food, I beg you to help these people for me, and also Schlittler,⁽³⁾ in case Vergueiro does not care for him until my next letter. Certainly, I have almost exhausted my credit, but in case this happens, David will support me, except that he does not want to lend his name, so that these cash allowances shall not start without necessity. Anyway, it is better not to give money to people, but to buy food through Schlittler. The Wandlander will not be forgotten, but so far, it has not been possible to arrange it. Everything, including your clothes will follow soon. I am missing Diethelm and the lieutenant. (a) J. Ch. Heusser (Rio de Janeiro, May 20, 1857)".

*-"My dear Gattiker! – Through this letter, I beg you to deliver the enclosed one to its destination. It seems that the deal of the colonists will take a singular march. Vergueiro does not want to talk about my job as general director anymore. I do not even know how this will end. You can reassure the colonists that we will do everything in their favor; beg them, on our behalf, to stay still, and all will end well. Tell Mettler, especially, that I will not forget him, that I will write him soon and take care of his future ... Dr. Heusser is well, and sends regards. With all friendship, yours (a) A. Diethelm - Rio de Janeiro, May 23, 1857".

*-"Dear Mr. Gattiker. - On behalf of the Consul-Ge-

neral, on behalf of Dr. Heusser and on my behalf, I beg you to present the included proclamation to the colonists in Ibicaba, and if possible, to the other colonists. We would be very pleased if you could go to Ibicaba yourself, and as director, superior to any colonist, participate in confidence that the ministry has left us two frank paths. 1) If the homeland municipalities consent to grant the advances, the government shall relieve the colonists of their contracts and appoint them their own land. 2) If that does not happen, the government shall appoint a general director for all the colonies of São Paulo, who at its expense, armed with special powers shall oppose the farmers' abuses (cunnings). Neither colonists, nor farmers should know about this for now. I believe you have received my last letter, and handed to Luis Vergueiro the 80 \$, etc. since I will not go there so soon, and if I do, I shall not go as an employee of the Vergueiro House, therefore, I am willing to put these arrangements in order ... (a) Diethelm - Rio de Janeiro, May 25, 1857".

Deputy Gavião Peixoto thought that the lack of the Government's zeal on these facts was strange. He said that the authorities should protect the rights of Senator Vergueiro, honorable elder, who had a glorious past. - "But, gentlemen, it is not so much about your interest but rather about the public interest, or-



Aerial view of Ibicaba Farm. Cordeirópolis - SP - Photo Wagner Morente - 2010



der and security, and about the future of the province of São Paulo! It is necessary to end the anomaly that is happening in that colony, but it is necessary to end it without harming the colonization strongly needed by the crops and the whole country, and without allowing no guarantees to the rights of our farmers and agriculturists, who need to make so many sacrifices to achieve the free labor that they both lack. If the government does not think it is well informed and elucidated, you should send someone you trust to check the status of the colony. If you cannot deliberate and resolve from here, you should send a strong and impartial president to the province and hand to him the decision of the question; so, above all, you should free the province from the vice president's interim office, the one currently in office, which, like all interim offices is fatal to the province. Ultimately, please do something, and leave the inaction where others have laid and where they have unfortunately been preserved until today, those who have been in power".

As I have already mentioned, the rebellions in the colonies, especially in Senator Vergueiro Colony, echoed in Europe, especially in Switzerland that in 1857 sent Dr. Heusser to undertake investigations in the sharecropping colonies. The Brazilian government also ordered Mr. Manoel de Jesus Valdetaro (1857) and Chief Justice Sebastião Machado Nunes (1859/60) to carry out an inspection in the colonial settlements. ⁽⁴⁾ Later, by an official communication, dated May 28, 1860, Emperor D. Pedro II officially endorsed the mission of Jean Jackes Tschudi, Extraordinary Envoy of the Swiss Confederation, in charge of undertaking a thorough evaluation on the situation of the Swiss colonists in Brazil. We have found in the Helvetic archives hundreds of documents related to this topic, including manuscripts by Tschudi himself. We have selected for translation some documents that have contributed to rescue the history of the sharecropping system, which at that time was already dying. J. J. Tschudi reached Santos on July 21, 1860. As he could not count on the São Paulo Railway (Santos-Jundiaí), which would only be active in the near future, he went up Serra do Mar, via Cubatão toward São Paulo on the 24th of the same month, on the back of a mule. In other volumes I have already synthesized the detailed reports of the aforementioned envoy. In this volume I am publishing excerpts from the diagnosis issued by the aforesaid plenipotentiary minister, after his visit to the colonies of the Province of São Paulo, which he addressed to the Emperor of Brazil, more precisely to Senator João Lins Vieira Cansação de Sinimbu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil



Emperor
D. Pedro II
Copy - Santa
Getrudes Farm
Collection.

(08/10/1860): "I have the satisfaction to inform Your Excellency that the report by Chief Justice Sebastião Machado Nunes, commissioned by the Imperial Government with the task of examining the situation of the colonies in the Province of São Paulo, who completed his visits in the month of March this year, was written in an impartial and conscientious manner. The commissary's visits had a positive effect both on the farmers and on the colonists. Chief Justice Machado Nunes, with his well-known skills, was able to resolve various difficult situations that had existed for many years, in a more satisfactory manner to both parties".

Tschudi praised the reception provided by all the farmers of the Province, which facilitated his evaluation of the colonies. "Only one, José Vergueiro, head of the Vergueiro House & Co., as I have already had the honor of communicating to Your Excellency, on the occasion of the interview with the President of the Province of S. Paulo, informed me that I would not be received in the role of official representative on the farms of his House. However, he would allow me to visit, should he be present in Ibicaba, since he had plans to go to that property. So, José Vergueiro wrote to me about this near the end of August. However, by the date of September 6th, when I left the Province





"Reasons why the colonization by the Sharecropping System has not been successful in the Province of S. Paulo" J. J. Tschudi

José Vergueiro -
Dr. Lotte Köhler
Collection.

S. Jerônimo. Dem h. Ex. Sr. Antonio de Souza Queiroz gesehnd. Ich habe die Ehre zu erwidern, dass ich die Colonisten in dieser Provinz sehr bedauern sehe, dass sie sich nicht so glücklich gemacht haben, als sie sich erwarten konnten. Ich habe die Ehre zu erwidern, dass ich die Colonisten in dieser Provinz sehr bedauern sehe, dass sie sich nicht so glücklich gemacht haben, als sie sich erwarten konnten.

~~mit der Colonisten abzuföhren alle Befehle und die~~

This Province, agricultural par excellence, due to its fertile soil and its magnificent climate, is certain to play a great role in colonization, for its imperious needs for workers, to whom it can easily guarantee a happy fate. Unfortunately, for a long time, the Sharecropping System established by the Vergueiro House & Co. has denigrated the future and development of the colonization in this Province. The posture of this company has hindered emigration to other regions of Brazil, in view of the numerous complaints by colonists, in part justified, which had painful repercussions in Europe, discouraging many emigrants to choose this country. I have the honor of listing to Your Excellency various causes which, in my view, are the main faults of the aforementioned system:

I - The advances received by most of the colonists for the crossing from Europe to Santos and the burdensome journey from this port to the colonies: The colonists arrive at their destination burdened with debt. For many families, these amounts are as high as two contos de Réis, which discourages them right from the beginning of their new life.

II - The contracts with double agreement, in which the duties and obligations for both parties are not clear and positively defined. For example, Art.3rd in the "Sharecropping Contract" states: "The Colonists mentioned in Art.1st, upon arrival at the Port of Santos, shall present themselves to the owners of Vergueiro & Co., who shall receive and feed them, and conduct them to their destinations". In this article, Vergueiro House & Co. does not com-

Blunia von Lourenco Franco da Rocha. Ich habe die Ehre zu erwidern, dass ich die Colonisten in dieser Provinz sehr bedauern sehe, dass sie sich nicht so glücklich gemacht haben, als sie sich erwarten konnten.

30. Município von St. João do Rio Claro. Ich habe die Ehre zu erwidern, dass ich die Colonisten in dieser Provinz sehr bedauern sehe, dass sie sich nicht so glücklich gemacht haben, als sie sich erwarten konnten.

Biry & Collingua. Ich habe die Ehre zu erwidern, dass ich die Colonisten in dieser Provinz sehr bedauern sehe, dass sie sich nicht so glücklich gemacht haben, als sie sich erwarten konnten.

Boa Vista von Benedicto Antonio de Camargo. Ich habe die Ehre zu erwidern, dass ich die Colonisten in dieser Provinz sehr bedauern sehe, dass sie sich nicht so glücklich gemacht haben, als sie sich erwarten konnten.

St. Manoel das Passos. Ich habe die Ehre zu erwidern, dass ich die Colonisten in dieser Provinz sehr bedauern sehe, dass sie sich nicht so glücklich gemacht haben, als sie sich erwarten konnten.

Manuscript by J. J. Tschudi referring to São Jerônimo Farm owned by Senator Francisco Antonio de Souza Queiroz. Image Bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center Collection of Swiss Federal Archives - SFA - Bern.

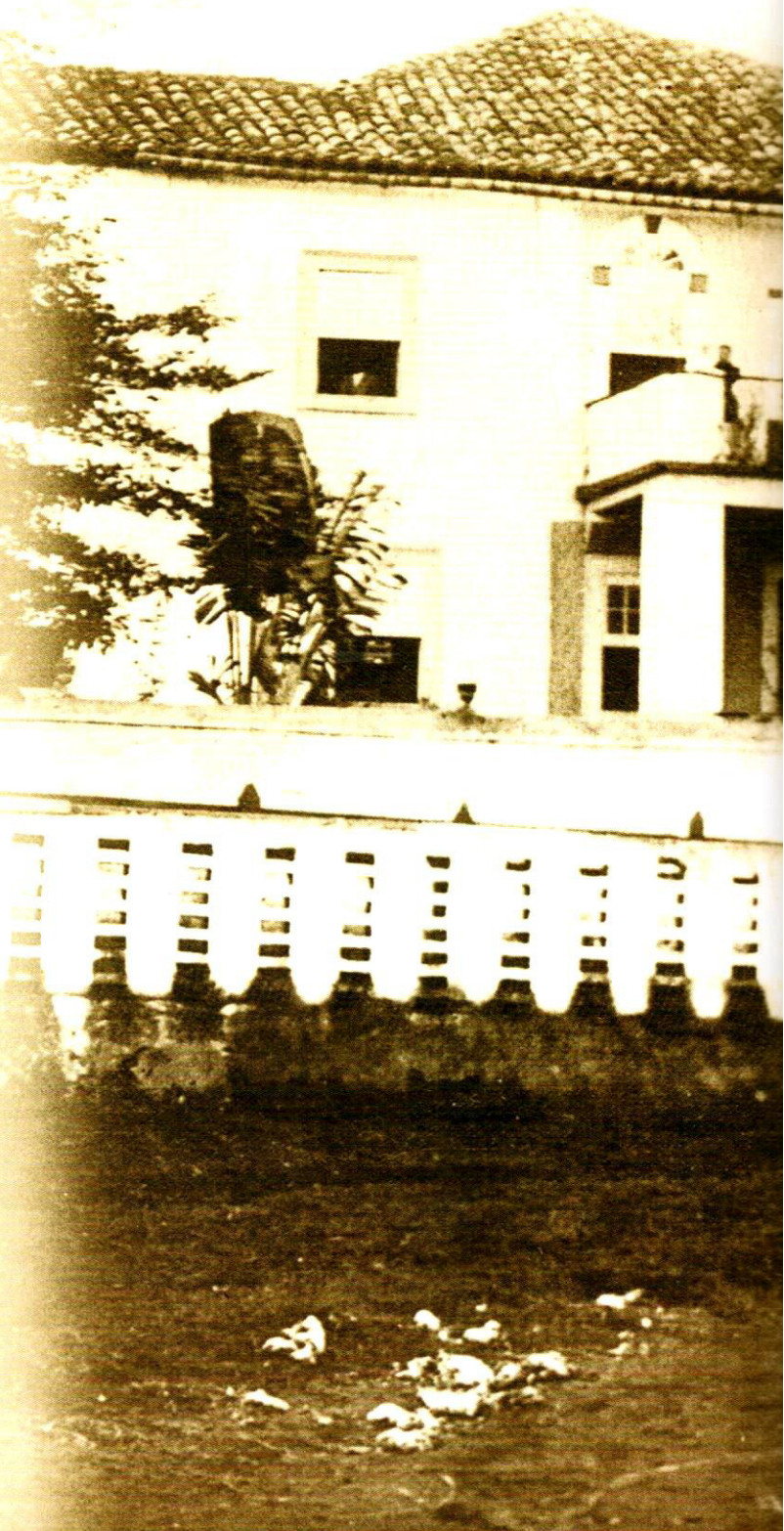
ro House & Co. assume not to separate colonists who come from the same municipality. Despite this commitment, families from the same locality were separated from one another. Paragraph 3 of Art.4th states: "The Gentlemen of Vergueiro & Co. shall be required to grant the right to plant on their lands." There are colonies where not enough land was designated to the colonists to plant their own crops, and others where the land is a league away from the colony, which is a major inconvenience and is very bothersome to the sharecroppers.

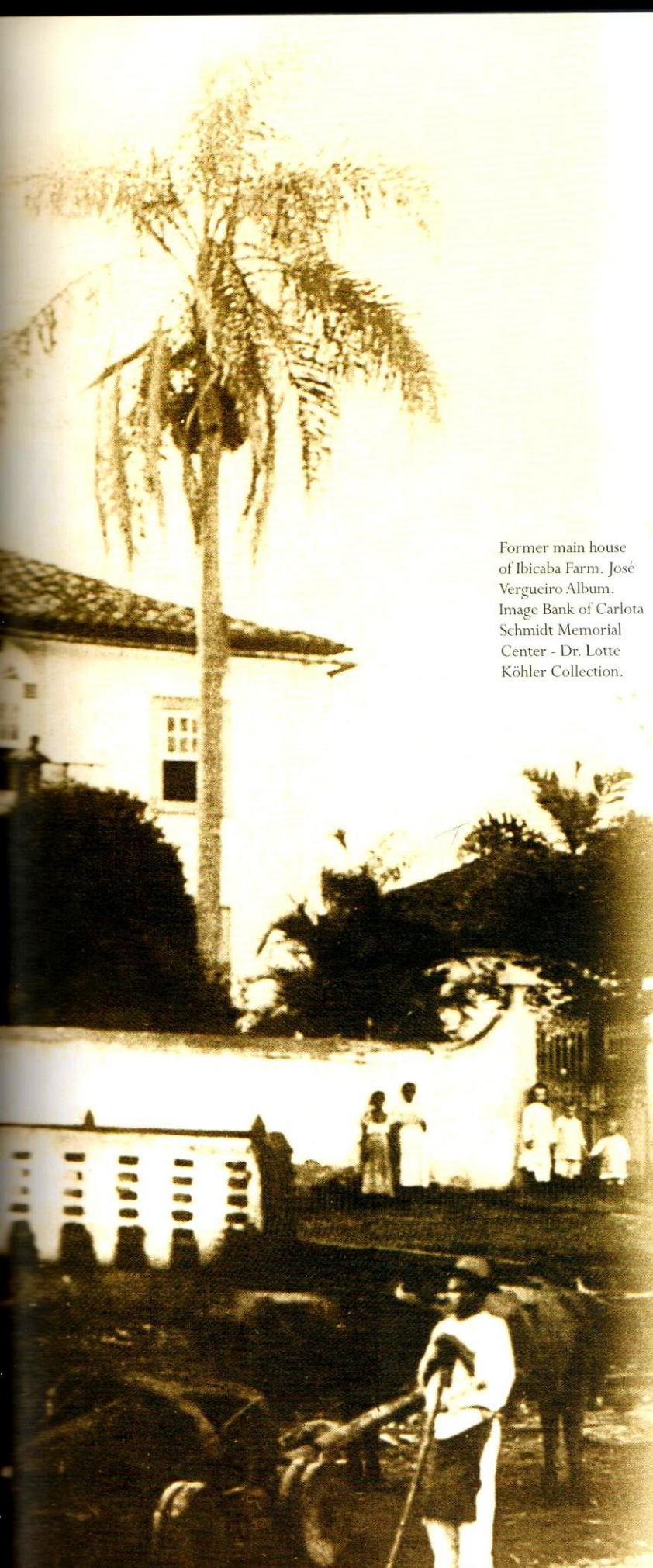
III - The commission levied by Vergueiro & Company. Upon arrival in Santos, the Vergueiro House imposes upon each family member the amount of ten thousand reis per adult, and five thousand reis per minor between ages 8 and 10, under the title of Commission. This fee is not only collected from the farmers for whom they import the colonists, it is also collected from the colonists on their own farms. Even those who died during the crossing were subject to this iniquitous tax. A clause based upon solidarity holds the surviving family members responsible for the payment of their debt.

⁽¹⁾ For that reason, some families incurred debts of R 110\$000 and were burdened with an unexpected debt. The very Government of S. Paulo authorized Vergueiro House & Co. to collect this Commission. Now, is it correct and just or fair administration for an immigrating colony to demand from its colonists a sum not stipulated in its contracts, and so high and damaging to the future prosperity of the families? Another fact was produced, as mentioned by Dr. Machado Nunes, on page 5 of his report. I want to mention the taxes for hospitals or for the poor, known as *Captação*, debited to the enlisted upon their arrival at the Port of Santos. This tax does not exist in Brazil, but it was charged from the colonists in the agreements with the Swiss municipalities, according to their contracts. The two Commissioners of the Imperial Government who examined the situation of the Colonies in the Province of São Paulo declared this tax unjust, and the colonists who have contracts of passage should be reimbursed. Vergueiro House & Co. did in fact return the unfairly collected sums to the colonists on the Farms of Senator Francisco Antonio de Souza Queiroz, Commander Luiz Antonio de Souza Barros, Dr. Jozé Elias Pacheco Jordão, and Benedicto Campos, but judged it inconvenient to return them to the establishments of the families of Queiroz Telles, João Leite de Moraes Cunha, Hermínia Florence, Francisco Mariano Galvão Bueno, and Floriano Camargo Penteado, although the same rule applied to them as well.

IV - High interest rates for money compared to Europe. The colonists have to bear not only a high interest rate on the advances received for the

(1) J. J. Tschudi was certainly informed of the opinion of the Swiss Council responsible for advising the Helvetic Confederation concerning emigration to Brazil by Sharecropping System. The council blamed the Swiss communities for including the aforementioned solidarity clause in the contracts.





Former main house of Ibicaba Farm. José Vergueiro Album. Image Bank of Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - Dr. Lotte Köhler Collection.

voyage, but these rates are also calculated over the value of the food being supplied by the farmer, over the commission of Vergueiro House & Co., and even over the fines which are applied in such a manner that when the conditions are less favorable, their annual profit can hardly cover the payment of interest.

V - The instability of harvests and the price of coffee. The culture of coffee, more than any other, is subject to vicissitudes of all nature. First, it is necessary to have trees in good condition, because young or older coffee plants, those trimmed, or planted on rocky plots, produce very little. Then, the bad weather of seasons, frost, hail, continuous rainfall or excessive heat, are a great influence on the harvest. So, following a good crop comes a mediocre one. When the harvest is finished, the planter is exposed to new whims: depending on circumstances, the price of coffee rises with extraordinary variations. There are still the costs of transporting the coffee from farm to port. For example, the colonists of Mr. Queiroz Telles, who received in 1857, for net production of one arroba according to the invoices in Santos, R2\$845. In 1859, for the same quality of coffee, with expenses taken out, they received R4\$000 per arroba. From these amounts, it is easily understood that, if a bad crop corresponds to low price, it is impossible for the colonist to pay off his debt.

VI - The Directors. In the beginning, the farmers, not being able to communicate with the colonists, due to the language barrier, had to hire Germans in the quality of directors. Unfortunately, the majority of these men, with no honesty or conscience, instead of being faithful interpreters between both parties and seeking conciliation, only used detestable hypocrisy to mistreat the colonists, even against the will of the farmers. It is to these miserable men that we can attribute one of the main causes of the disgrace faced by the colonists at the various farms.

VII - Defective Jurisdiction. According to the contracts, all disputes between farmers and colonists should be judged by arbiters, in the presence of the other party, without another appeal. The litigation is presented to the Justices of the Peace. Well, these magistrates, as Your Excellency surely knows, are not independent enough to judge complaints of this nature in an impartial manner and they do not have, as I myself have seen frequently, common sense enough to understand the spirit of the Laws and their application. To judge the infractions, they use as basis law N108 from October 11, 1837, which regulates the relationships between "Landlords" and "Tenants". In my view, the "Sharecropping Contracts", which are based upon the principle of association or dividing equally, cannot be characterized as a commitment between



"Landlords" and "Tenants". I have had the satisfaction of meeting various law scholars in the Province of São Paulo who share my point of view. Law N108, adopted by the Legislative Body, in a period when immigration was insignificant, cannot, today, regulate the difficulties resulting from the introduction of numerous colonists with contracts which are based on such varying principles. This law has been modified, as tough as it is unfair, solely due to the lack of another which applies to current necessities. If I am convinced that the Imperial Government has been aware of the insufficiency of this law under the current circumstances and that it could see the urgent need to propose another law, I have been equally persuaded to believe that the Legislative Body, due to the heterogeneous elements of which it is comprised, shall have great difficulty in understanding the need to present the country with a law so useful and important for its colonization. Also, Your Excellency, allow me to suggest, as the Imperial Cabinet requested from the Legislative Body the faculties to undertake the elaboration of this law, that you may consider the idea just and advantageous, as issued many times, to pass the jurisdiction of these matters between Colonists and Farmers from the hands of the Justices of the Peace to the Judges of the Law. These magistrates would be authorized to decide the disputes, in the shortest period possible, and free of charge, unlike the current system, where the fees of a lawsuit being decided by a magistrate of such a high level are too costly for the meager wages of the colonists. To reach this goal completely, it would be crucial and necessary to increase the salary of these Judges of the Law, to guarantee that they would be in a completely independent position. During my journey, I noticed that there has been neglect on the part of the Judges of Orphans, a fact which neither of the commissioners of the Imperial Government did mention. The orphans of the foreign colonists did not have any guardians. Many times, upon the deaths of heads of families who were in debt, the farmers proclaimed their intention of keeping these minors in their properties until they were reimbursed for their expenses. And, although in Brazil, as in Europe, orphans have the right to the benefits of inventory, the colonists could not locate anyone to explain to them their rights and duties. Therefore, a great number of fathers with debts would tell me, weeping: "It is only by thinking of the future of our children that we have overcome unrest, because if we end up failing them while in debt with the farmers, they will become obligated to their service forever". I have reassured them and explained that their children would receive in Brazil, as in their birthplaces, the same rights of inheritance. During my stay in the Province of São Paulo, I demanded of the Judges of Orphans that the orphans of foreign colo-

nists be provided guardians. Most of them did this in my presence. Upon my return to the city of São Paulo, I seriously called the attention of the Honorable President of the Province to this fact and he promised to send, with no further delay, a letter to all the Judges of Orphans in the province to remind them of this duty.

VIII - The discouragement of the colonists. Due to the reasons outlined above, most of the colonists bound by the Sharecropping System are discouraged, since it has been widely known that for a long time now, few are working for fair compensation for their labors. This has occurred since they received word through letters that Vergueiro House & Co. had not reimbursed the Swiss municipalities for their advance payments. Besides, the ideal that a colonist could ever become a landowner has been destroyed. Not to mention that this was the principal motive for them to expatriate.

IX - The Colonists. The emigration agents made commitments to enlist colonists in Europe, choosing men with known morals and recognized for their dedication to work. Those who arrived were accepted, even when the occupations they held previously were not compatible with those they came to exert in Brazil. Nobody cared for these individuals. They became involved in a sordid operation where all demonstrations of humanity were discarded. They only concentrated on increasing the quantity of their expeditions, with no concern whatsoever for the quality. I must declare, to be fair, that the colonists who make the most intensive complaints belong, generally, to the category that is least likely to work hard. Those who work seem to be more satisfied and try to pay off their debts. However, there are colonists, who despite their dedication to work, suffer from constant illnesses, that is, they are exposed to circumstances beyond their control which add to the increase of their debts, and it might only be liquidated with the aid of others.

X - The Farmers. Upon arrival of the colonists, farmers who were used to dealing with slaves ignored how to treat the free men they had hired. But this state of things has improved. I confess that many complaints against the landowners were exaggerated". Tschudi rebuked the actions of the directors who were not always worthy of the confidence that was given to them.

Tschudi also commented on the almost total absence of religious aid and schools for most of the colonists.

The Swiss envoy added: "Such are the reasons, from my point of view, that have caused the regrettable results of colonization in the Province of São Paulo. As Your Excellency can see, with no doubt, they are all provided by the "Sharecropping Sys-





Drawing depicting emigration agents working in Hamburg. - Link to Your Roots Collection - Hamburg.de.

tem". In the opinion of J. J. Tschudi, the farmers adopted a system which increased state and national income. The increase in the export of coffee has fattened public coffers through their excessive taxes. Many farmers and coffee brokers had fabulous profits, but the finances of the country suffered a serious setback at the core. The Plenipotentiary Minister affirmed that Brazil was an agricultural country with no industry, so it was obligated to import certain foods at elevated prices to supply the population, thus suffering a blow to its economy, notwithstanding the apparently brilliant aspects of certain branches of its agriculture. "If immigration had had better results, farmers would have been able to dedicate themselves unworriedly to the culture of coffee, since colonists who were practically exclusively in charge of planting food would have been able to supply the country with sufficient quantity and at reasonable prices, thus making the Empire independent of all food imports. "The Imperial Government seemed to have understood this situation, because

for many years, it has applied much effort to attract mass immigration to Brazil. However, despite the Councils having approved the spending of millions of francs for this purpose, the results by the end of 1860 were not satisfactory. Ninety percent of the coffee produced in Brazil was the result of slave labor, which reveals that the future expansion of this culture was intimately linked to the question of emancipation. If we had admitted to solve the situation in favor of the slaves, exports would have decreased significantly. In the decade of 1860, Tschudi affirmed that it was not licit to assume that the slave, when freed, would continue to cultivate coffee, hated as it was, not even if they were determined to acquire their own plots of land. Due to this, the cultivation of coffee would depend almost exclusively on the foreign colonists. Tschudi also affirmed "How many colonists should be hired to obtain a crop of two million sacks? The free colonist, not yet adapted to the planting of the Rubiaceae, and who forcibly has to plant staple food products, will never be able to cultivate more than 1000 coffee plants. It would take 160,000 colonists to care for a plantation to produce a crop of two million sacks. If a family is made up of, in average, four people, and each family could care for 1000 plants, one would then need 40,000 families to accomplish this. Whoever knows the reality of colonization in Brazil will realize immediately that it is impossible to attract and establish such a large number of colonists, even without assuming great sacrifices and high investments. I am only thinking about the cultivation of coffee, but how many colonists would the country need to develop the cultivation of other products, such as sugar, cotton, tobacco and corn, for whose picking slave labor has been utilized exclusively, in order to produce sufficient quantities? The economic life of the nation depends on this situation. This country, exclusively agricultural, has paid whatever imported from abroad with its agricultural products, among which coffee holds first place. If export were to diminish, import also would, and the government's income would be reduced proportionally, because it is sustained almost solely by the fees generated from imports and exports. Such deficit would shake the foundations of the internal finances and this would have a disastrous effect abroad. These are the main reasons why Brazil might maintain slavery, no matter the cost". Tschudi believed that the Brazilian government would still resist for some time the pressures of public opinion and of the natural laws and rights of the people. The envoy from Switzerland went further and stated that Brazil had reached its peak by exporting an average of 2,500,000 sacks of coffee in that century".



The decadence of the Sharecropping System

Documents of Execution involving the London and Brazilian Bank and Vergueiro & Company (executed). Case dated 1878. Collection of the Municipal Center of Historical Memory of Limeira - Documents of the Court of Justice of the State of São Paulo (Limeira County).

In the beginning, colonization by the Sharecropping System was praised and adopted as an excellent alternative to replace slaves for free labor, but it was also, no one can deny, condemned by the insensitivity of the farmers, the engagement of shoddy colonists, absence of efficient legislation, an impartial justice, and mainly because the government had no power to adopt a solution that would put an end to the suffering of all involved. As we had access to hundreds of documents, we believe that all these factors contributed to discredit Brazil, for a certain period, as the dream country of emigrants. By studying the situation of the sharecropping colonies in 1866, we have observed that the willingness to work diligently, obtaining a more fertile land, under the rule of a fair boss, having a family composed of adults or fit to heavy work and the absence of disease, were circumstances which, combined, produced a moderate prosperity and independence. Many colonists managed to solve their debts by receiving inheritances from their homeland. However, the miserable situation of thousands of immigrants and the ruin of many farmers decreed the decadence of the Sharecropping System. There is no way to blame these effects on this or that individual, because when evil has its origin in the principles, it is an idiocy to attack the individuality of the people who implemented them. This does not mean that the human beings involved did not have vested interests or seek benefits. The manner adopted for the execution of contracts would have produced dismal results, under any circumstances and in the hands of any individuals. The head of a family of sharecroppers could not nourish the hope of establishing a position of independence. His children were practically mortgaged to the farmer. The result of this condition caused discouragement, because the greatest purpose of work was not the welfare of the family. The indebted sharecropper became a lost entity to society and the farmer wasted his capital employed in the constitution of the colony, in travel and food for the colonists and even worse, got involved in the entanglements generated by discontent. Under these conditions, with rare exceptions, work proved unproductive, mostly for being accompanied by the spirit of insubordination and disaffection. As we have observed in documents captured in different countries, the sharecropping colonies of the Province of São Paulo, especially those who received colonists transferred by the Vergueiro House demanded the intervention of the Imperial Government. The tense atmosphere suggested the danger of the occurrence of violent scenes. Faced with the need to prevent these evils and end up with this is-

sue, the government, Swiss diplomats, the International Society of Immigration and part of the parliament, all studied means to rid both the colonists and farmers of the results generated by the Sharecropping System, but undoubtedly, there was a lack of firmness to make urgent decisions to solve this problem. Many families were able to "Make it in America", but thousands of colonists were in a state of utter misery and without hope of recovering their independence. Not to mention the large number of immigrant colonists who were incarcerated because they had fled the colonies for several reasons. Thus we have come to the sad facts that always accompany wrong principles! The sharecropping contracts concluded in Europe were celebrated, in general, among people who were ignorant both of the circumstances and of the localities in the country, and they were undoubtedly harmful. Agents guided by inadequate instructions and moved only by excessive interest, did not aim at the quality of the people they engaged or their fitness for the work they were destined. In their ignorance, colonists accepted seemingly favorable conditions, that were, in fact, destructive of their future. The levity of both contracting parties in the making of these contracts went so far that they were given destinations even to places and colonies that did not exist, except in the fantasy of the agents. The stipulation of interest and, in most cases, at very high rate, was a very strong impediment that encumbered the sharecroppers with unpayable debts, especially the Swiss ones. As already mentioned, one of the saddest and most unfair conditions was the solidarity of all family members with the debt of the head of the family. This condition, in fact contrary to the laws of inheritance, has resulted in modern slavery. The children of colonists lost their independence and were, beforehand, mortgaged to pay the debts incurred without their intervention. It is true that the law permitted all citizens to refuse the acceptance of inheritances, but the law was powerless in view of the arbitrariness and omnipotence that were present in the provinces. As already mentioned, the documents found in the Swiss Federal Archives revealed that this damn clause was included by the Swiss communities that, in due course, transferred the responsibility to Vergueiro & Co. Another absurd was that no guarantee was given to the children who unluckily lost their parents. Sad truth is that the colonists did not have the least security in the laws of the country, they lacked any protection against the abuses that resulted from their position of dependence on a strong farmer, in respect to his influence, family and friendship. Contracts establi-



shed that in case of emergency and conflict, arbitration before the competent authorities and the decision of these arbitrators would be without recourse. It is clear on which side hung the scales of justice. Obviously, on the side of the influential farmer, closely linked to the authorities, either by friendship, by kinship, by important position or the feeling of nationality. These contracts contained other absurd conditions, one example was the faculty that the farmers had to transfer services of the sharecroppers to others. The claim to speculate with this labor is nothing less than to establish slavery under a new form. And the transfers permitted by the contracts were nothing less than a sale of services, or, indeed, of employees. The transfer or sale was also made in anticipation of a profit, becoming a new and odious trafficking. According to these contracts, colonists were subject to the internal regulations of the farms, not knowing if they had established rules based on intolerable force or paternal tenderness. These regulations were given by the farmers after the arrival of the sharecroppers, and could be changed without their consent. At that time, the law of the contracts in force was harsh on the poor colonists, while the professional swindlers who caused misery for thousands of families continued their brilliant career. We have learned that many sharecroppers, who had escaped from farms to alleviate poverty also for their children, or even for laziness, ended up locked in prisons. We have also known, as did the Imperial Government, of abuses and scandals that were practiced by the farmers' representatives, who being aware of the lack of judicial intervention, did not hesitate to employ the vilest means to the detriment of the colonists. We had access to documents issued by the Vice-Consulate of Switzerland in Campinas, in the 1860s, which also narrated aggressions suffered by the colonists. There are reports about some German colonists of Ibicaba Farm who were punished in the stocks for the discipline of African slaves. We know that the debts of the Swiss who arrived in 1853, after many years of effort and hard work, were considerably increased in 1866. The colonists were victims of entries of debits and commissions while their importers had already received from the provincial coffers. The Vergueiro House, for example, carried high interest in the colonists' accounts, but this same company had received interest-free loan for the aim of colonization. These advances were made to benefit the colonists! The contracts did not mention that immigrants would be charged the cost of travel between the Port of Santos to the farms, but the Vergueiros not only charged ten thousand reis per person, but also the salary of the driver, whose sum was significant for a

poor man who had just arrived in distant land, completely de-capitalized. In 1866, the Sharecropping System was dying and demanded the government's drastic action to dissolve the contracts, to put an end to the suffering of the colonists and prevent farmers from having more losses. It is also interesting for the reader to be aware of the other side of the story. Many sharecroppers were indolent, quarrelsome and unfit for work, but ate and drank at the expense of the farmers. As mentioned earlier, after the attitude of the Brazilian government to meet the demands of Mr. Heinrich David, Consul General of Switzerland in relation to the issues raised by the colonists of Ubatuba, granting them debt forgiveness and allocating land to the plaintiffs, the other sharecropping colonies of the Province of São Paulo, incited or not by a well architected plan, were also victimized by rebellions. I have mentioned here, for example, the colonies of Ibicaba, São Jerônimo, Santo Antonio and Bery, located in Limeira, Piracicaba and São João do Rio Claro, owned by Mr. Jose Vergueiro, Senator Francisco Antonio de Souza Queiroz, Elias da Silveira Leite and José Elias Pacheco Jordão. The sharecroppers of Santo Antonio and Bery were transferred to a new colony located in Cananeia, specially constituted to receive them. Based on the reports submitted by Mr. Jorge Krug, vice consul in Campinas of the Consulate General of Switzerland, dated between the late 1850s and mid 1860s, we could realize that while fulfilling his mission and suing Vergueiro & Co. to fight for the rights of the colonists in the farms of Ibicaba, Angelica, Santo Antonio and others, the diplomat also wrote severe criticism on the colonists and the Swiss Government.⁽¹⁾ In official letters dated 1866, Krug also mentioned that the bankruptcy of Vergueiro & Co. had discredited the company before the people and authorities. Given this situation, the vice-consul in Campinas believed that the weakening of the company collaborated for the immigrant colonists to take advantage of the numerous lawsuits filed against Jose Vergueiro. To strengthen his efforts on behalf of his fellows the diplomat also requested the help of the International Society of Immigration.⁽²⁾

The activities of Vergueiro & Co. intensified after the rebuilding of the Vergueiro Road (Caminho do Mar), linking São Paulo to Santos. The work was administered by Jose Vergueiro and funded by Forjaz & Sá, Vergueiro & Co., Souza Queiroz & Vergueiro and Antonio Ferreira da Silva, companies linked to the export of coffee. Documents attached to the lawsuits filed against Vergueiro & Co. that transacted in the counties of Rio de Janeiro, Santos, Limeira and Rio Claro, proved that the pioneer company in private immigration went bankrupt in May 1865. It



Limeira 19 de Novembro de 1887 R. 10.000/1000
 Março de 1888 pagados J.M. por esta nota
 de Lobra, em Santos, a nós ou d'nosas or.
 vinte contos de reis
 Valor recebido em transac.
 imento para o prompto pagamento, independente de
 esta pagarão mais o premio de um por cento
 final
 Vergueiro & Cia
 Ibicaba. Joaquim Antonio Augusto de Souza
 Presidente da Caixa Popular Limeirense.
 O Collector, M. J.
 José Monteiros de Azevedo

Promissory Note signed on
 November 19, 1887 due
 to the 1st of March 1888.
 The document refers to the
 debt incurred by Vergueiro
 & Co. with Caixa Popular
 Limeirense. Collection of
 the Municipal Center of
 Historical Memory of Limeira
 - Documents of the Court
 of Justice of the State of São
 Paulo (Limeira County).

had failed to pay off debts related to the numerous
 loans. The list of fifty-three creditors in the bankrup-
 tcy term included Banco do Brasil, the firm B. Ga-
 vião Ribeiro & Gavião, whose invoices were in the
 London and Brazilian Bank Limited. That same year,
 they met with José Vergueiro and Luiz Roelfs, the
 only ones qualified, at that time, as solidarity part-
 ners of Vergueiro & Co. to address the terms of the
 concordat. To inform the reader, Roelfs was mar-
 ried to Francisca, sister of Jose Vergueiro. At a me-
 eting held in 1865, representatives of the Imperial
 Government and the creditors of Vergueiro & Co.
 agreed that the bankruptcy of the most important
 company within the context of colonization would
 be disastrous for the market. Exactly that same day
 when bankruptcy was declared, creditors accepted
 the establishment of an agreement with Jose Ver-
 gueiro. With the consent of the heirs of Senator Ver-
 gueiro, José proposed to mortgage Ibicaba with all
 its slaves, machinery, etc., as guarantee of payment
 to B. Gavião Ribeiro & Gavião. Angelica Farm was
 pawned in the value of the remaining debts. Thus,
 the concordat of the company was decreed, giving
 it a new breath to continue its activities. In 1874,
 Jose negotiated Itaporanga to alleviate the debts
 that had grown alarmingly, according to his letters
 to relatives. Perhaps due to his great influence, José
 Vergueiro was able to manage bankruptcy until the
 late 1880s.

(1) The reports by Jorge Krug published in the book Historical Farms in the Province of Sao Paulo recorded that the diplomat was in charge of the arrangements to rescue immigrants from the colonies of Santo Antônio (Piracicaba) and Bery (Rio Claro) aiming to direct them to a new colony in Cananea. In an official letter sent to the Consul General of Switzerland on June 10, 1862, Krug unburdened: "direct intervention of higher authorities to rescue colonists is harmful, and I think the Swiss Council is too distant to know who deserves this favoritism or not. The vice-consul recorded in one of his letters: - "If these individuals go to Cananea, which I still doubt, they will help to discredit the new colony.

Lawsuits involving colonists of Ibicaba and Angelica

We have selected some excerpts from official letters sent in 1866 by Mr. Jorge G. H. Krug to the Consulate General of Switzerland in Rio de Janeiro, published in the book Historical Farms in the Province of São Paulo: On March 21, 1866, Krug recorded: "I am sorry to give you bad news about Ibicaba Colony, which I consider under complete dissolution, so it has caused much trouble and expense. Even worse, I do not know where all this shall end yet. The tyranny and oppression to which the Germans and Swiss have been exposed in that colony is atrocious and this situation has worsened, mainly because they lack the means to seek relief through justice. It would be very useful to promote, everywhere Germans and Swiss reside, a subscription in order to gather a sufficient sum allocated to hiring a skilled lawyer to defend them and also to support the underprivileged, sick and crippled, soon to be evicted from the colony, and it has already begun". In the official letter of No. 59 of May 18, 1866, Krug recorded: "I have defended at the forum of São João do Rio Claro, through skillful lawyers and prosecutors instructed by me, the Swiss colonists of Angelica Farm, as well as some other patricians unjustly imprisoned in the jail of Limeira. Dr. Krug reported: "From Angelica Colony, located in São João do Rio Claro, within a month, all Swiss families shall leave in pursuance of a sentence that Mr. Justice of the Peace gave against Vergueiro" ... "the colonists have been freed of any contractual obligations, being relieved of paying their debts with the Swiss municipalities to Commander Jose Vergueiro until they authorize this payment. Obviously, for this to occur, the owner of Angelica should show them the receipts for payment of those sums. The sharecroppers had only to acknowledge the debt owed to the Vergueiro House, which is insignificant. Moreover, they were exempted from paying interest on these debts for two years, and they could stay for a month in the colony, until they could arrange their moves without precipitation. "Krug said that José Vergueiro, wishing to get rid of nearly all of his Swiss colonists and some German families, forced them to sign vouchers undertaking to pay off their debts with his company and the Swiss municipalities, although he had not transferred a penny to these communes. - "These people have managed to survive and found ways to support their families".

(2) Concerning the International Society of Immigration, in 1866, the Swiss vice-consul of Campinas asked Mr. Favre to convince its members not to undertake agreement with the Vergueiro House, who was assisted by the Ministry of Agriculture. Jorge Krug considered unfair to invest large sums to appease the wrath of the obstinate Jose Vergueiro, who had committed misdeeds and would still be rewarded.





Levy Family gathered in front of the main house on Ibicaba Farm in the foreground, from left to right Amalia Roland Levy, Coronel Jo Levy, Huberto Levy, Jacob Emil Levy (with girl's clothes), Simão Levy and Anna Quintus Levy. In background: Lydia Levy, Alber Levy, Mario Levy (Quinha) and Joaquim Manoel Pereira - Photo acquired in 1892 or 1893 - Paul Levy Collection.

Monias de ... e no d. h. l. t.

Para inscriçao na forma da lei o pedor
appresenta o seu titulo e o respectivo extracto
di go titulo e o presente extracto em duplicata
ao respectivo Official do Registro.

Rio de Janeiro 26 de Junho del 87 (Hum)
(Assignado) J. Beaton

Reconheço verdadeira a firma supra.
São Paulo 11 de Junho del 87.

O Tabelião
Joaquim José Gomes

Nº 379. Appresentado hoje ao 1/2 dia
Leva o mesmo N.º do ordem da Escripura
appresentada p Turquim Sahmeyer N.º

nesta referida.
Rio Claro 15 de Junho del 87
J. C.

8.
com contas = de Mareo = precisos; e assignao
com as fechemunhas o Conselheiro Joaquin
Saldanha Maranhão e João Vicente Esteves;
perante mim Mathias Teixeira da Cunha, q
a exercio = J. Beaton = Pedro Lebo
Joaquin Saldanha Maranhão = João Vicente
Esteves = Tratada do proprio livro, ao q
me reporte, em os mesmos dia, mez, e ann
ao principio declaradas. Com Mathias Te
da Cunha que subserui e assigno em publi
e rago

Em Act. do Verde
Mathias Teixeira da Cunha
(Estava sellado com duas estampilhas seu
mil reis, e sobre do duzentos reis, inutilizada
M. T. da Cunha)

Nº 379. Appresentado hoje ao 1/2 dia
Registrada
Protocolo Nº 379
Ind. v e p
Inscrip. resp D. 2-76
Avant. compts
Rio Claro 15 de Junho 1887
O Off. d

Com o mesmo N.º do ordem de uma escripura
appresentada na mesma occasiao p parte de
Sahmeyer de. onde esta e referido.
Rio Claro 15 de Junho de 1
J. C. Mcl



The Ruin of Vergueiro & Co.

In the late 1880s, Jose Vergueiro had very few immigrants he trusted and all the work in the coffee culture of Ibicaba was run by his three hundred slaves. During this period, his creditors executed documents proving the insoluble debts of Vergueiro & Co.. In the late 1880s, after all subterfuges to evade the payment of its debts, Vergueiro House collapsed.

The lawsuits that transacted in the counties of Limeira, Santos, Rio Claro and Rio de Janeiro, recorded that even his relatives, among whom were his cousins, administrators of Souza Queiroz & Vergueiro, and his own sister, Angelica Joaquina Vergueiro de Faro, widow of Joaquim Pereira de Faro, Baron of Rio Bonito, charged their credits, promoting actions against Vergueiro & Co.. Undoubtedly, from May 13, 1888, with the manumission of his slaves, the situation became unbearable. Souza Queiroz even sued him for misappropriation of the coffee pledged in one of the loans, prompting the substitute judge of the County of Limeira to issue an arrest warrant, recommending the collection of José Vergueiro to prison for violating Article 264 of the Penal Code of the Empire. This occurred in October 1888. He managed to get away unscathed, leaving Ibicaba to live in Rio Claro. At the beginning of the year 1889, perhaps to gain time and make the job of the bailiffs difficult about receiving numerous calls to respond to lawsuits, he spent some time in Jundiaí. During the period in which the processes of sequestration of his properties, including Ibicaba, Saltinho and Colonia, transacted in justice, he was again living in Rio Claro. His creditors had no more patience to listen to his evasions. Jose also revealed his dismay. He withdrew from filing the usual embargoes and let the processes run in absentia. The famous Ibicaba, "Cradle of European Immigration by Sharecropping System" was bought at auction (check exact date) by the Levy family (Jose and Simão), who had arrived in Senator Vergueiro Colony in 1857, contracted under the sharecropping system. Curiously, the powerful farmer went "bankrupt" and his former colonists became wealthy.

Jose Vergueiro passed away on December 31, 1893, at the age of eighty-one, in a hamlet called Saudade, located in the Village of Xiririca, in the State of São Paulo. Due to the problems that had occurred in the sharecropping colonies and their repercussions in Europe, the import of immigrants from Germany and Switzerland was interrupted for a long time.

Registration Statement for Special Mortgage, dated July 15, 1871, inserted in the Documents of Execution involving the London and Brazilian Bank and Vergueiro & Company (executed). Case dated 1878. Collection of the Municipal Center of Historical Memory of Limeira - Documents of the Court of Justice of the State of São Paulo (Limeira County).

211
 haço para inscripção de hypotheca
 Especial.
 escriptura do Sr do Senhor de 1791 lavrada
 as do Tabelião Lobo nesta corte por quem
 Mathias Teixeira da Cunha, Terqueiro com-
 estabelecidos na Província de São Paulo
 dados na pessoa de seu socio Luiz Roelfs
 tambem como herdeiro de sua finada mulher
 Antea Terqueiro Roelfs, e na qualidade de
 adador do Comendador José Terqueiro e de
 mulher Dona Maria Umbelina da Silva Terqueiro,
 Pereira de Campos Terqueiro e sua mulher
 Dalmida da Silva Terqueiro, moradores em
 paulo; de Dona Anacleto Joaquina Terqueiro
 e moradora nesta corte, de Augusto Peres
 mulher Dona Anna Elisa Terqueiro Peres,
 dores no Municipio de Cassanga, desta
 proíncia, de Dona Maria do Carmo Terqueiro
 e moradora no Rio Claro; e Pedro Leboeg,
 e procurador de sua mãe Dona Carolina
 Leboeg, residente na Europa, todos
 testararios, se reconhecerem e confessar-se
 adores ao seu credor cessionario o London
 and Brazilian Bank Limited, estabelecido em
 Londra, e fundo neste Imperio diversas
 estabelecimentos filiaes, representado por seu
 representante e geral procurador João Beaton,
 quantia de setecentos noventa e dois contos
 e cinquenta mil reis R\$ 92.500.000. fundo
 de noventa e dois contos e quinhentos
 e quatro libras accitadas por elles devedores
 em diferentes datas, e duzentos contos de reis
 e se obrigao a pagar, em contos de reis em





Countrywomen
of the Veneto.
Bosco di Rubano
Collection
- Comune
di Rubano -
Provincia di
Padova - Italy.

History repeated with Italians

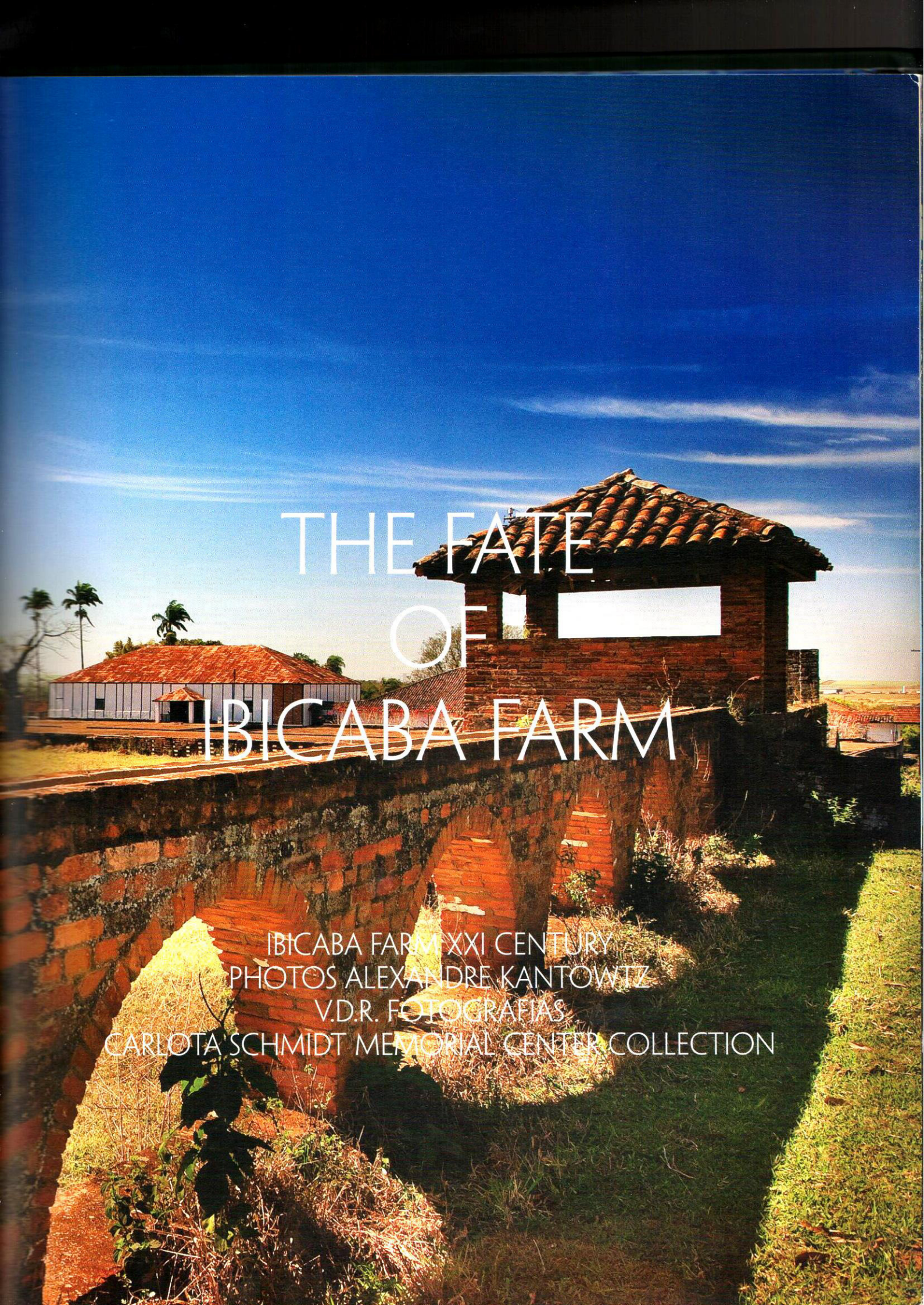
Brazil constituted immigrant colonies in places far from the major consuming centers. Perhaps if immigrants had been placed around commercial centers and used in small farming, devoting to the production of daily food, they would have found it easier to settle their debts. The International Society of Immigration insisted that the government should expropriate the idle land surrounding Rio de Janeiro to serve colonization. Possibly this was one of the reasons that contributed for the aforementioned entity not to receive the funds claimed by its directory. Indeed, this society had an ephemeral existence. The vast unproductive properties surrounding the capital of the Empire belonged to millionaires protected by the Imperial Government, a throng who lived of flattering the royal family. Despite all the problems that occurred with the clashes between colonists and farmers, the immigration promoted by Senator Vergueiro collaborated for the farmers in the Province of São Paulo to believe in replacing slave labor for the free one. This initiative culminated in the "Abolition of Slavery" and the import of large numbers of Italians to be employed in the coffee plantations, especially in the late XIX century. Despite the lessons that the Brazilian society experienced with the employment of the Sharecropping System, the Italians who were employed for wages or working hours, also had serious problems in living with an elite that only thought about profits, and with rare exceptions, was insensitive to the suffering of poverty. Unfortunately, this is a human characteristic. In the late 1880s, some deputies and the provincial government, who remained in power, thanks to the strength of the Coffee Barons, made speeches and undertook managements to saturate the farms with workers in order to increase competition. The law of supply and demand kept wages flat. Despite official claims, coercion and violence were evident in rural life, especially in times of strike, aiming to keep control anyhow. The immigrants were subject to the farmers of São Paulo, who exercised absolute power. Again, I insist on saying that the history of the Portuguese, Swiss and German immigrants was repeated. Farmers did whatever they wanted, applied arbitrary fines, seeking to reduce the salaries of the colonists. The weights and measures in force in farm sales continued to be a cause for complaint. Many colonies had groups of henchmen who kept immigrants under surveillance. Consular reports and newspapers of the period recorded hundreds of violent events, which were not judged fairly by the justice. There is hardly a single case of farmer who has received any punishment for having beaten one of his aggregates. This arbitrariness

generated much violence. When serious events occurred, such as farmers raping children and Italian girls or similar facts, immigrants who were unhappy with the unequal treatment had to bite their lips, or took justice into their own hands. The system was certainly designed to keep workers dependent on their bosses. Some organs of the press and documents reveal that colonists could only accumulate some money under very special circumstances or when participating in families with many members who were able to work. I believe that abuse was practiced by farmers, immigrants, Brazilian and European governments, always with the intention of taking advantage. Regardless of this unfortunate reality, many immigrants have managed to "Make it in America" and have adopted Brazil as their new homeland, becoming successful entrepreneurs.

As for my curiosity about what happened to the families who settled the sharecropping colonies in the Province of São Paulo, after the disturbances, which occurred from 1856, I confess that I have felt encouraged to continue the documental researches aiming to meet the expectations of those interested in the history of European Immigration by Sharecropping System. Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center has kept in its collection thousands of documents relating to the issue and we shall spare no efforts to find solutions to meet the expenses necessary for the translation of these rarities written in Gothic German.

The author in front of the Swiss Federal Archive - Bern - Switzerland.





THE FATE
OF
IBICABA FARM

IBICABA FARM XXI CENTURY
PHOTOS ALEXANDRE KANTOWITZ
V.D.R. FOTOGRAFIAS
CARLOTA SCHMIDT MEMORIAL CENTER COLLECTION

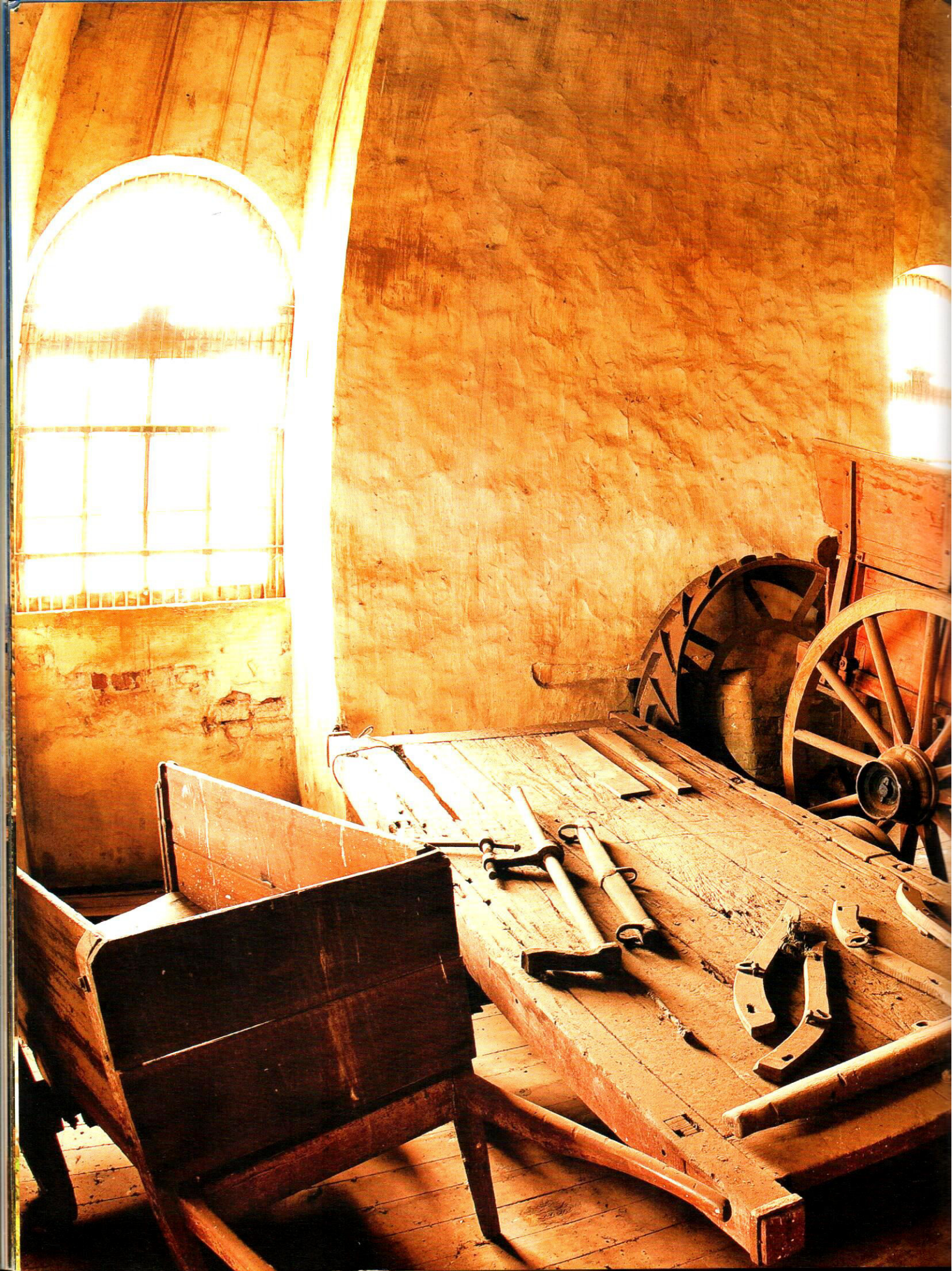
The fate of Ibicaba Farm

In 1976, the Levy family after dismembering Ibicaba, at the time with over 1000 bushels, sold a proportion of 300 bushels, which included the farmhouse, granaries, machine rooms, yards, gazebo, ponds, some houses of colonists and a beautiful stretch of forest, to the Carvalhaes family from Minas Gerais. The current owner of the famous Farm, Mr. Theodoro Hayden Carvalhaes, son of Leonidas Rossmann Carvalhaes and Judith Hayden Carvalhaes, born in Santos (1927), married Mrs. Maria Helena Veiga de Oliveira Carvalhaes (deceased). The couple

had five children: Judith, Murilo, Breno, Roberto and Theodoro. Since 1997, Theodoro, the youngest of the Carvalhaes, has operated pre-scheduled cultural tourism in Ibicaba, Mother Cell of Immigration by Sharecropping System. The farm constituted by Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro has been a nook that features a travel to the XIX century. The reconstruction of the memory of Portuguese, German, Swiss and Italian immigration has been present in the celebrated Ibicaba.







Ibicaba Farm: Inside view of the museum located in the Engine Room - Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center Collection.



Ibicaba coffee terrace, featuring the machine house - Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center Collection.



Fontes - Manuscritos (Originais do Século XIX) Sources - Original Manuscripts of XIX Century

- 01) Textos e imagens alusivos à Colônia Superagüi - Musée Historique de Vevey - Suíça.
- 02) Imagens e documentos - Banco de documentos Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - Acervo Dra. Lotte Köhler - Munique - Alemanha.
- 03) Cópia da carta de doação da sesmaria do Morro Azul, juízo de medição da Vila de Itu, 1817.
- 04) Inventário Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio de Souza - Cartório do 1º Ofício de São Paulo.
- 05) Autos de Ação Executiva Souza Queiroz X Vergueiro & Cia. (1888) Cartório 1º Ofício Limeira-SP.
- 06) Autos Cíveis de Execução Souza Queiroz X Vergueiro & Cia. (1889) Cartório 1º Ofício - Limeira-SP.
- 07) Cartas de José Vergueiro aos credores (Acervo Cartório 1º Ofício - Limeira - SP, Brasil).
- 08) Cartas Precatórias envolvendo a Vergueiro & Cia e seus credores (Cartório 1º Ofício - Limeira-SP).
- 09) Atestado de Óbito de José Vergueiro.
- 10) Rascunho de Embargo elaborado pelo Dr. Ezequiel de Paula Ramos, referente à hipoteca envolvendo a Vergueiro & Cia. e o credor (London and Brazilian Bank Limited) 15/06/1875.
- 11) Recibos documentando envio de café através da Cia. Paulista de Estradas de Ferro.
- 12) Livro de Registro Geral de Escravos Doc 6612 Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo.
- 13) Doc. CO1092 - Ofícios de Limeira 1842 a 1859 Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo.
- 14) Doc. Alusivo ao destrato da sociedade entre o Senador Vergueiro e a família do Brigadeiro Luiz Antonio de Souza (1º Tabelionato de São Paulo, livro de notas nº27 - página nº 54).
- 15) Parecer de Vergueiro sobre a Colonização Oficial - Colônia de Santo Amaro SP - Ata da Sessão nº84, do Conselho do Governo da Província de São Paulo, realizada em 18 de outubro de 1828.
- 16) Inúmeros documentos pertencentes ao Arquivo de Gotha - Turingia - Alemanha.
- 17) Documentos relativos ao Movimento do Porto de Santos, enviados pelo Vice-Consulado de Bremen em Santos (1849 - 1866). - Staatsarchiv Bremen - 2-C.1.
- 18) Listas de Passageiros que emigraram pelo Porto de Hamburgo (Staatsarchiv Hamburg).
- 19) Inúmeros documentos pertencentes ao Arquivo Distrital de Viana do Castelo, Porto e Braga (Dra. Alexandra Esteves - Arquivo Distrital de Viana do Castelo - Portugal).
- 20) Carta de José Tavares Bastos ao Presidente da Câmara de Limeira indagando sobre a Revolta dos Colonos na Ibicaba, (Doc 30 E1/P2 de Março de 1857) - Centro de Memória Histórica de Limeira.
- 21) Memorial de José Vergueiro apresentado ao Ministro da Agricultura em 1874.
- 22) Carta de Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro ao Presidente da Província de São Paulo (6 de janeiro de 1853 - Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo).
- 23) Censo de Vila Nova Constituição (Piracicaba) de 1822.
- 24) Ofício de Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro a José Tomás Nabuco de Araújo (Presidente da Província de São Paulo) informando sobre a Colônia Senador Vergueiro (06/01/1852). Anexos: Quadros de pessoal da Colônia e das contas dos parceiros (1851) - Acervo Arquivo Histórico - Museu Imperial - IPHAN - Ministério da Cultura - Petrópolis RJ. - (Maço 117 - Doc. 5786).
- 25) Ofício de José Tavares Bastos, chefe interino de Polícia de São Paulo, ao Antônio Roberto de Almeida, Vice-Presidente da província de São Paulo - Comentando a agitação da Colônia Senador Vergueiro. Secretaria de Polícia de São Paulo, 16/04/1857. Acervo Arquivo Histórico - Museu Imperial - IPHAN - Ministério da Cultura - Petrópolis RJ. (Maço 124 - Doc. 6199).
- 26) Auto de Posse da Sesmaria do Morro Azul (1817).
- 27) Auto de Posse de área da Fazenda Ibicaba.
- 28) Cartas de Thomas Davatz enviadas entre o mês de dezembro de 1855 e dezembro de 1856 ao Cônsul Geral da Suíça no Rio de Janeiro e ao Sr. Gustav Lutz. Acervo Arquivo Federal de Berna.
- 29) Cartas escritas originalmente em francês, enviadas durante os anos de 1858 e 1859 pelos parceiros da Colônia Santo Antonio, situada em Constituição (Piracicaba) - Acervo Arquivo Federal de Berna - Suíça.
- 30) Relatórios enviados na década de 1860, pelo Sr. Jorge Krug, Vice-Cônsul da Suíça em Campinas ao Consulado Geral da Suíça no Rio de Janeiro - Acervo Arquivo Federal de Berna - Suíça.
- 31) Rascunhos de relatórios da Sociedade Internacional da Imigração Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz de Berlin.
- 32) Ofícios enviados pelo Sr. Jorge Krug, Vice-Cônsul da Suíça em Campinas ao Sr. Felix Favre, Vice-Cônsul interino do Consulado Geral da Suíça na Capital do Império do Brasil (1866).
- 33) Livro de Contas número 1 da Colônia Senador Vergueiro - Fazenda Ibicaba - 1846 / 1847 - Acervo Paulo Levy.
- 34) Diário de Carlota Schmidt (Brune) neta adotiva do Comendador José Vergueiro 1881. Acervo Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center - doação Dra. Lotte Köhler - Munique - Alemanha.
- 35) Jornal do Comércio do Rio de Janeiro (04/01/1893) - Cópia: acervo: SFA - Berna.
- 36) Documentos do Acervo Iconográfico do Memorial do Imigrante.
- 37) Documentos diversos alusivos às gestões do Conselho e da Assembléia Federal Suíça (1858-1860).
- 38) Diversos relatórios do Dr. Heusser (manuscritos arquivados no Arquivo Federal de Berna).
- 39) Manuscritos de Jean Jackes Tschudi (Acervo Arquivo Federal de Berna / SFA).
- 40) Cópias de correspondências entre o corpo diplomático da Suíça e o governo da Prússia.
- 41) Livro nº1 da Colônia Senador Vergueiro (1846) Acervo Paulo Masuti Levy.
- 42) Livro Mestre V da Fazenda Ibicaba (1862 - 1867) Acervo Paulo Masuti Levy.
- 43) Livro de Matrícula da Fazenda Ibicaba (1877 - 1890) Acervo Paulo Masuti Levy.
- 44) Livro Borrador 1 (Escritura Mercantil) Faz. Ibicaba - 1890 Acervo Paulo M. Levy.
- 45) Auto de Posse de Parte das Terras da Sesmaria Morro Azul - 27-10-1817 Acervo Família Levy.
- 46) Álbum de Família (José Vergueiro) - Acervo Dra. Lotte Köhler - Munique - Alemanha.
- 47) Diário de Carlota Schmidt (neta adotiva de José Vergueiro) - Acervo Dra. Lotte Köhler - Munique.
- 48) Processo envolvendo o London and Brazilian Bank e a Vergueiro & Cia. (1878) - Arquivo de Justiça - Comarca de Limeira - Centro Municipal de Memória Histórica - Limeira, SP.

Fotografias • Photographs

- 01) Alexandre Kantowitz
- 02) V.D.R. Fotografias
- 03) Imagens Centro Municipal de Memória Histórica - Limeira - SP
- 04) Museu Histórico e Pedagógico Prudente de Moraes - Piracicaba - SP
- 05) Obras de Guillaume Michaud - Musée Historique de Vevey - Suíça.
- 06) Arquivo Capitão Jansen - Ballin Stadt Port of Dreams
- 07) Acervo Fazenda Santa Gertrudes - Santa Gertrudes - SP
- 08) Acervo Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center
- 09) Acervo Ballin Stadt - Hamburg - de
- 10) Acervo Prof. Rudolf Schallmüller
- 11) Wagner Morente
- 13) Acervo Museu Paulista - USP - São Paulo - Brasil
- 14) Acervo Dra. Lotte Köhler / Albrecht Schmidt - Munique - Alemanha
- 15) Acervo Família Levy
- 16) Acervo Paulo Masuti Levy (Fazenda Ibicaba - Cordeirópolis - SP)
- 17) Acervo do "Link To Your Roots" Hamburgo Emigration Research Service - Alemanha
- 18) Deutsches Auswandererhaus - German Emigration Center - Bremerhaven - de
- 23) Centro Municipal de Memória Histórica - Limeira - SP - Brasil
- 24) Acervo Museu Histórico e Pedagógico Major Levy Sobrinho - Limeira - SP - Brasil
- 25) Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha - Alemanha
- 26) Acervo Imigração Resgate
- 27) Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz - Berlin - Alemanha
- 28) Fotos Renato Soares (Acervo Secretaria Municipal de Turismo e Eventos - Limeira - SP).
- 29) Cartões Postais reproduzidos dos volumes da obra: "Lembranças de São Paulo nos Cartões Postais e Álbuns de Lembranças de autoria de João Emílio Gerodetti e Carlos Cornejo", Solaris Editora.
- 30) Arquivo Distrital de Viana do Castelo - Portugal
- 31) Imagens do Acervo do Memorial do Imigrante - São Paulo
- 32) Consulado Geral da Suíça em São Paulo
- 33) Biblioteca Paulo Levy
- 34) Die Pfalz Eine historische Fotoreise, von Theo Scharzmüller - Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde - Kaiserslautern - Pfalz - de - 2006
- 35) Acervo Luth. Kirchengemeind Bovenau - Schleswig Holstein - Alemanha
- 36) Landesarchiv Schleswig Holstein - Alemanha
- 37) Imagens do Jornal Allgemeine Auswanderer Zeitung - Rudolstadt - Turingia
- 38) Acervo - Cartório 1º Ofício Forum Spencer Vampré - Limeira - SP
- 39) Fotos de João Augusto Brune (Acervo Dr. Helmut Troppemeier)
- 40) Coleção Paulo e Maria Cecilia Geyer - Museu Imperial / IPHAN / Ministério da Cultura
- 41) Switzerland Tourism By-Line: swiss-image.ch
- 42) Acervo Emiliano Bernardo Silva
- 43) Acervo Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Rudolstadt - Deutschland



Bibliografia • Bibliography

As citações de autores diversos, ou o fruto das leituras de seus escritos, foram pesquisadas nas fontes e posteriormente confirmadas ou confrontadas pelos dados contidos nos originais de época.

- 01) Busch, Reynaldo Kuntz: História de Limeira, Limeira, Edição da Prefeitura Municipal de Limeira, 1967.
- 02) Kaufmann, Hans, Prättigauer Talchronik, Schiers, 2007.
- 03) Repertório das Sesmarias - Secretaria de Estado da Cultura - Departamento de Museus e Arquivos - Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo, 1994.
- 04) Taunay (Carlos Augusto), Manual do Agricultor Brasileiro, 1839 - Acervo Biblioteca Nacional RJ. Armazéns de Livros IV -196, 6, 21 ou III - 241, 7, 23.
- 05) Kidder (D.P.) e Fletcher (J.C.) - O Brasil e os Brasileiros, (2 volumes) Tradução de Elias Dolianit, São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1941.
- 06) Tschudi (J. J. von) Viagens às Províncias do Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo, tradução E. de Lima e Castro, São Paulo, Livraria Martins Editora.
- 07) Davatz (Thomas) - Memórias de Um Colono no Brasil, Chür, 1858.
- 08) Davatz (Thomas) Memórias de Um Colono no Brasil, São Paulo, Empresa Gráfica da Revista dos Tribunais, 1972, Tradução, Editora da USP, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda.
- 09) Holanda (Sérgio Buarque de), As Colônias de Parceria, História Geral da Civilização Brasileira, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, São Paulo, DIFEL, 1967 Tomo II, vol. 3º.
- 10) Busch, Reynaldo Kuntz - História de Limeira 1º Volume, Limeira, Edição Prefeitura Municipal - 2ª Edição, 1967.
- 11) Bezerra (Maria Cristina dos Santos), De Colonos a Proprietários, A Saga da Formação do Bairro dos Pires, Soc. Pró Memória de Limeira, Unigráfica Indústria Gráfica Ltda, 2002.
- 12) Florence (Hercules) - Viagem Fluvial do Tietê ao Amazonas - de 1825 a 1829 - Tradução do Visconde de Taunay, São Paulo, Editora Cultrix USP, 1977.
- 13) Forjaz (Djalma) O Senador Vergueiro Sua Vida e Sua Época (1778 - 1859) - São Paulo Oficinas do Diário Oficial, 1924.
- 14) Levy (Paulo Masuti) e Heflinger (José Eduardo Jr.) - Seleção de Documentos do Acervo do Centro Municipal de Memória Histórica de Limeira, Soc. Pró Memória, Limeira, 2001, Unigráfica Ind. Gráfica Ltda.
- 15) Levy (Paulo Masuti) e Heflinger (José Eduardo Jr.) - Caderno de Memórias O Senador Vergueiro e a Imigração Européia - Sociedade Pró Memória de Limeira, 1999, Unigráfica Ind. Gráfica Ltda.
- 16) Kidder (D. P.) e Fletcher (J. C.), Brazil and the Braziliens, Childs & Peterson, 1857 - Philadelphia - USA.
- 17) Heflinger (José Eduardo Júnior), Levy (Paulo Masuti) e Cantalice (Rommel Siqueira Campos) - Recordações de Infância de Carlota Schmidt no Ibicaba, Limeira, Unigráfica Ind. Gráfica Ltda, 2005.
- 18) Witter (José Sebastião) Ibicaba uma Experiência Pioneira - São Paulo - Edições do Arquivo do Estado, Coleção Monografias, nº5, 2ª edição - 1982.
- 19) Guisan, Marjolaine et Lambert, Françoise, William Michaud (1829 - 1902), Lettres, dessins et aquarelles d'un émigrant vaudois au Brésil, Imprimerie Corbaz SA, Montreaux, 2002.



unigráfica

Gráfica e Editora
www.unigrafica.com.br

Obra patrocinada pela Lei de incentivo à Cultura 8.313/91

Partial View of the coffee yard in Ibicaba Farm, highlighting the two coffee storage bins built in the XIX Century. In the left side the machine house - Carlota Schmidt Memorial Center Collection.



2011

L. 4. 316. af. 110. **ESCRITURA** de desistência
de parte de uma hypotheca e ratificação
de outra que faz London & Brazilian
Bank Limited.

Saibão quantos esta virem, que no anno do
Nascimento de Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo, de mil
eito centos e setenta e um, aos vinte e seis de Junho,
nesta cidade do Rio de Janeiro e cartorio do Ta-
bellião Lobo, por quem seiro compareçãõ, como
outorgantes de uma parte Terqueiro Companhia
estabelecidas na Provincia do Rio Paulo, represen-
tados na pessoa de seio socio Luis Roells, e este
digo Roells, e este tambem como herdeiro de sua
fuzada mulher Dona Francisca Terqueiro Roells
e na qualidade de procurador do comendador
Joze Terqueiro e de sua mulher Dona Maria Uem-
belina Gaviac Terqueiro, de Luis Pereira de Campos
Terqueiro e sua mulher Dona Baltina da Silva
Terqueiro, moradores em S. Paulo, de Dona Angelica
Joaquina Terqueiro do Lago, moradora n'esta
cõrte, de Augusto Serret e sua mulher Dona Anna
Clisa Terqueiro Serret, moradores no Municipio
de Passos, desta provincia, e de Dona Maria
do Carmo Terqueiro Renamy, moradora no Rio
Claro, e Pedro Leboeg, como procurador de sua
mãe Dona Carolina Terqueiro Leboeg, residentes
na Europa, o que fizeram certo pelas procurações
que me apresentando se fizoã registradas hoie no
liro competente; comparecendo tambem de outra
parte como outorgante Joã Beaton, na qualidade
de bastante e qual procurador da Companhia
Bancaria denominada London & Brazilian
Bank Limited, estabelecida em Inglaterra,
e tendo neste Imperio diversos estabelecimentos

LEI DE
INCENTIVO
À CULTURA



MINISTÉRIO
DA CULTURA

ISBN 978-85-98942-25-4



9 788598 194225 4