El Papel de los Gobiernos Brasileño y Argentino en las Migraciones Europeas de 1870 a 1930.

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The Role of Brazilian and Argentinian Governments in the European Migrations of 1870 to 1930

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Resumen
En la presente ponencia buscamos analizar el período de las grandes migraciones de las últimas décadas del siglo XIX y primeras del XX, en Brasil y Argentina. Estos dos países fueron los que recibieron el mayor flujo de inmigrantes europeos durante el periodo. Esta ponencia tiene como finalidad enseñar el papel de los gobiernos en el incentivo a la llegada de estos inmigrantes, en su integración en los mercados laborales y en las sociedades locales. Los dos países estaban caracterizados por grandes áreas despobladas, economía agroexportadora en expansión y demanda creciente por fuerza laboral para el sector exportador. Ambos gobiernos se utilizaron de diversas políticas de incentivos y fomento a la inmigración europea como solución a la falta de población y de trabajadores. Al contrario que en Argentina, la inmigración subsidiada ha tenido extremo suceso en Brasil, especialmente en São Paulo. En Brasil el interés principal residía en la búsqueda de una alternativa a la falta de mano de obra en las haciendas de café del estado de São Paulo, acentuada por el fin de la esclavitud en 1888. En Argentina, la colonización de los pampas fue el papel más importante de los inmigrantes. Otro fue el de suplir el escaso mercado laboral urbano y de la producción ganadera y de cereales de la provincia Buenos Aires. La historiografía relaciona a los inmigrantes con el gran crecimiento poblacional vivido por ambos países, con el desarrollo industrial y socioeconómico del período. Buscamos así hacer una comparación de las políticas gubernamentales emprendidas por ambos países para la atracción de inmigrantes, haciendo hincapié en sus similitudes y sus diferencias.

Palabras-clave: Inmigración; Brasil; Argentina; Sociedad; Integración.
1. Introduction

The period of sixty years between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th is a period of transformations in Latin America. Beginning in the decade of 1870’s, changes on the international scenario were key-factors on the economic development and on the society on both countries.

First, the technological development on maritime transports occurred during the period can be considered one of the most important factors for the development Latin America lived in the decades following the 1870’s. It allowed the reduction on the costs of transoceanic freights, by using the steam-power transatlantic ships, increasing the frequency and speed of voyages and setting that continent into the international trade route. New technologies also allowed the transportation of perish goods across the ocean, what allowed, for example, the exportation of frozen meat from Argentina to Europe.

Secondly, the growing demand for primary products produced in Latin America from the markets of the industrialized countries and its industries, especially in United States and Europe, and the increasing on the demands from the Latin American population for manufactured goods, led to the development of commerce and monetary circulation in the region, almost inexistent before. Such increase in the global demand for raw materials inserted Latin American countries in the international scenario. This caused the expansion of the economies, specialized in primary products, development of commerce and monetary circulation in the region, almost inexistent before. By last, the development of infrastructure in Latin American countries such as railway nets, ports and transoceanic telegraph cables improved the means of communication and transport within the countries and across the ocean.

All these factors combined led to the development of the Latin Americans’ countries and the economic boom lived in the period. The two most representative examples of it were Brazil and Argentina. Both countries, during the period, had their dynamic economic center based on the agro-export economy, supplying the industrialized countries with raw material and agricultural products and importing from them manufactured goods. The motor of the agro-export economy in Brazil was the coffee, produced mainly in the São Paulo state. Cattle products such as meat, wool and
jerked-beef, and cereals played this role in Argentina, predominantly in Buenos Aires province.

Another factor derived directly from the agro-export economy was the attraction of European immigrants. The bibliographical review discloses the immigration process as related with the need for territorial occupation and for labor force to the expansion of the agricultural economy. To several authors the increment of the immigrant population constituted an important factor to the changes and development on society and economy lived by both countries between 1870 and 1930. The immigrants were responsible for the growth of the population, the development of the monetary economy, rise on the demand of specific goods and gave dynamism to the commerce and service sectors in both countries. Also, immigrants are often related to the industrial development of those countries.

The beginning of industrialization in Latin American countries is marked by divergences within its theorists. For the present paper, it will be analyzed the scenarios of both Brazil and Argentina under the optic of the export-led industrialization\(^1\). This theory suggests that the expansion of exports of primary goods, the growth of the remunerated labor market by the entrance of a great number of immigrants as well as the development of the internal market, the inflow of capital and the installation of an appropriated infrastructure all caused changes into the local demand and allowed the development of manufactures locally.

The present paper aims to analyze, relate and compare the role of European migrants on the process of industrialization of Brazil and Argentina in a period of 60 years that lasts from the last decades of the 19\(^{th}\) century up to the first decades of the 20\(^{th}\). Between 1870 and 1930, both countries presented a very similar development process, with similitudes on theirs immigration and industrialization processes. The paper is composed by two sections, with one subsection each, as well as this introduction and a conclusion. On the first section, it is discussed the scenario in which Brazil and Argentina where inserted and that led to the entrance of immigrants in those

\(^1\)Lewis (1991, p. 245-246) states that a common mark among many Latin American economies is the fact that the conditions for the industrial growth arose during the export-led growth cycles. According to the author, the many transformations the countries of Latin America underwent through were directly related with their entrance on the world economy via the international commerce. The monetary circulation, modernization of communications and transport, influx of foreigner investments and immigrants, and consequent increase in the demand and income of the population proportioned a general economic expansion that led to a social, juridical and institutional context where the expansion of manufactures to the internal market took place.
two countries. It is also discussed the influence immigrants had on the societies of both countries. On the second section firstly the main theories of industrialization for Brazil and Argentina are presented and secondly, it is studied the participation of immigrants in the industry during the period. This paper is part of an ongoing research that will lead to a master thesis.

2. The beginning of immigration

Klein (1999, p. 14-16) states that three factor combined originated the great European migrations happened between 1870 and 1930: access to land, its productive capacity and the number of people from the same family to be supported by the same share of land. The exponential growth of population in the European continent starting on the 18th century combined with the fall on mortality rate, as time passed, were generating a great pressure on the agricultural sector of European countries. The amount of people to be sustained with the same production of a same share of land increased. It occurred, then, changes that created hindrances into the access of land by the peasant population. The number of small properties decreased as the presence of latifundium rose rapidly. The peasants who previously lived from the subsistence agriculture in their own lands, found themselves obligated to work for other landowners. With the agricultural revolution and the mechanization of agriculture, many lost their jobs in the rural sector and financial difficulties affected a great part of the rural European workers, expelling them to urban environment or forcing them to emigrate.

The immigrants that arrived in the two countries were composed mostly by young and adults males from low social status in the search for jobs, seasonal or permanent, as was the case of Argentina, and also families of immigrants to the coffee farms as in Brazil. Their major aim was the accumulation of money, as across the ocean salaries were considerable higher, to later return to their home countries. The temporary immigration was performed by about 50% of the total immigrants arrived in both countries. The ones that remained began to compose family and search for social ascension in America (KLEIN, 1999, p. 24; FAUSTO, 1993, p. 4).

The abundant available land, the rising of the export-oriented agriculture and lack of labor force to work on the sector combined with higher remunerations than in Europe, became the attraction magnet of immigrants to the Latin American countries.
We will see how this process developed in Brazil and Argentina, the two countries that received most of the immigrants arrived in the continent.

Brazil before 1870 was characterized by decentralized market, inadequate infrastructure and difficulties in the communication with the vast interior of the country. The colonial system had created an essentially agrarian, low urbanized and with scarce population concentrated on the coast. The port cities were especially important as the economy was aimed to the export of primary products. The slaver centered latifundium system was the main productive system up to the second half of the 19th century. From then on, several facts occurred in the social and economic field of Brazil with profound impact in the changes to come on the following decades (COSTA, 2007, p. 237-239).

Between 1850 and 1890, coffee production started to increase due to the growth of demand and prices on the international market, same time as the measures aiming the end of slavery were created and implemented. Coffee harvests began to spread to the province – and later, state – of São Paulo at the same time as the extinction of the slave traffic occurred. Throughout the period, the demand for labor force to the work on the coffee farms increased. The paulista coffee producers used several strategies to solve the problem of the lack of work force. It was sought to continue with the slavery system via the internal traffic, with the displacement of slaves from the decadent sugar production in the northeast of the country to the dynamic coffee producer regions in the southeast (LAMOUNIER, 1988, p. 13-15).

The Free Womb Law signed in 1871 and the desestructuration of the slavery system in the following decades culminating with the signature of the Lei Áurea in 1888, abolishing the slavery in the whole Brazilian territory, altered the labor conditions, consolidating the colonato system and, with great success, the subsided immigration policy (COSTA, 2007 p. 253-254; DEAN, 1971, p. 9).

The migratory movement to Brazil took place mostly in the 1880’s, with governmental policies aiming the attraction of foreign labor force to the dynamic center of the economy at the time, the coffee production. On the middle of that decade, the coffee planters and the provincial government of São Paulo implemented several successful measures and mechanisms that assured a continuous income of foreigners until the 1920’s. The immigrants, mostly Italians, came to Brazil on a subsidy scheme. Both the governments of Brazil and São Paulo paid for their transportation overseas and, beyond that, provided infrastructure to receive the foreigners. Reception centers, as
the “Hospedaria dos Immigrantes”, were built during the 1880’s aiming to provide the immigrants with housing, food, medical assistance and medicines, if needed, during the period between their arrival and their allocation to the coffee farms in the countryside.

The first system implemented was the partnership one that in the decades of 1880’s and 1890’s was already falling in disuse. Such system consisted by the planters paying for the transportation, providing housing, a plot of land and funding as so the foreigners could support themselves until it was possible to harvest their own subsistence crops. It was expect, in this system, the reimbursement by the immigrant to the planters, but, in the words of Holloway (1984, p. 113) “this turned the immigrant into a slave that should buy his freedom”. The planter, yet with a slavery mentality, tarried to adapt to the new free labor mentality, with repetitive cases of physical and mental violence and abuse against the foreigners, excessive work and low guaranties over their rights. Denunciations of long work journeys, low remuneration and mistreatments led to the European governments to forbid the subsided migration to Brazil, as was the case of Italy in 1902 by the Prinetti Decree. This led Brazil to invest heavily in propaganda in the European countries to assure the warranty of the rights of the immigrants and to start again to incentive the immigration. The influx of foreigners in the decade of 1900’s was diminished in almost 50% in comparison to the 1890’s. This method was soon abandoned in detriment to the colonato system.

After that, the colonato system took place. On it, immigrants worked at the coffee farms under this production system on which the land owner hired the immigrant (or a family of immigrants) – colonos – and paid them a monetary remuneration for their work on the coffee harvest and provided them with a plot of land on which to grow subsistence crops allowing them to sell the overproduction of those products (GIFUN, 1972, p. 70-71; FAUSTO, 1986, p. 780).

Between 1890 and 1930, over 3.5 million immigrants arrived in Brazil and the Census of 1920 showed around 1/5 to 1/3 of immigrants in the composition of population on the cities of São Paulo State (BACELLAR&BRIOSCHI, 1999, p. 141-147).

Argentina began its period of economic development with the unification of the country in 1862. Up to the decade of 1870, Argentina was characterized, as Brazil, by the lack of a unified national market due to the high costs of transportation between the countryside and the coast, low population density, scarce capital and inadequate
infrastructure. Economy was limited to the areas next to the populated centers of the northeast and to the ones connected to Buenos Aires, being cattle-raise the main activity, as it demanded low capital and work to its implementation. Agriculture, due to the lack of internal transportation, was also limited. External commerce was dependent on cattle-related products as leather and jerked-beef. Before 1870, another product that entered the export list of Argentina was the wool, under the increase of the demand from European countries and United States. The production of wool, being intensive in capital, land and work, created the demand for investments in transports and for new lands (CONDE, 1986, p. 328-329).

Investments in transport and communications were essentials during that time. In 1862, under the government of General Mitre, infrastructure works began such as the railway net and, in 1876, cereals became part of the exports of Argentina. After the federalization of Buenos Aires and the unification of Argentina, the Desert Campaign\(^2\) started, with the goal of expanding the frontiers and conquers the region of the pampas, what would open it to the expansion of economic activities. The Conquest of de Desert was fundamental to supply the increasing of the global demand, since it allowed the exploitation of the new land and consequent increase in the production of meat and cereals (CONDE, 1986, p. 329-330).

In 1870’s, the country had its list of exportations completely dominated by agricultural products. On that time, works to improve and extend the infrastructure of transports, such as the railways, and communication, such as telegraph lines, combined to the federalization of Buenos Aires led to the success obtained by General Roca in the Desert Campaigns of 1878/79 over the indigenous people who dominated the area. The growth on exports and the inclusion on the international market lived in the following decades was a direct result of the territorial expansions occurred with the Conquest of the Desert. The economic exploitation of land of the pampas with increase in the production of meat and cereals allowed Argentina to attend the external demands since the extensive usage of those good quality lands gave the basis to compete with the

\(^2\)Lenz (2004, p.118) states that for Lewis (1980), the Desert Campaigns of 1878/79 and the victory of General Roca over the indigenous, were the consequences of the economic development lived in Argentina not its cause. Development allowed the strengthening of the state authorities and the implementation of the infrastructure projects that were used by Roca in his operation. To Lenz (2004, p.106), the “growth of exports and the external opening were only possible with a great territorial expansion and with the occupation of the enormous empty spaces of fertile lands of the pampas”

The development of the railway net was of great importance in the period, as it was this highly structured transport system the responsible for the integration of the pampas with the coast and the connection and unification of the internal markets with the export ports. As the railways expanded towards the countryside and performed such integration of the markets, more land was being put on disposal for the cultivation of crops (CONDE, 1986, 333-334; FURTADO, 2007, 97-103). Lenz (2004, p. 124) points out the importance of railways when stating that the development Argentina lived in the decades to follow, the expansion of rural activities and its consequences, the growth of regional markets and the increase in the purchase power of the population, were results all results derived from them.

As the new lands were being available through the Conquest of the Desert and the integration made by the railways, two problems emerged in Argentina: the lack of population to be settled in these new areas and the lack of labor force to work on them. It is in this scenario that the great migrations began in Argentina in the subsequent decades after the 1870’s.

Devoto (2000, p. 33-36) calls our attention to the fact that the massive entrance of immigrants in Argentina in the last decades of the 19th century, differently from the Brazilian case, had little to do with the subsided program elaborated by the elite and the government or with the laws and foment created to stimulate the arrival of foreigners. The massive entrance of immigrants in that country was connected with the economic and social situation the home countries of the immigrants were at the time and with the great amount of job offers and the expectation of better living conditions in the other side of the Atlantic. Nevertheless, the author does not diminish the effort made by those theorists\(^3\) at that time, who really desired changes in the country through reforms on the Argentine society, having the European immigrants the main agents of that.

Several presidents proposed migratory polices, starting on 1860 with President Juan Bautista Alberdi and his vision towards the immigrants when he affirmed that they should “civilize (the territory) and create a new Argentina”. With Bartolomeo Mitre (1862-1864), the immigrant’s paper was to “change the reality but integrating to the

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\(^3\) For a more extensive and complete analysis on this subject, please see Devoto (2000).
existing country without the need of creating a new one”. But it was during President Domingos Faustino Sarmiento’s government (1868-1874) that migratory policies took greater place. It was created the first “Colonization and Immigration Law” which led to the creation of the General Department of Immigration, responsible for bringing and assisting on the arrival and installation of the immigrants in Argentina; on the biggest cities, it was created the “Committee of Immigration” as an organ destined to assist the immigrants (OLIVEIRA, 2011, p. 4-6).

3. Immigrants and Society

Previously to the analysis of the influence of immigrants to the industrial growth of Brazil and Argentina, it is necessary to present some data regarding their influence and impact on the societies of both countries. First it will be presented the Brazilian scenario and then, the Argentine one.

Immigration had a deep influence in the growth of population of Brazil and of São Paulo state and cities as well as urban development. The international migration was related to the political-economic scenery in Brazil and also to the international context. The decade of 1890 was the period when the entrance of immigrants was higher. Brazil was living a period of transformations, on the economic side, by the peak of the coffee harvest development and, on the political scene, by the abolition of slavery in 1888 and the proclamation of the Republic in 1889. On the international context, the European countries were living an economic crisis and unemployment. From 1895 to 1897, more the 145.000 foreigners entered the country annually; between 1911 and 1913, this entrance was between 135.000 and 192.000; on the decade of 1920, only the year of 1926 received over 100.000 immigrants. From the total amount of immigrants that entered the country, the great majority, 1.156.472, were Italians, followed by 1.030.066 Portuguese and 551.385 Spaniards. The fall on the arrival of foreigners in the 1920’s can be explained by overproduction of coffee and the crisis on the sector (PETRONE, 1997, p. 100-104).


Table 1 – Entrance of Immigrants in Brazil from 1890 to 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Amount of immigrants entered in Brazil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,205,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>649,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>821,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>846,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,523,591</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adaptated from Petrone (1997)

During the 19th century important demographic changes happened in Brazil. Its population grew from 3.8 million in 1822 to over 10 million in 1872 and over 14 million in 1889. Throughout the century, composition of Brazilian population altered greatly. In 1822, slaves were half of the population. By 1872, they represented 15.8% and in 1888 only 5%. Rio de Janeiro city – and capital of the empire in 1872 – possessed a population of 275,000 people with over 84,000 foreigners. Immigrants were part of other important cities in Brazil as well. They were 11% of the population of Curitiba, 12% of Porto Alegre and 8% of the population of São Paulo. The Census of 1890 presented data that confirmed the increased participation of foreigners in Brazilian population. According to it, by that year São Paulo had 22% of its population of immigrant; up to that year, there were over 150,000 immigrants living in Brazil, being 70% of those located in the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro and 17.6% living in Rio Grande do Sul (COSTA, 1986, p. 728).

The incentives to immigrate to São Paulo attracted about 60% of all the foreigners that entered the Brazil between 1884 and 1933, representing an average of 800,000 immigrants per decade (VERSIANI, 2002, p. 206). At the same period, the exponential growth of Brazilian and São Paulo state and city population and increase in urban population is highlighted by several authors\(^4\).

In 1872, before the massive immigration to Brazil and São Paulo, the city of São  

\(^4\) On this subject, see: FAUSTO (1986, p. 779), DEAN (1971, p. 58) and CARVALO (2007).
Paulo had mere 23,000 inhabitants. In 1920 it reached 580,000, being almost 2/3 of them foreigners (DEAN, 1971, p. 58). The population of São Paulo State grew from 1,221,380 inhabitants in 1886 to 2,279,608 in 1900 and to 6,433,327 in 1934. It can be noticed that in only 14 years the population increased almost two times. And on the second period, from 1900 to 1934, it triplicated. These increases in the population can be associated to the natural growth but is especially the massive entrance of immigrants that had the major influence on it (CARVALHO, 2007). On the following table, it can be seen the evolution of São Paulo state population and of the coffee production:

**Table 2** – Coffee production and the evolution of São Paulo state population from 1854 to 1934.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coffee Production in São Paulo in Arrobas from 1854 to 1934</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee Production in São Paulo in Arrobas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evolution of São Paulo population from 1854 to 1934</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ano</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population of São Paulo State</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Adapted from CARVALHO, 2007.*

In the leading coffee producer region of São Paulo State and one of the most important during the period for the Brazilian economy, in the Northeast of São Paulo, called Alta Mogiana due to the railway line that connected it to the capital and the exporting port of Santos in the coast, the immigrant presence was strong and had several effects. The population increased from 63,229 in 1886 to 414,499 in 1934, over 650% in less than 50 years. If compared to the beginning of the coffee production in the region, in 1874, the population evolution is over 800% in 60 years. Between 1890 and 1930, the region received over 109,000 immigrants and its cities’ population was composed by 1/5 to 1/3 of foreigners, dedicated to work not only on the coffee farms but also on their developing service sector (BACELLAR & BRIOSCHI, 1999, p. 152-
Argentina was, as said before, the second American country that received more immigrants in the period, with almost 6.3 million foreigners entering the country during the period from 1870 to 1930, being overcome only by the United States. About 50% of those immigrants remained in Argentina and the rest returned to their home countries. On the table below it can be seen the immigration in the country from 1857 to 1930.

Table 3 – Immigration in Argentina from 1857 to 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Inflow of immigrants to Argentina</th>
<th>Amount of immigrants that remained in Argentina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857 - 1880</td>
<td>440,500</td>
<td>172,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881 - 1900</td>
<td>1,489,000</td>
<td>957,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901 - 1910</td>
<td>1,764,100</td>
<td>1,120,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911 - 1930</td>
<td>2,602,300</td>
<td>1,125,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,295,900</td>
<td>3,375,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Díaz-Alejandro (1983, p. 36-37).

A common phenomenon to Argentina was the seasonal migration. European immigrants crossed frequently the oceans to work during the harvest time, returning to their home country after that. According to Díaz-Alejandro (1983, p. 53) this explains the great emigration in the years when the entrance of migrants was particularly elevated. The author states that between 1890 and 1900 entered and left the country, per year, 50,000 foreigner workers. In the subsequent decade, such number elevated to 100,000 seasonal workers.

Many authors quoted statistic data to show the influence of immigrants in the

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5Other authors also highlighted this phenomenon: “during certain periods, Argentina experienced the curious phenomenon of foreign immigration of seasonal character. The famous golondrinas (‘swallows’) emigrated from Italy for the three months of the harvest season” (GALLO, 1986, p. 368). Rock (1986, p. 399) tell us that many of the immigrants who “flowed into the province of Buenos Aires before the first world war and before the large-scale mechanization of agriculture in the 1920’s, however, were short-term immigrants from Europe who usually returned there after the harvest”.
population growth\textsuperscript{6}. Argentina was the second country that received the most European immigrants, Spanish and Italian on its majority. Accordingly to the National Census, immigrants represented 12.1% of the total population in 1869, 25.4% in 1895 and 29.9% in 1914, as can be seen on Table 4. Between 1869 and 1914, population increased by over 4 times. In 1869 the country had little over 1.730.000 inhabitants. In 1914, it reached over 7.880.000 and in 1930, over 11.935.000 people living there. Immigration had an active participation not only on the population growth, but also on the rise of the annual growth rate and offer of labor force\textsuperscript{7}.

Table 4 – Population of Argentina according to the National Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>Foreigners in the Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>1.737.026</td>
<td>210.192</td>
<td>12,10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>3.954.911</td>
<td>1.004.527</td>
<td>25,40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>7.885.237</td>
<td>2.357.952</td>
<td>29,90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Argentina, Primer censo de la Republica Argentina, 1869; Argentina, Segundo censo de la Republica Argentina, 1895, vol. II; Argentina, Tercer censo nacional, 1914, vol. II.

Data show that during the period after the World War I and the crisis of 1930, immigration in Argentina fell and almost ceased for almost a decade after 1913. From 1921 to 1930 the net balance between the arrival and return of immigrants in the country was much lower if compared with the decade previous to the war.

The immigrants, by their expression on the composition of both countries’ population, had great influence on the society and economy and brought countless changes into them.

A great part of those who settle permanently in Argentina did so on the littoral, in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Córdoba and Entre Ríos, increasing their

\textsuperscript{6} Diaz Alejandro (1983, p. 36) confirms out statement by explaining that “without the immigration and supposing an annual growth rate of 2\%, the population would have grew from 1.7 million in 1869 to 5.7 million in 1929; instead, in 1929 it reached 11.6 million, more or less 10 million more than in 1869. According to this calculation, 60% of the demographic growth can be attributed to the decision of allowing the net migration”.

participation on the composition of total population from 48% in 1869 to 72% in 1914. Urbanization was greatly influenced by immigrants as well. While in 1969, urban population represented 29% of the total population, in 1914 this ratio raised to 53%. Buenos Aires saw its population exploded from 181,838 habitants in 1869 to 1,575,814 in 1914. Other important province’s capitals had gone through the similar effect. Rosario’s population grew from 23,139 to 224,592 in the same period. Córdoba rose from 28,523 to 121,982, Mendoza from 8,124 to 58,790 and Tucumán from 17,438 to 92,824. The number of small villages in the countryside, the settlements, increased due to the expansion of cereal cultivation into the pampas from 20 in 1869 to 211 in 1914 (GALLO, 1986, p. 363-365).

4. Immigrants on the industry

Several are the authors agree and state the responsibility immigrants had on the growth and consolidation of the industry in Brazil and Argentina. Acting as an entrepreneur class, with qualified technical professionals occupying a number of positions within the factories and industries, or even in Brazil and in Argentina. On the next section, data will be presented to express the participation of immigrants on the economy and on the industry of Brazil and Argentina.

Immigrants had a fundamental role in the process of industrialization of São Paulo. Being indirectly, as on the agricultural work by the system of *colonato*, or being directly, as responsible for the growth and consolidation of an entrepreneur class. The first ones, collaborated to the industry in the sense of demanding industrial products and collaborating to the monetary circulation. The second ones were composed by a class of immigrants that came from their home countries with some technical knowledge and adventure themselves on the urban environment, in the search for better living conditions and work, collaborating to the uprising of an entrepreneur class with technical professionals and industrials (SUZIGAN, 2000, p. 89-90).

Such statement can be verified by the following data: in 1893, 83.6% of the industrial working force of São Paulo was composed by foreigners, increasing to 92% in 1900. In that year, proletariat class was estimated in 50,000 workers for the State of São Paulo, and the same class for the city of São Paulo was composed by 8,000, from which 60%, little over 5,000, were foreigners. In 1912, 82% of the workers in the textile

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8See: IRIGOIN (1984); DEAN (1971); SUZIGAN (2000); LENV (2004); COSTA (2007).
sector were immigrants being 65% of them Italians. In 1920, 52% of the workers in the industrial sector were foreigners (PINHEIRO, 1997, p. 139).

To Lewis (1991, p. 246), immigrants formed a branch of the industrial entrepreneur class, being so that on the period of the migrations, the modest capitalists created several industrial establishments, even though many of them could not be differentiated from small manufactures. Some immigrants had great success and created huge industrial empires like the Matarazzo in São Paulo and the Di Tella in Buenos Aires.

Marson (2012, p. 490) says that when analyzing the main industries of machines and equipment in the city of Campinas, in the state of São Paulo, it is clear that the first owners where immigrants who began their activities as importers of machines or had strong bonds with the importer commerce. This is the case of immigrants who worked as importers and then became the owners of industries. The market knowledge, easy access to credit and the control they had over the distribution of imported products and, especially, over the machines for industry, granted great advantage to these importers over the local manufacturer. As consumer patterns changed and as the industrialization process began to demand more complex and imported machines, several importer firms profited from their advantages to convert their agencies into industrial establishments (Dean, 1971, p. 28-31).

In the northeast part of São Paulo state, the region of Ribeirão Preto deserves special attention being one of the greatest coffee producer cities in Brazil and the one that attracted the greatest part of immigrants arrived in the state to work at the coffee farms during the period, and so composing a significant part of the local population and having great effects on the economy and society. Also, in Ribeirão Preto it can be noticed the influence of immigrants in its industrialization.

To the exam of the city’s industrial development, the following primary sources were consulted: Annuário Commercial do Estado de São Paulo of 1904, Almanach Illustrado de Ribeirão Preto for 1913; Estatísticas Industriais do Estado de São Paulo of 1928, 1929 and 1930, all of them can be found in the Historical Archive of Ribeirão Preto and some can also be found online as mentioned in the references. The analysis of

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9In 1886 foreigners in Ribeirão Preto composed 7.3% of the 5,552 inhabitants. By 1902, there were 33,119 foreigners living in the city, what represented 62% of the population. (SANTOS, 2006 p.1-5); For an extended review on the subject of immigrants in Ribeirão Preto and their influence on society as well as more complete data, please see: LANZA (2012) and LANZA&LAMOUNIER (2012).
the existent industrial branches and the name of the entrepreneurs comprehended in the mentioned sources and the reviewed bibliography revealed the existence of industrial establishments since 1890 and the presence of immigrants as owners. Many of the entrepreneurs revealed by the documental sources were immigrants and producers of goods of difficult importation, such as perish aliments and that were known to be needed or common to theirs compatriots. Others, after some time in coffee farms, decided to try their luck in the cities, being part of the urban economy\textsuperscript{10}. with the development of commerce and also acting as immigrants importers. Immediately in 1904, it can be noticed the existence of six factories of alimentative pastes, all of them belonging to entrepreneurs with Italian surnames. In 1913, Italians once again appear in the paste sector and also on the beverages, mechanical workshops and other sectors. In the years of 1928 to 1930, an ascending growth of industries and investments in the industrial sector of Ribeirão Preto, always with the presence of immigrants – mostly Italians – as industrial entrepreneurs, is observed.

In Argentina, the process is similar. For Irigoin (1984, p. 7) the migratory stream of 1880 must be considerate an influent factor on the industrial development of the period. Immigration solved the labor force and population problem.

Immigrants as workers in the industries were 63,3% of the total (LENZ, 2004, p. 150-151). Lenz (2004, p. 150-151) shows that in 1895, immigrants were owners of 84,2% of industrial establishments of Argentina, what corresponded to 18.706 immigrants owners against 3.498 Argentineans. On the work-force, 93.294, or 63,3% of the total workers were immigrants and only 52.356 were natives. The author justified these data by the lack of interest of the land-owners, mostly Argentinean, in the industry and by the system o tenancy, it was difficult for foreigners the access to rural properties.

In 1914, immigrants were responsible for 62,1% of the employment in commerce, 44,3% in industry and 38,9% in agriculture and cattle rising. In Buenos Aires city, immigrants were present in 73,5% of the commerce jobs and 68,8% in industry. In the rural area of Buenos Aires province, immigrants employed on the sector were 55,1% and in Santa Fe, this number was 60,9%. The participation of immigrants in entrepreneur level in 1914 in industry and commerce was 68,4%. In the rural sector, immigrants were present in 40,7% of the agriculture and 22,1% in the cattle rising. The

\textsuperscript{10}On this subject, see Moraes (1980). The author highlights the main role immigrants played in the urbanization and urban development of Ribeirao Preto.
greater participation in urban activities can be explained by the fact that those were concentrated on the littoral, where the majority of immigrants were settled (GALLO, 1986, p. 372-373).

Table 5 – Percentage of foreigners in the economy of Argentina in 1914.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Commerce</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>62,1%</td>
<td>44,3%</td>
<td>38,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>72,5%</td>
<td>68,8%</td>
<td>55,1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Gallo (1986, p. 365)

5. CONCLUSIONS

As we could see, the bibliographical review showed that for Brazil and Argentina, the period of 1870 to 1930 was of great economic growth and development. Until 1870, both were countries with low population density and great empty spaces and low economic rhythm. The economy based on export of primary good brought several investments in infrastructure, population growth based on the incentive to European immigration to act as work force or as settlers.

The entrance of these foreigners had great influence over the two countries. Even though the purpose of immigration may have been different at first, the effect of the foreigner’s presence brought similar results. The inflow of that mass of immigrants in Brazil and Argentina influenced the population growth both the quantitative and vegetative, and the growth of the cities. Immigrants represented a large part of the population on Buenos Aires and São Paulo. It is clear that both governments tried hard to attract and integrate the foreigners in their countries. Although the subsided system had far more effectiveness in Brazil than in Argentina, it cannot be forgotten that the Argentinean government put its efforts on it too. Nevertheless, in that country the spontaneous immigration was the motor of the foreign entrance in the period, with great success.

The foreign presence led to an increase in the monetary circulation, in the demand for industrialized products and on the development of the consumption market. The local demand for manufactured goods allied to the rise on the income from the export economy and the modernization of the infrastructure allowed the expansion of manufactures destined to the internal market.
Several authors pointed the influence of the immigrants in the industrialization of Brazil and Argentina and the analysis of primary sources confirmed that. They also present the presence of manufacture enterprises as soon as in the 1880’s, in consonance with the expansion of the primary sector of the two countries’ economies, what comes to confirm the theory we choose to explain industrialization in them. Most of the workers in industry were foreigners as in Brazil as in Argentina. There were also many immigrants who appeared in the sources consulted as owners of industries.

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