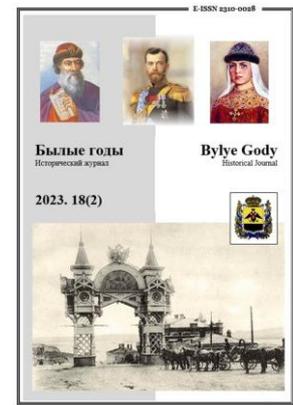


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Emigration from the Russian Empire to Brazil in the late XIX and early XX centuries

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Abstract

Brazil in the second half of the 19th century, with large areas of unpopulated land and experiencing a shortage of workers, began to actively attract the population of European countries to settle its territory. At the end of the 19th century, a significant number of immigrants came from the Russian Empire, represented by various ethnic and religious groups. The aim of the article is to analyze the scale, ethnic and socio-demographic structure of the migration flow from the Russian Empire to Brazil in the late 19th – early 20th centuries.

Materials of the pre-revolutionary sources of the end 19th – beginning 20th centuries, first, periodicals served as the base of the study.

Emigration was caused by external and internal reasons. External causes included: Brazil's immigration policy of attracting labor with the provision of free travel, incentive payments to steamship companies, and the work of emigration agents. Internal causes: unfavorable economic situation, famine caused by crop failures in 1889 and 1891; presence of many landless and land-poor peasants; low wages. Emigration from the Russian Empire began in 1870–1880, reaching its peak in 1891 with 109,000 people.

The migration flow from Russia to Brazil was represented mainly by Poles, Jews, and Germans (mostly Mennonites). It was mainly the population of the Prislinna and southern provinces who left. Ethnic Russians and Orthodox until the early 20th century predominantly participated in the processes of internal migration, moving to the east of the country. The absence of Russian and Orthodox populations in the migration flows was due to a lack of information about the opportunities open to migrants in the New World.

Keywords: emigration, immigration, migration policy, Brazil, Russian Empire, Privilinsky krai, Poles, Jews, Germans, Mennonites.

The most curious feature of the Russian emigration to America is that this emigration is non-Russian by nationality. (Yenisei Mysl. 1914. № 132. June 20)

1. Introduction

Active and large-scale emigration from the Russian Empire to the New World began in the 1870s–80s. In 1886 33,000 people, in 1890 – 85,000, in 1891 – 109,000 people (Vobly, 1905). At the same time emigration to South America until the last decade of the nineteenth century was practically absent (ZK, 1891). At that time the Russian Empire was dominated by domestic migration of the rural population from the European part to Siberia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. "It never occurred to anyone to go across the Atlantic Ocean, to unknown countries, to a population alien in language and religion, except for a tiny

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handful of people for whom, according to the Russian proverb, only “there is good where they are not” (ZK, 1891: 240). The 19th-century Russian diplomat A.S. Ionin wrote in his essay “On South America”: “... the Russian public can hardly be interested in South America – it is such an alien world for us, when we do not know our own yet” (Ionin, 1892: 462).

2. Materials and methods

The aim of the study is to reveal socio-demographic and ethno-cultural structure of the migration flow from the Russian Empire to Brazil in the context of various factors of migration at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries. The study develops the idea of multi-ethnicity of emigration from the Russian Empire, which is traditionally called “Russian” or “Russian-speaking” in the scientific literature, creating in the mass consciousness the illusion of mono-ethnic migration flow. However, the ethnic diversity of the population of the Russian Empire itself, as well as different combinations of various “push” factors of emigration at different historical periods of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, led to changes in the socio-demographic and ethno-cultural structure of migrants. Russian waves of emigration to Brazil were represented not so much by ethnic Russians, but by such ethnic groups as Jews, Germans, Poles, and others. However, the composition of the ethnic composition of migration flows in the late 19th and early 20th century changed in favor of a gradual increase in the Russian ethnic component.

The materials of the pre-revolutionary sources of the late 19th and early 20th centuries: “Collection of Consular Reports” from 1898 to 1910, “Yearbook of Russia” from 1905 to 1908, “Peasant earnings and emigration to America in the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland: comparative statistics of rural earnings in the Suwalki province and emigration to America” served as information base for the study. Including periodicals containing information on emigration from the Russian Empire: “The Finance, Industry and Trade Bulletin”, “Warsaw Diary”, “News and Stock Exchange Newspaper”, “Son of Fatherland”, “Riga Herald”, and “Yenisei Mysl”. The complementary materials made it possible to reconstruct the qualitative composition of waves of Russian emigration in the Brazilian direction based on the method of “ethno-cultural cohorts of migration flows”.

The methodological basis for this study is the historical-demographic method of analysing migration flows in terms of their ethno-cultural and socio-demographic characteristics (the method of “ethno-cultural cohorts of migration flows”). This approach is based on the method of dividing the migration flow from the Russian Empire to Brazil into ethno-demographic cohorts, which differ in terms of social status, demographic composition, and ethno-cultural characteristics of the population. The main research methods are: 1) statistical method of analysis of migration flows, which is a comparative analysis of statistical data on the flows of Russian migrants based on three data sources (countries of emigration (Russian Empire), countries of transit (Germany, UK, Belgium) and countries of reception of immigrants (Brazil)); 2) method of context-analysis of qualitative social and demographic parameters of migration flows based on periodical sources reflecting the structure of emigration flows from the Russian Empire; 3) method of comparative anthropological analysis of migration flows.

3. Discussion

A Russian historian V.M. Kabuzan notes that a great deal of research attention is devoted to emigration from Russia to the United States, but the topic of resettlement to South America and Australia is much less well studied (Kabuzan, 1998). M.N. Moseikina, studying Russian emigration to Latin America, describes in detail the national and religious emigration from Russia (Moseikina, 2014). E.I. Pivovarov writes about the mixed motivation of emigration for Jewish people – a mixture of national, economic, and political motives (Pivovarov, 2008). E.G. Putyatova studied the problems of adaptation of Russian migrants to the new socio-cultural environment of Latin American countries (Putyatova, 2006).

While these scientific works are important, they do not sufficiently study the ethno-demographic structure of migration flows from the Russian Empire to Latin American countries and Brazil in particular in different periods of history. However, it is the socio-demographic structure of the migration flow that had a significant impact on the specifics of settlement and adaptation of migrants from the Russian Empire in the receiving countries of Latin America. At the same time, Brazil actively received natives of various nationalities from the Russian Empire, with wide opportunities for their settlement, economic activity and religious activity. The study proves that “Russian” emigration to Brazil was in fact a conglomeration of different ethnic waves and developed along a similar pattern to the emigration of the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

It is argued in this article that until the end of the 19th century, ethnic Russians hardly ever moved to Brazil. Emigration flows from the Russian Empire were composed mainly of Poles, Jews, and Germans, the ethnic minorities from the South and West regions of the multinational czarist empire. Considering that the Brazilian agents registered all migrants coming from the Russian Empire as “Russians” regardless of their ethnic and linguistic identity, this research contributes to the field of historical migration studies by specifying their socio-demographic characteristics, which impacted how migrants were incorporated into Brazilian society.

4. Results

Socio-economic factors of emigration from the Russian Empire in the late XIX century

Unfavorable weather conditions in the Russian Empire led to poor harvests in 1889 (the harvest was 18.2 per cent below the norm) and 1891, characterized by “exceptionally large-scale disasters”, which caused famine (Pyankov, Mikhalev, 2015). The rye harvest (the basis of the population’s food) of 1891 roughly matched the 1889 harvest, but “...the poor rye harvest of 1889 was preceded by two years of unusually good harvests of 1887 and 1888, while the poor harvest of 1891 was preceded by the poor harvest of 1889 and the average harvest of 1890” (Mery, 1891: 276). The total rye harvest in 1888 was 1,095 million poods,¹ 821 in 1889, 982 in 1890, and 711 million poods in 1891. Considering the population's need for bread (just over 8 poods per person per year) and the seed stock, the minimum harvest in 1891 should have been – 994 million poods (Mery, 1891).

This situation led to a rapid rise in the price of bread, especially rye. In St. Petersburg the price rose by 66 %, compared with 1890. In Chelyabinsk uyezd,² Orenburg province, the price increased up to three times (was 50 kopecks³ for one pood of rye, and became 144 kopecks), in Bogoroditsky uyezd, Tula region – more than 2.5 times (was 50, became 125 kopecks), in Yamburg uyezd, Saint Petersburg province – 1.5 times (was 80, became 128 kopecks) (Mery, 1891).

High prices for bread were promoted by speculation. “Thousands of large and small bread speculators, taking advantage of the terrible poverty of the people and the lack of bread, tirelessly organize strikes to raise bread prices, spread false rumors, measure, weigh, mix all kinds of extraneous substances in the form of lime, sand, etc. into the bread and send these murderous fabrications to feed the masses. Everyone still remembers the news that whole batches of white sand from Kiev were sent to Bessarabia to be mixed with flour. Also memorable is the huge fabrication of an impossible mixture of bread with all sorts of rubbish at many stations of the southwestern railroads arranged by some agents of the Dreyfus firm” (Falbork, 1892: 11).

Peasants began to go hungry already in the summer of 1891. In Kozlovsky Uyezd of Tambov Province grain reserves ran out. The poorest people were selling cattle, the price of which had dropped drastically due to the lack of fodder caused by the drought. Sellers to whom the peasants sold their livestock traveled around the county. They gave 1 ruble for a sheep, and 9 rubles for a horse, which used to cost 30 rubles (MH, 1891).

The government took measures: it banned the export of rye and some other crops and products that served as fodder for livestock from the country (Neurozhaj, 1891). Allowances and loans were given to zemstvos⁴ for the purchase of seeds. Emigration from the Russian Empire had a direct impact on the spread of influenza and cholera epidemics, which caused pandemics in 1889–1890 and 1892–1893, respectively (Ryazantsev et al., 2022). Quarantine in ports as a response to the cholera pandemic reduced emigration across the ocean (Manevich, 1916).

The policy of the Russian Empire toward emigration

It was difficult to legally leave the Russian Empire abroad because one had to obtain a foreign passport, which was issued by the governor-general, governor, or town governor. Since passports were issued in provincial cities, residents of villages, hamlets, and counties had to go to the regional center (Yanovsky, 1909).

The passport was paid – 15 rubles for half a year, but some categories of Russian subjects could get a passport for 5.05 rubles. The law contained some contradictions: Article 170 stated that passports could be issued only when people reached the age of 25, and in Chapter II of the same section it was stated that passports were issued with one charge for the printing of blanks for children under ten years old. Each province had its own practice in issuing passports (Yanovsky, 1909).

In the Chernigov, Mogilev and Ekaterinoslav provinces one had to pay a passport fee (15 rubles) for each adult family member. But the family members did not receive separate passports for simultaneous departure but were entered into the passport of the head of the family, so there could not be any payment of additional fees. According to Article 207, the period of stay abroad could not be longer than five years. But in practice the stay abroad was not limited. At crossing the border, a fee of 15 rubles was paid for each half year spent outside Russia (Yanovsky, 1909).

An internal passport was required to obtain a foreign passport. It was necessary to obtain a certificate “confirming the absence of obstacles for going abroad”. For this purpose, it was necessary to bypass three or four instances. All this was accompanied by additional expenses for stamps, tips to a bailiff or a correctional officer, etc. (Yanovsky, 1909).

¹ Weight unit used in the Russian Empire at the end of the XIX century, corresponding to 36,113 pounds.

² Administrative subdivision of the Russian Empire.

³ One ruble is divided into 100 kopecks.

⁴ Institution of local government set up during the great emancipation reform of 1861 carried out in Imperial Russia by Emperor Alexander II of Russia. After the October Revolution the zemstvo system was shut down by the Bolsheviks and replaced with a multilevel system of workers’ and peasants’ councils, the soviets.

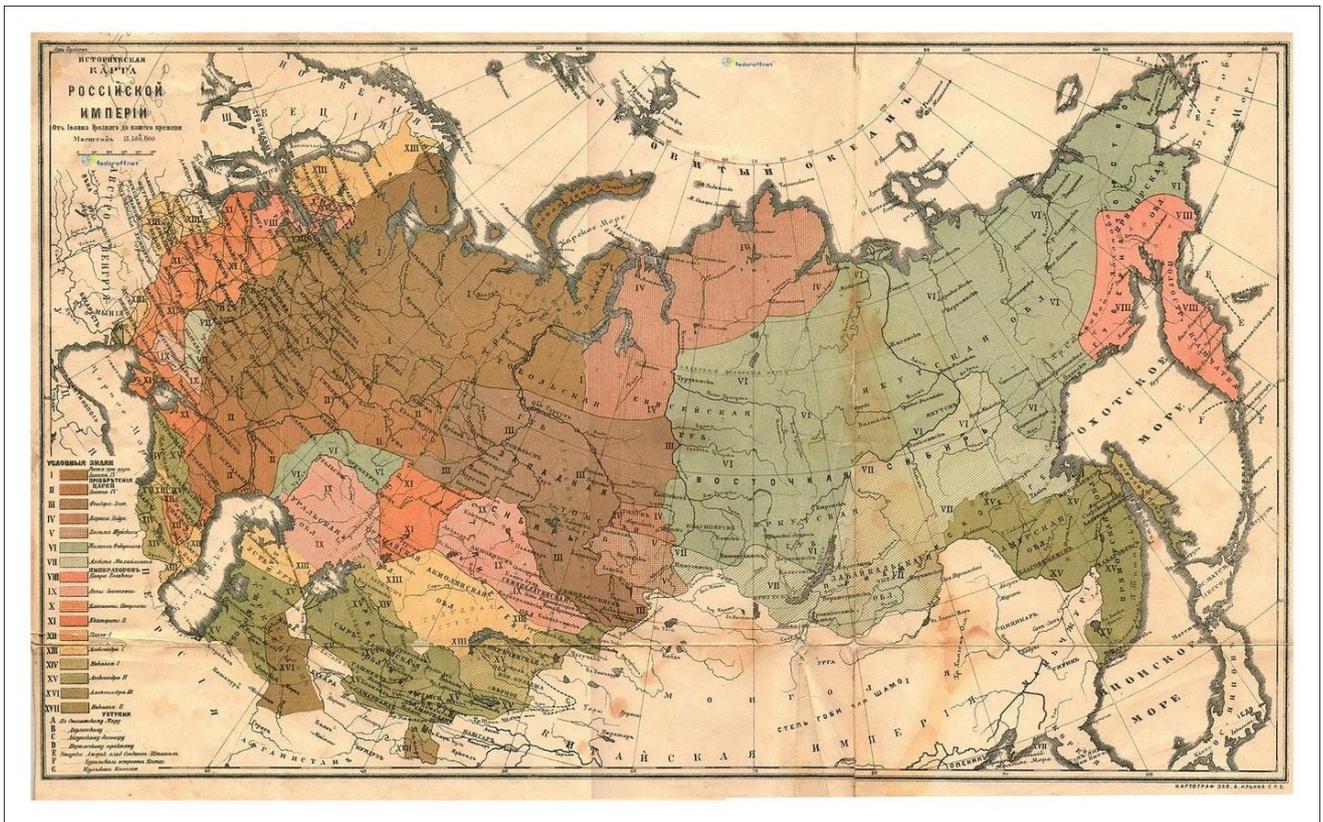


Fig. 1. Map of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19th century

Women had to have permission from their husbands to obtain a foreign passport. It often happened that the husband went away to earn money without leaving permission for his wife. After some time, having sent money, he would wait for the family to return, but there were inevitable difficulties in obtaining a foreign passport. This led to illegal border crossings (Yanovsky, 1909).

In October 1890, after the mass emigration from the Privilinsky krai (Vistula Land),¹ the chief of the region was requested by the local authorities to take “...all possible measures to discourage peasants and workers leaving the fatherland and to prosecute harmful persons who stirred up the intention to emigrate” (VNS, 1891: 1).

The police were supposed to “keep a sharp eye” on the population who sold their property and planned to move abroad. If this fact became known, the police reported to their superiors and the would-be emigrants were interviewed. When encountered on roads close to the state border, peasants were interrogated. If there was suspicion of intentions to go abroad, they were sent back to their permanent place of residence. Persons who received correspondence from abroad were monitored, since it was assumed that there might be “migrant documents” (VNS, 1891).

Particular attention was paid to the population living within two to three miles of the border. It was found out whether “passport-less people were being smuggled abroad” (VNS, 1891). The local administration initiated cases against the conductors across the border: they were expelled from the border areas with a ban on their return (Itogi..., 1891; VNS, 1891).

Persons suspected of being migrant agents were prosecuted. The prosecutors of the Warsaw District Court were asked to personally supervise cases of “resettlement conspiracy” and to take the strictest measures against the accused. In case of insufficient evidence, not to release suspects from custody without prior agreement with the governor (VNS, 1891). On November 22, 1890, the first case of emigration to Brazil was tried in the Petrokovsky district Court (Petrokovsky District Court). The emigration agent, an Austrian national, was sentenced by the court to one year's confinement in the detention ward (Vnutrennie, 1890: 3).

¹ Vistula Land, or Vistula Country (Russian: Привислинский край, *Privislinsky krai*; Polish: *Kraj Nadwiślański*) was the name applied to the lands of Congress Poland from 1867, following the defeats of the November Uprising (1830–1831) and January Uprising (1863–1864) as it was increasingly stripped of autonomy and incorporated into Imperial Russia. It also continued to be formally known as the Kingdom of Poland (Polish: *Królestwo Polskie*) until the fall of the Russian Empire. Russia lost control of the region in 1915, during the course of the First World War. Following the 1917 October Revolution, it was officially ceded to the Central Powers under the terms of the 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

In November 1890, more than 80 persons were prosecuted for “conspiracy to resettle” in one district of the Warsaw Chamber (VNS, 1891).

The governor-general of Warsaw allowed the returning population to enter the country without passports, except for Jews who had left illegally (VNS, 1891). The struggle against the mass emigration of the population indicates the government’s understanding of the negative effects of emigration on the country.

“The lack of land and the kulaks,¹ which had taken deep roots, corroded the economic life of the village community. The peasants could not protest the evil and sought a way out in distant migrations” (JeR, 1890: 3). While in the late nineteenth century immigration agents advertised the lands of America on the western fringes of the Russian Empire, in the early twentieth century agents reached Siberia (BP, 1914).

In 1910 an immigration agent distributed pamphlets in Tomsk Province (Siberia) suggesting emigration to “...the earthly paradise - America, in particular Brazil” (BP, 1914: 3). This propaganda was particularly successful with the settlers. Peasants sold off their possessions, and new settlers planned to leave immediately after the end of field work. “It should be noted that the peasants believed so much in these pamphlets that they did not even consider it necessary to send walkers” (BP, 1914: 3).

The press wrote that settlers “...willingly leave the places where they have lived for ten to twenty years, have developed croplands, have acquired households... They believe only the letters of their relatives, relatives’ acquaintances, fellow villagers, who settled in those countries where they are invited to go” (JeEG, 1914: 2). Settlers rarely traveled alone or in pairs. They usually preferred to leave as a family, on average four to nine people. From the youngest age (from 1 month) to the oldest age (70 years and older) (JeNK, 1892).

Bytsenko indicates two interesting centenary books found in the National Library of St. Petersburg that directly address the theme of information available to potential immigrants: Janis Gutmann’s *Jizn kolonistov v chtate São Paulo v Brasili* (Gutmann, J. *A Vida dos colonos no Estado de São Paulo do Brasil*. Riga, 1908), and Ivan Rébrin’s, *O peresselenii v Brasiliu* (Rébrin, I. *Sobre a imigração para o Brasil*. Kharkov, 1909). They offer opposite views about Brazil as destination. The book by Janis Gutmann, a Lethonian immigration agent hired to recruit immigrants in Russia, presents Brazil as a paradise. Gutmann’s book described “the fertility of the land, the climate, the flora and fauna, the products, the government’s liberal policy, the official facilities given to immigrants, and even the support for colonial centers created especially for Russian immigrants in order to avoid nostalgia and cultural problems” (Bytsenko, 2006: 38-39).

But the peak of immigration to Brazil coincided with the colonization plan for Siberia and other sparsely populated regions of Russia, announced by the government in the early 20th century. Obviously, the departure of potential migrants hindered this objective. Ivan Rébrin’s book advocates against emigration from Russia to Brazil. It is an emigration counter-propaganda that created, even without literal mention, the image of Brasil as a hell” (Bytsenko, 2006: 14). “One cannot fail to notice that this distant overseas country is extremely different not only from Russia, but from all of Europe, and presents, by itself, natural and historical conditions so unfavorable to the organization and conduct of the economy of our peasants, who, to the last who appeared there, had nothing left to do but swear and run back to Russia” (Bytsenko, 2006: 100). Information and its perception by potential migrants play an important role in the formation of migration attitudes. In today’s world, the communications revolution allows potential migrants to learn about opportunities abroad in real time (Martin, Zurcher, 2008). In the late nineteenth century, the speed of communication and information dissemination was limited, given that not all populations could read and write.

The population of the Privislinsky krai as literate: in 1987 the literacy rate was 30.5 per cent. In the European part of Russia this indicator was 22.9 per cent, in the Caucasus – 12.4 per cent, in Siberia – 12.3 per cent, in Central Asia – 5.3 per cent. In the Privislinsky krai, there were 342 and 268 literate men and women per 1,000 persons, respectively. In the European part of Russia, the figure was 326 and 137 for men and women (ER, 1906). The Estonian, Livonian and Curonian provinces had the highest proportion of educated population in the Russian Empire. Literate men – more than 75 per cent, and women – more than 70 per cent. This figure for St. Petersburg province was 65 per cent and 44 per cent, and in Penza province 24 per cent and 6 per cent for men and women, respectively (ER, 1906).

A large proportion of the ethnically Russian population learned about opportunities abroad much later than did residents of the western outskirts or the cohesive diasporas of Germans and Jews (OPA, 1890). In addition to information about opportunities in the Americas, the political situation in the country served as a factor in increasing the share of ethnic Russians in the migration flow from the Russian Empire.

Brazilian migration policy at end of the 19th century

After the political upheaval in Brazil, the emergence of a republican regime (November 15, 1889), and the adoption of the Golden Law (May 13, 1888), which finally abolished slavery, the country needed laborers (Prozor, 1905: 85). According to this law, free entry to Brazil was allowed to migrants of working age who were not subject to criminal prosecution in the country of origin, except for people from Africa and Asia, who could only be admitted with the permission of the National Congress (Decreto, 1890).

¹ Kulaks – in the Russian Empire, well-to-do peasants, usually not personally engaged in physical labour, who used the labour of hired labourers.

A travel subsidy, under Ordinance No. 528, was granted to farm families, unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 50, provided they were agricultural workers, artisans, or persons for domestic work. Sick and physically handicapped persons were also given a free ticket, provided they belonged to a family where there were two healthy persons for one sick person (Decreto, 1890).

The Brazilian state paid maritime transport companies 120 francs for an adult immigrant, 60 francs for children aged 8 to 12, and 30 francs for a child under the age of three. Shipping companies that transported at least 10,000 migrants a year without any irregularities were paid a bonus of 100,000 francs (Decreto, 1890).

All migrants entering Brazil with a subsidy were required to obtain a certificate from the consular agent of the republic at the port of exit, stating their name, age, family status, occupation, and degree of relationship between the persons constituting the family. Each migrant signed a statement in duplicate stating that he was aware of the conditions offered to him in Brazil. The conditions differed according to the migrant's occupation (Decreto, 1890).

In 1891, the Brazilian government refused to subsidize the shipping companies in Hamburg and Bremen because they only accepted migrants willing to pay for their passage across the ocean. But in 1893, Brazil, once again, began to subsidize German steamship companies (Moseikina, 2014).

On August 2, 1892, the Brazilian government signed a ten-year contract with Companhia Metropolitana to import 1 million immigrants from Europe (100,000 immigrants per year). Limits were imposed for each nationality and additional requirements – to exclude those who were unmarried. But migration over long distances was characterized mainly by men of working age, so the limit on importation was reduced to 50,000 people. Entry into the territory of the Republic for Chinese and Japanese nationalities was permitted by Law No. 97 of October 5, 1892 (Lei, 1892). But this law had few practical results, since Brazilian eugenic authorities diffculted the coming of non-white people at the same time that encouraged the immigration of Europeans that would colonize and also “civilize” the country (Lee, 2019). In 1895 the government was authorized by law to transfer the treaty to the states or to terminate it. In practice, this meant an end to the Brazilian government's intervention on migrant services (Goncalves, 2017).

On September 9, 1899, the state of São Paulo signed Law No. 673, introducing travel subsidies and refunds for a third-class ticket if the ticket was purchased by migrants at their own expense. Funds were allocated from the budget for emigration agents and for publications in several languages describing the country and the benefits provided to immigrants (Lei, 1899).

The scale of emigration from the Russian Empire to Brazil in 1890–1906

A total of 2.5 million and 3.7 million immigrants from various countries of the world migrated to Brazil and Argentina in seventy years (1835–1905), respectively. Among them, the share of subjects of the Russian Empire was 1.7 per cent. “Those who came from Russia were of the Catholic, Lutheran, and Jewish faiths. There were relatively few Orthodox” (Korolev, 1972: 49).

During the last two decades of the 19th century the number of subjects of the Russian Empire who emigrated to Brazil fluctuated greatly and depended on several reasons. The sharp increase in the number of Russian emigrants to Brazil since 1890 is associated with the measures of the Brazilian government, as well as with the unfavorable socio-economic situation in Russia itself (economic crisis and famine). A comparative decade-by-decade study of Russian and Brazilian statistics shows little difference in the number of emigrants from the Russian Empire to Brazil in 1880–1889 and 1990–1899. However, subsequently we see a significant discrepancy in the figures: the Brazilian data is more significant. Obviously, this is due, on the one hand, to a more accurate accounting of migrants in the host country (Brazil) and, on the other hand, to a greater diversification of emigration channels from the Russian Empire in the early 20th century – emigration occurred not only through German ports, but also in other countries (Table 1). (EBGE 1954; Prozor, 1905; EP, 1906; EP, 1909).

Table 1. Number of emigrants from the Russian Empire to Brazil based on a comparison of Russian and Brazilian statistics by decade 1880–1929

Period	1880–1889	1890–1899	1900–1909	1910–1919	1920–1929
Brazilian statistics	1,334	41,416	14,906	39,288	7,171
Russian statistics (estimations)	361	40,824	1,254	No data	No data

Note: The Russian data estimate is based on information on the emigration of natives from the Russian Empire through German ports in 1879–1906

Emigrants from the Russian Empire were usually identified in foreign statistics by their Russian citizenship. This figure included the population of the Northwestern and Southwestern provinces: Poles, Lithuanians, and Finns. Germans lived in the southern and eastern provinces. Most Jews were asked to leave

the central provinces at the end of the nineteenth century because they had no right to live outside their permanent settled area (ZK, 1891). The proportion of the Russian Orthodox population did not prevail in all provinces of the empire. In 1905, the proportion of Russians living in the Baltic provinces was 5.5 per cent, in Finland 0.2 per cent, and in the Privislinsky krai – 6 per cent, except for Sedlec and Lublin provinces, where Russians accounted for 17 per cent and 21 per cent respectively (ER, 1906).

By 1898 the total number of emigrants living in Brazil was estimated at 2.7 million people. Of these Italians were 1.3 million, Portuguese 800 thousand, Germans 300 thousand, Spaniards 100 thousand. The number of resident Russians was estimated at 70 thousand people. “The main contingent of them were immigrants from ... the western outskirts: from the province of Prislina ... from the province of Grodno and the southern part of the province of Vilna. Emigrants, both Poles and Lithuanians, mingle in the republic with natives from Galicia” (Prozor, 1905: 85). A significant proportion of Russian natives lived in the state of Paraná (about 30,000), the state of Rio Grande do Sul (10,000), and the state of Santa Catarina (5,000) (Prozor, 1905).

About 6,000 Russian Jews lived in Rio de Janeiro and about 2,000 in São Paulo. Most of them came from Argentina “...from the failed Jewish agricultural colonies established by Baron Hirsch...” (Prozor, 1905: 90). Baron Maurice de Hirsch founded the “Jewish Colonization Association” to establish Jewish agricultural colonies, mainly in Argentina (VV, 1892).

At the same time, of the 70,000 Russian subjects – “blood Russian Orthodox” lived in about 250 people. “No organized group they represented. They came... to Brazil mostly by chance and belonged, for the most part, to the educated class” (Prozor, 1905: 90). At the end of the nineteenth century Russian emigration abroad was represented mainly by natives of the North-Western and South-Western provinces, predominantly of the Privislinsky krai (Table 2).

Table 2. Ethnic and Religious Composition of the Subjects of the Russian Empire Departing through German Ports for Brazil in 1890–1905

Years	Prevailing ethnicity or religious group
1890	Jews, Poles, and Germans (ZK, 1891).
1898	Poles, Lithuanians, and Jews (RPD, 1899).
1900	Of the total number who left through the port of Hamburg, about 48 % were Catholics. The remaining 52 % were equally divided between Jews and “sectarians” (Mennonites, Dukhobors, Stundists, Molokans, Sabbatniks, etc.). The Orthodox were “...the most insignificant number, expressed only in fractions of a percent” (Kruzenshtern, 1902). The emigrants came mainly from the western and southern provinces of the empire (RPD, 1901).
1901	The Russians departing through the port of Bremen were from the provinces of Kovno, Plotsk, Suvalka, Lomzyn, Warsaw, Grodno, Vilna, and Kalish. There was a considerable number of Germans from the Southern Russia and the Volga region. The settlers were, for the most part, peasants who had large debts in their homeland or were landless (Tomashevskij, 1902).
1902	In Russia in 1902 the exodus provinces were: Kovno, Grodno, Vilna, Suvalki, Plocki, Warsaw, Kalish, Petroki, Radom, Kaletski, and Kiev (Tomashevskij, 1903).
1905	Among the Russian migrants leaving the port of Bremen, “...there is no Russian element, as all emigrants consist of natives of the Northwest Territory and the Kingdom of Poland: Poles, Lithuanians, and Jews. There are never any Orthodox immigrants in Bremen, and half of all the emigrants belong to the Roman Catholic faith” (PD, 1906: 265).
1906	The number of migrants professing Orthodoxy did not exceed 1 %. Most of the migration flow was represented by Poles and Jews (Arseniev, 1907).

Ethnic and religious waves of emigration from the Russian Empire to Brazil: three cases

As noted in E. Lohr's study “Russian Citizenship: From Empire to Soviet Union”, the share of ethnic Russians in emigration flows in 1861–1914 was only 1-4 per cent. It was mainly ethnic minorities who emigrated: Jews were 184 times more likely to emigrate, Germans 53 times more likely, and Poles 57 times more likely than Russians. Emigration was a “phenomenon alien to ethnic Russians”. Among ethnic Russians, religious communities of Old Believers, Molokans and Dukhobors emigrated (Lohr, 2017: 145-146). The largest migration wave to Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century occurred in 1890–1892 and was composed mainly of Poles, Jews, and Germans, mostly Mennonites (ZK, 1891).

The emigration of Poles, Lithuanians, and Belarusians from the Privislinsky krai

The history of these groups' immigration remains underrepresented in literature, due to the political situation of Central-Eastern Europe in the heyday of immigration, when the region was dominated by the three great expansionist empires of the time: Russia, Germany and Austria. Poland and Lithuania disappeared from the political map of Europe at the end of the 18th century, only reappearing after the First

World War, when the collapse of the imperialist powers resulted in the appearance of a handful of autonomous national states, between Germany in the west, Russia to the east, and Austria to the south. Belarus only achieved its independence in 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union.



Fig. 2. Fragmentation of Poland in the 18th century (Duby, 1987: 165)

Relatively numerous, immigrants from Polish lands carried documents from the foreign powers that occupied the region. Therefore, Poles who arrived during the “Brazilian fever” were classified in official statistics as Germans, Austrians or Russians. There are indications that the majority came from the regions occupied by Russia, and ended up being classified under the rubric “Russians”. In fact, “Russian” immigration practically disappeared after the 1920s – precisely when Poland resurfaced as an independent country (Decol, 1921). The population's relocation to the New World from the Privilinsky krai was explained, first, by the geographical proximity to the European states, where emigration across the Atlantic Ocean had long existed. The population of the Privilinska region was aware of the opportunities available in the New World. A strong motivating factor was the money sent by relatives living in America.

Second, transportation accessibility. European countries, with their high-density railroads and inexpensive class IV tickets, provided emigrants with access to ports. A free ticket across the ocean only encouraged emigration (ZK, 1891).

Third, high population density. In the Privilinsky krai region there were on average up to 74 people per square verst.¹ Up to 54 people in the Siedlecki and Suwalki provinces, 101 in the Petrakow and 111 in the Warsaw province. For comparison, in the Moscow province – 75 people, in the Tula, Kursk, Kiev, Poltava and Podol province there were from 54 to 58 people per verst (ZK, 1891).

Fourth, emigration was caused by the small amount of arable land and the lack of developed industry in the region. In the whole of the Privilinsky krai, forests accounted for about 22 per cent of the total territory. In the Poltava, Kursk, and Tula provinces the share of forests was up to 14 per cent, in the Podolsk and Kiev provinces up to 20 per cent. Of the densely populated provinces of the empire, only the Moscow region exceeded the Privilinsky krai by forests – 37 per cent. But in this province a significant proportion of people were employed in factories and plants, in contrast to the same Suwalka province, where the population worked on the land (ZK, 1891). In the 1890s, Belarusian and Lithuanian peasants began to move to the Caucasus and Stavropol Province, believing rumors that they were given free land and several hundred rubles' worth of uplift. When the truth was discovered, however, resettlement ceased (DNP, 1890). The press wrote: “...small peasant farms are in a deplorable condition; the fragmentation of the peasant land has long surpassed the limits of six morgens² per yard specified in the law, the encumbrance of peasant land with

¹ Russian unit of length equivalent to 1.0668 kilometers.

² Unit of measurement of land area in Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Lithuania and the Dutch colonies. The size of a morggen varies from ½ to 2 ½ acres (2,000 to 10,100 m²).

debts grows every year... All this leads to the conclusion that emigration from this region is a natural and inevitable consequence of the existing conditions” (PP, 1891a).

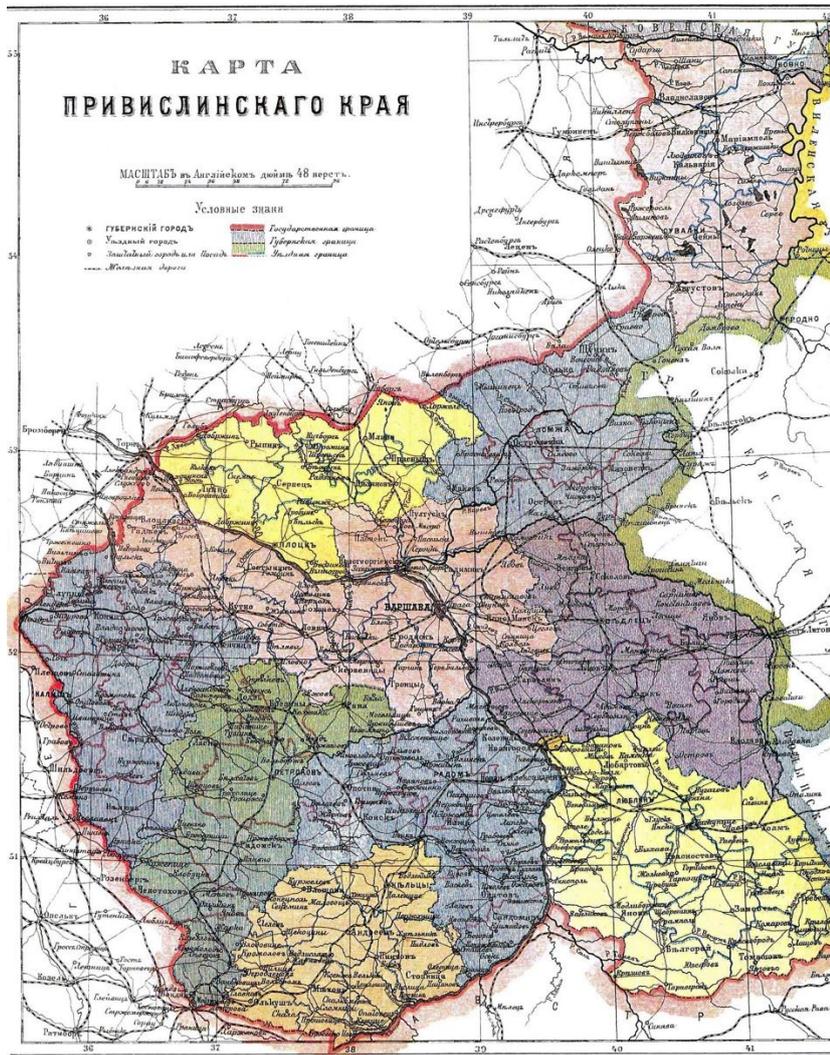


Fig. 3. Map of the Privilislinsky krai (Vistula Land) at the end of the 19th century.

Fifth, the low wages caused by the large supply of laborers due to the high population density, the small amount of arable land, and the underdeveloped industry. The income of a temporary worker on field work was 25 % less than the Russian average (ZK, 1891).

Thus, socioeconomic circumstances were the main motivation for the population of the Privilislinsky krai to move across the ocean.

“Eviction fever” or “Brazilian fever” was the name given in the press to the mass move of the population of the Privilislinsky krai to Brazil (Poznan, 1890; Itogi..., 1891). “The unusual dimensions adopted by the emigration to America from the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland in 1890...” the official authorities attributed to external causes (ZK, 1891: III). Mostly men of working age between 20 and 40 were leaving (Vnutrennjaja pochta, 1892). This fact demonstrates the predominance of labor goals in emigration. In the “Collection of Consular Reports”, it is written that those who went to work could be easily recognized – they had no luggage, only clothes and a smoking pipe (ZK, 1891). Families “flattered by large earnings” were also leaving (DNP, 1890). Each migrant took an average of 100 rubles on the road (ZK, 1891).

There were many routes that migrants took to get to the ports. Most did not have passports. They would cross the border at night or go out on the highway and get into vans, paying three rubles per fare. Carriers transported migrants across the border (DNP, 1890). The migrants drove to Kalish, where they were met by immigration agents who helped them cross the Prussian border. From there, the emigrants were handed over to another agent, who took them to Bremen. Another route passed near the town of Sosnowiec. The escorting agent was paid two rubles per person. Foreign agents gave the migrants a ticket, on presentation of which in German ports or in Lisbon they received a free ticket for a steamer to Rio de Janeiro (JeA, 1890). Sometimes crossing the border illegally cost migrants their lives. Emigrants from Neshava

County were caught by border guards while crossing the border in the number of 270 people. As a result, one person was killed and one was wounded (MH, 1890).

Immigration agents agitated Poles to move to the fertile lands of Brazil, stopping at nothing "...with false promises, only to recruit...more settlers..." (ZK, 1891: 131). In Belgium, for example, an agent was paid the equivalent of 15 to 25 rubles for each immigrant recruited (ZK, 1891).

Immigration agents talked not only about the possibilities of life in Brazil, but also spread rumors that the Russian government would resettle Poles in distant regions of the Empire. Some immigration agents, taking advantage of the excitement of the population, sold schifskärts (emigration tickets) for 2-3 rubles to travel on the steamships of the North German Lloyd from Bremen to Brazil (Itogi..., 1891).

The post office in Lodz from the morning was "besieged by hundreds of workers" who sent demands to the agent Jose dos Santos in Lisbon "to send them steamship tickets to Brazil, and every day 150-200 such demands" (JeA, 1890: 3). A. S. Ionin wrote that "...part of the herd of white working cattle delivered by emigrant agencies, which in our age have replaced the former trading companies that delivered black working cattle to America, the Negroes" (Ionin, 1892: 76).

Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Polish peasants wished to emigrate to America since their relatives who did it sent 200, 300, and even 500 rubles each after some time. Often parents would forcibly send their sons and then ask the parish administration if money had been received for them (DNP, 1890).

It was not only the unemployed and deprived of means of subsistence at home who were leaving, but also "...people who were well off both in labor and in wealth; households were abandoned, property was sold for next to nothing, and the crowd, carried away by the spirit of emigration, fled to an unknown country. Factory workers and free craftsmen, townspeople and rural people are equally carried away by this current" (JeA, 1890: 3).

In the fall of 1891, the landlords of the Privilinsky krai were unable to recruit laborers. In the district administration "dozens of would-be emigrants" came to demand foreign passports or metric records of births and marriages (Iz Neshavy, 1891).

The newspapers periodically wrote about the negative experience of emigrating to Brazil. "The question of emigration is not put on legal ground in Brazil...The mortality rate, especially among children, is enormous. The incoming settlers...are placed in barracks...they sleep in cramped quarters, on clay floors, without even straw for bedding... The quality of the land is often so bad that many emigrants abandon it and turn to beggary; the girls growing up become prostitutes, and those who are able, being completely ruined, make their way back to their native country" (RIP, 1891). A letter from Rio de Janeiro to the editors of the Warsaw Diary reported: "If walking through the streets of the city in the seaside part of it or through the smelly alleys you meet a human-like creature with signs of illness on his face, with sunken cheeks, muddy eyes, battered, dragging his legs with difficulty, ragged..., you can be sure that he is a Polish emigrant... Most of them are runaways from distant colonies, driven here by fear of starving death... the climate of Rio is murderous for the European" (PP, 1891b).

Jewish emigration

Jewish pogroms in the second half of the nineteenth century, the introduction of restrictive laws, and overcrowding of Jews in the "Pale of Settlement" (the Jewish Permanent Settlement Line)¹ led to emigration from Russian Empire (Oksman, 2000; Manevich, 1916).

The authorities of the empire were not opposed to Jewish emigration. Minister of Internal Affairs Ignatiev declared that "the western border was open to the Jews". Only in 1870-1880 on average 4.3 thousand Jews were leaving Russia for the USA, in 1881 8.1 thousand Jews left, in 1882 – 17.4 thousand, in 1886 – 17.3, in 1888 – 31.2 thousand, in 1890 – 33 thousand. And during the period from 1890–1899 375 thousand people emigrated (Oksman, 2000). In 1891–1892 there was an expulsion of Jews from Moscow and the villages. It is believed that at least 400,000 were expelled, some portion most likely went overseas (Manevich, 1916).

By 1890 there were about 4.5 million Jews in the Russian Empire, mostly living in the western part of the country (VV, 1892). The number of Jews in the Privilinsky krai was 14 per cent by 1889. The Jews mainly lived in the cities, the proportion was up to 50 per cent, in the countryside lived about 8 per cent. "...The Jewish population...is characterized by great mobility, and in the emigration fever to Brazil mentioned, it was not only the instigator of the movement, but also emigrated itself. It is generally recognized as a rule, at least in the Privilinsky krai, that the more Jews in each area, the greater the percentage of emigrants from the population" (Vjevjes, 1891: 2).

Baron Hirsch (founder of the English joint-stock company Jewish Colonization Association) planned to evict more than tree million Jews from Russia in 25 years, mostly to Argentina (OJeE, 1892). But, as the press wrote, "...the grandiose and philanthropic experience of Argentina fell far short of even minimal

¹ The Jewish Permanent Settlement Line - in the Russian Empire from 1791 to 1917 (actually until 1915), the boundary of the territory outside of which Jews were forbidden to reside permanently, with the exception of several categories, which at different times included, for example, first guild merchants, persons with higher education, serving recruits, craftsmen assigned to craft workshops, Karaites, mountain and Bukhara Jews.

expectations” (Manevich, 1916: 4). By 1908, 13,000 people lived in 6 colonies on 64,000 hectares, and about 26,000 Jews had established themselves in Buenos Aires (Oksman, 2000).

The Jewish Association was allowed to open a branch in Russia, whose main task was to assist Jews in resettling them in other countries, mainly in Argentina. Based on the regulations, Jews were allowed to resettle both as families and individually. Jews leaving the Russian Empire were given free exit certificates. Those who left under these certificates were recognized as permanently departing from the Russian Empire.

The Jewish Colonization Society was to deposit 100,000 rubles in cash or securities in the state bank, from which the Ministry of the Interior planned to cover expenses if the Jews who left the country were for some reason prevented from leaving or deported (VER, 1892).

Unlike the emigrants of 1850–1870, mostly merchants and intellectuals, a large proportion of the Jews who left in 1881–1890 belonged to the poor class (Oksman, 2000). “They had great difficulty in paying money for the journey and therefore preferred to go by cheaper ways... Predominantly through Stettin, arriving there from Russia by sea at a paltry fee on the awful decks of dilapidated ships” (ZK, 1891: 144). Most of the emigrants had no shoes and were dressed in the simplest clothes. Jews moved to America “...for the most part at the expense of Jewish charitable societies” (ZK, 1891: 144). About 85-90 per cent of Jews moved to the United States. “The resolute and permanent character of Jewish emigration from the Old World is also indicated by the strikingly low percentage of those emigrating back...” (Manevich, 1916: 6).

The emigration of Jews from Russia at the end of the 19th century can be divided into three streams. The first manifested itself in Zionism, which appeared under the influence of the national idea. The second stream was caused by the philanthropist Baron Hirsch. The third stream was caused by vital reasons. It was “...the flight of people distraught with fear and hunger, the flight to wherever they could see, the search for a piece of bread, a corner of the earth where a man would not be beaten for his faith and nationality” (Manevich, 1916: 4).

The ratio of men to women in the migration flow was, on average, 55 per cent and 45 per cent, respectively. About 65-70 per cent were between the ages of 14 and 45, and about 24 per cent were young people and children under the age of 14. These facts indicate a strong intention to change their place of residence. “No emigrating mass so thoroughly and decisively burns ships behind it as the Jewish mass” (Manevich, 1916: 12).

The motivation for the emigration of Jewish people from the Russian Empire to Brazil was mixed and included national, religious, economic, and political aspects (Pivovar, 2008).

Emigration of Germans and Mennonites

The third component of the emigration wave of 1890–1892 from the Russian Empire to Brazil was represented by Germans, mostly Mennonites (POM, 1916). The religious group of Mennonites in the Empire appeared after Catherine II issued a manifesto on December 4, 1762, inviting foreigners, except Jews, to settle in Russia (Bondar, 1916). In July 1763 an additional manifesto appeared promising benefits: foreigners were brought in at state expense, large plots of land were allocated, they were allowed to settle anywhere and do whatever they wanted, and freedom of religion was guaranteed. As a result, from 1763 to 1766 22,800 Germans settled in the Volga region alone (POM, 1916).

In the early 1870s, during the development of the statute of universal conscription, it was established that Mennonites were obliged to serve military service, but in non-military positions (POM, 1916). This event provoked the first wave of emigration of the Mennonites (about 6,000 people) living on the Volga and in Ekaterinoslav Province to Brazil. The Russian diplomat Ionin A.S. in the book “On South America” describes the migration path of Mennonites, immigrants from Russia. Emigrants from the Russian Empire seemed to the Brazilian government to be the best resource for settling the highlands of the province of Paraná. But the Mennonites refused to go inland, and the fertile lands near rivers and the sea were occupied. Two years later most of these emigrants moved to Argentina (Ionin, 1892).

The Mennonites represented the most affluent and intelligent part of all emigrants from the Russian Empire. “The Mennonite sect was a movement of prosperous rural landlords, capitalist landowners...” (Klibanov, 1913: 49). At the end of the nineteenth century, they moved mainly to the United States, renting a steamboat for this purpose, and taking with them large reserves of money. In 1889 about 200 Mennonites left the Odessa district, with up to 50,000 pounds sterling in Hamburg banks. In the first half of 1890 several hundred people left Hamburg (ZK, 1891).

Many German colonists left Samara province. Several years of crop failure led to a severe decline in economic well-being. Because of their lack of foreign passports, they made their way to the town of Vladyslavovo, which was on the border with Prussia. “At the border they always find peasants who, for a paltry fee, escort them secretly into Prussia” (JeNK, 1892: 4). The main reason for the emigration of the Mennonites from the Russian Empire was religious.

Settlement and economic activity of immigrants from the Russian Empire in Brazil: The case of the colonies in the southern states

At the end of the 19th century, different social groups of migrants came to Brazil from the Russian Empire. The most numerous were peasant migrants who went to the sparsely populated states of Brazil, such

as Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul (Prozor, 1905). The Russian migrants tilled the land, growing corn, beans, buckwheat, potatoes, beets, wheat tobacco and Paraguayan tea. Despite the favourable climate and fertile soils for farming, the Paraná colonies faced difficulties. Local government allotments were located at great distances from navigable rivers, complicating the market. Transport by rail was expensive, so the emigrants, except for beans and tobacco, consumed the produce themselves. To cover the costs of transport, fattened pigs and poultry had to be sold (Prozor, 1905).

Artisans settled in the cities of central and southern Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro they earned 5-10 milreis, and in other cities 4-8 milreis a day (one milreis was equal to 45-50 kopecks). The wives of the artisans, working as domestic servants, earned between 50 and 100 milreys a month. "...The economic situation of the settlers in the cities was incomparably better than that to which they were accustomed in Europe" (Prozor, 1905: 89). And also among the immigrants from the Russian Empire were people with an education (priests, teachers, lawyers, journalists). Some of them quickly adapted to the new reality and became newspaper staff, lawyers and entered the civil service (Prozor, 1905).

The migrants were given allowances by the administration upon arrival. But they were given in the form of coupons, which were resold for cash, sometimes at a discount of up to 50 per cent. Despite difficult living conditions, thanks to work, migrants saved up money and sent it back home. They started inviting relatives and acquaintances to move. "This is the first sign of the strength of the colonisation cause... New emigrants are no longer lured into the country by suggestive little trust in immigration agents, but are attracted mainly by their relatives and fellow villagers, who inform them of the true conditions of emigration" (Prozor, 1905: 88).

In 1877-1878, the first wave of 3809 German Russian individuals were distributed in three cities in the state of Paraná: Ponta Grossa (2381 individuals), Palmeira (1101) and Lapa (327). In Ponta Grossa about 614 families were located in 17 settlements that formed the Octávio Colony (Colônia Octávio), the largest of them. "These immigrants inhabited, since 1763, the regions of Saratov and Samara, on the Lower Volga, near the Caspian Sea, in Russia. With the loss of autonomy and privileges thanks to the growing nationalism of the 19th century, many began the process of emigration from these regions: they returned to Germany or headed to the United States, Canada, Argentina and Brazil, the most popular destinations in that context. Dom Pedro II, aware of such events and interested in the settlement of the interior of the country, facilitated the arrival of this ethnic group, especially to the southern region" of Brazil (Lisboa, 2018).

Fugmann indicates that "the Volga Germans were festively received in Paraná and that they received a lot of help, from all sides, as rarely happens with immigrants ... Countrymen would have advised the Volga Germans not to sow wheat, but they took no advice. Wheat did not produce as desired and, discouraged, many re-migrated, most of them to Argentina; others returned to Russia or looked for other places to settle in Parana" (Fugmann 2008: 39).

The distance between some settlements, as Palmeira, and the center of Ponta Grossa, combined with employment opportunities in the construction of the railroad, also discouraged many settlers from pursuing their agricultural activities. Already in the mid-1880s, a local newspaper reported the sale, at public auction, of material from the ranches abandoned by the Russian who had settled in that municipality" (ODD, 2018).

In turn, Balhana points to a significant delay of more than ten years for the Russian settlers to obtain ownership of their lots, a circumstance that certainly contributed to the abandonment of the colonies, whose lands were in addition reputed to be infertile by the immigrants (Balhana, 2002: 130). From the total of the families brought, only 233 remained. Part of them also abandoned their rural activities to transport merchandises from the hinterland to coastal areas. Actually, the Russo-German colonization, awaited with the greatest expectation, resulted in a huge disappointment (Martins, 1995: 362-363).

A singular characteristic of the colonies founded in Paraná in the 19th century was their ethnic diversity, most of them reuniting different ethnic groups. Nishikawa analyzed the composition of the colonies between 1860 and 1889 and concluded that Russians represented 15 % of the settlers, a significant fourth place behind Italians (36 %), "Polish" (19 %) and Germans (18 %) (Nishikawa, 2015: 105). This author also stresses that Paraná authorities believed that this diversity would favor a rapid integration between immigrants and Brazilians. Probably such integration did not happen as the government imagined, but the fact is that Russians found themselves scattered among different colonies:

Table 3. Immigrants from Russian Empire in Parana colonies in 1860–1889 (IR 2015; Nishikawa, 2015: 122)

Colony	Number of Russians	Per cent
Tavares Bastos	450	20.8
Tybagi	406	18.8
Santa Quitéria	290	13.4
Guarauna	191	8.8
Lago	186	8.6
Wilmond	162	7.5
Johanisdorf	131	6.0
Moema	76	3.5

D. Luiza	70	3.2
Pugas	66	3.0
Euridice	62	2.9
Marienthal	48	2.2
Quero Quero	24	1.1
Total	2162	100

This pattern continued for decades. In 1907, for example, the federal government founded the colony of Ivaí, a few miles west of Ponta Grossa. Eight years later, it had approximately 2,560 Austrians, 590 Russians, 471 Brazilians, 84 Germans, 18 Dutch and 5 Swiss. In 1918, a more complete statistics indicates 3,854 individuals, among them Polish and Ukrainians come from Galicia, but that were registered as Austrians, Germans or Russians (Koss, 2015).

5. Conclusion

Emigration from Russia to the Americas began in 1870-1880. It gradually increased, with the population moving predominantly to the United States. South American countries, including Brazil, were not a popular destination for Russian emigrants. The first Russian subjects to emigrate to Brazil in the 1870s were Mennonites, about 6,000 of them moved to Brazil.

Splash of emigration from the Russian Empire in Brazil came at the end of XIX century. The number of subjects of the Russian Empire, came to Brazil from 1879 to 1900, was about 45 thousand people. The largest streams of Russian nationals to Brazil in the 19th century were observed in 1890 and 1891, when 29 thousand (1890) and 10 thousand (1891) people arrived through the ports of Hamburg and Bremen.

The large-scale flow of emigrants from the Russian Empire to Brazil in 1890-1891 was made possible by external and internal reasons. External reasons for Russia include the introduction of immigration measures by the Brazilian government: free steamship tickets, allocation of land, payment of wages, incentives to steamship companies for delivering migrants above a certain number, and the active work of immigration agents among the Russian population. Domestic causes for Russia included the economic crisis; the famine caused by the poor harvests of 1889 and 1891; the high proportion of landless and land-poor peasants; the underdevelopment of factory industry and low wages.

The ethnic composition of migrants from the Russian Empire to Brazil changed significantly. Ethnic Russians and Orthodox until the end of the 19th century predominantly migrated to the east of the country. Ethnic Poles participated in temporary (return) labor migration: there was a surplus of labour resources in the Privislinsky krai, and wages were 25 per cent less than the national average. Jewish programs in Russia in the second half of the 19th century, the introduction of restrictive laws, and overpopulation in the “the Jewish permanent settlement line” forced Jews to emigrate. Part of the Jews went to their historical homeland of Palestine, and another flow headed for Argentina, to lands purchased for Jewish colonies by Baron Hirsch. The Mennonites were the most affluent, and they emigrated for religious reasons. The absence of an ethnically Russian and Orthodox population in the emigration flows was due to limited information about opportunities to emigrate to the New World.

The Privislinsky krai shared a border with Prussia, whose population took an active part in the migration to America. The population of the Privislinsky krai was one of the most literate in the Empire, which also allowed for greater access to information. Immigration agents who appeared in the region in the 1890s and free steamboat tickets provoked mass migration. Russian Germans and Jews living in the Russian Empire, keeping in touch with their communities abroad, had an idea of opportunities abroad.

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Fig. 1 – Map of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19th century. [Electronic resource]. URL: https://fedoroff.net/load/maps/karta/istoricheskaja_karta_rossijskoj_imperii/90-1-0-257 (date of access: 07.02.2023).

Fig. 3 – Map of the Privislinsky krai (Vistula Land) at the end of the 19th century. [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://planetolog.ru/maps/history/privislinskaya.jpg> (date of access: 07.04.2023).

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