

# STUDIES OF COLONIZATION AND SETTLEMENT\*

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THE RECENT BURGEONING OF INTEREST IN AGRARIAN REFORM THROUGHOUT Latin American countries (Schaedel, 1965; Smith, 1965) has been accompanied by unprecedented attention on the part of social scientists in Latin America and elsewhere in what is called *colonization*. This is largely because what often is designated as *official colonization* (or projects to establish on the land groups of families headed by the operators of small or medium-sized farms) is one of the major measures used in attempts to achieve agrarian reform, and also because what frequently is referred to as *spontaneous colonization* (or the process by which settlers established new farmsteads for themselves on portions of the public domain) is another. In this article attention is concentrated upon the books, monographs, and articles dealing with colonization and settlement, and particularly those that have been put into circulation during the last decade.

## TERMINOLOGY

The use here of the term colonization is limited largely to the two meanings mentioned above. However, in the present stage of the development of the nomenclature relating to the general processes of settlement and resettlement, no one person or agency is able to rectify fully the chaotic condition of the terminology. Therefore in beginning our discussion it seems essential to identify some of the principal features of the present confusion.

In English the very parsimoniousness of the nomenclature of the subject we are studying probably has contributed significantly to the difficulties. Thus even *Webster's New International Dictionary* offers as definitions of the word colony (in relation to modern human affairs) only the following: (1) "a company of people transplanted from their mother country, and remaining subject to the jurisdiction of the parent state"; (2) "a group of people situated so as to resemble a colony"; and (3) "the country or district colonized or occupied by an isolated group, as of artists; a settlement; also any distant territory dependent upon a ruling power." This basic compendium also gives, of course, the two

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important connotations the word colony had during the period of classical antiquity. These are the Roman usage of the word *colonia* to designate "a subject settlement of Romans in a newly acquired or hostile country," and the meaning of the Greek word *apoikia* which signified "a settlement, nearly always independent or self-governing, of Greeks in a foreign country."

In the United States neither the noun colony, nor any of the family of words to which it belongs has attained the meanings which became common for their counterparts (such as *colonia*, *colonización* (or *colonização*), *colono*, and *colonizar*) in Spanish and Portuguese. This is due undoubtedly to the fact that there was no basis in the history of the United States as an independent nation for the development in American English of the connotations for the words we are considering. While they were on their way over the Appalachians and on to the west the migrants from the areas along the Atlantic seaboard, along with the large contingents of immigrants from European countries, all were designated as *emigrants*; after they had located in new homes they were called *settlers*, or in the case of the actual trail blazers *pioneers*; and the new neighborhoods and communities that they established were called *settlements*. In the entire process there was, of course, little or nothing that corresponded to what frequently is called *colonización oficial* in Latin America, and those who wrote about the subject in the United States seemed fully content to employ the word settlement, either as a condition or a process, to designate all that is called *colonización espontánea* in the areas to the south of the Rio Grande. Only during the 1930's, and then as a part of the "New Deal" of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was there any attempt in this country to establish groups of small farm operators on pieces of land once held in large estates; and even then, when various "colonization projects" were attempted, they were known as "Resettlement Projects," and the official agency responsible for planning and executing them was the "Resettlement Administration."

The use in Spanish and Portuguese of the group of words we are considering to signify about the same things as to settle, settler, and settlement in American English is not a recent introduction. For example even the ultra-conservative *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* of the Real Academia Española (Año de la Victoria [1939]) includes the following definitions: *colonizar*, "fijar en un terreno la morada de sus cultivadores"; *colonización*, "acción y efecto de colonizar"; *colonia*, "gente que se establece en un territorio inculto de su mismo país para poblarlo y cultivarlo"; and *colono*, "el que habita en una colonia." Even so, however, the approved definitions it gives do not include the meaning presently most employed by those who write about Latin America in any language, namely, the establishment, usually by some governmental agency, of a settlement on portions of what once was a large estate of farm families whose heads themselves manage the farm businesses and cultivate the land.

Perhaps this is the reason that in Colombia, as late as 1943 to 1945, when I was detailed by the United States Department of State to serve the Colombian government as "Asesor Técnico en Parcelación y Colonización" (Smith, 1947), the work of subdividing an old hacienda was considered as something apart from that of colonization. Moreover, in Colombia there still remains a sharp distinction between *colonización*, or the establishment of new settlements on the public domain, and *parcelación*, or the subdivision of private estates (Duft, 1964; and Shearer and Others, 1966, p. 288). To add to the variety, in Colombia rarely if ever is the designation *colono* applied to the modern counterpart of the Roman *colonus* (i.e. the semi-servile farm worker attached to a large estate who is obliged to work from three to six days per week for the proprietor in return for a nominal wage and who is allowed the use of an acre or two of land on which he may build a hut and grow a few crops to help feed himself and family), although this usage is common in many parts of Spanish America (cf. Schulman, 1955).

In Brazil, where both quantitatively and qualitatively, the study of all having to do with colonization and settlement, is second to none, the meanings given to the Portuguese equivalents of colonist, colony, and colonization are quite different; they vary considerably from one part of the immense country to another, and a number of other terms must be taken into account. For example, in the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, where millions of the inhabitants are the descendants of immigrant small farmers from Germany, Italy, Poland, and other European countries, who were settled in various colonies on the land during the period from about 1870 to 1914, the *zona colonial* signifies the area given over to small farms and the *colono* is the owner-operator of a small farm. In the great industrial and agricultural state of São Paulo, which bounds Paraná on the north, however, the *colono* is an agricultural laborer who is assigned the care of a specified number of coffee trees for the period of one year, and who is assigned the use of one of the dwellings in the workers' village, or *colonia*, near the mansion of the proprietor, the mill for processing the coffee cherries, and the grounds on which the coffee beans are spread to dry.

Brazilians and others working on matters pertaining to settlement and re-settlement in the Brazilian half of South America are not confronted with the problem of colonization versus *parcelación*, as are all those who study the relations of man to the land in Colombia; but they do have a number of other important terms to take into account. One of the most important of these is *povoamento*, or peopling. The comparable term in Spanish, *poblamiento*, is encountered now and then in some of the Spanish American countries, and the English *peopling* was, of course, used by Mark Jefferson (1930) in his excellent early study of the settlement of Argentina's magnificent pampa region.

Both in Spanish terminology and in English, however, the concept is used sparingly, whereas in Brazil the most perceptive and careful social scientists must take care to distinguish the inclusive term povoamento from the more restricted one, or colonização. This is all the more necessary because the important national agency responsible for settlement of all types long was designated as the Serviço de Povoamento (Calmón and Gonçalves, 1909), and was the division of the Ministry of Agriculture that was responsible for the production of some of the most comprehensive compendia of materials on colonization and settlement that have ever been made (cf., for example, Silva Rocha, 1919). In dealing with this problem Diégues (1959, p. 127) insisted that to distinguish colonization as such from povoamento, at least two criteria must be employed, namely, provisions to establish small farms and systematic assistance to the colonos or farm operators. Even more incisive are the specifications given by lawyer-sociologist Rios (1961, p. 200), who first raised the question of "como entender a palavra colonização?" succinctly surveyed the meanings attached to it at various times and places, and then gave the following specifications:

Colonização ficou sendo, para nós, a ação pública ou privada que visa subdividir a terra para nela estabelecer famílias ou comunidades, sob a forma de núcleos de pequenos proprietários, prestando-lhes todo auxílio e assistência técnica.

A much more complicated version of this eventually was included in the definition used in Brazil's *Estatuto da Terra* (Maia, 1967, pp. 221 and 291), her nearest approximation to agrarian reform legislation.

As indicated above, in the various Spanish American countries no considerable use is made of poblamiento as the equivalent of colonization or settlement. This does not mean, though, that the Colombian equivalents of settler, settlement as a process, settlement as a neighborhood or community, resettlement project, and resettled family, as these terms have figured in American English, are generally accepted and used throughout the other Spanish American countries. Neither does it indicate that no other designations for the substantives which necessarily must figure in this study are commonly applied to the phenomena. Thus in Argentina (Domike and Others, 1965, p. 75) *asentamiento* is employed to denote various governmental programs to create new agricultural establishments and two of its specific varieties are distinguished as follows:

Por "colonización" se entiende el establecimiento de colonos en tierras de la frontera del desarrollo agrícola o en terrenos fiscales vírgenes; los programas de "reasantamiento" se realizan en terrenos que fueron de propiedad privada.

Just across the international boundary in Chile, however, the word *asenta-*

miento seems to be used only to designate a temporary place of abode, or camp, of families figuring in one of the colonization projects (Sternberg and del Canto, 1966, pp. 276 and 278); colonización seems to include parcelación as well as settlement projects in general; and either colono or *parcelero* seems to be used to designate the participant in one of the resettlement projects (*ibid.*, pp. 248–251). Moreover, in Chile colonización definitely is employed to designate problems for bringing about a redistribution of the ownership and control of the land and also the spontaneous occupation of portions of the public domain (*ibid.*, 248–251, 217–219, and 396). Finally, to mention just one more case, in Venezuela (Shaya, 1961) the term asentamiento is used to designate what is called a reasentamiento in Argentina and a parcelación in Colombia.

Such an enumeration could be continued at considerable length, but it is hoped that the illustrations given are sufficient to demonstrate conclusively that the terminology employed throughout the Americas in treating the subjects of colonization and settlement is still in a highly confused state.

Historians have not yet traced for us the development of the Spanish and Portuguese equivalents for the English family of words that centers about the infinitive "to settle". In the case of the Spanish terms it is just possible that they go back to the colonies of German Catholic farmers that were transplanted into locations in the Sierra Morena late in the eighteenth century (Townsend, 1791, II, pp. 265–273), although Ward's great *Proyecto Económico* for the development of Spain, written in 1762 and published posthumously in 1779, makes specific use of the term *colonia* to designate not only his proposed settlements of immigrant Catholic farmers (p. 65), but those of transplanted groups of Spaniards as well (p. 91). In any case the various terms under consideration here were well established in the Spanish American countries and the Brazilian half of South America before specialists from the United States played any significant role in observing and analyzing the lands and peoples to the south of the Rio Grande.

Eventually scholars from this country, led by geographers Isiah Bowman, George M. McBride, and Mark Jefferson, did begin writing about the lands and peoples of South and Central America. But all of them seem to have slipped rather naturally and perhaps unconsciously in the use of *colonize* as the equivalent of *to settle*, of *colonization* as synonymous with *settlement* (either as a process or as a group of families that had settled), and of *colonist* as a synonym for *settler*. In this they have been widely followed by those who subsequently studied and wrote about the establishment of families on the land throughout the various Latin American countries.

In my own case, however, the record shows that the mixed up terminology early was a matter of some concern, and I recall rather vividly the difficulties I had in explaining to my friends and associates in the United States just what

was involved in my work for the Colombian government during the years 1943–1945 when my title was that of Advisor on Colonization and “Parcelization.” As a result when the first edition of my *Brazil* was published I felt obliged to include the following paragraph on the opening page of the chapter on “Colonization and Settlement” (Smith, 1946, p. 530).

A few words are necessary concerning the specific connotations of “colonization” and “settlement” as these expressions are used in this chapter. They do not have the meanings usually attached to them in English writings, but are intended to denote the more specific concepts prevailing in Portuguese and Spanish America. Thus “colonization” as used here refers not to the establishment of the original settlers in Brazil, but to the activity programs or projects by which governmental and private agencies are subdividing large properties; placing families on the farm plots so created; and extending aid, assistance, and supervision in an attempt to establish communities of small farmers on the land. “Settlement” has a similar connotation, except that it is broad enough to include the more independent or spontaneous developments by which land gets into the control of the small-farming classes, the density of population is increased, and large tracts of unused or slightly used lands—the latifundia of the Brazilians—come to be the seats of numerous firmly established neighborhoods and communities. Together the terms “colonization” and “settlement,” used with reference to twentieth-century Brazil, may be thought of as including all the processes by which a class of small farmers is securing possession of the land.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND PERIODICALS

Adequate bibliographies and specialized journals dealing with colonization and settlement in Latin America are a thing of the future, if, indeed, they ever become available. Three bibliographies have been useful in the preparation of this review. The most important of these is *The Handbook of Latin American Studies*, edited annually in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. Specialists at many institutions scattered throughout the United States collaborate in the work of finding, sifting, and annotating the selections it lists. The first issue of this annual was published in 1935 by the Harvard University Press, which continued the work for the succeeding 12 numbers. All subsequent volumes, beginning with Number 14, which appeared in 1951 (with materials for the year 1948) have borne the imprint of the University of Florida Press. The items dealing with colonization and settlement ordinarily can be identified only if this part of their content is reflected in their titles, but even so this is by far the most useful guide available to those who must search for materials on on those subjects.

A second important aid is Carroll’s (1965) comprehensive bibliography on *Land Tenure and Land Reform in Latin America*. For recent materials on colonization this is far more complete than the *Handbook of Latin American*



*Studies*. However, even though its author is hopeful of getting out his compilation in printed form, the bibliography itself, and a large number of the items it lists, have appeared in mimeographed form only. This raises a fundamental question as to the degree to which the interests of fruitful scholarship are served by extensive listings in bibliographies, or of references, in review articles such as this one, to mimeographed materials. Librarians seem unable to cope with them; and not a few of the researchers who assiduously seek for copies of the same never succeed in being able to consult the items in which they are interested.

A short bibliography devoted specifically to Colonization and Settlement prepared by the staff of the Land Tenure Center of the University of Wisconsin (1968) is the third item deserving mention in this section. It is not restricted to Latin America, although the items dealing with Brazil and the Spanish American countries figure heavily in the list it contains. Originally issued in 1964, it was reissued with an addendum in 1965, and again in 1968. It, too, is only in mimeographed form.

As far as I have been able to discover, there are practically no periodicals devoted to colonization and settlement. Fortunately the three that I know of all are parts of my personal library, but all of them belong to the past. The first is the *Boletim da Directoria de Terras, Colonização e Imigração* of the Secretaria de Agricultura, Industria e Commercio of São Paulo. I am fairly certain that only four numbers appeared, the first in October 1937 and the fourth in December 1941. Able and energetic Henrique Doria de Vasconcellos apparently was largely responsible for its publication. After the first issue the word *Serviço* replaced *Directoria* in the title, a change corresponding to that in the name of the agency responsible for it. Extremely important for all related to immigration and internal migration in Brazil, only the second number of the series contains much that deals specifically with colonization.

About 1940 Doria de Vasconcellos went to Rio de Janeiro to help organize and direct the national Conselho de Imigração e Colonização, a part of the Ministry of Foreign Relations; and in 1940 the first numbers of the *Revista de Imigração e Colonização* appeared. My own collection of this important periodical ends with Volume VII (1946), although this is not the last one in the series. Its various numbers are filled with important articles on colonization as well as many about immigration.

The third periodical is the *Boletín del Instituto Nacional de Colonización* once published by the corresponding division of Uruguay's Ministério de Ganaderia y Agricultura. The first number of this is the one for February 1949, and Eduardo Llovet was its moving spirit. My own collection terminates with No. 120–121 for the month of August, 1962. During the period covered, one when colonization projects were used to superimpose an agricultural economy

upon Uruguay's traditional pastoral way of life, this small publication undoubtedly did much to disseminate the fundamentals of agriculture to Uruguay's new farmers. If and when some one undertakes a fundamental study of colonization in Uruguay, such as those made of Argentina (Taylor, 1948) and Mexico (Whetten, 1948), this modest publication probably will figure as one of the most important sources of information.

#### A FEW NOTABLE LANDMARKS

There are few prominent landmarks to guide anyone who plunges into the study of the development of scientific work dealing with colonization and settlement. But there are some known to the present writer, largely as a result of his own studies of society in Brazil and Colombia, and it is entirely possible that others can be identified and described by those who have done intensive work on some of the other countries.

It is ironical, to say the least, that we must go back almost a century in order to find the most comprehensive and analytical treatise on colonization, or the establishment of settlements of families headed by the operators of small and medium-sized farms, in Latin America. Moreover, on this subject, as in most other work on sociocultural matters, it was the Brazilians who led the way, perhaps because many of its outstanding intellectuals chose the essay as the medium for expressing their thoughts about society rather than the short story or the novel which were used almost exclusively by their Spanish American counterparts (cf. Smith, 1957). In any case in 1875 a monumental work by Cardoso de Meneses e Souza entitled *Theses sobre Colonização no Brasil* was published in Rio de Janeiro by the government of the Empire of Brazil. This appeared 13 years before slavery was abolished in that great country, and while the movement (led by the Emperor himself) to establish settlements of small farmers from Europe in favorable locations was in its heyday. Hence it is not strange that emphasis in the great work was upon the problems of colonies of immigrant farmers. The following extracts from a previous endeavor (Smith, 1946, pp. 551–552) to assess the importance of this notable study indicates why I consider it still to be one of the most important landmarks in the development of knowledge on the subject of colonization and settlement.

The 1870's, however, should always be reckoned as the critical years in Brazil's colonization program. This was the time when an accounting had to be made for the haphazard manner in which colonization activities had proceeded, when thorough investigations of the colonies in existence were called for in order to satisfy criticisms at home, and to combat adverse publicity abroad. But the investigations were made, the reports were published, many improvements in planning and administration were made, and the nation was launched on the program that brought settlers in greatly



increased numbers. The investigations made included one having to do with the relations between fazendeiros and colonos on São Paulo coffee fazendas, where the German laborers were raising severe protests; another was made of the colonies in southern Bahia, and a third investigation was made of the German settlements in the province of Santa Catarina, including Blumenau and D. Francisca. However, most important of all the studies was on that resulted in the report to the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works, entitled "Theses About Colonization in Brazil," a volume of 429 pages plus Appendixes A to I. This study examined in a systematic manner the deficiencies in Brazil's program of colonization and made recommendations for its improvement. The author's analysis is very enlightening. After noting that Argentina and the United States were more successful than Brazil in attracting immigrants, he set forth the following as the defects in Brazilian colonization theory and practice and then proceeded to a detailed analysis of each of the defects listed:

I. The lack of liberty of conscience; the nonexistence of civil marriage as an institution; imperfections of education; ignorance and immorality of the clergy; the ambition of the Brazilian Episcopate for temporal power, transformed into a struggle improperly called the religious question.

II. Lack of educational institutions and principally the absence of agricultural and professional instruction.

III. The small number of institutions of credit, especially of banks designed to aid small farming and industry.

IV. Restrictions and hindrances placed upon industrial freedom by legislation and public administration, destroying rather than developing individual initiative.

V. Defects in the law concerning contracting of services and share contracts with foreigners; defects in and failure to execute the public land laws and the lack of land tax upon lands lacking buildings and cultivation.

VI. Lack of transportation systems and ways of communication, that would link the center and the interior of the Empire to consumer and export markets.

VII. The creation of colonies far from markets on sterile, unprepared land, as well as the lack of facilities for receiving immigrants and colonists in the ports of the Empire and for their permanent establishment in the colonies of the State, or on the plots of land that they buy.

VIII. The failure to make Brazil known in the countries from which the emigration which we need proceeds, and to refute, by all the means of a readily understood publicity, and by ready and disinterested pens, the writings by means of which in those states we are depreciated, our errors in relation to the emigrants exaggerated, and hateful calumnies raised against us (pp. 551–552).

Perhaps it would have been just as well to have begun this mention of highly selected works by naming Mulhall's (1873, especially pp. 57, 88–93, and 105–152) interesting account of his visit to the German agricultural colonies in Rio Grande do Sul. This description by the editor of an English language newspaper in Buenos Aires seems to be the first substantial publication, in Eng-

lish at least, concerning the settlements in South Brazil which from that time to the present have been a major focus of attention for European scholars and many of them in the United States as well. The materials are entirely descriptive and they are laudatory to the extreme, but no one interested in Brazil's agricultural development, or even in its development as a nation (cf. Smith, 1946, p. 530), should not fail to consult this small volume. It is complemented to some extent by the materials supplied for a few settlements in Paraná by Bigg-Wither (1878, *passim*), a British civil engineer who wrote at about the same time.

In many ways an even better case could be made for giving priority to a small volume by the Reverend Ballard S. Dunn, "Rector of St. Phillip's Church [in New Orleans], and Late of the Confederate Army," entitled *Brazil, The Home for Southerners* (1866). This was published for the purpose of enticing planters and farmers from the war-ravaged southern states to emigrate to Brazil. It contains, in addition to the observations by Dunn himself as to the possibilities for settlement in Brazil, the two official reports he made to the Minister of Agriculture; and also those made to the same official by Messrs. Frank M. Mullen and William Bowen of Texas and Dr. J. M. F. Gaston of South Carolina. It also includes a report by Major Robert Merriwether and Dr. H. A. Shaw to Major Jos. Abney, President of the Southern Colonization Society, Edgefield Courthouse, South Carolina. Rios (1947) has made the most penetrating analysis of the extent to which the immigrants from the southern United States found a new promised land for settlement in Brazil.

It was well along in the twentieth century until another of the landmarks in the development of the study of colonization and settlement was published. Then there were two, both dealing with the Brazilian scene and both prepared by those associated with Brazil's Serviço de Povoamento. The first (Calmón and Gonçalves, 1909) is an extensive compendium of information, replete with table, maps, plans, and photographs of all the colonies in Brazil; and it is by far the most basic source of the details of colonization programs in Brazil that has come to my attention. The second (Silva Rocha, 1919) is a two-volume chronological account, thoroughly documented, of immigration, povoamento, and colonization from the earliest times through the period in which millions of European farmers established homes on the land in southern Brazil.

As early as 1918 the American Geographical Society began promoting the study of European settlements in South America, and that year Mark Jefferson was sent "on behalf" of that organization to observe "modern European colonization in Chile, The Argentine Republic, and Brazil" (Jefferson, 1930, p. vi). As a result a report on the recent settlements in Chile (Jefferson, 1921) and an article on those in Brazil (Jefferson, 1926) were published, both important additions to a then scanty literature. But both of them pale into insignificance

by comparison with *The Peopling of the Argentine Pampa* (Jefferson, 1930). Moreover, this was followed shortly by another monumental work by a fellow geographer, also supported in part by the Society, in which the highly significant materials on colonization and settlement in Chile were skillfully integrated into a comprehensive study of *Chile: Land and Society* (McBride, 1936, especially part II, pp. 281–348).

Finally, as what many seem eager to identify as the “old” blends into what perforce must be considered the “new” or the modern, two other exceptionally important works, both by geographers, appeared. The first of these (Parsons, 1949) is commented upon below; and the second is Monbeig’s definitive study (1952) of the entire process of settlement in the state of São Paulo, Brazil. Based in part upon his earlier (1940) studies, with a wealth of material gathered during the lengthy period when he served as professor at the University of São Paulo, this fundamental study is organized as follows: Livre I deals with the geographical setting and historical background; Livre II describes *La marche pionnière*, with separate treatments given the forerunners, the pioneers, the frontier about 1900–1905, and the frontier in 1929; Livre III, *Le monde pionnier actuel*, the bulk of the study, focuses attention upon colonization plans, fields and pastures (with special consideration given to the production of food stuffs, coffee plantations, cotton and small farmers, and pastoral estates), health conditions in the frontier settlements, and the towns and cities of the pioneer belt.

#### GENERAL STUDIES OF COLONIZATION AND SETTLEMENT

Very few efforts have been made to deal with the subjects of colonization and settlement in the 20 Latin American countries taken as a whole; and even publications that represent general studies of these phenomena in one specific country are not numerous. There are some noteworthy exceptions to these generalizations, however, and attention is focused upon them in this section.

*General Treatment of Colonization and Settlement in Latin America.* By far the most ambitious endeavor to analyze the programs and proposals for colonization and settlement throughout the Latin American countries as a group was the Second Latin American Seminar on Land Problems. This was held in Montevideo, Uruguay, November 23 to December 9, 1959. It was organized under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Government of Uruguay, with Thomas F. Carroll, then of the Food and Agriculture Organization, and Eduardo Vargas, then Under Secretary of Uruguay’s *Ministério de Ganadería y Agricultura*, serving as directors. The discussions were organized largely in an economic frame of reference. Unfortunately, only a very short summary of the proceedings has ever been published, but that,

entitled *La Creación de Nuevas Unidades Agrícolas* (Carroll, 1959), is highly important. In capsule form it states the nature and form of the seminar; gives a summary of the outstanding points developed in the sessions; presents a few comprehensive statistical tables; and furnishes the summary reports of the nine working groups. The report of one of the round tables, that devoted to the Role of the Development of New Agricultural Units in Economic Development; and a list of participants, complete the contents. The last of these includes the names of the official representatives. The representatives of 17 countries (all except the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and El Salvador) and the United States, and six international organizations took part. The Food and Agriculture Organization provided the services of 16 specialists (including three from the United States, one from Egypt, one from Spain and one from Italy, and the others from various parts of Latin America) in addition to those of Carroll himself. Many of the most valuable studies prepared for the Seminar, including extensive documentation submitted by the respective countries, and the public lectures presented by the representatives of some of the governments and by the specialists who served on the staff, have never been published. A few of the lectures, however, subsequently have been printed, including that by Fals Borda (1960) and the one by Smith (1963). To this reviewer it seems tragic indeed that so much information, once brought together and organized at a tremendous cost in terms of money and of the time of highly competent specialists, should be largely lost simply because adequate funds for publication purposes were not provided. It is especially regrettable that the comprehensive summary of legislation (López) that was distributed to the participants in mimeographed form apparently has never been printed.

Schauff (1959) is a second volume that belongs in this special group of studies of colonization and settlement in Latin America as a whole. Unlike the work by Carroll, this is strictly "a scissors and paste job." Some of the selections are by men (such as Leo Waibel, H. Wilhelmy, and C. C. J. Hogenboom) whose work ranks among the best. The bulk of the selections, however, are from the writings of less accomplished scholars.

A volume containing the proceedings of an International Colloquium on *Les Problèmes Agraires des Amériques Latines* (Monbeig and Chevalier, 1967) also is an indispensable source for those who wish to familiarize themselves with the problems of colonization and settlement in Latin America as a whole. This colloquium was organized under the auspices of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and held in Paris from October 11 to 16, 1965. It is true that only a few of the contributions dealt exclusively with the subject of colonization. However, matters pertaining to this topic figured in a large number of them, and in the formal and informal discussions and debates that took place during the week; and the papers of specialists such as Raymond

E. Crist, Jack Colin Crossley, Romain Gaignard, Milton Santos, and Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg deal specifically with the basic aspects of colonization and settlement.

*General Studies in Specific Countries.* In sharp contrast with the paucity of publications dealing with colonization and settlement in Latin America as a whole is the relative abundance of expositions for many of the specific countries. In presenting comments about these we shall use an alphabetical arrangement of the nations.

*Argentina* and *Brazil* compete for the honor of being the focus of most scientific analysis of matters pertaining to colonization and settlement. (If all having to do with the *ejidos* were to be included, which for purposes of this article is not the case, Mexico would stand first). In addition to the work of Jefferson, treated above, the excellent chapters, "The Settling and Peopling of the Country" and "Programs of Colonization and Resettlement," in Taylor's masterful *Rural Life in Argentina* (1948) should occupy a place of distinction in any well-done bibliography of the various relations of man to the land in the Argentine. For the recent period, he centers attention upon two examples of colonization by private concerns, namely the "Jewish Colonies" and the "Eldorado Colony in Misiones"; and he describes in some detail the policies and projects of The National Land Office, The Instituto de Cononization of the Province of Buenos Aires, and The National Agrarian Council.

Subsequent to Taylor's systematic treatment, the succinct information given in the study done under auspices of the Inter-American Committee for Agricultural Development (Domike and Others) is the most adequate. Indeed, on the subject of colonization and settlement this report is excellent. Chapter IX, which is devoted to "Asentamiento," and Anexo III, on development projects outside the humid pampa, are especially significant.

In *Bolivia* substantial development of spontaneous colonization or as resettlement projects of any type is comparatively recent. As late as 1952 Leonard, who has produced by far the most comprehensive study ever made of Bolivian society, and one in which the institutions which govern men's relationships to the land were given unusual attention, found no need to discuss colonization and settlement of any kind. Moreover, Bolivia's agrarian reform laws and programs were largely ex post facto hurriedly put into effect to legitimize the seizure by the campesinos of the portions of the haciendas they long had been cultivating. Hence the subdivision of the estates there has little in common with the asentamiento programs in Argentina or the parcelación projects in Colombia. Only since the Revolution and the beginning of substantial efforts to promote the movement and resettlement of populations from the highlands to the Santa Cruz and other parts of the lowlands, therefore, has there been much point to general studies of the topics to which this article is devoted.

Nevertheless several important titles have been published. Among the most comprehensive of these is that by Crossley (1961), which summarizes succinctly the developments to about 1960. This is supplemented fairly well by the work of Edelmann (1967). Two slightly earlier studies by Heath (1958–59a and 1958–59b) also contain valuable materials.

The study of colonization and settlement in *Brazil* is voluminous, but most of it has been focused upon the analysis and description of the work of specific groups of colonists or settlers, such as the Germans, the Japanese, and other immigrants. In the first edition of his *Brazil* Smith (1946) attempted a summary of the entire process of settlement and colonization, with special emphasis on developments during the last century, and this was updated to about 1960 (Smith, 1963). Carneiro (1950) also attempted to view the general processes involved in the Brazilian half-continent, with special consideration of the extreme differences in productivity and well-being in the "Colonial" areas and those retaining the traditional pastoral economy of the large landed estates. This sharp contrast also was documented strikingly by Schilling (1963). Rios (1961) collated general information of considerable importance, and the same is true of Diégues (1959). More recently Feder and his associates (1966) have supplied some general information in their report on land tenure, although their work suffers from comparison with that of their colleagues (Domike and Others) for Argentina.

*Chile* is the country covered in McBride's classic study, and likewise it is one of those for which more recent comprehensive general studies have been made. The reference here is primarily to Thiesenhusen's (1966) volume entitled *Chile's Experiments in Agrarian Reform*, for the term "colonization" very well might have been substituted for "agrarian reform" in its title. In any case the bulk of the treatise is devoted to several varieties (communal, individualistic, and governmental) of colonization projects. In addition the work on tenure by Sternberg, del Canto, and Others contains a brief section that devoted to the several rather general aspects of colonization and settlement in Chile.

A lengthy bibliography could be compiled on colonization and settlement in *Colombia*, but any general syntheses of the work that has been done remain to be done. I have in my own files an unpublished manuscript of some 30 pages which was started with the objective of doing for Colombia the same sort of a summary as previously I had done for Brazil. It emphasizes heavily, however, the settlement process at mid-century; and a great deal of work still must be done if it ever is brought up to date. Among the titles that have been published, those treating the more general aspects of colonization and settlement include the following: Arango Cano, Colombia's Instituto Colombiano de Reforma



Agraria (1963 and 1964), Eidt (1967), Shearer and Others, and Smith (1947).

Extensive work by Sandner of the University of Kiel formed the basis for two valuable volumes, one (1961) in German and the other (1962) in Spanish, on the specific subjects of colonization and settlement in *Costa Rica*. There is, of course, wholesale overlapping of materials in the two, but together they constitute one of the most comprehensive analyses and descriptions available for any of the Latin American countries. They were based largely on field work, but judicious use also was made of statistical sources and the writings of others. The emphasis is overwhelmingly upon spontaneous settlement, primarily because little else in the way of colonization and settlement has been carried on in Costa Rica. Sandner's work is ably complemented by that of Salazar who deals at some length with the settlement problems of squatters and also supplies valuable information relative to an Italian colony at San Vito and the government project at Cimarron de Peralta.

The *Dominican Republic*, *Ecuador*, *El Salvador*, *Guatemala*, and *Honduras* are countries where plans, programs, and progress with respect to colonization and settlement have provided the focus for relatively little research and writing during the last decade. Therefore, few studies of any kind are available. There are, however, some notable exceptions to this generalization, among which Augelli's (1962) substantial work on the Dominican Republic is one and that by Conforti (1960) on Ecuador is another. Torres' (1961) excellent summary for El Salvador of the various aspects of the subject is one of the better of the general treatises available, and I can only express disappointment that apparently it has appeared only in mimeographed form. Manger-Cats and Others (1965) offer only a very sketchy summary of colonization in Guatemala, but this is supplemented to some extent by a succinct statement in ten parts of the plans of the Empresa Nacional de Fomento y Desarrollo de Petén (Guatemala, F.Y.D.E.P., 1967). Two substantial reports dealing with settlement matters in Honduras were located in the process of our search, both issued in 1961. One of these was done by an expert from the Organization of American States (Brunori), and the other by members of the Instituto de Investigaciones Economicas y Sociales of the National University of Honduras.

For *Mexico* the general aspects of colonization and settlement are ably presented in a chapter entitled "Colonization and the Development of the Small Private Holding" in Whetten's (1948) standard work on *Rural Mexico*. Closely related matters, including "The Ejido System," and "The Redistribution of [the rights to] Land," are treated in other chapters. An historical analysis of colonization efforts from the days of the Conquest to the efforts of governmental agencies in the early 1960's are covered in Beltran Ferrera's more recent study;

and Fustes Hernández has contributed an important discussion of the problems of colonization in Mexico.

Finally, a few publications dealing in a general way with the topics we are examining are available for *Peru* and *Venezuela*. These are the report of Peru's Instituto de Reforma Agraria y Colonización (1962), which furnishes information relating to its own program, including colonization projects at San Lorenzo and Rio Apurimac; the brief sections in the study of land tenure and related matters in Peru (Saca and Others); and the substantial historical treatment of agricultural colonization in Venezuela (Schuster and Febres) which was submitted to the Second Latin American Seminar on Land Problems, Montevideo, 1959.

#### STUDIES OF POTENTIALITIES FOR SETTLEMENT

Inasmuch as the great unoccupied heart of South America constitutes the one great and potentially fruitful portion of the earth remaining to experience the impact of twentieth-century sociocultural influences, it is not strange that it continues to be the scene of various studies of its possibilities for colonization activities. Moreover those who get to know best the immense Amazon Basin continue to exude the kind of optimism about its possibilities that was expressed a century ago by the great naturalists who spent many years observing plant and animal life throughout the vast reaches of this still practically unpopulated area. Indeed I myself have reacted to many areas in Brazil, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia in about the same way as did Alfred Russell Wallace (pp. 230–232) co-architect with Darwin of the theory of evolution. Consider, for example, his evaluation of the area along the Rio Negro above Manaus as expressed in the following paragraphs:

When I consider the excessively small amount of labour required in this country, to convert the virgin forest into green meadows and fertile plantations, I almost long to come over with a half-a-dozen friends, disposed to work, and enjoy the country; and show the inhabitants how soon an earthly paradise might be created, which they had never even conceived capable of existing.

It is a vulgar error, copied and repeated from one book to another, that in the tropics the luxuriance of the vegetation overpowers the efforts of man. Just the reverse is the case: nature and the climate are nowhere so favourable to the labourer, and I fearlessly assert, that here, the "primeval" forest can be converted into rich pasture and meadow land, into cultivated fields, gardens, and orchards, containing every variety of produce, with half the labour, and, what is of more importance, in less than half the time than would be required at home, even though there we had clear, instead of forest ground to commence upon. It is true that ground once rudely cleared, in the manner of the country, by merely cutting down the wood and burning it as it lies, will, if left to itself, in a single year, be covered with a dense shrubby vegetation; but

if the ground is cultivated and roughly weeded, the trunks and stumps will have so rotted in two or three years, as to render their complete removal an easy matter, and then a fine crop of grass succeeds; and, with cattle upon it, no more care is required, as no shrubby vegetation again appears. Then, whatever fruit-trees are planted will reach a large size in five or six years, and many of them give fruit in two or three. Coffee and cacao both produce abundantly with the minimum of attention; orange and other fruit-trees never receive any attention, but, if pruned, would no doubt yield fruit of a superior quality, in greater quantity. Pine-apples, melons, and watermelons are planted, and when ripe the fruit is gathered, there being no intermediate process whatever. Indian corn and rice are treated nearly in the same manner. Onions, beans, and many other vegetables, thrive luxuriantly. The ground is never turned up, and manure never applied; if both were done, it is probable that the labour would be richly repaid. Cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs may be kept to any extent; nobody ever gives them anything to eat, and they always do well. Poultry of all kinds thrive. Molasses may be easily made in any quantity, for cane put into the ground grows, and gives no trouble; and I do not see why the domestic process used in the United States for making maple-sugar should not be applied here. Now, I unhesitatingly affirm, that two or three families, containing half-a-dozen working and industrious men and boys, and being able to bring a capital in goods of fifty pounds, might, in three years, find themselves in the possession of all I have mentioned. Supposing them to get used to the mandioca and Indian-corn bread, they would, with the exception of clothing, have no one necessary or luxury to purchase: they would be abundantly supplied with pork, beef and mutton, poultry, eggs, butter, milk and cheese, coffee and cacao, molasses and sugar delicious fish, turtles and turtles' eggs, and a great variety of game, would finish their table with constant variety, while vegetables would not be wanting, and fruits, both cultivated and wild, in superfluous abundance, and of a quality that none but the wealthy of our land can afford. Oranges and lemons, figs and grapes, melons and water-melons, jack-fruits, custard-apples, pine-apples, cashews, alligator pears, and mammee apples are some of the commonest, whilst numerous palm and other forest fruits furnish delicious drinks, which everybody soon gets very fond of. Both animal and vegetable oils can be procured in abundance for light and cooking.

I confess that my own optimism is tempered to a considerable extent by a knowledge of the experiences of the colonies of Confederate exiles from the United States (Herbert H. Smith, pp. 135–176), some of it gained by personal observations; and I have some appreciation of the sociocultural, and especially the political obstacles involved; but I continue to believe that such projects as the construction of a modern highway built almost on a bee line from Caracas, Venezuela, to Villavicencio, at the base of the Andes, a short distance to the east of Bogotá, Colombia, would be of as much consequence in the development of South America as the Aswan Dam will be in that of Africa. In any case in recent decades the geographers, and especially Drewes and Hegen, are to be complimented for their excellent studies of the possibilities for settlement in the areas to the east of the Andes in Peru and Colombia. Drewes has published at least

three comprehensive expositions of his observations and analyses of settlement possibilities in the *montaña* areas of eastern Peru. The first of these (1958) was written only after he had made extensive field studies, and was published in Lima by the *Peruvian Times*, the second (1961) appeared as an article in the *Times* itself, and the third (1963) in German is an article in the *Geographische Rundschau*. Hegen's (1966) excellent work is more recent. He treats settlement possibilities in the upper reaches of the Amazon Basin in Northern Peru, Ecuador, and Southern Colombia, and emphasizes transportation facilities and their development as the key that will unlock the long-unattainable riches of this important region. Also deserving special mention in connection with the studies of possibilities of settlement, as well as significant observations on that which has taken place to date, is Parsons' (1967) professional appraisal of the area between the Andes and the Gulf of Urubá in northwestern Colombia.

#### STUDIES OF SPONTANEOUS SETTLEMENT OR COLONIZATION

Parsons (1949) is perhaps the most adequate of all the studies of the self-directed or spontaneous occupation of the public domain that has been made of any part of Latin America. It was done as a doctoral dissertation at the University of California (Berkeley) under the masterly guidance of Carl O. Sauer. This study deals with one of the most significant of all such developments in the immense territory to the south of the Rio Grande, namely the pushing forward of the frontier by the sturdy and enterprising inhabitants of the Colombian Departamento of Antioquia. This movement got well underway early in the eighteenth century, and to some extent it is still going on. Parsons' careful analysis, based both upon extensive field observation and an unusually meticulous examination of the pertinent documents and secondary sources, is one of the first volumes that should be consulted by all those interested in colonization and settlement in Latin America. His maps and photographs also are excellent.

It is fortunate that Parson's work gives us the details of one of the most important surges of spontaneous settlement ever to take place in Latin America, but regrettable that it subsequently has not been matched by others that would present comparable information about developments in Quintana Roo (Mexico), Guanacaste (Costa Rica), the areas at the base of the Andes in Colombia and Peru, the northern portion of Ecuador's Coastal Plain, the Santa Cruz area of Bolivia, and various frontier regions in Brazil.

In Brazil since about 1950 the surge of settlement, or spontaneous colonization, has been pushed mainly into five areas, namely, the forested zone in central Maranhão; portions of central Goiás near the new capital (Brasília), and especially to the north and west of it; northwestern Paraná; the upper reaches of the Rio Doce Valley in Minas Gerais; and the northwestern part of

São Paulo. Unfortunately comparatively little has been done to ascertain the exact nature of the processes involved, and to make such information a permanent part of man's knowledge. We do have in published form, however, a set of the elaborate plans that were made for an official colonization project in Maranhão (Cunha, Alves Simões, and Debalian; a fairly elaborate study of the process as it was underway in Goiás at midcentury (Gonçalves de Souza and Others); and a remarkable account by a gifted writer (Prewett) of her own personal experiences in attempting to develop a farm in Central Goiás.

Linares' study of colonization and economic development in Bolivia is devoted largely to spontaneous settlement in the eastern lowlands of that country; and there are a number of significant reports on investigations of the pioneering activities to the east of the Andes in Colombia. In addition to Hegen's comprehensive work mentioned above, these include the titles by Crist and Guhl, Stoddart and Trubshaw, and Tinnermeier. Crist's monograph on the Cauca Valley also contains significant materials about the push southward of the settlements of the Antioqueños. For Mexico Fernando Cámara's 1957 study of settlement in Yucatan deserves special mention. To supplement the more basic works by Drewes and Hegen referred to, above, there are four titles dealing with spontaneous settlements in Peru that came to our attention during the present survey. These are Craig's work on the migration from the Sierra to the fringe of the Selva, Eidt's (1962) article on pioneer settlement in eastern Peru, Nuñez del Prado's materials on the colonization of the Maldonado, and Stewart's treatment of migration to and settlement in the Apurimac Valley. For Paraguay, too, we were able to find one recent work of importance, namely that by Giles and Others, of the plans for regularizing settlement in eastern Paraguay. Finally, there is a significant comparative study by Eidt (1964) of pioneer settlements in Argentina, Peru, and Colombia.

#### OFFICIAL COLONIZATION AND RESETTLEMENT PROJECTS

Frequently it is difficult to determine whether mention of a given study best falls in our grouping of works on spontaneous settlement or in this section devoted to official attempts at colonization and resettlement of one kind or another. The work of Giles and Others mentioned above is an excellent case in point. Moreover, if one were to include the hundreds of reports and documents of one kind or another, mostly in mimeographed form, which the various governmental agencies have issued in recent years, all relating to their proposals, plans, and projects for colonization and settlement ventures, the bibliography would be expanded excessively. Therefore, the few that are mentioned in these paragraphs are highly selected.

Most of the work of two of Argentina's most distinguished social sci-

entists, Bernardino C. Horne and Juan L. Tenenbaum, was published in the 1930's and early 1940's and therefore falls beyond the scope of this article. Fortunately, however, each of them recently brought the results of his experience to bear upon the analysis of some of their country's official colonization projects. Therefore those seeking to understand Argentina's rich fund of knowledge of such matters will do well to consult Horne's socio-agricultural essay on the San José Entre Ríos Colony and Tenenbaum's (1960) judicious selection of examples of colonization in the nation he served so long and so well.

Only a few of the analyses known to have been made of the efforts to resettle Bolivians from the highlands in the vicinity of Santa Cruz and other lowland areas have found their way into print. Sariola, however, published in *Rural Sociology* the results of his interviews with 33 colonists near Santa Cruz in which his basic objective was to determine attitudes towards colonization; and Monheim supplies a much more comprehensive analysis of efforts to establish settlements of highland Indians in Bolivia's lowlands.

In Brazil the 1960's have been years of great tensions, serious confrontations, and abrupt changes of direction politically and administratively. As a result comparatively little recent work has been accomplished, either in the execution of official colonization projects as such or objective appraisals of the same. Ambitious projects of SUDENE and other governmental agencies never secured the financing called for, and even the more realistic and practicable projects designed by organizations such as the American International Association have been left for years to gather dust on the shelves (Dalrymple, pp. 168–169). As a result, in sharp contrast to the substantial works dealing with private ventures of one kind or another which is referred to in the following section, there are few things pertaining to Brazil to mention in this one. Nevertheless, it seems well to include here a reference to the serious proposals made by Souza Barros (1953) for overcoming the nomadic habits of the humble inhabitants of Northeastern Brazil by settling them in agricultural villages. Also, Galjart's monograph (which reports upon a study of the adoption of and failure to adopt new recommended agricultural practices by the colonists in the Itaguaí project conveniently located near Rio de Janeiro) fits as well here as any place in this survey.

Chile, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, and Venezuela are other countries for which there are studies that should figure in this enumeration, even though we do not include the reports of purely administrative activities of the various governmental agencies, such as Colombia's INCORA (1965). The personnel of Chile's Dirección Agraria y Pesquera (1959) attempted a critical evaluation, using farm management analyses, of a sample of 71 farm units on its Pedro Aguirre Cerda Colony and then sought to compare results there with those of farms not in the settlement. For Ecuador a Special Work Group (1960) made



up of specialists from the Ecuadorian government, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the International Labor Organization, endeavored to assess proposals for resettlement projects on public lands. Sandoval (1965) prepared an economic analysis of the Bajo Aguan colonization project in Honduras; Manzanilla Schaffer organized important information on the newer developments relating to official colonization projects in Mexico; and two rather significant appraisals of official colonization projects (both of them by sociologists) were done in Venezuela. One of these (Hill and Beltran) viewed settlement projects in Venezuela in general with particular reference to the highly publicized Turen colony; and the other (Shaya) is a candid appraisal of the resettlement project called "El Deleite," in which the so-called cooperative activities are brought rather fully into the light of day.

Finally, a general study of the possibilities of cooperation in official colonization ventures are dealt with in a substantial work by Yuri of the Organization of American States.

#### COLONIES OF IMMIGRANT FARMERS

Many of the most significant studies of colonization and settlement in Latin America are those pertaining to agricultural colonies of a number of immigrant groups. Indeed, for at least a century there has been a heavy outpouring of publications about European colonists of various national origins in southern Brazil, southern Chile, and other parts of Latin America; and more recently the Japanese colonies in Brazil and some of the other countries have been the focus of considerable interest. Some of the better analyses have centered attention upon the colonies established by religious groups such as the Jews and the Mennonites.

*German Colonies.* More research and writing have been devoted to the settlements of Germans in southern Brazil and southern Chile than to those of any other of the nationality groups. Much of this has been done by German and other European scholars. My personal collection of books and pamphlets include dozens of these titles, dating from 1870 on; and the search made for the purposes of this review revealed many additional ones, especially those published since 1950, of which I had been unaware. Two large and fairly recent volumes contain much of the more important information about the German settlements in southern Brazil. One of these, by Wilhemy, is the work of a geographer. Moreover, its diffuse contents and their relation to colonization policy were the focus of Sternberg's incisive review (1949), in which attention was directed specifically to the following matters: official versus private auspices; land surveys and size of farms; contracts, prices of land, and land titles; forested zones and grasslands; hoe culture versus plow culture; felling and

burning versus cultivation; the colono and the small farmer; and monoculture versus diversified farming. The second of these general studies (Roche, 1959) is a monumental multi-disciplinary study of the German colonies in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. In it the bibliography alone runs to about 100 pages. The works by Weibel, Jordan, and Copstein also are valuable recent additions to the list of publications devoted to the German colonies in Brazil.

*Japanese Colonies.* In recent decades the volume of the literature dealing with the Japanese settlements in São Paulo and other parts of Brazil, and in a few of the other South American countries, has come to rival that for the Germans. Two monumental volumes have been published recently on "The Japanese Colony in Brazil." Although they are not restricted to colonization and settlement as conceived of for the purposes of this review, from now on anyone would be ill-advised were he to attempt to discuss the Japanese agricultural settlements in Brazil without giving serious consideration to the materials contained in these books. Suzuki's magnificent work, executed with the utmost scientific rigor, ranks with the greatest sociological, demographic, economic, agricultural, and industrial surveys, of all times; and Saito's analytical and interpretive volume represents one of the high points of pragmatic sociological research in Brazil. Augelli (1958a) has supplied an excellent summary of the basic facts concerning the large Japanese colony at the Fazenda Bastos in São Paulo; and Fujii and Smith give considerable data about the give and take between Japanese and Brazilian social and cultural influences in the Japanese settlements. In addition to the studies of the Japanese in Brazil, Nishikawa has reported in detail on his work in two Japanese colonies in Paraguay, and Geraiges gives much information about one small, and largely unsuccessful, Japanese colony in Argentina.

*Colonies of Immigrants of Other Nationalities.* Dutch, Italian, Latvian, and British colonies (Platt, 1964–1965) are the subjects for other important recent contributions to our fund of knowledge about colonization and settlement in Latin America. Some of the most successful of the recent projects are those undertaken by the Dutch in São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. Seven of these, including four in Paraná and two in São Paulo, are treated in Tuinman's recent survey; and the many of the essential facts about Holambra I and Holambra II in São Paulo, which are among the most successful of all the colonies, are summarized by Rios and C. C. J. Hogenboom in the Anexo I to the former's fundamental report on Agrarian Reform (Rios, 1961, pp. 301–326, plus tabular insert).

*Agricultural Colonies of Jews.* As indicated above the early comprehensive works on colonization and settlement in Argentina (Jefferson, 1930, and Taylor, 1948) presented significant information about the colonies of Jewish farmers in that country. More recently these projects have been analyzed in

detail by others. The work of Winsberg is especially significant, particularly that (1963) on the Colonia Baron Hirsch, a settlement established by Jewish immigrants in 1905. This monograph is based upon its author's Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Florida. It reflects the benefits of an integrated training in geography and the related fields of history and sociology. Winsberg presents the fundamental reasons for the venture, the details of the establishment of the colony, the vicissitudes through which it has passed, the maladjustments experienced (some of which were corrected and many of which were not), the painful changes in policies, and a rather highly pessimistic appraisal of the possibilities for the future. Materials assembled in connection with the same study later (1964) were used for a supplementary article. Very recently Winsberg (1968) also published a substantial article on the Jewish agricultural colonies in Entre Rios, Argentina. This is devoted largely to backgrounds of the settlers and the conditions which forced them to move to Argentina, along with information on the early stages of the colonies. Another installment of the study is promised.

*Colonies of Mennonite Farmers.* Finally, to terminate this section and to conclude the review, attention is directed to the studies of the Mennonite colonies in Paraguay. On these two solid and comprehensive volumes by Fretz (1953 and 1962) constitute about as thorough an analysis and description of the work of specific groups of colonists from the beginning to the recent past as we may ever expect to see. Fretz' frame of reference is that of the sociologist, but he does not neglect the nature of the geographical setting nor the details of agricultural operations. These basic presentations by Fretz are supplemented by that of Hack (1964), a small monograph dealing with three of the Paraguayan projects, in which the major endeavor was to determine the relationship of various social and economic factors to the survival and growth of the colonies.

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