

Luxembourgers in Latin America and the permanent threat of failure

"Return Migration" in the social context of a European micro-society

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Introduction

The structural dimensions of the CDMH project entitled "Luxembourgers in Latin America"

Since March 2000, the "Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines" of Dudelange/Luxembourg has been leading a research project which focuses on Luxembourg emigration to Argentina during the 19th and the 20th centuries¹. During the last academic year, scientific priorities consisting in the application of comparative analyses have transformed the initial project into a fairly extended study. Thus, in our research programme, we have come to compare the Luxembourg emigration to the Pampas with other national Luxembourg migration waves to Latin America, for instance to Brazil² and to Guatemala³.

The historiographical aim of our extended study called "Luxembourgers in Latin America" consists in the description and in the analysis of various forms of Luxembourg migrations to Central and South America, as well as the evolution of Luxembourg communities precisely in this part of the new world.

Even if our multi-annual project is far from being finished, its results so far may have revealed a compound of historical elements which could contribute to a better comprehension of the so-called phenomenon of "Return Migration". In fact, at least three of four Luxembourg migration waves to Latin America ended in partial fiascos during the 19th century. All these migration fiascos created their own specific "Return Migration" movements which we would like to describe and analyse in this present paper.

Specialists of the migration process have written extensively about "Return Migration" and their particular elaborations of the so-called concept of "Return Migration" may result in several interpretations⁴. However, as distinctive as these interpretations may be, they usually mention the different strategies and goals of "Return Migration". For instance, in his interpretation, Samuel L. Baily, Professor of History at Rutgers University, underlines the impact of short- versus long-term migration on "Return Migration" and the demographic significance of temporary or definitive return home⁵.

In the case of our present study, we are going to conceptualise our understanding of "Return Migration" as quite an extensive social phenomenon which implies all kinds of return movements

influencing international, national and regional migration processes. We expect this extensive interpretation of the concept of "Return Migration" to support our analytical aim to construct a typology of return movements concerning Luxembourg migration to Latin America.

But, before describing and analysing the typology of Luxembourg "Return Migration", we would like to start with a central question concerning Luxembourg contemporary social history; it is actually a simple one. Why did the Luxembourgers emigrate especially during 19th century and during the first half of the 20th century?

In general terms a few interrelated trends and structures can explain why the massive emigration of Luxembourgers occurred during this period and why Luxembourgers tried to emigrate to Latin America. In other words, Luxembourg migration waves in general as well as Luxembourg emigration to Latin America and even the associated phenomena of "Return Migration" can only be understood in the macro-structural context of Luxembourg contemporary history⁶.

The macro-structural context of Luxembourg migration waves during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century

At the end of the Napoleonic wars the Congress of Vienna decided that the former Duchy of Luxembourg was to regain her autonomy and was to become a Grand Duchy. From 1815 to 1890 the sovereign princes of the Netherlands were given personal possession of Luxembourg. Since 1890, however Luxembourg has had its own dynasty, the house of Nassau-Weilbourg⁷.

The frontiers of modern Luxembourg were redefined. In 1815 the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg lost its eastern lands to Prussia, and in 1839 it found its final geographical definition by ceding the western half of its territory to Belgium. From 1839 to the present time, Luxembourg has had the smallest dimensions of its entire history: less than a thousand square miles situated between Germany in the east, France in the south and Belgium in the west and north⁸.

The population of this Western European small state was about 175.000 in 1839, and during the "take off" phase of the industrial revolution period in the late eighteen-eighties, it reached the statistic level of 210.000⁹.

During the pre-industrial period of the 19th century, 80 per cent of the Luxembourgers were occupied in agriculture, whose weak production continued to be based in some regions on a three-year rotation. The income of the rest of the population was essentially distributed among an archaic handicraft sector, local commerce and outmoded industries. For example, in the early eighteen-forties leather provided work for 600 families, pottery employed half a thousand workers at most, whereas the textile industries which occupied the most important part of Luxembourg workers, had to reduce employment by 50 per cent in some cases for general economic reasons¹⁰. Pre-industrial iron production was limited to an annual amount of some 7000 to 8000 tons per year. Before the eighteen-fifties there were no banking companies, and there was no capital¹¹.

These economic characteristics had direct social repercussions. In 1847 more than one tenth of Luxembourgers were indigent, a condition that was to last for the following decades. This situation of massive and permanent poverty impelled emigration, which from 1840 to 1890 assumed major proportions. From 1840 to 1890, more than 66.000 Luxembourgers emigrated¹². The major destinations were France¹³, and the United States of America where some 30.000 Luxembourgers settled down between 1836 and 1888¹⁴.

If we put these statistic figures in the demographic context of a great number of other European societies, they would not reveal any sociological impact. But if one seizes these variables in the case study of a Western European national population of less than 200.000 persons, they take on a great social-demographic significance.

So we dare say that in comparison to other Western European societies the sociological significance of Luxembourg migration is very high indeed. And it will remain very important even during the economic take off which will transform the poor pre-industrial Grand Duchy into a modern industrial state based on the production of iron and steel. Within the short period of 45 years - from 1870 to the beginning of the First World War - Luxembourg became an industrial power whose annual iron-steel production ranked immediately after those of Great Britain, the United States of America, Germany, France, Russia and Belgium¹⁵.

But even during the industrial revolution, which transformed the tiny Grand Duchy into the seventh biggest steel-producing country in the world, Luxembourg continued to be a centre of geographical migration where emigration still remained important, especially from 1870 to 1890 and during the decade preceding the First World War. Both emigration periods are characterized by important emigration waves to France as well as to Northern America. But during that very same period Luxembourg also became a country of immigration. In fact, the lack of manpower in the emerging industrial economy explains the permanent development of immigration, as well as the persistence of the emigration process by poor peasants who refused to work as miners or steelworkers and preferred transatlantic emigration where they hoped to earn a decent living through farming¹⁶.

The analysis of the macro-structural context of the Luxembourg migration process explains why Luxembourg became a country of mass emigration! We truly hope that this quite extensive description may help us to a better analytical understanding of the repeated migration waves from Luxembourg to Latin America and their subsequent phenomena of "Return Migration"!

The Luxembourg emigration waves to Latin America and their subsequent phenomena of "Return Migration"

During the 19th century, four major emigration movements from Luxembourg to Latin America can be detected:

a) At the end of the eighteen-twenties, the emergence of the first Luxembourg migration wave to the Southern part of the New World is aimed at Brazil¹⁷.

b) Twenty years later - in the middle of the 19th century - Brazil yet again represented a target for Luxembourg transatlantic emigration¹⁸.

c) At the beginning of the eighteen-forties, Luxembourgers had joined a Belgian colonial expedition to Guatemala¹⁹.

d) To these three pre-industrial migration waves, a fourth migration movement will be added at the end of the eighteen-eighties. The destination of the last Luxembourg emigration wave to Latin America was Argentina, and it occurred during the take off phase of Luxembourg economy²⁰.

Luxembourg emigration to Brazil : the highly unsuccessful migration movements of 1828 and 1846/1852

The first emigration movement to Brazil happened at a time when even Luxembourg transatlantic emigration to Northern America was still limited to less than a hundred persons a year. In 1828, more than 2500 Luxembourg peasants - representing 1.8 per cent of the whole Luxembourg population - decided to join a Southern German migration movement towards Brazil²¹. Enchanted by the colonial policy of Pedro the First as well as by the aggressive merchandising publicity of German travel agents, most of the so-called Luxembourg "Brasilienfahrer" - a German expression which we may translate into English by "Brazil travellers" - will be deeply disappointed by their migration expedition. At least 232 Luxembourg families out of 332 will never reach the final port of disembarkation, Rio de Janeiro²².

Two thirds of the "Brazil travellers" became victims of dishonest travel agents already during their migration travel from Luxembourg to the German embarkation port of Bremen. It seems that quite a lot of these families had been literally robbed and reached Bremen in desperate, penniless state.

Consequently, for about 70 per cent of the Luxembourg "Brazil travellers" the return movement to the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg began even before the transatlantic emigration expedition to Brazil started. Once back-home, a significant number of the "Brazil travellers" refused for social-economic reasons to reintegrate their former village communities - or they were rejected. Feeling deeply humiliated by the failure of their migration expedition, they tried at the same time to escape from malicious comments and hostile behaviour.

Supported for obvious social-political reasons by the Luxembourg government, the poor back-home "Brasilienfahrer" were allowed to build up an entirely new settlement in one of the poorest rural parts of the northern region of Luxembourg, - a village named Grevels. From its origins during the eighteen-thirties to nowadays the common popular surname of this quite particular village of the Luxembourg Ardennes has been "New Brazil"²³.

It may be quite astonishing that in a small country the population should dare to draw attention to the fiasco of a transatlantic migration expedition by this means. What is even more surprising is the historical fact that two decades later - at a time when the failure of 1828 was

commonly present in the minds of all Luxembourgers - , the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg became a centre of emigration to Brazil for the second time.

Although the second migration wave to Brazil from 1846-1852 on was more modest than the first one, its socio-demographic consequences were quite similar. Just as with the first generation of "Brasilienfahrer", the emigration adventure to Southern America was definitively stopped at the French harbour of Dunkirk. Some Luxembourgers returned home, others replaced the initial destination and emigrated to Algeria²⁴.

Even though both migration waves are characterized by ample return movements during the emigration journey to the final destination, one should not forget that in 1828, a few hundred Luxembourgers immigrated mainly to the Brazilian province of Santa Catarina²⁵. Twenty years later Luxembourg families came to the provinces of Espírito Santo and Santa Catarina. In the central region of the province of Espírito Santo a small Luxembourg immigration community created a new village which was named Lussemburgo²⁶.

Nowadays Lussemburgo still provides shelter to families whose ancestors took part in the Luxembourg eighteen-forties expedition to Brazil. But also in the province of Minas Gerais and in the province of Santa Catarina one can find families of Luxembourgish ancestry even today.

Were these small Luxembourg immigration communities related to the phenomenon of "Return Migration"? At the present stage of our research project concerning Luxembourg emigration to Brazil during the 19th century we do not yet have any data or hard data. But, the analysis of a few non-serial documents reveals the existence mainly of short term "Return Migration" as well as of intergenerational long term "Return Migration" in the Brazilian study case.

To the two previously described Luxembourg emigration expeditions to Latin America, there is to be added a third pre-industrial migration adventure to the Guatemalan Atlantic coast.

The failure of the emigration expedition to Santo Tomás de Guatemala

From 1842 on till the beginning of the eighteen-fifties, the young Belgian State quite officially supported a colonial expedition to Guatemala which consisted in the foundation of a colonial settlement in one of the most isolated parts of Guatemala²⁷. Although the Guatemalan Atlantic coast could be reached easily by European shipping companies, the natural conditions of this region were far from being attractive to any form of immigration. Nevertheless some of Belgium's first ranking politicians - who were approved discretely by King Leopold the First - and a group of Belgian financial tycoons decided to build up a commercial company named "La Compagnie belge de Colonisation"²⁸.

The unique initial aim of this company was to realize a colonial urban target in Central America whose function was to exploit the natural as well as the agricultural resources of this Guatemalan coastal region for the Belgian economy, which was highly considered at that time for its dynamic development. The support of the Belgian social elite as well as the efficient

merchandising publicity are certainly the main causes that convinced Belgian, German and Luxembourg potential emigrants to join the migration expedition to Santo Tomás de Guatemala.

Among this quite multinational migration community, one can find a few hundred Luxembourgers²⁹, who would be rapidly disappointed - as would be all the other immigrants - by the social-economic slowdown of the Belgian colonial enterprise in Santo Tomás. Did the decline of the Belgian settlement in Guatemala incite any return movement to Europe? Actually, due to a lack of historic documents, we refuse any categorical affirmation. But, at the present stage of our research program, we dare to answer this question by employing a hypothetical argument. As, there existed a irregular shipping connection between Santo Tomás de Guatemala and the Flemish port of Antwerp, short term "Return Migration" was possible³⁰.

Fortunately, for the last Luxembourg migration wave to Latin America, we are about to build up a data base which enables us to establish a more detailed survey of "Return Migration" than we did for the three related case studies that we have mentioned above.

Luxembourgers in the Pampas. A study case of the phenomenon of Luxembourg emigration and "Return Migration" in Latin America.

From 1888 to 1890, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was literally overwhelmed by a transatlantic migration wave, the so-called "Argentinienfieber" - an expression which could be translated into English by "the Argentine fever symptom". In less than two years, more than one thousand Luxembourgers - representing 0.5 per cent of the entire population - decided to emigrate to Argentina³¹.

Thus, Argentina became the third geographical target of a Luxembourg emigration wave to Latin America and it represented the fourth migration expedition to a continent where a majority of Luxembourg immigrants had failed during the previous sixty years.

The sequence of three repeated migration fiascos towards Latin America may be interrelated to a preindustrial micro-society dominated by its generalized social-economic poverty and by its weak political international position which made its existence as an independent micro-state very uncertain. But how can we explain the "Argentinienfieber" which occurred at a time when a Luxembourg iron and steel economy was emerging?

Several historic explanations may serve for a better understanding of the Luxembourg mass migration to the Pampas. From the eighteen-seventies on, the Argentine economy entered the top ten world ranking ones. Its annual agricultural production constantly occupied the third rank worldwide. So especially young peasants and craftsmen as well as young rural families - who refused the emerging industrial world - decided to remake their life in a country where farming could be definitely the social-economic key for a decent social existence³².

Two structural forms of migration characterized the Luxembourg emigration to Argentina. Besides the classic emigration form, which continued to be a village- and family outward process based on individual or family decisions and often linked to a pre-established network of

migration destinations, the Luxembourg emigration to Argentina was also based on a migration project focused on building an exclusively Luxembourg rural community³³.

In fact, half a thousand Luxembourg immigrants to Argentina were to settle down in a village located inside a huge estancia which belonged to a powerful family of the Argentine oligarchy³⁴. But the Luxembourg community of San Antonio de Iraola³⁵ in the Pampas was to last just three years. The main causes of its failure are well known. First of all, the World economic crisis of the eighteen-eighties reached the pampas where farmers repeatedly confronted bad harvests. Secondly, after the foundation of the rural community the financial relationship between the estanciero and the Luxembourg "colonos" worsened and at the end the estanciero agreed to liberate the Luxembourg settlers from their tenure and hiring contracts³⁶.

Probably 50 per cent of the Luxembourg "colonos" retried to settle down in less hostile Argentine regions than the Pampas had been³⁷. Some others decided to emigrate from Argentina to Northern America. And probably 20 per cent of the Luxembourg inhabitants of San Antonio de Iraola returned home³⁸.

Unlike other Luxembourg return movements of the 19th century, the social-demographic consequences of the "Return Migration" from Argentina are partly known. A rough but fairly useful inventory concerning Luxembourg back-home migrants from Argentina has been established by an officer of the National Archives³⁹:

a) From 1890 to 1900, official migration registrations list some 132 Argentine Luxembourgers who returned to the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg. This statistical variable has to be considered inferior to reality. As far as the present stage of the research program allows us at all to expose a realistic statistical estimation on "Return Migration" from Argentina, we should rather advance a figure of some 200 to 250 Argentine Luxembourgers who moved home.

b) The inventory of the official migration registrations counts 25 couples and families as well as 27 single persons who left Argentina during the last decade of the 19th century and tried to start a new life in Luxembourg.

c) The so-called back-home "Argentinienfahrer" could be found in 28 different Luxembourg localities and villages out of a total of some 400.

d) An important part of the back-home Argentine Luxembourgers - 50 per cent of the couples and families concerned - resettled in their former village community or in its geographical proximity.

So far for the phenomenon of "Return Migration" concerning the last Luxembourg emigration wave to Latin America at the end of the 19th century. From this period till nowadays Latin America has ceased to be an important target for Luxembourg emigrants. The fiascos and failures of those four migration waves during the nineteenth century were physically materialized by former "Brazil travellers" as well as by back home "Argentinienfahrer" whose related Latin American experiences were integrated in the Luxembourg collective memory during the first half of the 20th century.

In other words, return movements and "Return Migrations" from Latin America and their subsequent consequences constitute one of the social and cultural causes which contributed to ruining the image of the Latin American continent as an important emigration target for Luxembourgers.

The mid term temporary migration of Luxembourg steelers to the Brazilian State of Minas Gerais during the twentieth century

Luxembourg emigration to Latin America will continue during the first half of the 20th century, but on a very limited level. Yet one particular migration form has to be considered more extensively.

After the First World War, the Luxembourg steel and iron company ARBED build up a joint venture with a Belgian company in order to create an industrial complex in the Brazilian State of Minas Gerais near Sabará and later at Monlevade⁴⁰. From the nineteen-twenties on, a total of more than four hundred Luxembourg managers, engineers, technicians and highly qualified steel workers of the ARBED company settle down in Minas Gerais⁴¹. This particular form of Luxembourg emigration to Latin America constituted a basically mid term temporary migration.

So most of them spent only part of their professional life in Brazil. Once back home to integrate the mother company ARBED or to enjoy a well deserved retirement, the Brazilian Luxembourg steelworkers symbolized a success story for the first time in the history of Luxembourg emigration to Latin America. This will help temporarily to improve the image of Latin America in Luxembourg society during the nineteen-fifties and nineteen-sixties.

Conclusion. The phenomena of Luxembourg "Return Migration" seized in the context of Luxembourg emigration to Latin America. The construction of a short typology

This latest form of Luxembourg migration to Latin America leads us to the conclusion of the present paper in which we will present a typology, quite an imperfect one, of return movements concerning Luxembourg migrations to Central and South America.

1) During the 19th century, Luxembourg emigration to Latin America is characterized by the quite generalized threat of failure which struck Luxembourg emigration to Brazil as well as Luxembourg migration to Guatemala and partly Luxembourg emigration to Argentina.

2) Just one Luxembourg migration event to Latin America can be considered a social-economic success. In fact, the mainly temporary migration of employees of the ARBED iron and steel company to the Brazilian State of Minas Gerais can be regarded as a limited migration process with positive social-economic consequences for the Luxembourg micro-society.

3) The repeated fiascos and failures of Luxembourg emigrations to Latin America had determinative consequences of the interrelated phenomena of "Return Migrations".

In our case studies, we detected two forms of "Return Migration".

a) During two Luxembourg migration waves to Brazil, return movements to Luxembourg emerged before the transatlantic migration passage had even started.

b) All Luxembourg emigration events and processes to Latin America have been inter-related to the classic social-demographic processes of short- and long term "Return Migration". Actually, we may say, that if one seizes the phenomenon of "Return Migration" in the context of Luxembourg emigration to Latin America, classic "Return Migration" from Argentina is the most important.

4) Contrary to other Luxembourg emigration waves, the social impacts of "Return Migration" from Latin America had mainly negative consequences as the process of resettlement of the ruined back-home "Brazil travellers" and "Argentinienfahrer" revealed.

5) The very close interrelated phenomena of emigration fiascos and return movements in our case studies may explain the cultural persistence of a general low grade image of the Latin Americas as an emigration target in contemporary Luxembourg society during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

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Notes

¹ For Luxembourg emigration to Argentina, see (Jean-) Nicolas Schwebag (1891), *San Antonio nebst Streiflichern über Argentinien*, Luxembourg; (Jean-) Nicolas Schwebag (1909), *Ansiedelung unserer Luxemburger in Argentinien*, Ettelbrück; Nicolas Kerschen (1953), *San Antonio. Ein Luxemburger Dorf in der Pampa. Erinnerungen von N. Kerschen*, Separatdruck des "Lëtzeburger Journal", Grevenmacher; Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", in: *Migrance* 20, (premier trimestre 2002), pp. 28-49.

² For Luxembourg migration waves to Brazil, see Albert Calmes (1971), *Naissance et débuts du Grand-Duché (1814-1830)*, *Histoire contemporaine du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*, volume I, Luxembourg, pp. 273-276; Albert Calmes (1983), *La création d'un État (1841-1847)*, *Histoire contemporaine du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*, volume IV, Luxembourg, p. 432; Joseph Hess (1948), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise", in: *Le Luxembourg. Livre du Centenaire*, Luxembourg, pp. 593-618, specially pp. 601-602 and pp. 617-618; Alphonse Sprunck (1959), "L'émigration des Luxembourgeois en Amérique Méridionale dans la première moitié du 19e siècle", in: *Collection "Les Amis de l'Histoire"*, 2e fasc., pp. 3-39; Antoinette Reuter (1995), "... so gehen wir von dannen jetzt nach Brasilien fort", in: Antoinette Reuter et Denis Scuto (sous la direction de), *Itinéraires croisés. Luxembourgeois à l'étranger, étrangers au Luxembourg*, Esch-sur-Alzette, pp. 116-119; Eddy Stols (2001), "Présences belges et luxembourgeoises dans la modernisation et l'industrialisation du Brésil (1830-1940)", in: Bart De Prins, Eddy Stols, Johan Verberckmoes (Eds.), *Brasil. Cultures et Economies de Quatre Continents*, Leuven, pp. 121-164, specially p. 122.

³ For Luxembourg emigration to Guatemala, see Albert Calmes (1979), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise au Guatemala", in: *Au fil de l'Histoire*, tome 1, Luxembourg, 3e éd., pp. 247-250; Albert Calmes (1983), *La création d'un État*, pp. 431-432; Marc Lafontaine (1997), *L'enfer belge de Santo Tomas. Le rêve colonial brisé de Léopold Ier*, Éditions Quorum, Ottignies; Irene Smets (1993), "Une Colonie belge en Amérique centrale: Santo Tomas de Guatemala", in: Eddy Stols et Rudy Bleys (sous la rédaction de), *Flandre et Amérique latine*, Anvers, pp. 243-253; Eddy Stols (1998), "Utopies, mirages et fièvres latino-américains", in: Anne Morelli (sous la direction de), *Les*

Émigrants belges. Réfugiés de guerre, émigrés économiques, réfugiés religieux et émigrés politiques ayant quitté nos régions du XVIème siècle à nos jours, Bruxelles, pp. 241-258, specially pp. 244-247.

⁴ Some of the studies on Migration and "Return Migration" are: Saskia Sassen (1996), *Migranten, Siedler, Flüchtlinge. Von der Massenauswanderung zur Festung Europa*, Buchreihe "Europäische Geschichte", Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt am Main; Jose C. Moya (1998), *Cousins and Strangers. Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles; Samuel L. Baily (1999), *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise. Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870 to 1914*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London; Jacques Barou (2001), *Europe, terre d'immigration. Flux migratoires et intégration*, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble; Marco Martiniello (2001), *La nouvelle Europe migratoire. Pour une politique proactive de l'immigration*, Éditions Labor, Bruxelles; Nancy L. Green (2002), *Repenser les migrations*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.

⁵ See Samuel L. Baily (1999), *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, pp. 10-14.

⁶ See Gilbert Trausch (1975), *Le Luxembourg à l'époque contemporaine (du partage de 1839 à nos jours)*, Luxembourg; James Newcomer (1984), *The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. The Evolution of Nationhood, 963 A.D. to 1983*, University Press of America, Lanham, New York, London, specially pp. 183-300; Paul Weber (1950), *Histoire de l'Économie Luxembourgeoise*, Luxembourg.

⁷ James Newcomer (1984), *The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg*, pp. 183-185 and p. 228; Gilbert Trausch (1975), *Le Luxembourg à l'époque contemporaine*, pp. 15-16 and p. 85.

⁸ Gilbert Trausch (1975), *Le Luxembourg à l'époque contemporaine*, pp. 19-20; James Newcomer (1984), *The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg*, pp. 185-186 and pp. 190-192.

⁹ Gilbert Trausch (1975), *Le Luxembourg à l'époque contemporaine*, pp. 111-112; Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", p. 35.

¹⁰ Gilbert Trausch (1975), *Le Luxembourg à l'époque contemporaine*, pp. 22-23; Paul Weber (1950), *Histoire de l'Économie Luxembourgeoise*, pp. 123-128; James Newcomer (1984), *The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg*, p. 196.

¹¹ James Newcomer (1984), *The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg*, p. 196; Gilbert Trausch (1975), *Le Luxembourg à l'époque contemporaine*, p. 22 and p. 39.

¹² See Denis Scuto (1995), "Émigration et immigration au Luxembourg aux XIXe et XXe siècles", in: Antoinette Reuter et Denis Scuto (sous la direction de), *Itinéraires croisés. Luxembourgeois à l'étranger, étrangers au Luxembourg*, Esch-sur-Alzette, pp. 24-28, specially p. 25.

¹³ See Antoinette Reuter (2002), "Les Luxembourgeois en France et à Paris (XIXe siècle)", in: *Migrance 20*, (premier trimestre 2002), pp. 50-59; Denis Scuto (1995), "Les Luxembourgeois à Paris (fin XIXe - début XXe siècle)", in: Antoinette Reuter Antoinette et Denis Scuto (sous la direction de), *Itinéraires croisés. Luxembourgeois à l'étranger, étrangers au Luxembourg*, Esch-sur-Alzette, pp. 144-147.

¹⁴ See Jean-Claude Muller (1995), "'Es ist ein andres Leben in Amerika ...". Luxemburger Einwanderer im Melting-Pot (19. und 20. Jahrhundert)", in: Antoinette Reuter et Denis Scuto (sous la direction de), *Itinéraires croisés. Luxembourgeois à l'étranger, étrangers au Luxembourg*, Esch-sur-Alzette, pp. 124-128, specially p. 127; Jean-Claude Muller (1995), "'In das neu Land oder America ...". Die Luxemburger in der Neuen Welt (18. und 19. Jahrhundert)", in: Antoinette Reuter et Denis Scuto (sous la direction de), *Itinéraires croisés. Luxembourgeois à l'étranger, étrangers au Luxembourg*, Esch-sur-Alzette, pp. 120-123.

¹⁵ James Newcomer (1984), *The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg*, pp. 217-218; Gilbert Trausch (1975), *Le Luxembourg à l'époque contemporaine*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁶ Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", pp. 34-35.

¹⁷ Joseph Hess (1948), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise", pp. 601-602; Albert Calmes (1971), *Naissance et débuts du Grand-Duché*, pp. 273-276.

¹⁸ Joseph Hess (1948), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise", p. 618; Albert Calmes (1983), *La création d'un État*, p. 432.

¹⁹ Albert Calmes (1983), *La création d'un État*, pp. 431-432; Albert Calmes (1979), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise au Guatemala", pp. 247-250; Marc Lafontaine (1997), *L'enfer belge de Santo Tomas*, pp. 118-119.

²⁰ Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", p. 34.

²¹ Albert Calmes (1971), *Naissance et débuts du Grand-Duché*, p. 276; Joseph Hess (1948), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise", p. 601.

²² Albert Calmes (1971), *Naissance et débuts du Grand-Duché*, p. 275; Joseph Hess (1948), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise", p. 602.

²³ Albert Calmes (1971), *Naissance et débuts du Grand-Duché*, p. 275; Joseph Hess (1948), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise", p. 602; Eddy Stols (2001), "Présences belges et luxembourgeoises dans la modernisation et l'industrialisation du Brésil", p.122.

²⁴ Albert Calmes (1983), *La création d'un État*, p. 432.

²⁵ Joseph Hess (1948), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise", p. 602.

²⁶ Joseph Hess (1948), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise", p. 618.

²⁷ Marc Lafontaine (1997), *L'enfer belge de Santo Tomas*, pp. 47-50; Eddy Stols (1998), "Utopies, mirages et fièvres latino-américains", pp. 245-246.

²⁸ Marc Lafontaine (1997), *L'enfer belge de Santo Tomas*, pp. 21-46; Irene Smets (1993), "Une Colonie belge en Amérique centrale: Santo Tomas de Guatemala", p. 244.

²⁹ Albert Calmes (1983), *La création d'un État*, p. 432.

³⁰ Marc Lafontaine (1997), *L'enfer belge de Santo Tomas*, pp. 188-189; Eddy Stols (1998), "Utopies, mirages et fièvres latino-américains", p. 246.

³¹ Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", pp. 35-36.

³² Nicolas Kerschen (1953), *San Antonio. Ein Luxemburger Dorf in der Pampa*, pp. 4-5; Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", pp. 32-34.

³³ Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", p. 37 and pp. 40-41; Eddy Stols (1998), "Presencia belga en la República Argentina: emigrantes y expatriados, comerciantes y empresarios (siglos XIX y XX)", in: Bart De Groof, Patricio Geli, Eddy Stols, Guy Van Beeck (eds.), *En los deltas de la memoria. Bélgica y Argentina en los siglos XIX y XX*, Leuven University Press, pp. 9-35, specially p. 16.

³⁴ Nicolas Kerschen (1953), *San Antonio. Ein Luxemburger Dorf in der Pampa*, p. 3; Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", p. 38.

³⁵ Nicolas Kerschen (1953), *San Antonio. Ein Luxemburger Dorf in der Pampa*, pp. 9-14; Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", pp. 41-42.

³⁶ (Jean-) Nicolas Schwebag (1891), *San Antonio nebst Streiflichtern über Argentinien*, pp. 43-50; Nicolas Kerschen (1953), *San Antonio. Ein Luxemburger Dorf in der Pampa*, p. 25; Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", p. 42.

³⁷ (Jean-) Nicolas Schwebag (1909), *Ansiedlung unserer Luxemburger in Argentinien*, pp. 5-8 and pp. 26-33.

³⁸ Claude Wey (2002), "L'émigration luxembourgeoise vers l'Argentine", p. 42.

³⁹ See Änder Hatz (1994), *Émigrants et Rémigrants Luxembourgeois de 1876 à 1900, États-Unis d'Amérique, Argentine et pays extra-européens*, Archives Nationales, Luxembourg, specially p. VI and pp. 138-139.

⁴⁰ See Robert Thill (1958), "*Suite*" *Brasileira. Mit der Baltic Sea (KLM) nach Rio de Janeiro. Bei den Luxemburgern in Minas Gerais*, Separatabdruck der vom 19. November 1957 bis 1. Februar 1958 im "Tageblatt" erschienenen Reportage, Esch-sur-Alzette; Eddy Stols (2001), "Présences belges et luxembourgeoises dans la modernisation et l'industrialisation du Brésil", pp. 145-160.

⁴¹ In 1957, 300 Luxembourgers were living in Brazil. See Robert Thill (1958), "*Suite*" *Brasileira*, p. 100.