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Jammerthal, the Valley of Lamentation: *Kultur*, War Trauma, and Subjectivity in Nineteenth-Century Brazil

JOÃO GUILHERME BIEHL

(Photographs by Torben Eskerod)

Jammerthal, the Valley of Lamentation, is a small rural colony in southern most Brazil (Figure 1). It is located in the region of the last century's 'German colonies'. The name Jammerthal is used here to refer to all former *Deutsche Colonie* of the municipality of São Leopoldo, in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul. In the summer of 1874, dozens of colonists derided as Mucker (which in the local Hunsrück dialect means 'false believers') were killed in Jammerthal by the troops of the Brazilian National Guard, the Army, and the police force of the Province (Biehl, 1991, 1996a; Amado, 1978).

Since 1868, hundreds of these *colonos*, mostly non-naturalized Brazilians of German descent, had been congregating around the dreams and Scriptural teaching of semi-literate Jacobina Maurer, whilst simultaneously being members of local churches (Domingues, 1977, p. 81). Jacobina said things in trances from which her husband João Jorge prepared *pharmakons* for the afflicted-- neighbours, terminally ill people, and curious visitors. The military action against the colonists was organized by the local Germanist elite (hiesiges Deutschtum), under the guidance of freemason and philosopher Karl von Koseritz, the director of the German language newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung*, and was endorsed by Lutheran and Jesuit missionaries.

The first German immigrants had arrived in 1824, recruited and lured there on the pretext that they would prosper from the economic boom of that southern region (Roche, 1969; Freedon, 1961; Fröbel, 1858; Südhaus, 1962; Wolf, 1964). Most of them were landless peasants, *lumpen Proletariat*, and former prisoners and soldiers who had deserted the Brazilian Foreign Legion. The Imperial immigration officers wanted soldiers who would safeguard national independence (declared in 1822) in that area of contested boundaries (Hunsche, 1975). At a regional governmental level, the newly arrived immigrants became grist for the enhancement of agricultural development based on a free labour force (Piccolo, 1992).

The story goes that the first immigrants were fed with fruits and vegetables cultivated by slaves of the Royal Farm of Linho CANhamo, in São Leopoldo. The Colonization Plan had ordered the return of all slaves working on that former Imperial plantation to the Court in Rio de Janeiro-but the plan was only partially implemented (Rambo, 1968; Bakos, 1987). The colonists had occasional encounters with the native inhabitants of the territory, groups of Kaingang who wandered around the coast and the region of São Leopoldo gathering food (Petry, 1974).

It is debatable to what extent these immigrants came to the New World to claim a new name (Calligaris, 1991; Melman, 1992) or were leaving behind an old one. But the fact is that upon arrival and in the subsequent decades, thousands of them were prevented from becoming naturalized Brazilian citizens. For example, by 1864 only 27 immigrants had become Brazilian citizens, 17 of those being soldiers (Spalding, 1965). Neither free nor slaves, most of these immigrants were recognized as 'protestants'. They were left to their own devices, coping with the day-to-day business of life and death without the promised governmental provisions.¹ Systematically cheated by their local administrators, they could not, for example, fully control the mechanisms of land ownership and transference (Hunsche, 1979; Hillebrand, 1924). In that Catholic context, Protestant rites such as baptism and marriage had no legal significance. In effect, the colonists created their own symbolic order and modes of exchange (Biehl,

1991, 1994). Tombstones from the period convey the harshness of daily life and the marginalized social identity of these immigrants:²

Here we do not have a permanent home. We search for a future place.
He who fought with bitter death, found it in the waters.
Outcast, now take rest from the weariness and restlessness of life in the
foster home of the cemetery.
Loyal and hard-working were your hands,
mute in the passage to a better fatherland.
In heaven there is no more suffering, death, and perishing;
there our desires are dried up into an eternal reencounter.
My time stands in your hands.

The Mucker Book

At the end of a trail in Jammerthal, there is a house where an old man sits at the window (Figure 2). Edgar Jung can no longer walk. He calls himself *Grossvater*, 'grandfather'. Edgar lives in the company of his son Jorge and wife Nelci, along with their seven children, 'one born in every year'. A door connects the stable with that room where *Grossvater* sleeps with three of his grandchildren. The others sleep in the timber-framed house nearby: kitchen and bedroom, channelled mountain water, sickles in their rightful place, clothes drying over the stove. The Jungs plant 'a bit of everything' in the stony soil. Many of their neighbours, adults and teenagers, now work in 'shoe ateliers' throughout the colonies (Schneider, 1994).

Edgar's grandparents came from the region of the Hunsrück (Faller, 1974), as it was in mid-nineteenth century Germany. Only a month before my visit in January 1991, Edgar had gone for the first time in his 74 years to the city, to the 'Holy House of Mercy' in Porto Alegre. 'On my way back from the hospital,' he commented, 'my heart almost stopped.' The surgery on his right leg did not yield the expected results. 'Everything became darkness,' he muttered. 'I am seated here. To do what? I can no longer do anything. So be it. I take care of the little one. It's quiet here.'

'I bought this cabinet [*Schrank*] in Novo Hamburgo. I paid a lot, but the wood is good. What one plants accounts for nothing ... I can no longer go to the Sunday services. The pastor speaks beautifully, it is High German [*hoch Deutsch*]. I speak German from the bush [*ecke Deutsch*]. I think a lot. The elderly used to say that the world would end in flames. All that misery I went through'.

The pendulum clock shows precisely the right time: 'My father's father brought it from overseas'. The British clock hangs next to Lutheran certificates of baptisms, confirmations, weddings, the calendar of a few years past, a crucifix, a pamphlet of a candidate to the State's House of Representatives, photos of relatives and childhoods that have passed on, and a poster of Father Reus, a Jesuit who became a popular healer in the nearby city of São Leopoldo at the beginning of this century. 'Since I was little, I have set this clock: And so it goes'.

I asked if Edgar read the Bible on the table. He stared at me and said quietly: 'Of course. But now I don't see well any more ... It is here'. He gestured to me to come closer: 'I have the Mucker book'. His son was surprised: 'Father, you never told me that'. The reply: 'It has been here all along'. Edgar asked Jorge to rummage through the drawers of his cabinet to retrieve the book.

The 'Mucker book' was found and shown to the stranger who stopped by.

Edgar had a copy of *Die Mucker* written in 1878 by the Jesuit Ambrosio Schupp. It was the first book-length account of the Mucker war. According to Schupp, Jacobina was a seductress and criminal; she interpreted the Scriptures to lead the peasants away from the right path to an immortal fatherland and into ruins: 'But, of what is a woman not capable when she knows how to unleash men's passions and even print the stamp of religion and piety upon crime? Jacobina achieved this by using the words of the Holy Scriptures as a tool. Yes, the book which was given by Providence to humankind to serve as a source of practical teachings in its earthly life ... and as a safe guide in its pilgrimage to the immortal fatherland became a double-edged weapon in the hands of this woman, first bringing the ruin of those who had become obsessed by her and, second, her own ruin' (Schupp, n/d, p. 393).

Schupp relied heavily on the information published by Karl von Koseritz in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, in his *Koseritz's Almanac*, and on interviews with local adversaries of the Mucker (he did not interview

any of the survivors in prison). Koseritz had orchestrated a master narrative in which the colonists meeting with Jacobina were portrayed as delirious, atavistic primitives, and a threat to public order. This 'enlightened' narrative became the matrix of future explanatory attempts by Germanist officers, theologians, and social scientists. According to Koseritz (1875), what had emerged around Jacobina's dreams was a *Schwindel*, a swindle, and the subsequent war in the colonies was 'the darkest side of that [Germanist] history' (Verband Deutscher Vcrein, 1924, p. 161). *Schwindel* means to be dizzy, to lie and defraud; it is derived from the Old High German *swintilon*, a frequentative of *swintan*, to vanish, languish, become unconscious, from the Germanic *swindan* (Morris, 1981, p. 1300).

On 1 August 1874, the *Deutsche Zeitung* declared from the capital Porto Alegre: 'This band must be hunted like dogs and killed through fire and sword, so that no trace of them remains. No mercy for these cannibals. This is the opinion of the whole population. The head of each one of them must be cut off without exception. In a short period of time, everything has changed. Even though the horde can hardly read and sign their names, these few fanatical murderers want to reform today's world according to their visions ... Off with them all to any island in the Great Ocean, so that they might then rethink their crimes and study their Bible again ... Let us see if in the future they will be able to reform the whole of humanity with poison, death, fire and communism'.

On 4 August 1874, thanks to the actions of a Mucker traitor, the National Army reached Jacobina's last refuge in the woods. At the end, according to Germanist historiography, the Mucker awoke from the arms of the god of dreams and of the shapes that dreamers see: 'The Mucker were sleeping in the arms of Morpheus inside the hut made of skinned animals and of tree bark, and awoke hearing the sound of gunshots. They quickly readied themselves for combat. The battle then began, and lasted for approximately 2 hours. Their slaughter was swift. In a few minutes it was all over although the Mucker still put up a final and desperate resistance' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 5 August 1874).

Miguel Noé transcribed the oral accounts of his father, João Daniel Noé, a Mucker survivor. According to this survivor, the war ended differently-Jacobina made her own death: 'As the final battle was nearing its end, Jacobina said that the survivors should try to take good care of themselves, that her things would have an ending, but that she would not allow them to take her life. She herself would end it. These were the last words she uttered' (Noé 1977, p. 396).

The Mucker who survived remained hidden in the woods and trails of Jammerthal for years to come. Imprisoned Mucker, released a few years later, were stigmatized as such until the end of their lives (Amado, 1978, pp. 263-263). The orphans were adopted by 'dignified German families'. For the Germanist intellectuals and public administrators, the Mucker had embraced a fraudulent, immoral and criminal vision of life that had to be done away with, so that historic men could act: 'Jacobina died in the arms of her lover Rodolfo Sehn, who covered her with his body, both were penetrated by bayonets. The curtain went down, [Jammerthal's] bloody drama has ended. Damaged justice is restored and the citizen can calmly go back to his peaceful daily work' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 5 August 1874). In 1875, Koseritz rewrote this same last scene in the essay 'The Mucker Swindle in the German Colonies: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Local Germanism', adding that, as she died, Jacobina 'exhaled her dark soul' (p. 144).

Edgar pointed to the 'Mucker book':

There are many lies in here ... People in the old days used to say that the Mucker attacked at night and stole the animals. You used to go about armed the whole time. [Sometimes, however], when my grandfather drank a bit too much, he mentioned that the Mucker were not bad people, that they were honest. They were simple colonists, like us. But they wanted power', added Edgar.

In *Grossvater's* narrative, the Mucker were recollected as an interstice, expressive 176 *I.G. Biehl* of a shift in power; both removed from power, but oriented towards it, desiring it. Thus, one might ask, through what historical circumstances and forms of power did the Mucker come into existence? How were the Mucker created? Through what traumatic processes of social and self-reorganization? What kind of social experience did the Mucker events generate in Jammerthal?

'My grandfather also said that Jacobina was like Christ. More than that I don't know'. Edgar faded through the window, and said: 'One must be watchful, and look out for oneself [*sich aufpassen*].

Through very real, complex and composite functionings of truth, law and power, the colonists who met with Jacobina became deviants extraneous to the reality of Jammerthal. Below I argue that the manufacture of these colonists as Other Mucker, as messianic, insane, and criminal, and their subsequent murder, were part of the dynamic consolidation of the political economy and *modus vivendi* of local Germanism. This new regulation of local life was tied to the constitution of an enlightened, albeit transplanted, German ethnicity in the south of Brazil. Through this process, ordinary peasants were transformed into Mucker twice over, viewed and treated as the offspring of an obscure, unruly and bestial stage of pathological evolution, which must be exterminated from one's house, one's neighbourhood and one's own person using the ideas, values, and capital of a *hiesiges Deutschtum*.

Thus, I investigate the Mucker as they were constructed in documents, newspapers, missionary reports, letters, and social scientific representations of the time. I am concerned with how knowledge of the Mucker as Other was produced (Kimball, 1988; De Certeau, 1988), and with the implications, effects and affects, of this knowledge for governmentality³ and self-formation (Foucault, 1991; Biehl, 1996a; Pandolfo, 1997; Taussig, 1986; Comaroff, 1991). I also investigate the instrumentalization of *Kultur* (Elias, 1978) as part of the emergent Germanist bourgeoisie's efforts to assert itself socially and politically within the context of Imperial Brazil. I focus on the rational, legal and religious representations and strategies that were deployed in making truths, legitimating political actions, and marking intersubjectivity in the world of Jammerthal. These primary sources form an integral part of the story I am telling, and as such they are inserted directly into the text.

Michel Foucault's enquiries into madness and reason (1988), disciplinary practices (1979), and sexuality and the will to know (1980) demonstrate that, in order for us modern individuals to become subjects, to act, to understand and speak of ourselves as such, we must pass through cultural processes of subjectification. The connection of truth to (bio-)power through social technologies such as divisory practices, scientific classifications, mechanisms of surveillance, medical examination and normalization, works not only to dominate bodies by force but to subjectify them (Rabinow, 1984, p. 11; Butler, 1997).

While constrained within the category of 'Mucker', Jacobina and her friends also found themselves, so to speak, 'prisoners' of 'implicit systems' that had productive and positive 'operations on their own bodies, on their souls, on their thoughts, on their own conduct' (Foucault cited by Rabinow, 1984, p. 11; De Certeau, 1988; Ramos, 1994). Such processes of truth production are not reducible to subjectivity, but instead, are 'of an order much more difficult to name and to reveal, an order more fundamental than the subject himself (Foucault cited by Eribon, 1996, p. 147). According to Foucault, these implicit systems resemble a 'cultural unconscious';⁴ they not only fabricate populations but also 'cellular, organic, genetic, and combinatory individuality' (Foucault, 1984, p. 204). These systems mediate politics and intersubjectivity in such a way that man's existence as living being or 'living dead' is brought into question (Agamben, 1998; Biehl, 1999). As an anthropologist and social historian, I am concerned with how local moral experience is shaped and altered through the interaction of 'cultural representations, collective processes, and subjectivity, interactions that are in turn shaped by large-scale changes' in the flows of capital and technology, and in the development of military, biomedical, pastoral, and educational apparatuses. 'Moral experience, then,' argues Arthur Kleinman, 'possesses a genealogy just as it does a locality' (1998, p. 12).

In the logic and political economy of the Germanist masters, the 'death of the animal' was literally 'the becoming of consciousness' (Agamben, 1991, p. 50) (Figure 3). While attempting to affirm their own identifications, autonomous colonists were transformed into Mucker and became cursed objects. They killed neighbours and were killed as bestial Others. Their memory became the primitive counterpart of an evolving 'modern reality'. Paradoxically, it was in the midst of this imposed Germanist vocabulary and identity, and violent social experience, that the colonists' other subjectivity found a public, if repressed, voice.

Kultur: A Tribe that Thinks and Trades in German

In the 1850s, a second wave of immigration brought to the south of Brazil former freedom fighters for a unified *Deutsche Reich*, along with entrepreneurs without a significant social hinterland in Germany. They were known as *Brummer* (which means grumbler, prisoner, and in zoology 'meat fly'; *Brummer* is also the currency paid to mercenaries). After deserting the Brazilian Foreign Legion, the *Brummer* settled

in the German colonies and worked as teachers, surveyors, inspectors, journalists, and tradesmen. As they spread their democratic and scientific ideals, the Brummer acted as catalysts for an emergent Germanist bourgeoisie (Dickie, 1989). According to historian Hans Gehse, 'They kept their pejorative name 'Brummer' and elevated it to a badge of honor ... This class worked towards a common platform for intellectual life in the colonies and finally gave the German element its due rank in governmental life' (1931, pp. 75, 37).

By 1860 the region was prospering, providing agricultural goods for the markets of Porto Alegre and attracting investments from England (railroad construction) and above all from Germany (trade). Koseritz spearheaded the attempts by the Germanist bourgeoisie to politically consolidate its increasing economic wellbeing. This consolidation would take place in alliance and confrontation with Lutheran and Jesuit missionary organizations (also newly arrived) and under the common aegis of a German patriotic expansion in a post-colonial State. In Koseritz's view, 'The Brummer brought with them a new and independent spirit, stimulating what existed of Germanism at that time, turning it, so to speak, into the leaven which made it rise and germinate' (cited by Oberacker, 1961, p. 17).

The press played a formative role in establishing this Germanist society. By the mid 1850s the Brummer had launched their own German newspaper, *Einwanderer* (Immigrant). The *Einwanderer* quickly became a part of the daily reality of the colonies, shaping allegiances and antagonisms. Correspondents, generally teachers, were hired in almost every colony, and their reports were usually published alongside news from Germany and from Porto Alegre, the capital of the Province. Newspapers were distributed and commented upon in the trading houses; it was common to read them after Sunday worship services. Gehse points out that '*objective reporting took the place of a primitive gossiping; a critical perception of and stance towards political events of interest to the German immigrant emerged*' (1931, p. 121, my emphasis).

In 1862 the 'German Legion,' a consortium of largely Brummer businessmen, bought the *Einwanderer* and founded the *Deutsche Zeitung* in its place. According to the editorial board: 'Our currency is an attention to all creeds and opinions, exposing abuses by any kind of individual-above all [our currency] is to be representative of our national German interests. On the other hand, the Laws of this country are sacred to us' (Gehse, 1931, pp. 41-42). In 1864 the Legion hired Koseritz, who served as the director of the *Deutsche Zeitung* for the next two decades. The self-taught intellectual described himself in the following way: 'I am a straight adherent of Science, Materialism and Darwinism; and I have the courage to manifest my opinions in a land that is essentially Catholic and metaphysical through its official education' (cited by Oberacker, 1961, p. 26). As Carlos Oberacker writes, 'Koseritz was able to congregate these political forces ... *for the good of the collective of German culture*, and he discouraged a merely mechanical transplantation of German-European political conceptions ... He changed the local problem of the municipality of São Leopoldo into a provincial matter, or rather, into a Brazilian matter' (1961, p. 18, my emphasis).

This emergent bourgeoisie instrumentalized the concept of *Kultur* with its 'special stress on national differences and the particular identity of groups' (Elias, 1978, p. 5). They used *Kultur* as a moral and political means of administering the colonies and acceding to the province's juridical requirements. As Norbert Elias notes, German *Kultur* is founded 'on what is called, for this very reason, *das rein Geistige* (the purely spiritual), on books, scholarship, religion, art, philosophy, on the inner enrichment, the intellectual formation (*Bildung*) of the individual personality, primarily through the medium of books' (p. 27). According to Elias, with the rise of the German bourgeoisie as a ruling class, *Kultur* changed in significance and function, from being 'an arsenal of trenchant concepts directed against the upper class of the Capital' to becoming a matter of inner life and of national identity (p. 27). German identity is historically linked to the constitution of political, territorial and spiritual boundaries. In the south, the 'purely spiritual' aspect of *Kultur* was transmitted through freemason educators (teachers of the natural sciences) and businessmen, and the clergy who were the bearers of the patriotic religion. *Kultur* was vital for the assertion of values and obligations regarding individual conduct, and the organization of family lives, as well as for the 'spiritual' segregation of those German descendants from other Brazilians.

In 1867 congressman José Joaquim Rodrigues Lopes wrote his 'General Considerations on the ex-Colony of São Leopoldo', in response to the Emperor's concern about the possible formation of an independent Germanic State in Rio Grande do Sul: 'The population of the ex-Colony is almost entirely made up of Germans and their children ... they amount to 16,000 to 18,000 souls. They do not show any

desire to be naturalized ... One can say that their heart and soul belong completely to the German Deity ... Does what I saw turn me into a visionary? So, does this current state of affairs pose a great evil for the integrity of the Empire in the future?'⁵

This official view had the indirect effect of excusing the government's negligence in hastening the processes of naturalization and extending voting rights for the immigrants and their descendants at a provincial level. The allegations of separatism were ardently denied by Koseritz, who defended a 'fraternal Germanism', independent of German institutions and fully participating in the local political and judicial system. He wrote: 'In Brazil, we do not live under a German flag. Through language and habits, we are part of Germany. We are linked to our old fatherland with all the fibres of our heart. Politically, however, we are fully and completely Brazilian citizens' (cited by Oberacker, 1961, p. 53). In Koseritz's thinking, the making of a German collective was fundamental for securing voting rights. Neither free nor slaves, the inhabitants of Jammerthal were administered as 'religious citizens', i.e. imagined spiritually, not as Brazilian, but as part of a pan-German nation and/or deity. In this sense, *Kultur* was strategically deployed in ambivalent fashion by the Brazilian State and by the Germanist forces.

The privileged Germanist class and ecclesiastical bureaucracies were profoundly connected and dependent on their construction of an 'irrational religion' (Weber, 1963, p. 83). 'There is no religiosity in Brazil' (*Auftrag für die Protestantischen Deutschen in Südbrasilien*, 1865) Pastor Borchard wrote to the Berlin-based 'Committee for the German Protestants in the South of Brazil', immediately after his arrival in the south. Borchard was the founder of the campaign to 'germanize' local Lutheran congregations and to gather them into a centralized synodal administration (Dreher, 1984; Biehl, 1996b). According to the Berlin reports, missionaries were liberating the peasants from their 'self-abandonment' and, at the same time, were cleansing the pastoral office of 'pseudo-pastoral' practices: 'Many of the immigrants lived for thirty years without any pastor preaching them the divine word and without any instructor teaching their children. Or, what is even worse, they were frequently served by depraved men who so outrageously abused their roles that the pastor and his priestly office were often despised' (*Auftrag für die Protestantischen Deutschen in Südbrasilien*, 1874, pp. 9-10).

The Jesuits arrived in the region in the late 1840s. They also interpreted the colonists' religious practices as a deviation and dysfunction to be corrected. 'The long absence of a regular healer of souls had also produced a sort of brutishness among certain parts of the Catholic population. And since they lacked a priest ... a peasant from the neighbourhood was entrusted with leading the services. This man departed foolishly from the path of order ...' (Schupp cited by Rabuske, n/d, p. 141). Father Schupp, the author of the 'Mucker Book', also stated that at the beginning of their mission, the Jesuits were faced with self-reliant and indomitable peasants. That situation had to change: 'The peasant is a little king. Independent and unconstrained, he is the lord of all that is his. Nobody can command him to do anything. He knows that. He is proud of it. He feels equal to every other peasant. Any word used against his family or his belongings irritates him very much ... he uses the most rude expressions' (Schupp, 1974, p. 213).

The Germanist class and priesthood did not merely recognize the usefulness of popular belief systems in controlling people (Weber, 1963, p. 89). Rather, they facilitated the development of an 'irrational religion' (where they had first acknowledged the lack of religiosity) as a means of guaranteeing a Germanist psychological legitimacy (p. 107). In Jammerthal, commonsensical notions and practices had to be defined as magical for a specific form of *Kultur* to take root. Materialistic Germanists and missionaries actively concerned themselves with acknowledging (representing) religious practices developed during the first decades of immigration as disorderly and 'amoral', and hence, as magical. In a number of denominational, civic and mediatic arenas, the ideas of local Germanism were presented as the material of the 'true Self' that could challenge that religious irrationality. In this sense, the magical and primitive Mucker were in fact a modern phenomenon. They were also counterparts of another thoroughly modern phenomenon: the constitution of a distinctive prototype of pious, orderly and hard-working Germanist individuals, families, and communities (Seifert, 1982a, 1982b; Porto, 1934).

Individual truth and social order were formulated and surveyed at a *Gemeinde* (community) level. Church councils, choirs, and congregational schools served as spiritual and bureaucratic supports for the claims of legitimacy of a unmixed and pure *hiesiges Deutschtum*. In these sites, new 'enlightened' truths and moral practices could be retrospectively lived as *kultured* heritage, and collective memory remade. Moral prescriptions were transplanted as a German natural history at work: the memorialization of an ethnic past, an education in virtue, a non-libidinal life, hard work until old age, domestic child labour,

separation according to religious affiliation, unconditional obedience to the foreign clergy and to the economic and legal authorities of the Germanist bourgeoisie. Conflicts emerged between empirical reality as it was taking shape in the *Gemeinde* and the colonists' conception of meaning in the world related to personal will, name, and property. The dismantling of lay priesthoods, local healing practices, bartering, intra-group and subjective exchanges proved to be efficient means of grounding legitimacy for the evolution of the Germanist class.

Why was this concern with religious behaviour and educational aid applied to the Protestant congregations in the south of Brazil? One answer can be found in a report published in 1874 by the Berlin Committee, *Auftrag für die Protestantischen Deutschen in Südbrasilien*: 'Just as Christian duty motivates us to fulfill such a request so does a national duty ... It is basically a matter of patriotic duty to make sure that the increasing number of immigrants who go to the American continent retain our fatherland as their own. It is indeed important to have a German tribe overseas that *thinks and trades in German*, sympathizes with us in terms of business and politics, and represents our interests in all matters. This has long been acknowledged as common sense and now must become obvious for all *enlightened* people' (p. 45, my emphasis).

Koseritz agreed that it was no longer time to found agricultural colonies through territorial annexation. Germanism overseas was Germany's most important colony: '[Here] *a peaceful conquest is possible through work*, and with no political dependence on the fatherland ... The South of Brazil presents the most favorable terrain for this kind of conquest, for here we can be and remain suppliers and purchasers for the fatherland-that is what Germany really needs ... We live in a world of compensations: if Germany has the power, *Brazil the natural resources*' (1897, pp. 47-48, my emphasis).

According to Max Weber, 'it is perfectly obvious that economic rationalization would never have arisen originally where taboo had achieved [...] massive power' (1963, p.41). Reversing this dictum, while the Germanist economic rationalization plan included the constitution of an orderly and productive labour force in that transitional state and economy,⁶ it was also established through the strategic deployment of taboos. In fact, the massive power achieved by the religious deployment of taboos made the *modus vivendi* of that capitalist formation and social intercourse possible. For example, during the time of the Mucker, the widespread prohibition of inter-denominational marriages ('mixed marriages') acquired the status of a taboo. Mixed marriages, a common practice among colonists, became a threat to blood purity and social prestige. In this context, the Mucker were alleged to be responsible for the incitement of adultery, concubinage, and incest (Biehl, 1996b). They were constructed and exterminated as an illegal sect threatening to tear apart the economic orders of the family, community and State.

The Mucker became the modern supernatural possessed of criminal powers, and at the same time they were an instrument for the purification of the local German spirit that was claimed to characterize the behaviour of the colonists-Brazil's new 'natural labour resource'. So, the men of objectivity, Koseritz and his supporters, elaborated their historical vision while ensuring that the bodies of present-day Jammerthal would enter the realm of fiction. Jacobina's enacted death, the death of the dreamer, became the romance of the death of God.

Unconscious Words

Large segments of the colony's population did not readily accept the new individual and social regulations embedded in the teachings and bureaucracies of missionaries and of Drummer. Nor did they endorse the Germanists' claims of representativeness or the project of creating a tribe speaking, trading, and working in German *Kultur*. For many immigrants and their descendants, Germanism was neither an inexorable destiny nor the evolutionary potential promised to the bastard offspring of the national species. This view was particularly true of those colonists who visited the house of Jacobina and João Jorge. They held a dialogue with what they called the 'Spirit of Nature', prayed, sang, prepared communal meals, rested and returned to their homes (Noé 1977; Domingues, 1977). The colonists' sense of sickness and suffering in their bodies and their appeals to others for help found a listening ear and an expressive site in the meetings around Jacobina's 'unconscious words'-just as these words uttered in a state of trance found a haven among those assembled there.

Passed from mouth to mouth, these practices contained and represented the subjective demands and therapeutic possibilities assembled by those colonists during the first 50 years of German

colonization. As one of the Mucker survivors recalls: 'From the moment her spirit went away, to the moment her spirit returned, her body abandoned all sense and reasoning. In this way, everything she said was communicated through her spirit. She said so many things unconsciously, that they had to repeat them to her when she came back. There was enlightenment for all kinds of illness, no matter what their names were ... Herbal infusions were made depending on the illness's location, for rubbing on as well as for drinking' (Noé, 1977, p. 383).

The absence of documentation makes it very difficult to know the exact number of Mucker. After Jacobina's death, the police and newspapers reported approximately 130 prisoners, including women and children (Amado, 1978, p. 263). There is no historical record of how many colonists gathered around Jacobina during the conflicts and how many were actually killed.⁷ Historian Janaína Amado scrutinized police reports and identified by name a minimum of '249 rebels'. She identified 48 families as Mucker-related. In newspaper and police reports there are, however, many references to unidentified people who did not engage in the armed conflicts, but who provided assistance in them. Amado suggests that at the peak of the conflict there were about 1000 people directly or indirectly participating in the meetings with Jacobina (which at that time represented approximately 10% of the population of Jammerthal). Taking these '249 rebels' as a matrix, Amado has produced a statistical portrait of a possible Mucker constituency.

Children up to 13 years of age represented 30% of the total number of participants. There was a significant concentration of persons in the age group 3347 (26%)-the Mucker leaders belonged to this age group. Seventy per cent of the adult Mucker were married. Nine per cent of the Mucker were elderly (over 59 years old). Sixty-four per cent of the known Mucker were born in Brazil: 94% of those were descendants of families who immigrated in the 1820s. From the 36% of the Mucker born in Germany, more than half arrived in Brazil as children. The majority of the Mucker spoke only German: 57.3% were illiterate; 23.5% were semi-literate in German. Regarding residence, 20.5% of the Mucker lived in the neighbourhood of Jacobina and João Jorge's house; 17.5% came from the colony of Linha Nova-the other 62% lived scattered throughout all colonies. Most of the Mucker were not property owners. Those that worked on the lands belonging to relatives was 39.2% and 18.3% worked on properties owned by strangers. Sixty-nine per cent of the adult men were peasants, 13% were artisans and peasants, 11.5% worked only as artisans or small businessmen. Regarding religious affiliation: 85% were Lutheran (55% of the population of the colonies belonged to this religion). Amado (1978, p. 135) concludes that: '64% of the identified followers joined in the first three years of the movement. The other 36% joined after 1871'.

The reality that emerged around Jacobina's dreams was not the legacy of some magical pre-modern past, rather it consisted of a set of identifications and social ties that coexisted alongside the Germanist interiority (nature) that was being constructed in the south. From 1872, with Germanism and *Kultur* practices encroaching, the friends of Jacobina and João Jorge started to abandon their congregational memberships, stopped selling and consuming goods at neighbourhood trading posts, began to bury their dead on their own land, assumed responsibility for educating their children, and began to explain reality as it was taking shape through allegories derived from apocalyptic literature. From then on they were treated in a number of public arenas (ecclesiastical, political and legal, and the media) as embodiments of obscurantism, perversion and criminality (De Certeau, 1988, p. 246). In a confluence of diverse and contrasting voices, discourses and apparatuses, the image of the primitive Mucker colonists and their hysterical and mentally alienated leadership was efficiently *made real*.

During the outbreak of violence that culminated in the war, the colonists' everyday life and moral modes of experience became shattered and survived only as remembered traces. They can be residually seen through official reports, epistolaries, and letters never sent. In her first known letter, 24 February 1873, a semi-literate Jacobina, 31 years of age and a mother of five children, wrote to her eldest brother, Francisco, who was then already associating with groups slandering her as 'a libertine woman' (cited in Domingues, 1977, p. 86). In the letter, she denounced male power and the 'scribes who make unjust laws and utter iniquitous sentences, so as to twist the cause of the poor and to oppress the right of the unhappy ... Your love vanished'. She wrote, 'The hands of men become tired and their hearts become cowardly. Fright, fear and pain will overwhelm them and their faces will ignite'. Jacobina linked the dismemberment of her childhood family to the growing injustices and disturbances that also occasioned her poetics.⁸ 'But I endure,' she said. In the name of their dead father, Jacobina spoke to her brother:

With the heavenly father I ask:

Come back and leave the tumult of the world,
for you wounded me in the heart
which bleeds drop by drop.
And what will our good mother say
when she learns of it?
She will say then: my heart hurts so much.

Cutting off the Horses' Tails

'The Mucker did not cut off their horses' tails. This is a prison: here I don't have any work to do'. These words uttered by Vó Minda in 1991 in the São Jose nursing home are the inversion of an anathema. She was always waiting for any visit, at any time, to take her away from that imminent death sentence, and restore her ties to us, the family she used to feed. She wanted to be buried in a cemetery in Jammerthal, where she paid a monthly fee so that 'everything might be clean and ready'. She was born there and bore her six children there, too. Her drunken husband Afonso had set fire to the house in 1964.

Vó Minda then migrated to the city of São Leopoldo to start over with her youngest daughter. There she worked as a cook for a few years and moved to Novo Hamburgo, where she bought herself a new house, near the children who had migrated earlier from the colonies. In the mid 1980s, her Parkinson's disease progressing and none of the children willing or in a position to devote full-time care to her, Vó Minda was placed in that nursing home. In January 1979, after playing cards with his friends, Afonso went back to his ruins, 'where he lived like an animal'. As he crossed the inter-state BR-116, he was hit by a car. 'They say that he was sober that night'.

I prompted Vó Minda to ask several of her acquaintances in the corridors and rooms of the home for impressions about the Mucker. My request was made on the assumption that there must be some original inscription that would be endlessly repeated; it also sprang from my desire to recognize affinities between a historical text, and those colonists and their descendants. These assumptions helped me to look yet also prevented me from seeing clearly. The mistake was mine-Vó Minda and I were not engaged in a textual encounter.

At first, I thought that the story of the cutting off of the horses' tails was a hieroglyph. 'But what about it ... what does it mean?', I asked. Vó Minda's answer to my question could not have been more compelling, revealing the 'givenness' of the story of the cutting for Vó Minda who found in that event the means of enduring her current existence: 'That is something we don't do to what is ours!' Gently, she mocked my vision of a 'magic of presence', in as far as I was giving meaning to that which cannot be seen, or as Jacques Lacan puts it, looking at 'the object as absence' (1981, p. 182).

The Mucker were brought onto the historical stage through the intervention of a real act of severance.⁹ In Vó Minda's narrative, the word Mucker conveyed the notions of lonesomeness, a remembered tie, and the presence of inconceivable violence-the voice of a body that is denied a home. Her recollection did cast thinking on the Mucker, including my own, back to the function of the inaugural cut which made the Mucker publicly disappear. 'What does not come to light in the symbolic, reappears in the real' (Lacan cited by Chemama, 1995, p. 183).

I now turn to the traumatic beginnings of the Mucker events c. 1872, involving relatives, neighbours, loved ones, horses, fences, pigs, ecclesiastical, political and economic authorities-an escalation of misunderstandings, accusations and crimes. The cutting off of the horses' tails is a residue of the time when Jacobina and her friends began to be placed outside reality. They wrote texts (e.g. official petitions, personal letters) in an effort to maintain their conceptual clarity in the face of the materiality of death. From the cutting off of the horses' tails to the final cut made upon the mouth of Jacobina's dead body there was a 'cultural unconscious' in the making. Vó Minda and other inhabitants of Jammerthal have gone on circulating such traces as a measure of life in the face of the impossibility of escaping a place that is terminal-a place where one comes to die, but that also represents the end of the line for the Mucker.

A collective letter was signed by the Mucker in December 1873 and addressed to the Emperor Dom Pedro II. The letter represented their final legal attempt to contest the abuses they were experiencing at the hands of their neighbours and the local authorities: 'The peasants whose signatures follow ... come to your Majesty to declare how much they have suffered, not just from some inhabitants of the same

colonies who are rowdy and conniving, but also from the very deputy police-chief and a few inspectors of this district who have been protecting the wicked, covering up for them ... And so the wicked insulted us wherever they met us, directing obscene words to ward us off, whipping some, throwing stones at others for no reason ... They cut into pieces the white clothes belonging to the peasant Nicolau Barth, which were hanging in the yard. And they cut the tails and manes of five mounts'.¹⁰

Survivor João Noé (1977, p. 389) reported the indignation of his fellows to the organizers of those attacks: 'Why weren't the people who promoted slanders and lies-these people were not of our house-interrogated by the law too? The answer to this question would reveal who the authors of the cutting of the horses' tails and killing of the cattle were'.

The cutting of the horses' tails and related events involving friends of Jacobina and Jo2o Jorge were not reported in the official media. Freemason materialists, Lutherans, and Jesuits were ecumenically united in silence about the Mucker laments. The Mucker's protests of suffering and evil did not find sympathy with the new social forces, interests and calculations framing everyday life in Jammerthal. In fact, such appeals to the will and name of subjects was their way of participating in the emergent Germanist order; the Mucker stood for an outmoded morality that was exercised face-to-face, whereas reality was now increasingly penetrated and determined by 'distantiated relations' (Giddens, 1990, pp. 18-19).

The lack of responsiveness to the Mucker claims was also related to the politics expressed by many of them. Consider the voice of João Jorge Klein, Jacobina's brother-in-law, a former lay pastor and self-taught intellectual. Klein, to whom Jacobina dictated many letters, voiced critical concerns about the Germanist administration of the colonies. In a manuscript from early 1873, Klein cited instances of public corruption: communal bridges were left unfinished, public moneys were misused and diverted to private ends. The *Deutsche Zeitung* did not publish Klein's letter: 'We hear complaints all over the colonies about how public money has been wasted. The contractors take over construction work; they work until they receive the money, and then let the building materials rot. It is too bad that our political representatives cannot act independently. Who will call the contractors to fulfill their duties if they are one's good client or good friend? In this way, abuses go unnoticed ... There is a need for many reforms' (cited by Sperb, 1987, pp. 243-244). Later that year, Koseritz refused to print subsequent texts sent by Klein, in which he criticized the taxation system and the local legal bureaucracy, which were such a burden to the colonists when attempting to make transfers of their property, 'so that the poor end up paying the taxes of the rich' (Sperb, 1987, p. 245).

Klein linked the cutting of the horses' tails to the retaliatory actions of chief of police Lucio Schreiner, who resented the fact that the colonists did not vote *en masse* for his brother (the then chief of police) in São Leopoldo's 1872 municipal elections. João Jorge Schreiner was in any case elected, and Lucio was then appointed to replace him as chief of police (Domingues, 1977, p. 59). According to Klein: 'This same police-chief was the Maurers' enemy and was firmly intent on revenge. It was easy to predict that all this would have a tragic end. No wonder this authority did not restrain the people who insulted, beat, stoned, and stole from the "Mucker", when they cut the manes and the tails of their horses, tore apart the clothing at the washing-place, etc.' (cited by Petry, 1974, p. 140). Lucio Schreiner was Jacobina's cousin (through the maternal line), and was considered an 'ex-colonist'. Schreiner's father was the legal counsel representing Jacobina and her siblings when their father, André Mentz, died in 1853.

Carolina Mentz, Jacobina's youngest sister, questioned Schreiner's loyalties and declared his actions 'uncivilized' in a letter dated 27 December 1873: 'Don't be bothered by the familial bond which ties you to us; don't give yourself reasons to blame your modest and nowadays often insulted relatives for your failure to obtain a higher office. We might have expected that people who live in the civilized world and consider themselves as belonging to the enlightened classes-even when they serve as functionaries of the police-would behave as educated men and not as savages when going into homes and meeting human beings ... Through Klein's brother-in-law I requested information about Maurer's horse, which was injured by the men of your guard, and you replied that Maurer had loaned the horse to one of those men. Now everybody knows that you have lied' (cited by Petry, 1974, p. 175).

For the several relatives still associating with Jacobina and Jo3o Jorge, Lucio Schreiner epitomized the extent to which cheating and lying amongst kin were socially tolerated. As a police officer, he also stood for the corrupt legal practices in place in São Leopoldo, the headquarters of the colonies. Jacobina verbalized this in the last letter she dictated and had sent in May 1874 to her cousin Mathias

Schröder, who had abandoned the Mucker during the final confrontations with the police: '... therefore I tell you that it is time for you to remember the teachings of your dear mother. Lucio, the Anti-Christ, also tried to influence your mind by saying that I had dishonored all the relatives by slandering your dead father in a letter. You can observe the kind of unjust ideas that this man created about us from this: you should accept better lessons and precepts'.¹¹

Throughout the Mucker events, anecdotes about the lives of extended kin and neighbours were made public, talked about, fought over and restated. Those colonists symbolically expressed their sense of persecution as a beheading executed by the chief of police, a relative they saw as having already lost his own head. Jacobina wrote: 'Why does he so arbitrarily search for our heads? I suppose that he does so because he himself doesn't have one any longer, he has already given proof of this'.¹²

Awaking into a Germanist Fantasy

On 22 May 1873, Jacobina was arrested at her house and taken to São Leopoldo, in order to testify before the chief of police of the Province. The *Deutsche Zeitung* reported what the police produced as 'evidence': 'The house is built of mysterious illusions ... The rooms are contiguous; it is not necessary to get out of one in order to get into another. The Assistant Chief Inspector inspected all rooms, including the dark room where Miss Christ makes her experiments. A couple of pistols, a few knives and three pictures were found ... Christ, Pastor Borchard and Jesuit Ignatius Loyola' (28 June 1873).

In their plea to Emperor Dom Pedro 11, the Mucker mentioned that 'even though Jacobina was suffering from the illness that possesses her and was in an unconscious state, she was put on an ox-cart and escorted to São Leopoldo by eight soldiers. The trip took 9 hours; along the road she was insulted. She was still ill when they placed her in the City Hall and exhibited her to the public' (cited by Domingues, 1977, p. 157). Jacobina was then submitted to a medical examination 'in order to confirm suspicions that she was dissimulating; the authorities pinched her skin, pierced her body with needles and knives, and tried many other medical applications to wake her up' (ibid.). The police reports say that around 7p.m. her head perspired and she began to murmur with her eyes still closed. After some of her friends chanted and kissed her she opened her eyes and asked for some water. 'I have never before in my whole life heard such a howling. Mr Jacó Fuchs yelled as if he were a brilliant opera conductor', mocked Koseritz upon witnessing Jacobina's awakening into the fantasy of Germanism (cited by Domingues, 1977, p. 41).

Jacobina testified that meetings were held in her house in which she explained the Bible 'according to inspiration from above' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 14 June 1873). She kept her narrative within what she conceived to be the legal limitations of the official inquiry, stressing her doctrinal right, as a Protestant, to 'lay priesthood': 'She doesn't know how this enlightenment came upon her; but there is no intermediary person between her and the deity ... She also doesn't know how many people participate in the meetings, because she is "out of herself" (ibid.). The earlier testimony of her husband João Jorge Maurer was confirmed: *I...* he said that gatherings take place in his house, but with the only purpose of explaining the true meaning of the Scriptures; and that he has even invited clergy of various creeds to attend them' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 11 June 1873).

Throughout the colonies, people commented that during the Pentecost of the preceding year, and at the time of the cutting of the horses' tails, a peculiar event took place: a 'hierophany'. Jacobina was alleged to have been fostering blasphemy, calling herself 'Christ'. When asked about this apparition, Jacobina replied that 'she does not know, but they-told her that at a gathering she appeared in white clothing and that she had a garland in her hair' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 14 June 1873). Mucker João Nicolau Fuchs referred to the event using the phrase 'as if: 'Jacobina looked as if she were a statue blessing everybody. A few people wept. Everything seemed supernatural, but it was Miss Maurer' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 21 May 1873).

Since those religious meetings could not legally be prohibited, the police and Germanist administrators created, in the name of order and safety, practices which were themselves illegal. 'Mr and Mrs Christ signed a 'VOW of good behavior and were placed under police custody' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 5 July 1873). In spite of not having legally or medically incriminating proof, the authorities forced them to sign the 'vow'. They kept 'the dreamer' confined to the ward of the 'mentally alienated ones' in the Holy House of Mercy, and 'the healer' imprisoned at the headquarters of the Imperial Army in Porto Alegre.

The authorities alleged that they had done so in order to protect 'the treacherous couple' from the wrath of neighbouring peasants (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 18 June 1873).

This forced confinement had the effect of projecting a public image of the Mucker as characterized by madness and delinquency, as well as displaying the efficiency of the Germanist laws of exception. These disciplinary actions also unleashed a mechanism of self-reporting within a matrix of 'good behaviour'; and had the consequence of legitimizing the inquisitorial forces of public officers and of the police, once fellow colonists reported violations of the 'vows'. Thus the houses of the colonists as well as their individual conduct became open to inspection. This framing of reality became a technology, one used frequently and effectively to gather support against the Mucker from the Provincial and Imperial authorities, as well as from large sections of the colonist population.

Throughout these events, the *Deutsche Zeitung* consistently represented the evolution of local Germanism *vis-à-vis* the Mucker as a progression from Enlightenment via social Darwinism to a 'modern state':

If the peasants had learned something of the Natural Sciences and had been brought up according to some of the principles of the Enlightenment they would certainly laugh at [the Muckers'] prophecies ... (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 17 May 1873)

An unknown impulse seized its followers. (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 31 May 1873)

One cannot be precise about the objectives of this society; but the gossip is that the whole band ... has evil intentions. They want to be the sole dwellers of this place. One also hears that much lead, gunpowder and brimstone is being bought ... What is worst, they destroy families ... encouraging divorce. What a fine morality. (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 28 June 1873)

This madness in its pure form is so foolish and meaningless in its practices that it does not deserve a legal existence. They adore as Christ a woman who (if we are to take her role from the Bible) with good reason should be named the Babylonian w ... [whore]. For this band of people the most fitting place is either the penitentiary or the madhouse. They are faithful to all evil actions; they operate upon society like a deadly poison that destroys the human organism. If the government will not liberate society from this monster, the inhabitants of the colonies-as a matter of personal safety-will achieve justice by means of lynching. Deaths are going to be the result of this'. (*Deutsche Zeitung* , 10 December 1873)

It is essential to neutralize the influence of this bunch of fanatics over thousands of families, to restore the peace that has been lost ... All this cannot and ought not to be tolerated by the state if it does not want to destroy its very existence. (*Deutsche Zeitung* , 9 May 1874)

Koseritz and his Germanist allies won the war they had unleashed.

The Uncanny

Two years after the first attacks were launched from the pulpits and were printed in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, the Mucker were already considered ridiculous messianic characters, a threat to the State's legal order, remnants of an Indian primitivism living hand-to-mouth, destroyers of families and communities, dangerous White niggers to be deported or treated as wild beasts. Many of the Muckers' own neighbours and relatives who had formerly participated in the meetings around Jacobina's dreams and biblical interpretations joined the police forces in plotting illegal arrests and accusing the Mucker of ambushes and murder attempts (Domingues, 1977, pp. 225-226), and they later sided with the Army in the war. Through all these events, repeatedly enacting and re-enacting various conventions, an imaginary site was carved out in the sphere of the everyday-positivistic notions of life and death were conceived in it, while the real traces left imprinted on the ground by those events were dispersed into the realm of the unthought.

Sigmund Freud's essay *Das Unheimlich*, 'The Uncanny' (1955), is useful in helping us to consider the manufacture of the Mucker as a bestial double of the Germanist ideal ego. The uncanny, writes Freud, is a particular feeling related to something so dreadful -a shadow, trace or nuance- that it evokes repulsion and distress. The etymology of the word *Unheimlich* suggests that the meaning of *heimlich* (familiar) developed ambivalently, passing through the negation *Un*, until it finally coincided with its opposite: 'the

factor of repression enables us ... to understand Schelling's definition of the uncanny as something which ought to have remained hidden but has come to light' (p. 241).

Of particular interest here is Freud's emphasis on the experience of the uncanny as not being derived from revelations or apparitions, but coming about through literary artifices that produce a 'double'. For example, a living person to whom one ascribes evil intentions can be taken as uncanny. In this case, the harmful intentions must be perceived and carried out with the aid of special powers. Freud explores how fantastic narratives leave readers uncertain as to whether the characters are human beings or automatons, and as to whether one is witnessing deliriums or successions of events which could be regarded as real. 'The quality of uncanniness can only come from the fact of the 'double' being a creation dating back to a very early mental stage, long since surmounted—a stage, incidentally, at which it wore a more friendly aspect. The 'double' has become a thing of terror, just as, after the collapse of their religion, the gods turned into demons' (p. 236).

The reconstruction of the Mucker events challenges Freud's view that 'fiction presents more opportunities for creating uncanny feelings than are possible in real life' (p. 251). In fact, Koseritz and his associates were able to socially manufacture Mucker doubles. Through fantastic discursive practices, backed up by the authority of natural history, the media and pastoral power, along with various disciplinary strategies, the Mucker were sculpted out of simple colonists who had handled the matters of illness and dying on their own terms. Koseritz and fellow Germanists used a fantastic rationalism to deconstruct that culture, turning it into the negative form of a Germanist interiority understood as second nature.

Koseritz's sadistic narrative became official history: 'The point is to banish them to the land where there are still cannibals ... But we have to remain human with the Mucker. At the point of deportation we would give them guns and ammunition ... The Mucker would then have the opportunity to satiate their death instinct while killing the cannibals, and the cannibals would have the -- pleasure of having the Mucker for breakfast. In this way, we would help the Mucker as well as the cannibals' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 22 July 1874). Thus, the Mucker were stereotyped and inscribed onto the social fabric as demonic and cannibalistic, while a pastoral and professionally-minded ethics found its place alongside them. The deadly magical powers of Jacobina, a 'necromancer', were surpassed by the charismatic, mediatic and para-legal powers of enlightened leaders, physicians, and professional clergy.

The Mucker social experience was itself a modern means of governmentality, that is, the Mucker became instruments in enabling those free individuals to 'truly' understand themselves and relate to each other. During the Mucker events the making of Self and Other, and the conflicts between Self and Other were not exclusively transposed onto an imaginary plane. The adversaries went beyond simply exhibiting and bearing each other's image; they did not avoid a real struggle (Lacan, 1991, p. 282). In fact, they acted out a war to end each other or each other's representatives or absent enemies. This is the crucial dimension of the Mucker events: the construction and the embodiment of the Mucker was not just a literary but also a literal process. In order for there to be the possibility of Germanist subjects rediscovering the power of the truth in themselves, that truth could not originally have been discovered or concealed, rather it had to have been made, inscribed and transferred as a matter of violent dependency.

Mucker survivor Noé recollects that throughout the colonies even children were brandishing knives, ready to slaughter the 'sow': 'They heard everything from their parents. When they were holding a knife they proudly said: "with this knife we will make sausages out of Jacobina!" We [Mucker] no longer experienced tranquillity and peace. The targets of mockery and without protection from the São Leopoldo authorities, we found ourselves obliged to defend ourselves' (Noé 1977, p. 391).

When the Mucker realized that they had become the swear-word of that new *kultured* world, they chose to end their lives on their own terms. In the process, they confused the imaginary and the symbolic. They could not escape participating in the ideas and practices of local Germanism. While fighting for their honour, the Mucker murdered those living nearby who had estranged themselves from them. On the night of 24 June 1874, after the arrest of some of their leaders, the Mucker set fire to several neighbouring households and trading posts. The Mucker killed 14 people who had either directly mistreated them (for example, by cutting off their horses' tails) or who had allegedly spied for the local authorities and the police. The Mucker killed the whole family of neighbour Jacó Schmitt, son of the village inspector and owner of the trading post where Jacobina was born. The official celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of

German Immigration scheduled for the next day were cancelled. Chief of police Schreiner reported: 'The local population is terrified' (cited by Amado, 1978, p. 229).

In fact, Jacobina had announced a 'final judgement' in a letter sent to Schreiner a few weeks earlier: 'Soon the situation of each of us is going to be defined. Keep on feeding your instincts upon your own flesh and upon your blood, i.e. upon your relatives. However, beware, for Judgement Day will not tarry. And does Your Excellency not know that each day that passes may in fact be the last day of life?' (cited by Domingues, 1977, p. 242) (Fig. 6). Thus, before their defeat, the Mucker subjects 'surpassed wild animals in their madness and ferocity' and set the German colonies on fire, turning that place into 'an image of lamentation and terror' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 11 July 1874, 15 July 1874).

During the last battles in the colonies, both the Mucker and their neighbouring enemies slaughtered each other as if they were 'puppets'-the Germanist authorities narrated and printed from afar the truth of the victory of their own Spirit over the older gods now viewed as vanquished demons. The Mucker's last social function was to command the attention of all upstanding, obedient citizens, showing them what could potentially happen to those not living in conformity with 'modern reality'. On 27 June 1874 Koseritz wrote that: 'It should be permitted that these criminals be destroyed like wild animals by dogs, so that an honorable man would not have to foul his hand' (*Deutsche Zeitung*, 27 June 1874).

The Mucker represented the 'former' nature of an imaginary Germanist reality, the expression of a morbid social process of immigrant integration as developed by Koseritz and his associates. They were the very condition for the realization of the phantasms that constituted this Germanist will to know and its variations in the minds of its modern subjects. Eventually, the symbolic expression of Jacobina and her followers (a kind of 'absent-name-of-the-father') vanished altogether and the dreamer's dead mouth was cut out (Domingues, 1977, p. 365).

Epilogue: Natural History

As a German spirit was being painfully inscribed on the flesh and soul of a group of Brazilian colonists, Friedrich Nietzsche was publishing 'Of the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life' in Germany. Here Nietzsche diagnosed what he saw as a physiology enhanced by the particular nature and discipline of German culture: 'Men are to be fashioned to the needs of the time ... Some birds are blinded that they may sing better; I do not think men sing today better than their grandfathers, though I am sure they are blinded early' (1957, p. 44).

In August 1874, immediately after the end of the Mucker War, an anonymous writer from 'The Valley of Paradise' published a report in Germany about the mental alienation of 'Jacobina Maurer, the "Female Christ", among the Germans in Brazil'. The events in southern Brazil were of interest for the *aufgeklärte Deutschen* (enlightened Germans) because of the 'psychological enigmas that are posed without any solution' (cited in Hunsche, 1974, p. 255). According to this anonymous writer (most probably Koseritz himself), the Mucker reflected the horrendously backward times of the witch-trials: 'How could an *uncultured* and libertine woman such as Jacobina, who does not read anything which is handwritten and only reads with difficulty what is printed, have gained so much influence over such a large number of men ... previously known as honorable and hard-working individuals? In the light of such a fact, one is tempted to believe in a certain form of mental alienation [*Wahnsinn*], as we can sometimes find reference to in the reports of the horrendous times of the trials against the witches' (ibid., my emphasis).

Most importantly, argues the German writer from the south, Jacobina's vision and discourse obstructed access to a natural science of life: 'It is unfortunate to observe that in spite of all the progress of humanity, an individual can still fall so deeply into the superstition of backward times. We deplore the fact that what the poet Schiller wrote still persists today: "The worst of all horrors is man in his illusion"' (Hunsche, 1974, p. 262).

The day after the announcement of Jacobina's death, the Germanists of Porto Alegre created a Central Commission and Local Relief Committees to 'reconstruct the colonies'. According to Koseritz, life in Jammerthal had to be remade through the construction of schools and community buildings, and the teachings of natural historians. 'They would introduce the children at a young age to the mysteries of nature. They would explain to them all the natural phenomena and would lead them to the source of life -

the perennial and eternally active laws of nature ... So a mad and hysterical woman like Jacobina Maurer would have simply been laughed at and would never have gotten followers' (1875, p. 126).

In 1878, Koseritz wrote a travel book aimed at recruiting hard-working, economical, and orderly persons, and at attracting new foreign investments for the region. He depicted the colonies of São Leopoldo as a sanitized and non-hybridized extension of German *Kultur* (at this time the Mucker survivors were still in prison). In the colonies, the true German Self could be sensed, without any interfering reminiscences of, or mourning for, past forms of life. Banished and killed like wild animals, the Mucker became the very condition of a familiarity with the categories and practices of an enlightened and *kultural* Spirit in southern Brazil: 'Our newly arrived people are met by a strong and independent Germanism, unmixed; whose language, morals and religious manners from the old fatherland were so truly preserved, that upon arrival in Porto Alegre the immigrant breathes an almost native German air' (Koseritz, 1897, p. 38).

In Jammerthal, we see the German Self formed in 'imaginary servitudes' (Lacan, 1977, p. 7). Johann Gottlieb Fichte had envisaged such a strategy of self-formation at the beginning of the nineteenth century: The dawn of the new world is already past its breaking; already it gilds the mountaintops, and heralds the coming day. I wish, so far as in me lies, to catch the rays of this dawn and weave them into a mirror, in which our grief-stricken age must see itself; so that it may believe in its own existence, may perceive its real self, and, as in prophetic vision, may see its own development, its coming forms pass by. In the contemplation of this, the picture of its former life will doubtless sink and vanish; and the dead body may be born to its resting place without undue lamenting' (Fichte, 1923, p. 15).

Jammerthal became increasingly phantasmagorical as the order of the day was 'to become more natural, therefore more German'. As Nietzsche wrote: 'And being such a dead fabric of words and ideas that yet has an uncanny movement in it, I have still perhaps the right to say *cogito ergo sum*, though not *vivo ergo cogito*' (Nietzsche, 1957, pp. 25, 69).

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Notes

1. From 1835 to 1845, the colonists were implicated in a civil war. The 'Farrapos' rebels were fighting for provincial autonomy and a republican Brazil against 'legalist forces' backed up by large landowners and meat traders. The Farrapos had an important base of support among colonists who provided them with food and protection. Germanist administrators, however, sided with the legalists and played a key role in 'cleansing the revolutionary elements from the colonies' (Oberacker, 1985, p. 244).

2. These inscriptions were found in the Lutheran Cemetery of Linha Nova Alta, where many Mucker families lived.

3. According to Foucault (1997, p. xvii), governmentality implies 'the relationship of the self to itself, and [covers] the range of practices that constitute, define, organize and instrumentalize the strategies which individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other'.

4. See Michel Foucault, quoted in Butler, 1997, p. 83: 'My problem is essentially the definition of the implicit systems in which we find ourselves prisoners; what I would like to grasp is the system of limits and exclusion which we practice without knowing it; I would like to make the cultural unconscious apparent'.

5. 'Considerações Gerais sobre a ex-Colônia de São Leopoldo em 1867-Exposição do Comissário do Governo em São Leopoldo, José Joaquim Rodrigues Lopes', document found in the Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Código 807, volume 16, Imigração-Coleção de Memórias.

6. Slavery was abolished in 1888, and Brazil became a Republic in 1889.

7. Domingues, 1977, p. 375, says that at least 26 men, 12 women and 12 children were killed.

8. See Michael Fischer's discussion of ethnicity and arts of memory in Fischer, 1986, p. 198: 'retrospection to gain a vision for the future'.

9. See Lacan, 1981, p. 43: '... I spoke to you about the concept of the unconscious, whose true function is precisely that of being in profound, initial, inaugural, relation with the function of the concept of the *Unbegriff*-or *Begriff* of the original *Un*, namely, the cut. I saw a profound link between this cut and the function as such of the subject, of the subject in its constituent relation to the signifier itself'.

10. Document found in the Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Código 605, Questão Maurer.

11. Document found in the Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Código 605, Questão Maurer. See also Petry, 1974, p. 152.

12. Ibid.

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