

EMIGRATION OF KORČULANS TO BRAZIL – SERIOUS CALAMITY OR ENTICEMENT TO EMIGRATION?

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One of the most massive migrations of Croats in the period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was the emigration of inhabitants from the island of Korčula to Brazil in 1925. This was reported by Franko Mirošević, who described the circumstances that generally encouraged the emigration of the population from Dalmatia, and indicated his suspicion that this emigration was the result of recruitment on part of shipping agencies in conjunction with corrupt officials. Consequently, this paper will address the question of whether this emigration was really the result of severe privation or was it recruitment that induced the population of Korčula to emigrate. Hitherto unused archival sources were analyzed to shed more light on this question. Furthermore, previous allegations regarding the date and number of emigrants, as well as the attitude of the state authorities towards the phenomenon of recruitment in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes will be re-examined.

Keywords: recruitment of emigrants, Emigration Commissariat, Fedor Aranicki, protection of emigrants, emigration from Korčula, Catalogue of emigrants, travel applications.

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Introduction

One of the most tragic emigrations in Croatian history is an exodus of the population from the municipalities of Blato and Vela Luka on the island of Korčula to Brazil in 1925.¹ Slightly more newspaper and television articles² have been published than scientific and professional papers regarding this question.³ The work of Franko Mirošević is certainly an exception.⁴ He reconstructed data on emigration from Dalmatia in the years 1921-1929 from

¹ Ivana Sardelić reported on emigration from Korčula in great detail in “Kulturna memorija iseljavanja s Korčule” [Cultural Memory of Emigration from Korčula], <http://blatski-fizuli.hr/images/dokumenti/kulturna-memorija-iseljavanja%20otoka-korcule.pdf> in which she summarized the events at a six-day event held in May 2015 organized by cultural institutions of Blato Beans, Blato Tourist Board and ethno-house Barilo which marked the International Museum Day. The theme of the event was entitled “Museums for a Sustainable Society” and was dedicated to the ninetieth anniversary of the first large-scale mass emigration from Blato, which should have encouraged the beginning of systematic research of Blato emigration, as an important historiographical and museum theme. Despite the fact that this discussion is not categorized, it still provides a cross-section of current literature related to the issue of emigration from Korčula and certainly encourages reflection on upgrading existing knowledge related to the mass exodus of emigration from this island.

² The article about emigration from Korčula was published in the TV show *TV-kalendar* HRT [TV Calendar on Croatian Radio-Television], accessed April 20, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=44bdyXXpDBY>.

³ Following researchers wrote about the emigration from Korčula in different periods: Zvonimir Šeparović, *Od Sydneya do San Franciska: dijaspora ili rasutost mještana Blata na Korčuli diljem svijeta* [From Sydney to San Francisco: diaspora or the scattering of Blato residents on Korčula around the world] (Čakovec: Zrinski, 1982); Zvonimir Šeparović, “Zbogom Zlinje: o velikom iseljavanju iz Blata na Korčuli na sve strane svijeta preko sinjeg mora” [Goodbye Zlinje: on the great emigration from Blato on Korčula to all parts of the world across the blue sea], in *Duhovni i svjetovni obzori Blata na Korčuli: Zbornik radova znanstveno-stručnog skupa održanog 26. travnja 1995. godine u Blatu na Korčuli o obljetnici Svete Vincence Zaštitnice Blata* [Spiritual and secular horizons of Blato on Korčula: Proceedings of the scientific-professional conference held on April 26 1995 in Blato on Korčula on the anniversary of St. Vincence the Patroness of Blato], ed. Zvonimir Šeparović, (Blato: Odbor za proslavu 200. obljetnice Sv. Vincence [Committee for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of St. Vincence], 1995), 185-200; Ivana Lazarević, Nenad Vekarić, “Stanovništvo Blata na Korčuli (1870–1880): početak demografske tranzicije” [The population of Blato on Korčula (1870–1880): the beginning of the demographic transition], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* [Annals of the Institute of historical sciences of the Croatian academy of sciences and arts in Dubrovnik] 47 (2009): 219-241; Vinko Milat, “Vino – život i put Blačana” [Wine – the life and journey of Blato residents], in *Duhovni i svjetovni obzori Blata na Korčuli* [Spiritual and secular horizons of Blato on Korčula], ed. Zvonimir Šeparović, 229-233; Ivana Bačić Serdarević, Leo Padovan, “Zdravo moja Prigradica vala” [Hello my Prigradica vala], *Blatski ljetopis* [Blato Chronicle] (2004): 365-372.

⁴ Franko Mirošević, “Iseljavanje iz Dalmacije u razdoblju od 1921. do 1929.” [Emigration from Dalmatia in the period from 1921 to 1929], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*

published literature and archival sources and provided a valuable contribution to the study of the emigration of Korčulans to Brazil.⁵ He attempted to ascertain whether it was the result of recruitment facilitated by shipping agencies and corrupt authorities or just due to their destitute living conditions.

With the help of hitherto unused sources, ie the Catalogue of Emigrants, itself a part of the fond Emigration Commissariat (HR-HDA-1071) in Croatian State Archives,⁶ we will attempt to ascertain just how important a factor the recruitment carried out by agents of shipping companies. In addition to that, the previous statements regarding the date and number of emigrants from Korčula will be corrected, and the attitude of the authorities towards the phenomenon of recruitment in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (hereinafter: the Kingdom) will be examined in the paper.

The meaning of the term *recruitment* (Croatian: *vrbovanje*) should be clarified in the context of the topic, first. According to reports from the Emigration Commissariat in Zagreb, recruitment was described as gathering locals for oneself personally or at the behest of a third party in order to exploit them on low-paid jobs abroad.⁷ All of the parties in the chain stood to profit from commission fees except the emigrants themselves, whose reward was the job in the destination country. Some of the emigrant countries banned recruitment in general because they wanted to prevent the outflux of qualified labor, while immigration countries did the same in order to prevent the influx of competition to their own existing labor force since this was considered incongruent with the national interests of their country.⁸

Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu [Papers of the Department of Croatian history, Faculty of humanities and social sciences, University of Zagreb] 21, no. 1 (1988): 107-119.

⁵ It was believed, until now, that on April 21, 1925, 1,200 people sailed from Prigradica on steamer "Zaton".

⁶ The Emigration Commissariat in Zagreb was one of the most important institutions of the interwar period (1923-1939), not only for Croatia but also for the entire territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

⁷ Croatia (HR) – Croatian State Archives, Zagreb (HDA) – Record group (1071), Iseljениčki komesarijat. Izvještaj narodnoj skupštini za 1925/1926. [Emigration Commissariat. Report to the National Assembly for 1925/1926], p. 7, box. 548. For more on individual cases of recruiting residents see also HR-HDA-1407. Zemaljska vlada. Povjereništvo za socijalnu skrb. Iseljениčki odsjek. Vrbovanje, izrabljivanje i nekorektni postupci prema emigrantima [Provincial Government. Social Welfare Commission, II / 1-5. Emigration Section. Recruitment, exploitation and incorrect treatment of emigrants, b. 1.]

⁸ *Ibid.* For example, Italian law stipulated that no one was allowed to recruit emigrants except the bearers of the patent of the General Emigration Commissariat, which also issued special permits for the collection of emigrants. German law also prohibited the recruitment of German citizens, to whom some foreign governments, colonization companies, or similar companies paid for transportation. There was no general ban under Swiss law, but in each

There were also certain countries that supported the recruitment of emigrants through intermediaries like Argentina and Brazil. They paid for ship tickets, which was convenient for emigrants because they did not have to borrow. All the while emigrants were showered with embellished propaganda about paradise awaiting them.⁹ However, even though the Emigration Act of 1921 clearly forbade that practice, corrupt officials allowed shipping agents to deceive and recruit large numbers of locals. This was happening with frightening regularity in most of Eastern-Southeastern Europe after World War I due to low wages and high prices of consumer goods.¹⁰ On their end, people which emigrated usually ended up begging to return to the Kingdom due to poor living and working conditions in South America.

Unknown paths of chance – in search of happiness¹¹

According to the official statistics of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, 154,205 people emigrated from 1919 to 1929. Of these, some 78,399 emigrants left Croatia from 1921 to 1929. Of those, 55,641 emigrants came from Croatia and Slavonia, whereas 22,758 emigrated from Dalmatia.¹² Although these em-

particular case special consideration was given to whether recruitment should be allowed or not. Spanish law was the most radical because it explicitly forbade any form of recruitment, while English merchant shipping law, which actually replaced the emigration law, had very strict provisions for persons trying to engage in the recruitment of emigrants. U.S. law strictly dissociated itself from the immigration procedure, especially those persons who were persuaded to immigrate to the United States whether those offers were true or false. All such emigrants were treated by the law as a competitive workforce. More about this in: HR-HDA-1071. Iseljenički komesarijat. "Iseljenička služba – izvještaj Narodnoj skupštini za 1925/1926" [Emigration Commissariat. Emigration Service – Report to the National Assembly for 1925/1926], p. 7, box 548. or in the emigration laws of other states in: HR-HDA-1071. Iseljenički komesarijat. "Strana zakonja i prijedlozi" [Emigration Commissariat. "Foreign Laws and Proposals"], 1-8, b. 550.

⁹ This was a well-known practice going as far back as 1880s; several high-profile court cases against recruitment were carried out in Austria-Hungary before WWI. See: Tara Zahra, *The great departure – mass migration from Eastern Europe and the making of the free world* (New York: WW Norton & Co, 2016), 25-27.

¹⁰ Aleksandar Miletić, *Journey under surveillance. The overseas emigration policy of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in global contrepoint, 1918-1928*. (Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije [Institute for the Recent History of Serbia], 2009), 123-131.

¹¹ *Hrvatska sloga* [Croatian unity], no. 123, April 23, 1925.

¹² According to *Statistički godišnjak (Kraljevine Jugoslavije)* [Statistical Yearbook (Kingdom of Yugoslavia)] 1929-1939, the highest percentage of emigration from Croatia was recorded in 1922 (62.16%), 1925 (61.97%) and 1939 (54, 58%) when it exceeded 50%. For more information on emigration statistics from Croatia, see: Darija Hofgräff Marić, *Iseljenici i povratnici*:

igration figures for Dalmatia do not match corresponding data published by Franko Mirošević,¹³ they still accentuate the fact that emigration had peaked in that period, and that it was comprised mostly of young, able-bodied people, which had a profoundly negative impact on demographic and economic aspects in long term.

Many of these emigrants pursued their happiness in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, as well as some countries in Europe and Africa, where some of them have actually achieved a better standard of living. However, many were forced by the difficult living conditions in Dalmatia (destruction of vineyards by phylloxera plague, low prices of agricultural products, *kolonat*,¹⁴ etc.) to eventually accept the offer to go to South America.¹⁵ Brazil appeared to be a prospective choice, chiefly due to propaganda disseminated by various maritime societies. Emigrants were attracted with offers of free transportation etc. with the aim of obtaining the cheapest possible labor force for the plantations producing coffee and other agricultural crops.¹⁶

Pravni i institucijski aspekti u razdoblju Austro-Ugarske Monarhije i Kraljevine SHS – Kraljevine Jugoslavije [Emigrants and returnees: legal and institutional aspects in the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – Kingdom of Yugoslavia] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2021).

¹³ F. Mirošević, “Iseljavanje iz Dalmacije u razdoblju od 1921. do 1929.” [Emigration from Dalmatia in the period from 1921 to 1929], 109-111.

¹⁴ A local variation of feudal relationship left over from the period when Dalmatia was under Venetian rule.

¹⁵ Milan Puh, “Hrvati u Brazilu kao nevidljivo iseljništvo” [Croats in Brazil as invisible emigrants], *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 51, no. 1 (2019): 97-120. URL: <https://doi.org/10.22586/csp.v51i1.8655>. The author presents the process of Croatian immigration to Brazil through three phases: until 1918, between the two world wars and after 1945, with reference to the main historical events in Croatia and Brazil related to emigration, with emphasis on the state and city of São Paulo.

¹⁶ HR-HDA-1071. Iseljenički komesarijat. Izvještaj za 1924 [Emigration Commissariat. Report for 1924], p. 17-18, box 548. According to the *Beratungstelle* report, the conditions under which the State of Sao Paulo received German plantation workers were as follows: 1. free transport; 2. to cultivate 1,000 coffee bushes the worker was to receive 300 to 400 milreis; 3. for the coffee harvest was paid per bag with a content of 50 litres on average up to 1 milreis (about 9 dinars); 4. workers were allowed to plant beans or other fruits between coffee bushes; 5. the worker was allowed to keep pigs and chickens, one or more cows, for which a pasture was to be made available to if necessary; 6. workers were obliged to work only on the coffee plantation; 7. workers must undertake to work for one year on the plantation; 7. Work instructions must be given to the worker in a language he understands. However, many of the immigrants, including those from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, were not treated under this agreement. The difference was that German workers came in an organized manner through the *Beratungstele für deutsche einwanderer der deutschen Kolonie in Rio de Janeiro* (Advisory Office for German Immigrants of the German Colony in Rio de Janeiro), unlike emigrants from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes who individually arranged emigration.

Many emigrants seized on this opportunity because it obviated the need to borrow from moneylenders to buy a transport ticket. The only expense they had to incur was the procurement of necessary passports and visas, which amounted to 40 dinars.¹⁷

However, working conditions in South American states were far from ideal and many emigrants were subjected to even greater misery and poverty. Such was the case of the emigrant Tometić who was a colonist in the Brazilian state of Sao Paulo.¹⁸ He complained that his employer had not paid him for several months' work, as well as about the generally poor living and working conditions and the lack of insurance and employment contracts. This motivated him to seek a return to the Kingdom shortly after his arrival in Brazil.¹⁹

Although a ubiquitous phenomenon, this approach to attracting workers by the Brazilian government was in direct contravention of the Emigration Act of 1921.²⁰ According to it, recruitment was strictly prohibited especially if based on false information and promises, as stated in Article 24.²¹ Its provisions were particularly rigorous towards the representatives of steamship companies.²² They were not allowed to issue information related to shipping

¹⁷ F. Mirošević, "Iseljavanje iz Dalmacije u razdoblju od 1921. do 1929." [Emigration from Dalmatia in the period from 1921 to 1929], 112.

¹⁸ HR-HDA-1071. Iseljanički komesarijat. Dopis Ministarstvu inostranih dela o prilikama u Brazilu od 30. lipnja 1920. godine [Emigration Commissariat. Letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the situation in Brazil dated 30 June 1920], no. 26 / a, box 550.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* More on emigrating to Brazil: HR-HDA-790. Benko Grado, Artur, VII. / 1b. Manuskripti elaborata, članaka i studija A. B. Grade o pitanjima iz oblasti migracija (1921. – 1944.) [Manuscripts of studies and articles by A. B. Grado on issues of migration (1921-1944)], no. 8. O Braziliji s obzirom na Jugoslavensku imigraciju [On Brazil with regard to Yugoslav immigration] 17-18, box 79. Article was published in *Jutarnji list* [Morning paper] no. 3537/1921, box. 79.

²⁰ *Službene novine Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* [Official Gazette of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes] no. 39/1922; *Narodne novine* [People's gazette] no. 80/1922.

²¹ According to the Emigration Act, recruitment could be false and true, whereby the legislator did not mean that true recruitment was allowed, but that those who recruited residents to emigrate on false premises should be more severely punished (paragraph 35, paragraph 4). For persons who used false information or data for the purpose of recruitment (i.e. if they falsely presented themselves) the punishment could be imprisonment for a period of one year or a one-time fine in the amount of 50,000 dinars. The law also provided for other much more rigorous penalties, both for individual private individuals and for authorized companies.

²² The most well-known companies in the business of transporting emigrants were: Cunard Line and White Star from Liverpool; Orient Line and Royal Mail from London (all British companies); Hamburg-Amerika Linie and Hamburg South American Line / Hamburg-Südamerikanische Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft from Hamburg, Norddeutscher Lloyd from Bremen (German companies); Holland-America Line – Rotterdam, Royal Holland Lloyd – Amsterdam and Red Star Line – Antwerpen (Holland); Compagnie General Transatlantique,

timetables, as was the case with the sale of letters of guarantee for emigrating to Canada to persons living in the vicinity of Pisarovina and in the Međimurje region.²³ This was done even though Canadian authorities enforced restrictive immigration policies, allowing only minimum numbers of immigrants from the Kingdom to settle within their borders.

These examples clearly point to the fact that the enactment of emigration legislation was one story, while implementation and enforcement of the same entirely another. One of the most intractable problems was corruption; many of the local officials were easily bribed by shipping companies' representatives to effectively become mediators in emigration (or even approached them in the first place with the same intention).²⁴ This explains why authorities often showed little to no interest to enforce the central government's measures against recruitment.²⁵ The stricter the restrictions, the more creative lesser officials were becoming in achieving their goals,²⁶ which is evident in the example of emigration from Korčula.

Therefore, this issue cannot be discussed only by considering the role of the state, i.e. whether it had acted adequately or not,²⁷ or by refuting the views of other authors who characterized the exodus from Korčula as "a hypocritical undertaking of the bourgeois regime under the slogan of supposed social care for poor families."²⁸ There were simply too many omissions and a lack of coordination in the relationship between the relevant Ministry of Social

Messageries Maritimes and Chargeurs Reunis, all from Paris – France; Navigazione Generale Italiana and Transatlantica from Genoa, Cosulich Line – Trieste (Italy); United American Line and United States Lines from New York (USA); Canadien Pacific from Montreal (Canada). Among more important ports for transatlantic shipping were Cherbourg (Cunard Line), Southampton, Genoa and Napoli. Emigrants would typically take trains through Laibach (Ljubljana) and Trieste (Trst) to reach them.

²³ HR-HDA-1071. "Izvješće Iseljeničkog komesarijata 1926/27" [Emigration Commissariat. Report for 1926/27], 30, box 548.

²⁴ A. Miletić, *Journey under Surveillance*, p. 124.

²⁵ Ulf Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe: emigrants, America, and state since the late nineteenth century* (Lanham; Boulder; New York; London: Lexington Books, 2016), 189.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Franko Mirošević, "Iseljavanje s otoka Korčule u razdoblju 1921. do 1931. Godine" [Emigration from the island of Korčula in the period 1921 to 1931], *Godišnjak grada Korčule* [Yearbook of the town of Korčula] 11 (2009): 317-333.

²⁸ Marin Cetinić, "Revolucionarni pokreti na otoku Korčuli između dva svjetska rata i početka NOB-e" [Revolutionary movements on the island of Korčula between the two world wars and the beginning of the National Liberation War], *Korčulanski zbornik* [Korčula anthology] (1980), 22.

Policy (hereinafter: the Ministry)²⁹ and local authorities, which was evident in the criticism of parliamentary representatives and the Minister himself. However, in “credit where credit is due” fashion, broadsides were also fired at shipping companies’ agents who were often described as “shameless speculators”.³⁰ Also, the spread of corruption was exposed openly, with criticism leveled at the state itself, especially its structure and functioning.³¹ Such a situation was inevitably reflected in the relations between the Emigration Commissariat in Zagreb/Agram and the competent Ministry, especially since Commissariat was much more active than the Ministry in solving problems related to recruitment (stopping practices of direct persuasion to emigrate and advertisement of the benefits of living and working in certain countries of immigration). Transparency and direct intervention were also evident in situations such as when the Emigration Commissariat warned the Ministry that no member of the emigration service had ever been sent to the state of Sao Paulo to verify working and living conditions on coffee plantations, which was considered a key precondition before allowing people to emigrate to Brazil large numbers.³²

Commissariat also enacted various misdemeanor provisions related to recruitment,³³ which were regularly circulated in the form of letters to all em-

²⁹ The Ministry of Social Policy was established on December 7, 1918, and the Ministry of Public Health on May 14, 1919. The unification of both ministries into the Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health took place on June 27, 1929. For more on the organization and scope of operations of this Ministry, see the description of the fond 39 of the Archives of Yugoslavia: Spasoje Ašković, *Ministarstvo socijalne politike i narodnog zdravlja 1919-1945: inventar sumarno-analitički : AJ-39* [Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health 1919-1945: summary-analytical inventory: AJ-39] (Beograd: Arhiv Jugoslavije, 1978). For more about the establishment of the Ministry of Social Policy see: Viktor Manakin, (ed.), *Almanah – Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev* [Almanac – Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes] Vol. 1: 1921-1922 (Zagreb: Komisionalna naklada Hrvatskog štamparskog zavoda, 1922), 107, while on the Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health, see *Službene novine Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* [Official Gazette of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes], no. 152, August 3, 1929.

³⁰ Vesna Đikanović, *Iseljavanje u Sjedinjene američke države, jugoslovensko iskustvo 1918. – 1941.* [Emigration to the United States of America, Yugoslav Experience 1918-1941] (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2012), 186.

³¹ Ibid.

³² HR-HDA-1071. Izvješće Iseljeničkog komesarijata za 1924 [Emigration Commissariat. Report for 1924], p. 16. box. 548.

³³ Ibid. The report mentions several different orders relating to emigration to Brazil: order no. 44 of January 18, 1924, on the situation there; then order no. 2490 dated 22 February 1924. on unfavourable emigration trends; report on the revolution in Brazil order no.11711 of 9th and no. 12086 of 15th July of 1924, of which the competent police authorities were additionally informed by order no. 19624 of 15 November 1924, as well as the religious authorities who

igration supervisors.³⁴ In other words, the Emigration Commissariat sought to prevent any influence on emigrants from anyone who could take advantage of their goodwill and proclivities regarding emigration, which was to some extent an incentive for the competent Ministry to adopt emigration bans, not only for Brazil but generally for all the countries of South America.

Is the Catalogue of Emigrants hiding the secret of the Korčulan exodus?

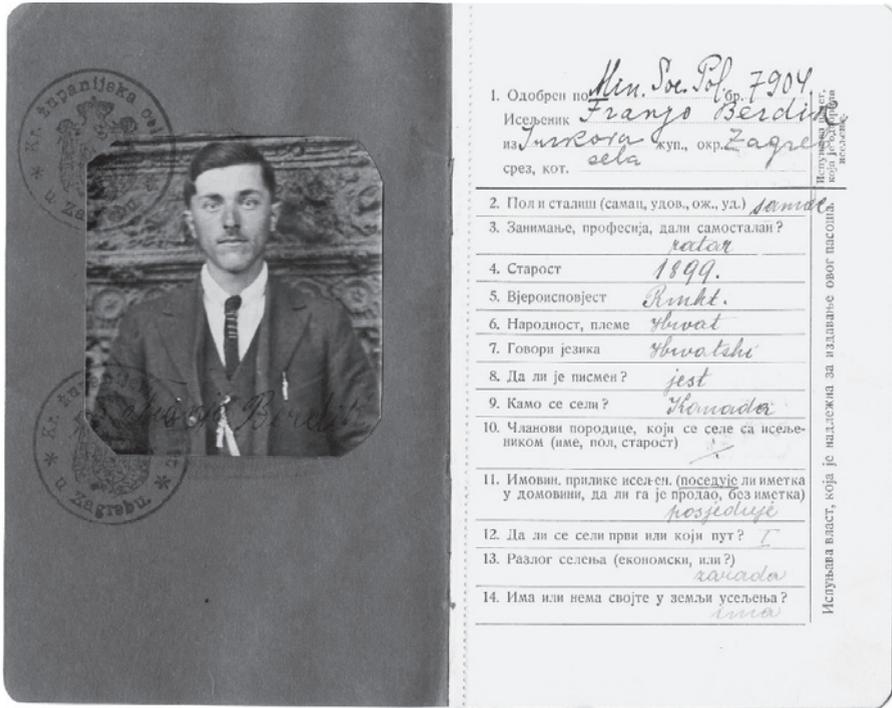
Starting from the suspicion that the people of Korčula were indeed recruited, the already mentioned Catalogue of Emigrants was subjected to rigorous investigation.³⁵ However, before a more detailed analysis of the origin of the Catalogue is presented, it is necessary to point out that emigrant passports greatly differed from ordinary ones. Each emigrant's passport contained a perforated card which was submitted to the Emigration Commissariat in Zagreb by the local emigration authorities in Croatia for the purpose of compiling records, i.e. keeping statistical indicators on emigrants (*Figures 1 and 2*).³⁶

were to inform the population through local priests. In 1926, the Emigration Commissariat also published a call for the issuance of emigrant passports to young women in Brazil, all with the aim of protecting them from the dangers of white slavery. According to that circular no. 25379/1926, as of October 14, only those women who had a letter of invitation from their parents and certified by the police authorities could move to Brazil. The measures were in line with the provisions of the League of Nations, according to which women between the ages of 12 and 40 could emigrate only with a previously certified passport at consulates and have a job with employers who were 'correct' in every moral respect. More on that in HR-HDA-1355. Zbirka Emigracija [Emigration Collection], inv. no. 548, box 8.

³⁴ HR-HDA-1071. Iseljenički komesarijat [Emigration Commissariat] b. 572. See Letter no. 8979 of August 1, 1927, regarding criminality of the practice of recruitment and its interpretation as a misdemeanour. Letter explains in detail what recruitment is and provides a detailed analysis of the Law on Emigration, especially relevant sections.

³⁵ The Catalogue contains lists of people which emigrated overseas in the period 1923-1938. In addition, the cards can be used to search through information regarding shipping companies. Records of emigrants that travelled by shipping companies can be further investigated in boxes 608-627 within the fond HR-HDA-1071. Iseljenički komesarijat [Emigration Commissariat]. Drawers 42 and 43 were used to check the data on emigrants from Korčula.

³⁶ If the person was prevented or simply gave up the trip, then the perforated card remained in the passport as seen in Figure 1, while Figure 2 shows that the emigrant had left the country.



Figures 1 and 2, HR-HDA-1554. Emigration Collection, box. 2.

In addition to the name and surname, age, religion, nationality, citizenship, marital status, occupation, and literacy of the emigrants, the cards also provided information on the locality and district from which the emigrant hailed. This is an extremely important fact if we take into account that official statistics at that time did not include more nuanced information on the emigration according to individual places of birth and districts.³⁷ Each of these cards also contained the passport number and information regarding the issuing authority.

Therefore, it is all the more striking that the cards of the emigrated residents of Korčula had the same passport number – 972 (Figure 3). This was not a clerical error in recordkeeping at the Emigration Commissariat in Zagreb, but a confirmation that residents of Korčula actually traveled to Brazil without valid documents.³⁸

23. V. mjes. 1925. god.		Brod. poduzetecem		Crosby Line		u Splitu	
Prezime ime RADAIC' - Kroat Kata						Tek. br. 1045	
Iz Velaluka				Kotar Korčula			
U godini odlaska imao 25 god.		Vjera kat.		Bračno stanje udata		Zanimanje kmetodjelac	
Narodnost Hrvat		Državljanstvo Jugoslav.		Pismenost da			
Luka ukrcanja Split		Luka izkrcanja Santos					
Odputovao u državu Brazil		U mjesto Sao Paulo					
Putnice broj 972		od 10. 11. 25		Izdane po 4. pagl.		u Korčula	
Vize broj		od 10. 11. 25		Izdane po -		u -	

Figure 3, HR-HDA-1071. EC, Catalogue of emigrants, drawer 43: Brazil, 1925, Kata Radaić

³⁷ F. Mirošević, "Iseljavanje iz Dalmacije u razdoblju od 1921. do 1929." [Emigration from Dalmatia in the period from 1921 to 1929], 111.

³⁸ For more on travelling without a passport, see V. Đikanović, *Iseljavanje u Sjedinjene američke države, jugoslovensko iskustvo 1918. – 1941* [Emigration to the United States of America, Yugoslav Experience 1918-1941], p. 243-271, in the chapter "Illegalno iseljavanje – izazov za državu i za iseljenike" [Illegal Emigration – a challenge for the state and for emigrants].

This case was no exception because difficulties in obtaining passports were usual (slowness in resolving several months' backlog of applications, widespread bribery and forgery, etc.). All of this combined was undermining the state authority, additionally burdening emigrants and opening more space to abuses by agents of shipping companies.³⁹ It is no surprise that the circumstances surrounding the emigration from Korčula are contradictory.

In 1924, the relevant Ministry informed all its departments that the emigration of "non-national" families should be encouraged. As for "national" families, emigration was not allowed; the same applied to Brazil. The only exception to the rule was remigration.⁴⁰ This order was issued due to extremely poor living and working conditions in Brazil. However, its implementation was fraught with difficulties, mostly due to local authorities' corruption and continuing abuses of emigrants, which was recognized by the Ministry in 1925.⁴¹

Apparently, a similar case occurred on Korčula. Despite the ban imposed by the Ministry, steamship company agent Stjepan Đivić sent a Circular to the local population on October 3, 1924, encouraging them to emigrate to Brazil. This aroused considerable interest because: "the population on the islands was so weak and impoverished, that it was enough to tell only one local that he could move out within a few days – and all of the villages would submit requests."⁴² Stjepan Đivić clearly took advantage of the locals, which was not uncommon at the time, as many agents of steamship companies mostly targeted village officials which were influential and highly networked in their communities. Again, all government regulations according to which only licensed agents were allowed to mediate in emigration were violated.

Đivić's Circular clearly contradicted the order of the Ministry. So, the Command of the 4th Gendarmerie Regiment in Split sent a request to the Municipality of Blato on Korčula on November 26, 1924, to investigate the circumstances of this event, suspecting Đivić to be responsible for recruiting the locals. It was proposed to initiate proceedings against Kuzma Petković, Jozo Šeparović Šćerban, Marko Bošković and Josip Zanetić, which were suspected of being in a relationship with agent Đivić with intention of profiting from expediting locals' emigration *en masse*.⁴³ On 17 December 1924, the municipality of Blato reported to the Dubrovnik district authorities that this act was

³⁹ V. Đikanović, *Iseljavanje u Sjedinjene američke države, jugoslovensko iskustvo 1918. – 1941* [Emigration to the United States of America, Yugoslav Experience 1918-1941], p. 192.

⁴⁰ HR-HDA-790. Benko Grado, Artur. Letter 296 dated September 1, 1924, box 8.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² F. Mirošević, "Iseljavanje iz Dalmacije u razdoblju od 1921. do 1929." [Emigration from Dalmatia in the period from 1921 to 1929], 113.

⁴³ Ibid., 112.

not a result of recruitment, and requested that the inhabitants of Korčula still be allowed to emigrate.⁴⁴

On December 30 of the same year, the Dubrovnik district prefect sent a letter to the Ministry of the Interior in Belgrade seeking advice, because residents of Blato and Vela Luka insisted on resolving the Ministry's ban of September 1, 1924, which the Dubrovnik local authorities allegedly received on December 15 of the same year.⁴⁵ The Ministry's response to this request is not known⁴⁶, but the enclosed petitions for the emigration of Vid Radaić Kroat (Figures 4 and 5) of 16th January 1925⁴⁷ show that preparations for the emigration from Korčula were still ongoing despite the Ministry's ban.⁴⁸ Kroat Vid Radaić traveled to Brazil with his family on May 23, 1925, as evidenced by the cards below (pictures 6 to 9).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 113.

⁴⁶ Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 228. Franko Mirošević states that the ban was lifted in 1925, for which he cites Iseljenička služba, *Izvještaj Narodne skupštine za 1926/1927* [Report of the National Assembly for 1926/1927], Belgrade 1928, p. 8. However, a review of that report does not confirm this allegation by F. Mirošević.

⁴⁷ Korčula County. The series related to local emigration encompasses 0.22 l/m of archival material covering the period 1924-1937. Most of this series, as well as the entire fond, was destroyed in the bombing of Korčula in 1944. The attached application is registered under ordinal no. 171/25.

⁴⁸ Emigration applications are supplemented with cards since they contain various personal information. For example, the application form lacks information on the date of emigration, nationality, citizenship of the emigrant, as well as data on the port of embarkation / disembarkation, transport company, etc, which is on the cards. However, unlike the cards, application forms provide information about the applicant regarding military service status, tax payments, etc, which were important prerequisites that emigrants had to meet before being issued with a travel document. The application forms include, among other things, photographs of emigrants or entire families with information on possible family ties (Figures 4 and 5). However, it should be emphasized that the applications were only used to obtain a travel document; they were not a guarantee that a person did indeed emigrate, which must be verified through the Catalogue of Emigrants. Examples are the applications and cards of the Radaić family, which traveled to Sao Paulo on May 23, 1925 (pics. 6 to 10).

PRIMLJENO KONTO - LIČNO
PRIMLJENO KONTO - LIČNO
dan 14. prosinca 1925.
na što 14. prosinca 1925. istovrsni materijal
na što 14. prosinca 1925. istovrsni materijal

K. Sreskom Poglavarstvu

1) Ime i prezime: *Radaić, Branko Vid. Branko* ✓
2) Zanimanje: *poduzetnik*
3) Mesto rođenja i god.: *Blato, 1899*
4) Mesto stalnog življenja: *Blato*
5) Traži izdavanje novog ili vizitnog starog pasosa: *izdavanje novog*
6) Kada molio putuje (tipisati poimece države): *na Sj. Amer.*
7) Motivirati detaljno cilj putovanja: *na Sj. Amer.*
8) Za koje vreme molio traži pasos ili njegovu vizu: *X*
9) Dali putuje sam ili sa još nekim članom porodice, spisati imena članova, godini starosti, sredstva, mesto rođenja:
Blato, žena rođ. 1900. u Blato
Branko sin " 1921 " "
Branko det. " 1910 " "

11) Ima li stari pasos (priložiti ga ovom formularu) *nema*
12) Ima li molio uverenje o ispravnosti (priložiti ga) *da*
13) Dali je molio regulisao vojnu obavezu (priložiti dokaz) *da*
14) Dali je molio platio dužnu porezu i za koje vreme (priložiti dokaz) *ne platio*
15) Ima li molio sredstava za izdržavanje u inostranstvu: *nema*
16) Ako nema molio ličnih sredstava onda što će ga uzdržavati: *naše roditelje*

Mesto i datum: *Općina Blato*
Pril. dne: *14. VII. 1925*
Br: *228* priloga: _____

Općina Blato
Pril. dne: *14. VII. 1925*
Br: *228*

Općinski poglavnik: *N. T. Radaić*

Općinski zapisnik: *14. VII. 1925*

Općinski zapisnik: *14. VII. 1925*

Picture 4 and 5, HR-DADU-SCKL-536. Petition of the Radaić family (series related to the emigration of the population no. 171/25.)

Ođputovao 23. V. 1925. mjes. 1925. god.		Brod. podu- zećem		Lombich Line		u Splitu	
Prezime ime RADAIC'-Kroat Vid						Tek. br. 1044	
Iz Blato			Kotar Karciba				
U godini odlazka imao 26 god.		Vjera rht.		Braćno stanje oženjen		Zani- manje zemljodjelac	
Narodnost Hrvat		Državljanstvo Jugoslav.		Pismenost da			
Luka ukrcanja Split			Luka iskrcanja Santos				
Ođputovao u državu Brazil			U mjesto Sao Paulo				
Putnice broj 942		od 10. IV. 25.		Izdane po 4r. pagl.		u Karciba	
Vize broj		od 10. IV. 25.		Izdane po - -		u - -	

Ođputovao 23. V. 1925. mjes. 1925. god.		Brod. podu- zećem		Lombich Line		u Splitu	
Prezime ime RADAIC'-Kroat Kata						Tek. br. 1045	
Iz Belaluka			Kotar Karciba				
U godini odlazka imao 25 god.		Vjera rht.		Braćno stanje udata		Zani- manje zemljodjelac	
Narodnost Hrvat		Državljanstvo Jugoslav.		Pismenost da			
Luka ukrcanja Split			Luka iskrcanja Santos				
Ođputovao u državu Brazil			U mjesto Sao Paulo				
Putnice broj 942		od 10. IV. 25.		Izdane po 4r. pagl.		u Karciba	
Vize broj		od 10. IV. 25.		Izdane po - -		u - -	

Pictures 6 and 7, HR-HDA-1071-IK., Emigrant's file, drawer 43: Brazil, 1925. Kroat Vid Radaic and Kroat Kata Radaic

Ođputovao 23. V. mies. 1925. god.		Brod. podu- zećem		Crosby's Line		u Splitu	
Prezime ime RADAIC-KROVAT Antun						Tek. br. 1046	
Iz Blato				Kotar Korcula			
U godini odlaska imao 4 god.		Vjera kat.		Braćno stanje djete		Zani- manje	
Narodnost Hrvat		Državljanstvo Jugoslav.		Pismenost			
Luka ukrcanja Split		Luka iskrcanja Santos					
Ođputovao u državu Brazil		U mjesto Sao Paulo					
Putnice broj 972		od 10. II. 25		Izdane po Sr. pagl.		u Korcula	
Vize broj		od 10. III. 25		Izdane po - -		u - -	

Ođputovao 23. V. mies. 1925. god.		Brod. podu- zećem		Crosby's Line		u Splitu	
Prezime ime RADAIC' Mirko						Tek. br. 1047	
Iz Blato				Kotar Korcula			
U godini odlaska imao 14 god.		Vjera kat.		Braćno stanje djete		Zani- manje knjigovodja	
Narodnost Hrvat		Državljanstvo Jugoslav.		Pismenost da,			
Luka ukrcanja Split		Luka iskrcanja Santos					
Ođputovao u državu Brazil		U mjesto Sao Paulo					
Putnice broj 972		od 10. II. 25		Izdane po Sr. pagl.		u Korcula	
Vize broj		od 10. III. 25		Izdane po - -		u - -	

Pictures 8 and 9, HR-HDA-1071-IK., Emigrant's file, drawer 43: Brazil, 1925, An-
tun and Mirko Radaic

It is also possible to discern from the Catalogue of Emigrants that the main suspects Petković Kuzma and Šeparović Šćernab Jozo were also among the passengers heading for Brazil. This also proves that their involvement was motivated by personal interests. The Petković, Šeparović, and Zanetić families were also the most numerous families which left Korčula in 1925, which was also established by reviewing the Catalogue.⁴⁹

What Else Does the Catalogue of Emigrants Indicate?

In addition to the abovementioned emigrants,⁵⁰ another 1,036 people were identified with the help of the Catalogue.⁵¹ Since the cards also indicated the date of travel, name of the shipping company, port of embarkation/disembarkation and the destination (country and place) of emigration, it was possible to conclude that emigrants emigrated from Korčula on April 22 and May 23, not 21st April 1925, as stated so far⁵² and as it was recorded in the press at the time: “Miserable, sad and neglected folk has gone without much thought,

⁴⁹ HR-HDA-1071. Iseljenički komesarijat. Kartoteka iseljenika, ladica 43 [Emigration Commissariat. Emigrants' file, drawer 43]: Brazil, 1925, Petković Kuzma and Šeparović Jozo

⁵⁰ Ivana Sardelić's review “Kulturna memorija iseljavanja otoka Korčule” [Cultural Memory of the Emigration of the Island of Korčula] states that it is unknown how many Blačans. and their descendants there are around the world, but that, according to some estimates, every fifth person lives out of town. She states that more than a thousand people left during 1924-1925 and that their names and surnames are unknown. Catalogue of Emigrants disproves this. Thus, among the most common surnames are mentioned: Andrić, Andrijić, Bačetić, Bačić, Barčot, Baretić, Berković, Boroje, Borovina, Bosnić, Burmaz, Cetinić, Čović, Dragojević, Fabian, Farac, Farčić, Favro, Franulović, Gjavranić, Kapor, Kastropil, Marinović, Martinović, Matulović, Milat, Milošević, Mirošević, Nadilo, Olić, Oreb, Orer, Palčić, Petković, Petričić, Pripnić, Radajić, Radić, Rubeša, Santini, Sardelić, Simoni, Stipanović, Stipković, Šeman, Šeparović, Šimunović, Šurjan, Šutjan, Tatković, Vlatko, Vojvodić, Žanetić, Žuvela and others.

⁵¹ In Darija Hofgräff, *Hrvati u svjetlu politike prema iseljaništvu 1920.-1939.*: doktorska disertacija [Croats in the Light of Emigration Policy 1920-1939 : Ph. dissertation] (Sveučilište u Zadru [University of Zadar], 2018) the number of 1,085 emigrated Korčulans is mentioned. The difference of 49 passengers was due to the fact that the previous research was based on a review of contemporary Cosulich Line numbers. A re-check of the cards established that 49 passengers were not from Korčula, but that they were foreign nationals. In general, there is various information regarding emigrants from Korčula which can be seen in the work of F. Mirošević “Iseljavanje s otoka Korčule u razdoblju 1921. do 1931. godine” [Emigration from the island of Korčula in the period 1921 to 1931.]. Also see more about human trafficking in D. Hofgräff Marić, *Iseljenici i povratnici: Pravni i institucijski aspekti u razdoblju Austro-Ugarske Monarhije i Kraljevine SHS – Kraljevine Jugoslavije* [Emigrants and returnees: legal and institutional aspects in the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes – Kingdom of Yugoslavia].

⁵² The obtained results on emigration from the island somewhat agree with the data published in the Chronicle of the parish of Vela Luka 1918-1928. in which it is also stated that the

driven by the hardships and severe despair, cursing the homeland that did not feed them and their fathers who abandoned them. Yet, as we lose a good workforce, our beautiful islands gradually remain deserted until they will completely fail economically.”⁵³

In general, a total of 425 people left Split on April 22nd, while the following month, on May 23rd, 611 people left. Of the total number of emigrated persons, most were children (55%), women (23%), and the least men (22%), as indicated (Chart 1).

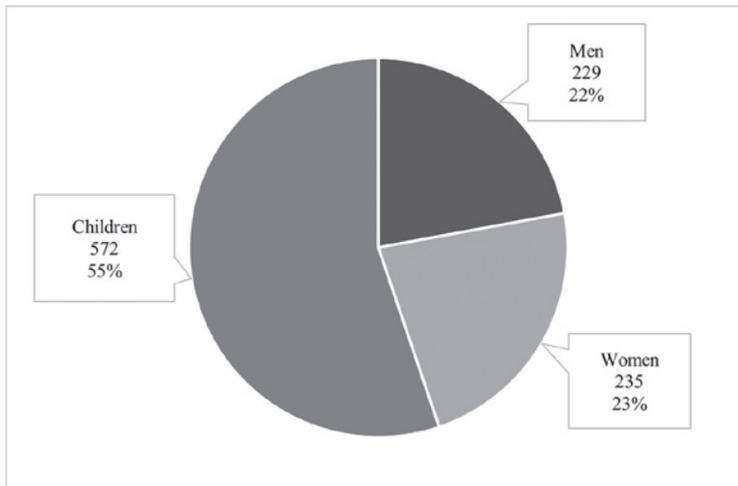


Chart 1, Emigration from Korčula to Brazil in 1925.

These statistics also raise the question of the accountability of the parties involved in that case. After all, mostly children and women were among the recruited people, and upon arriving in Brazil they experienced a harsh reversal of the colonial hierarchy and were forced into a form of slavery (which was still present from the period of Austria-Hungary).⁵⁴ The press, such as “Hrvatska sloga” in Split, also warned about this: “There in the distant prairies of wild and desolate Brazil, where a terrible yellow fever is raging and where no human life could ever prosper, our brothers will get a piece of land with some kind of plank house in the ‘commission’. There they will have to give almost everything to the Brazilian government. They are left with only rubbish. Isn’t that an angry irony? For whom will these people cultivate

results of some authors are incorrect and that 1,200 inhabitants could not have emigrated on the same day.

⁵³ *Narodna svijest* [National consciousness], no. 22, June 2, 1925.

⁵⁴ For more on the emigration in that period, see Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, p. 183-186.

the wild steppes of Brazil? To leave the cultivated land to the Brazilian government after they are devoured by the horrible Moloch of yellow fever together with their children? And for that voluntary prison, our people, our best workforce, are being recruited.”⁵⁵

The exodus may have been prevented, which is proven by the report of the Emigration Commissariat from 1925/1926, i.e. order no. 10731/25, according to which the Ministry in Belgrade proposed to settle the inhabitants of Korčula in Macedonia, in the settlements left behind by the Turks-Mahajirs.⁵⁶ This proposal was made as part of the colonization program, according to which more than 22,000 families settled in southern Serbia and Macedonia in the period 1919-1940. This is one more proof that the problem of re-settlement of southern regions that Serbia conquered in the Balkan Wars was closely related to the emigration issue.⁵⁷ Authorities hoped that opportunity to acquire land within the Kingdom would deter “national” peasant families from emigrating.⁵⁸ However, despite such policies, many of the emigrants who settled there soon left these areas due to, again, deplorable economic conditions.

Due to the continuing complaints of a large number of emigrants in Brazil regarding inhuman living and working conditions, their desire to return to the Kingdom, and suspicions that the emigration from Korčula was the result of recruitment based on falsehoods and corruption, the director of the Emigration Commissariat Fedor Aranicki⁵⁹ sent Franjo Bakušan to Korčula to investigate.⁶⁰ Bakušan, however, produced a very vague report, diplomatically stating that despite some indications of possible recruitment by unsavory parties, emigration was mostly initiated “by the severe hardship that drove our people to Brazil.”⁶¹

⁵⁵ *Hrvatska sloga* [Croatian unity], no. 123, April 23, 1925.

⁵⁶ HR-HDA-1071. Izvješće Iseljeničkog komesarijata 1925/26 [Emigration Commissariat. Report for 1925/26], p. 9, box 548.

⁵⁷ Djordje Kristić, “Južna Srbija i iseljenički problem” [Southern Serbia and emigrant problems], *Iseljenički magazin* [Emigrant Magazine] 1, no. 2 (1927): 19.

⁵⁸ U. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe*, 230.

⁵⁹ Fedor Aranicki (Zagreb, July 17, 1888 – Zagreb, May 16, 1971), lawyer, publicist and translator. From 1923 to 1931 he was the head of the Emigration Commissariat in Zagreb. He worked closely with A. B. Grado and M. Bartulica. (Source: Rajka Bućin, Marijana Jukić, Tatjana Šarić, *Hrvatsko iseljništvo kroz fondove i zbirke HDA: (od kraja 19. stoljeća do Drugog svjetskog rata): odabrane teme : katalog izložbe* [Croatian emigration through HDA funds and collections – from the end of the 19th century to the Second World War: selected topics: exhibition catalog] (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2015), 12).

⁶⁰ HR-HDA-1071. Izvješće Iseljeničkog komesarijata 1925/26 [Emigration Commissariat. Report for 1925/26], p. 9, box 548.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Although there is no information regarding persons which Bakušan contacted in local authorities, he certainly had to have a clearer picture of the entire situation after contacting the local officials and reviewing records. It is unfortunate that at the end of the whole episode no one was held responsible. This clearly indicates the collusion of representatives of the steamship company Cosulich Line with the local population and authorities, which may have been a small but significant link in the large emigration business mechanism. Although the phenomenon of recruitment at that time was not only a European but also a worldwide problem, it was sanctioned in the Kingdom only by the adoption of the Criminal Code (Article 157).⁶² According to it, the recruitment was treated as a crime of fraud, and because of that, it was left to the responsibility of the courts. Since then, the tendency of its decline has been noticeable.⁶³ It no longer appeared as an acute problem in the reports of the Emigration Commissariat,⁶⁴ so during 1934 only 16 new cases were reported related to the offense of unauthorized recruitment of emigrants.⁶⁵

The Use of the Catalogue of Emigrants on the Example of Korčula in Supplementing the Previous Research Results

Apart from the emigration from the island of Korčula, the literature so far also singles out Hvar, Brač, Makarska, Dubrovnik and Kotor as the dominant emigrant districts, while Šibenik, Split, Knin, Metković, etc. were considered to emit a lesser number of emigrants.⁶⁶ Specifically, Ivan Hrštić analyzed the

⁶² *Krivični zakonik za Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, od 27. januara 1929. godine* [Criminal Code for the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, dated 27 January 1929] (Zagreb: Tisak i naklada Jugoslovenske štampe, 1929), 129.

⁶³ Josip Šilović ("Šilović, Josip," *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje* [Croatian encyclopedia online], <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=20424>) and Stanko Frank ("Frank, Stanko," *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje* [Croatian encyclopedia online], <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=59536>) participated in the preparation of the Criminal Code and accompanied it with notes.

⁶⁴ After the recruitment was included in the Criminal Code, Dr. Fedor Aranicki further explained in the Motivational Draft why recruitment can be treated as a crime of fraud. HR-HDA-1071. Izvješće Iseljeničkog komesarijata 1934 [Emigration Commissariat. Report for 1934], p. 9, box 548.

⁶⁵ HR-HDA-1071. Izvješće Iseljeničkog komesarijata 1934 [Emigration Commissariat. Report for 1934], p. 9, box 548.

⁶⁶ Ljubomir Antić, "Prilog istraživanju austrijske iseljeničke politike i zakonodavstva kao činilaca masovnog iseljavanja iz Dalmacije pred Prvi svjetski rat" [A contribution to the research of Austrian emigration policy and legislation as factors of mass emigration from Dalmatia before the First World War], *Zadarska revija* 2-3 (1985): 244. Compare with: Ivan

area of the Makarska district during the period 1921 – 1931, using fifteen-day reports regarding issued travel permits. However, the limiting factor of Hrštic's research was incomplete reports, with the author emphasizing: "(...) that in addition to these reports he failed to discover other historiographical sources that would help him mitigate the impact of methodological limitations on this type of research."⁶⁷ Although Hrštic's results are extremely valuable, they should be further compared against the Catalogue of Emigrants in the way it was done on the example of emigrants from Korčula.⁶⁸

The same approach could be applied to the case of emigrants from Konavle in the period 1924-1927, which was reported in detail by Ivo Orešković.⁶⁹ He provided approximate data on the number of emigrants based on processed police files, records of emigrants and voter lists for counties of Cavtat and Mrcine. Orešković, like previous authors, referred to applications for issuing travel documents that cannot be considered as a relevant source, because sending the application did not always mean that an individual indeed moved out of a certain area. Niko Kapetanović's book,⁷⁰ which deals with the most

Hrštic, "Iseljavanje iz Dalmacije od 1921. do 1931. – primjer kotara Makarska" [Emigration from Dalmatia from 1921 to 1931 – the example of the Makarska district], in *Hrvatska izvan domovine* [Croatia abroad], eds. Marin Sopta, Franjo Maletić, and Josip Bebić (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, Tehnička knjiga, 2015), 411-419.

⁶⁷ I. Hrštic, "Iseljavanje iz Dalmacije od 1921. do 1931. – primjer kotara Makarska" [Emigration from Dalmatia from 1921 to 1931- the example of the Makarska district], 414.

⁶⁸ As this is a large number of cards, as well as a time period of ten years, only a brief check of the data for 1925 was made for emigrants who traveled from Makarska to Argentina. I. Hrštic stated that a total of 11 people left Makarska itself in the period from 1921 to 1931. According to the Catalogue of Emigrants, Stipan Urlić, 32, married, a farmer by profession and Croat by nationality, with a passport number of 1163, issued on 21 August 1925 by the District Government in Makarska, was found. The person in question traveled with the shipping company Navigazione Generali Italiana from Split to Genoa, from where he continued his journey to Buenos Aires. Following this example, the data for the remaining emigrants could be investigated, which would certainly complement the information obtained on the basis of the report used by I. Hrštic in his research.

⁶⁹ Ivo Orešković, "Iseljavanje iz Konavala s posebnim osvrtom na razdoblje Kraljevine SHS" [Emigration from Konavle with Special Reference to the Period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes], in *Konavle u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Cavtatu od 25. do 27. studenog 1996. godine* [Konavle in the past, present and future: Proceedings of the scientific conference held in Cavtat from 25 to 27 November 1996], ed. Vladimir Stipetić, Vol. 1. (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti; Sveučilište u Zagrebu, MSHS Dubrovnik; Općina Konavle, 1998), 239-252.

⁷⁰ Niko Kapetanović, *Od Carigrada do El Dorada: iseljavanje iz Konavala 1815-1941*. [From Constantinople to El Dorado: Emigration from Konavle 1815-1941.] (Dubrovnik: Niko Kapetanović, 2016), 376.

successful and numerous group of Konavle emigrants (the one in Watsonville and the surrounding area, where they founded and developed the agricultural apple industry), cannot be ignored. Data on Konavle residents in South American countries are also recorded, primarily in Peru, Chile and Argentina, but also in Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil.⁷¹ Despite the fact that the author combined and used different sources, such as archives, registers, manuscripts, etc., he did not use the Catalogue of Emigrants. This is why special attention should be paid to this source and why categorization and publication of all cards should be initiated as soon as possible.⁷² Ultimately, this would produce a list of names and surnames not only of all emigrated Croats as well of members of other nationalities for the period 1923-1939. This would certainly reveal some new manifestations of the phenomenon of recruiting Croats for emigration.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of recruiting residents to emigrate has been neglected in Croatian historiography. This paper, therefore, sheds new light on the attitude of state authorities towards this phenomenon during the SHS Kingdom. Based on previously unpublished archival sources, an attempt was made to reconstruct one of the most massive emigration waves of the residents of the island of Korčula to Brazil in 1925, which until now was thought to have been caused solely by poverty. However, through a more profound analysis of archival sources, we concluded that it was not caused only by social misery, but that it was the result of recruitment initiated by local officials and steamship agents who pushed the population of Korčula into even greater misery abroad. In addition, the data regarding the date of departure and the number of emigrants were corrected. Thereby it's evident that out of the total number of evicted persons, most of them were children – which, in a demographic sense, left permanent consequences for the island. The aim of this paper is to draw attention to the importance of the phenomenon of recruiting residents to emigrate, especially since even today we often witness how migrants become victims of dubious intermediaries.

⁷¹ The author also mentions the names of residents of Konavle who emigrated in the period 1815-1941, which can also be compared with the Catalogue of Emigrants for the period 1923-1938.

⁷² Some of these cards were recorded and available on the portal Acta Croatica, <https://actacroatica.com/hr/>, but the search is only possible using name and surname, i.e. without those elements that would be included in the complete database.

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