

No hay duda de que, aunque de ningún modo sea la causa única, el extremo autoritarismo de las familias de los colonos es una variable importante de la migración rural-urbana en Apóstoles.

## RESUMEN

Este Capítulo describe y discute algunos aspectos relacionados con la vida contemporánea de Apóstoles.

La organización de la comunidad se encuentra fundamentada en una base agrícola, tanto en sus dimensiones rural como urbana. Todas las actividades son realizadas dentro de una estructura agraria y, más específicamente, en el cultivo de la yerba mate y su procesamiento como sistema dominante de actividad. Apóstoles aparece como una comunidad social y económicamente diversificada, aunque no hasta el punto de perder su naturaleza básica de un asentamiento agrario, ni perder la importancia de la "ideología del colono".

Los modelos de interacción y de estratificación sociales están marcados por una brevedad rural-urbana y por la presencia de distintas esferas de clases y de etnias.

Actualmente la comunidad está sufriendo serias tensiones debido a una crisis agrícola permanente y a las deficiencias de su estructura agraria. Una de las consecuencias de esa crisis es la migración de los jóvenes en busca de mejores condiciones en otras partes. Esta opción por la migración es también facilitada por un creciente rechazo por parte de los jóvenes respecto al autoritarismo que prevalece en la familia de los colonos.

social y política más amplia de su nueva patria. Esos rasgos culturales, aunque modificados por adaptaciones de tipo ecológico o social, constituyeron el fundamento del estereotipo típico para todos los "pobos", independientemente de su identificación de colonos o colonos por los propios colonos.

## EL POBLAMIENTO DE MISIONES POR INMIGRANTES EUROPEOS

Durante los siglos XVII y gran parte del XVIII, el actual territorio de Misiones formaba parte del entonces floreciente "imperio" jesuítico organizado por los sacerdotes de la Orden de los Jesuitas (Peregrinos Ramos, 1929; Purkay, 1962). Luego de la expulsión de la Orden por la corona española en 1767, la compleja organización socio-religiosa controlada por esos emprendedores sacerdotes se desmoronó y Misiones se convirtió en la sociedad. Frecuentes incursiones de caas a esclavos, dirigidas por los bandoleros luso-brasileños diezmaron la población gauchesa asentada en esos pueblos jesuíticos, lo que obligó al abandono de muchos de ellos.

Un breve período de relativa estabilidad siguió a las guerras por la independencia argentina (1810-1816), cuando el área fue gobernada por el jefe gauchesco Andrés Bello, hijo adoptivo del caudillo uruguayo general José G. Artigas. Sin embargo, los primeros y exitosos intentos de Andrés para poner fin a la penetración de luso-brasileños lo llevaron a su derrota final por el Marqués de Chagas y su ejército imperial, un acontecimiento que fue seguido por una brutal represión y amplia destrucción y saqueo (Peregrinos Ramos, 1929).

Misiones permanentemente se convirtió en un desierto, habitado sólo por una población seminómada de bandoleros, pequeños agricultores y cortadores de yerba mate salvaje, pocos de los cuales eran argentinos.

Las autoridades nacionales argentinas no mostraron mucho interés en la región hasta fines de la década de 1860, cuando la llamada Guerra de la Triple Alianza (1865-1870) en

## Capítulo III

EL TRANSFORMADO HISTÓRICO Y CULTURAL  
EL PROCESO DE CONVIVENCIA  
EN "COLONO" (1887-1973)

## INTRODUCCIÓN

Este capítulo trata de las circunstancias históricas y sociológicas que motivaron la fundación de la Colonia Agrícola de Apóstoles y análisis de aquellas influencias que actuaron en su posterior evolución. Apóstoles es hoy el resultado de: a) los parámetros sociales, económicos e históricos en que se realizó la inserción de los inmigrantes en Misiones; b) los modelos culturales galitanos que esos inmigrantes trajeron con ellos, hasta cierto punto, diversas formas a sus actitudes y comportamientos prebitorios; c) los ajustes individuales y colectivos que los colonos tuvieron que hacer durante años; y d) las etapas de desarrollo nacional y regional después de la colonización.

Los galitanos emigraron y se asentaron como campesinos en busca de nuevas tierras. Formas de organización radicadas en sus orígenes campesinos fueron utilizadas para reproducir en Apóstoles características y costumbres típicas de su aldea nativa en Galicia. Ese intento constituyó un modelo común de los campesinos migrantes (Blumenthal, 1954: 230). Su origen campesino fue también de gran influencia en la determinación del uso que dieron a los nuevos recursos naturales, y el modo como se relacionaron con la estructura

tuvo la atención por la posición estratégica de Misiones y por la ausencia de una población argentina. El territorio estaba bajo jurisdicción de la provincia de Corrientes desde 1830; esa situación permaneció hasta 1882, cuando Misiones fue transformado en Territorio Nacional, con autoridades nombradas por el Gobierno Federal (Cuestas, 1974: 27). Una de las mayores preocupaciones del gobierno de Corrientes durante su administración en Misiones fue la preservación de los yerbales naturales<sup>1</sup>, lo que se confirma en el Reglamento para los Yerbales, tan cuidadosamente elaborado y publicado el 20 de noviembre de 1876. Lo más importante, desde el punto de vista de las consecuencias para el poblamiento de Misiones, fueron las regulaciones que prohibían expresamente el establecimiento de asentamientos permanentes en el área de la yerba mate salvaje (Eide, 1971: 65-67). Tales medidas conservadoras impidieron que esa área se transformara en centros de colonización humana. Asimismo, en 1854 la Provincia de Corrientes había prohibido todo el comercio de ganado y la cría de ovejas, permitiendo sólo un máximo de trescientas cabezas, para eliminar cualquier posible competencia con la industria ganadera de Corrientes (Eide, 1971: 64).

Las actividades agrícolas se permitían sólo en la porción sur del territorio, en el área de los antiguos pueblos jesuíticos (Casta 54° 3).

En esos pueblos se reanuda la administración de Corrientes reservada cerca de media legua cuadrada (aproximadamente

<sup>1</sup> Hasta la independencia en 1820 de una aldea para plantar la yerba mate a partir de semillas, la explotación en estado salvaje era la única forma de su producción. A pesar de todas las regulaciones oficiales que buscaban preservar sus recursos naturales en Misiones, en la actualidad casi todo de la yerba mate en Misiones. Aunque existen ciertas generalizaciones de que los jesuitas habían pasado una intensa acción para el plantío de esa especie, la primera intensa actividad para producir la especie generalizada de los jesuitas fue emprendida por P. Bruchmann en la colonia de Nueva Germania, Paraguay.

En 1865 un agricultor que trabajaba en San Ignacio, Misiones, importó semillas brasileñas y los procedimientos técnicos de Nueva Germania, iniciándose así un período de intensa plantación de yerba mate en la provincia (Eide,

# Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy

**Debra A Schumann, William L.  
Partridge**



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*The Colonos of Apóstoles* Leopoldo José Bartolomé,1990      *The Colonos of Apostoles* Leopoldo José Bartolomé,1974

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## **Table of Contents Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy**

1. Understanding the eBook Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
  - The Rise of Digital Reading Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
  - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
  - Exploring Different Genres
  - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
  - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
  - Popular eBook Platforms
  - Features to Look for in an Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
  - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
  - Personalized Recommendations
  - Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy User Reviews and Ratings
  - Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy Free and Paid eBooks
  - Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy Public Domain eBooks
  - Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy eBook Subscription Services
  - Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy eBook Formats
  - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
  - Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy Compatibility with Devices
  - Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
  - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
  - Highlighting and Note-Taking Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
  - Interactive Elements Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
8. Staying Engaged with Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy

- Joining Online Reading Communities
  - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
  - Following Authors and Publishers Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
- Benefits of a Digital Library
  - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
- Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
  - Minimizing Distractions
  - Managing Screen Time
11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
- Setting Reading Goals Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
  - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
- Fact-Checking eBook Content of Colonos Of Apostoles Adaptive Strategy
  - Distinguishing Credible Sources
13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
- Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
  - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
- Integration of Multimedia Elements
  - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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