Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won

Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador

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was born in response to exclusion. Thus if the exclusion no longer exists, the ideological rationale for the group's existence also dissipates.

The element of personal choice to pursue any of these patterns of self-determination—integrationist, alternative integrationist, or separatist—is important to recognize, for social-somatic factors alone did not automatically dictate an individual's political perspectives. Although mulattoes, by dint of their skin color, had privileges that would facilitate their use of traditional modes of social ascent, some nonetheless chose to cast their lot with darker blacks in demanding racial equity though collective activism. Others participated in separatist institutions. The options chosen by each individual were influenced by ethnic identity, but also by their own preferences with regard to integration versus separatism.

These modalities refer to individual choices, but may also be extended to include collective strategies. Many, and conflicting, political tendencies always exist in diverse communities. At certain historical moments, distinct ideologies become salient and come to characterize the mainstream thinking of the African-descended population. In the United States, the integrationist leanings of the civil rights movements in the 1950s and early 1960s gave way to a significant separatist strain, especially after 1968. In one of the Brazilian cases, one political agenda attained little popularity in 1928 but three years later constituted the ideological core of the first mass Afro-Brazilian organization. We must understand what makes a particular leader or movement "right" for a specific time and place. Both the sociopolitical framework of the society at large and internal factors among people of African descent determine the predominance of a political ideology at any given time.

These are some of the principles underlying the politics of self-determination that came into play for African descendants after abolition. We turn now to the actual experiences of Afro-Brazilians, to the extent possible given the limitations of the sources, to explore how they used these factors to shape their new lives in the post-abolition years. Freedoms had been given, but they had not been defined. Afro-Brazilians set out to give meaning to that freedom, and to struggle for its realization.

CHAPTER 3

São Paulo

THE NEW CITY—THE NEW *NEGRO*

We lived on a farm near Mococa. Then we moved to Mococa itself, which is a city. We were always striving for better things. And from the city of Mococa we moved here [to São Paulo]. In truth, all these moves we made were the yearnings of the ex-slave. Because, when you think about it, those of us born in 1921 were born just about three decades after slavery ended. So that longing was still in the heart of the black man. So much so that, by the time I arrived in São Paulo [in 1935] the ideals of the black movement had already been ingrained in me.

—Aristides Barbosa, former member of the Frente Negra Brasileira[1]

The story of Afro-Brazilians in post-abolition São Paulo is essentially a tale of immigrants and dreams. By the tens of thousands they flocked to the burgeoning urban hub from the agricultural areas of the Paulista interior, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais.[2] By 1940 the Afro-Brazilian population had swelled over tenfold, from an 1890 total of 10,842 to 109,076.[3] Their story is not one of long-established communities faced with the challenge of changing deeply rooted institutions and relationships in an old slave society. Theirs is the story of the Barbosas echoed many times over, black families who saw no opportunities in the towns where their parents and grandparents had worked as slaves and who opted to start a new life in a city full of promise. What they eventually discovered was that São Paulo's promise had its limits; its welcome seemingly extended more to Europe than to Brazil, more to white than to black. It was a city that regarded its black population as a social problem to be tightly controlled and, if possible, shunted away from public view. For a while, Afro-Brazilians struggled quietly to succeed against the odds of marginalization but, by the 1920s, their young people, most of them raised in São Paulo, decided to demand more of their adopted city. A vocal breed of black youth opened a new chapter in Brazilian

history by bringing the taboo subject of race politics into the open arena of public discourse. The unprecedented advocacy of São Paulo's race organizations also hinted at the existence of a "New Negro" community in the heart of South America.

The phrase "New *Negro*" is deliberately evocative of the Harlem Renaissance. Significant parallels exist between the changing consciousness in post–World War I New York City and in São Paulo. In both cases, people of African descent deserted the agricultural regions for the promise of a better life in a modern city. Like the blacks of Harlem, Afro-Brazilians in São Paulo shaped their own renaissance, a new type of Afro-Brazilian to be known as the *negro*—proud, united, and a full participant in all aspects of Brazilian society.

The New City: São Paulo, 1890 to 1940

The experiences of Afro-Brazilians in São Paulo after abolition must be set within the context of the city's overall development during that time.[4] The newness of São Paulo was its wholesale transformation into a modern industrial city at a lightning pace that peaked during the First Republic. Yet São Paulo was one of Brazil's oldest cities, a provincial capital that began as a Jesuit settlement in 1554.[5] Although persons of African descent had been essential to the development of the economy of the captaincy and later province of São Paulo, prior to abolition they had not been prominent in the history of the city of São Paulo. This apparent anomaly is in part attributable to the Portuguese and Brazilian penchant to use a single name—in this case São Paulo (but also applicable to Bahia)—to apply to both city and state. Ambiguities at times make it difficult to identify Afro-Brazilians in the city's history specifically. But their absence is also traceable back to the colonial era. Whereas São Paulo was established at the outset of Portuguese settlement in Brazil, only in the early eighteenth century was it accorded royal recognition. Prior to 1710, the regions that were to become the autonomous captaincies of São Paulo and Minas Gerais were part of the larger captaincy of Rio de Janeiro. In response to demands for a more active administration and regulation of gold mining, in 1710 the crown created the independent captaincy of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. Its capital was São Paulo which, two years later (1712), was accorded city status. In 1721 the two independent captaincies of Minas Gerais and São Paulo were created. The motivation for such crown initiative lay solely in developing an administrative response to discoveries of placer gold in the interior, the influx of miners and others imbued with gold rush fever, and the specter of lawlessness and disorder. But the major centers of such feverish mining activity that witnessed black labor of hitherto unparalleled intensity were far removed from the city of São Paulo.

The advent of commercial coffee agriculture profoundly revolutionized Paulista economy and society. The Paraíba Valley between Rio and São Paulo was the first area devoted principally to coffee, but it was soon discovered that the gentle hills and rocky soils of the Paulista interior were ideal for the profitable crop. Unburdened by a traditional socioeconomic monoculture, and with the opening of railroad links to the port at Santos, coffee became São Paulo's leading export by mid-century.[6] African slaves provided the labor; although São Paulo never became Brazil's largest slaveholding province, by 1874 its slave population surpassed those of both Bahia and Pernambuco.[7]

The free population of color in the city of São Paulo grew substantially just prior to abolition. In 1872 *pardos* and *prêtos* made up 37 percent of the population of 31,385. A third of the capital's Afro-Brazilian population (3,828) were enslaved. Rates of enslavement, however, varied greatly by color. Only 14 percent of *pardos* were slaves compared with 58 percent of *prêtos*. By 1886 only 593 (1.2 percent) slaves lived in the capital, with the vast majority of all slaves (95 percent) in the province's agricultural zones.[8]

Afro-Brazilians found their employment options after abolition limited by regional economic patterns. Florestan Fernandes notes that in the areas of slowest growth, where labor was scarce, manumitted slaves continued to work on plantations with few changes. Where labor was abundant, freedmen who left the plantations were quickly and easily replaced by immigrants.[9] In the agricultural colonies between 1908 and 1912, despite an increase in the work force from 4,380 to 12,193, the percentage of Brazilian workers shrank from 43.9 percent in 1908 to 28.7 percent in 1912.[10] In the early decades of the twentieth century, Japanese immigrants also began arriving to work on the coffee plantations.[11] There is some evidence that blacks attempted to establish private businesses.[12] Cut off from agricultural employment opportunities, however, many black Paulistas looked to the growing urban hub in the capital.

São Paulo in 1890 was still a predominantly rural state, with only 4.7 percent of its population residing in the capital. Of just under 400,000 Afro-Brazilians in the state, 10,872, or 2.7 percent of the total, lived in the city. Throughout the post-abolition decades, Afro-Brazilians increasingly abandoned the countryside for urban opportunities. By 1940 the percentage of Afro-Paulistas living in the capital had risen to 12.6 percent.[13] Despite the size and significance of black migration to the city of São Paulo, it was dwarfed by that of immigrants from abroad. Since the mid-nineteenth century, foreigners had become a critical segment of the Paulista economy, not only as agricultural *colonos* but also as a developing urban proletariat. In 1894 foreigners in the city of São Paulo outnumbered Brazilians in domestic work, manufacturing, crafts, transportation, and commerce. In manufacturing, 79 percent of workers were immigrants.[14] Foreigners operated as important entrepreneurs in

TABLE 4. *Population of City of São Paulo, 1872–1940*

Year	Population
1872	31,385
1890	64,934
1900	239,820
1910	346,410
1920	479,033
1934	1,060,120
1936	1,167,862
1940	1,326,261

SOURCE: Brazil, Ministerio da Agricultura, Industria e Comercio, Diretoria Geral de Estatística, Anuario Estatístico do Brasil, Anno I (1908–1912), vol. 1, pp. 260–261, 268–269; Florestan Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), 61; Robert M. Levine, *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934–1938* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 191.

the growth technologies of industry, transportation, and utilities. The English were principal investors in the railroad system; the Companhia Ingleza held a lucrative monopoly on the rail line to Santos. European and American interests capitalized the trolley system run by the São Paulo Tramway, Light and Power Company; the Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company, a conglomerate of power, telephone, and gas companies, was incorporated in Canada.[15] By 1940 foreigners, most notably Italians, Syrians, and Portuguese, controlled 44 percent of the capital earned in industrial enterprises.[16]

São Paulo was emerging as a major industrial city with extraordinary population growth (see Table 4). The economy enjoyed a boom around 1915, when production increased to meet wartime demand. The principal industries in the capital were textiles, food processing, clothing, chemicals, and pharmaceuticals. In 1907 São Paulo accounted for 16 percent of the nation's total industrial production; by 1915 this figure had nearly doubled to 31 percent.[17]

Immigrants had begun establishing nuclear communities in the capital in the mid-nineteenth century. Central to this process were the consolidation of national identity and the formation of collective organizations. São Paulo's first mutual aid society was the Portuguese Society of Beneficence, founded in 1859. The Germans followed with their own Society of Beneficence in 1863, and a recreational and educational society known as Germania in 1868, a strategy characteristic of immigrant adaptations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[18]

Alongside the European immigrant communities was a growing population of African descent, with new Afro-Brazilian arrivals increasing steadily

throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Florestan Fernandes estimates that between 1910 and 1934, the Afro-Brazilian population grew from 26,380 to 90,110, with the majority coming from the state's interior.[19] By 1940, although the proportion of blacks had decreased to 8 percent owing to the higher rate of white immigration, there were more blacks in the city (108,682) than anywhere else in the state.[20]

Why did they come? Part of the reason was undoubtedly lack of opportunity in the agricultural areas of the Paulista interior and neighboring states because of the availability of foreign workers. Negative stereotypes about Brazilian workers, particularly those of African descent, compounded their weakened bargaining power. One of the most ardent proponents of anti-Brazilian sentiment in developing national labor policy, Fidelis Reis of Minas Gerais, described Brazilian workers as "of a deplorable color, emaciated, weak . . . with a vague and melancholy look—such is the moral and ethnic portrait of the Brazilian, descended from these [interracial] unions, aggravated by the harshness of the environment, alcohol, malnutrition and a general lack of the most rudimentary hygiene"—an overall picture he characterized as "painful and distressing."[21]

Henrique Cunha, whose family moved to São Paulo from the interior town of Pindamonhangaba around 1904, tells of some of the conflicts that erupted when Afro-Brazilians refused to continue tolerating racism.

> My father and my uncle were from the interior. They came to São Paulo because there [in the interior] they had had problems: my father, with the priest, and my uncle, with the police. Once they went to a circus and there was a clown who made jokes; when the bear came onstage, there was a whole degrading comedy. All the scenes made fun of blacks. And the clown sang:
>
> The white drinks champagne
> The mulatto Port wine
> The caboclo drinks *pinga*
> And the black the piss of pigs
>
> Well, they tried to burn down the circus. . . .
>
> . . . And in the church, that business that the black was poor and had to resign himself to poverty, shouldn't fight, and should be good to his master, was all in the priest's sermon. My father protested, so he couldn't remain in the city because the priest had the backing of the town.[22]

Perhaps the most common reason for migration echoed by the São Paulo families I interviewed was one of hope. Aristides Barbosa's was a typical

story. His family eventually made its way from a rural plantation to the capital, "always looking for better things." Barbosa's maternal grandfather, who had been a slave, urged his children to struggle to realize their aspirations. "They always taught us to do, to seek, to progress," recalled Barbosa.[23]

Afro-Brazilians flocked to the capital with much the same motivations as the European immigrants. They were risk takers who typically relocated entire nuclear families in search of jobs for which there were no guarantees. São Paulo offered the promise of employment in the expanding industrial sector, a compelling opportunity for blacks to escape the agricultural occupations so closely linked with slavery. The people who tested their luck in São Paulo envisioned a new productive role for themselves as black Brazilians, an independent professional role that would afford them higher socioeconomic status and a more meaningful participation in Brazilian society. Fernandes suggests that those who came to São Paulo tended to possess prior skills and aptitudes that would facilitate employment in the urban economy.[24]

For all the hope they might have brought, Afro-Paulistas lacked the seed capital necessary to establish a foothold in private business. In this regard, the mechanisms of abolition sometimes imposed economic handicaps on the freedpersons who purchased letters of manumission in the 1870s and 1880s. Provincial funds had been created to remunerate slaveowners, yet they supplemented their payments from the state with contributions from the enslaved. When Antônio, a thirty-six-year-old married man, sought his freedom from Arthur Barros, he paid 200$000 *milréis*. With the government's contribution, Barros netted 1:146$750 after legal fees of 26$750. In separate cases, Theodoro, aged forty-five, paid 264$000 for his freedom, and Sophia, aged forty-two, paid 300$000.[25] Each was married, which increased the impact of the emancipation fee. Laws enacted in 1871 and 1885 freed children and the elderly, respectively, but not those of working age.[26] Ties to enslaved family members would necessarily have been an additional burden for individuals seeking to purchase their own freedom letters, resulting in delaying freedom for the entire family or physical separation. Those able to buy themselves out of slavery would then have had scant resources with which to begin their new lives.

Recollections garnered from interviews, coupled with extant published information, permit some patterns to be traced of black migration.[27] First, migration occurred in phases, beginning with the families who left the coffee regions of the interior in the 1880s and 1890s. This first wave settled in the downtown section of Bela Vista known as Bexiga, the oldest black enclave in São Paulo. Originally a farm, it was bought in 1878 by Antônio José Leite Braga, who subdivided the land into plots advertised as *baratissimo* (very cheap) the following year. It came to be populated predominantly by Italian

immigrants who subsequently rented their basements to black families. Public services such as water and electricity were inadequate for the densely populated neighborhood. It was distant from the factories, most of which were situated in the newer sections of the capital. Small workshops, mostly mechanical, dotted the neighborhood, whose population included many artisans. By the 1920s immigrant women had established cottage industries as laundresses and seamstresses, and they used part of their income to employ black women as domestics. Bexiga's central location was convenient for those black men working as clerks, office boys, and janitors in government offices.[28]

As the pace of migration increased around the turn of the century and space became scarce in the old neighborhoods, newer arrivals settled in outlying areas such as Barra Funda and Campos Eliseos. Earlier urban expansion had caused demographic shifts that transformed both these communities. The inauguration of the São Paulo Railway in 1867 set off a burst of residential construction directed by Italian builders.[29] Their architectural style included the storage basements *(porões)* that would become the future homes of black immigrants. By 1910–1915, the Italian immigrants who had prospered in skilled trades began moving to those newer sections of the city that enjoyed improved services. Upscale residents of Campos Eliseos moved to fashionable areas such as Higienopolis, neighborhoods "sanitized" from the epidemics of smallpox and yellow fever that plagued Brazilian cities during the first decades of the twentieth century.[30] Those who departed were rapidly replaced by Afro-Brazilians, along with white workers, the majority of whom were leaving the interior. The original homeowners converted *porões* into apartments, and subdivided the large houses of Campos Eliseos into tenements *(cortiços)*.[31]

The development of the black enclave in Barra Funda illustrates the forces that gave shape to the new community. It was located relatively near the upper-class neighborhoods of Santa Cecilia and Higienopolis, making transportation easy for domestic workers. A trolley line installed in 1900 provided rapid access to downtown. Barra Funda's most important attraction, however, was that it was a principal terminal and storage area for the agricultural products from the interior destined for the city's markets. When trains arrived, the heavy sacks of coffee, fruit, salt, and other produce needed to be quickly unloaded and stored. Barra Funda was also a stockyard for the São Paulo and Sorocabana railroads, where the cars were lined up in the proper order before returning to the interior.

All this required heavy labor. Many black men found work as jobbers, hired on the spot as needed. They were paid by the load or job, and a portion of their fee was customarily in produce. Most often they received bananas, which they then resold in front of the station in an area that became known as the Largo da Banana. A common practice was to increase the share of fruit by

tossing one underneath the freight car for every four that were unloaded. The boys from the neighborhood would pick them up and add them to the official share for later sale in the market.[32]

In the phase of rapid growth after World War I, blacks poured into São Paulo from the Paraíba Valley and began to arrive from the northeast as well. These people settled in the expanding eastern section of the city, creating black enclaves such as that in Penha. A critical factor in facilitating Afro-Brazilian migration to São Paulo from an ever-widening radius was the railway system, which employed many black men. As employees, they traveled frequently around the countryside, creating an important network of communication among blacks in the greater São Paulo area and into the surrounding states, particularly Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro. Albertino Alves da Silva was an employee of the Central do Brasil railroad who was originally from Rio de Janeiro. After his first two wives died, he asked for a transfer and moved to Minas Gerais. His new job on the engine crew took him on runs through the city of Santos Dumont, where he met and married his third wife. When the family grew to nine children, Albertino decided to try his luck in São Paulo. In 1932 they settled in Vila Matilde, a predominantly Spanish and Italian neighborhood on the eastern side of the city.[33]

The second characteristic of Afro-Brazilian migration was that families did not always travel together. It was common for one or two family members to settle in the city before subsequently sending for other relatives. In the case of the Barbosa family, the oldest brother was the first to leave for São Paulo in 1933, followed by Aristides in 1934 and each sibling in turn until their parents finally arrived in 1940. They settled in Bela Vista.[34] Once families were settled, and with the communication provided by the railroads, it became relatively easy for people to leave the interior to stay with friends in the city until they could find places of their own. A close relationship with the interior became a hallmark of São Paulo's black neighborhoods and their clubs. It was generally more desirable to move the family together if at all possible, even though many rural families were quite large. The Lucrecios were a black family from Campinas with twelve children, headed by a father who worked as a carpenter and a mother who was a cook and laundress. When yellow fever and influenza broke out, they decided to take the children to São Paulo, moving to the neighborhood of Campos Eliseos in 1922. The grandparents also came along and worked to support the family, which eventually settled in Bela Vista.[35]

Third, São Paulo's Afro-Brazilian community settled in enclaves around the city. This was a matter of discrimination and segregation as well as one of convenience and practicality. Although there are no population statistics categorized by race for São Paulo neighborhoods during this period, a study of

TABLE 5. *Distribution of Live Afro-Brazilian Births by District, City of São Paulo, 1925 and 1929*

	1925		1929	
District	(#)	(%)	(#)	(%)
Sé	8	0.8	7	0.6
Liberdade	91	9.2	79	7.0
Consolação	27	2.7	36	3.1
Bela Vista	406	41.4	583	51.6
Santa Efigenia	47	4.8	9	0.7
Bom Retiro	55	5.6	56	4.9
Santa Cecilia	81	8.2	94	8.3
Braz	29	2.9	52	4.6
Mooca	42	4.2	44	3.9
Belemzinho	66	6.7	40	3.5
Vila Mariana	49	5.0	26	2.3
Cambucy	40	4.0	28	2.4
Perdizes	38	3.8	74	6.5

SOURCE: Directoria do Serviço Sanitario do Estado de São Paulo, Secção de Estatística Demographo-Sanitaria, *Boletim Mensal de Estatística Demographo-Sanitaria de São Paulo,* anno VIII (January–December 1925), nos. 1–12; anno XII (January–December 1929), nos. 1–12.

NOTE: Afro-Brazilian includes *pardo* and *prêto* categories.

registered births between 1925 and 1929 (see Table 5) indicates strong residential patterns. The vast majority of Afro-Brazilian births were registered in Bela Vista, the district in which Bexiga was located. A 1934 school census also indicated Bela Vista as the neighborhood with the highest concentration of blacks.[36] Afro-Brazilians were disproportionately represented in the districts of Santa Cecilia and Liberdade as well.

Samuel Lowrie suggests that since blacks in service occupations required easy access to the whites for whom they worked, a pattern of black residential concentration emerged that combined proximity to whites and the availability of low-cost housing.[37] However, many, if not most, Afro-Brazilians living near whites (as opposed to those living with whites) probably did so not because they worked for them in service capacities but because numerous immigrant families had converted basements and backyards into rental properties. Another factor influencing residential concentration was proximity to friends and family. The Oliveira Galdinos came from the Paraíba Valley in the 1920s with a couple with whom they had grown up. Their daughter, one of five children, recalled how friends from their hometown of Engenheiros Passos sought and found help with her family.

> We always lived in two bedrooms with a kitchen. We divided the space, separating the women on one side and the men on the other. . . People came with a characteristic respect, friendship, and desire to succeed. So they accepted the situation and stayed. They looked for work. For many, my father himself got them work with him until there was a room nearby. Then they'd stay in that room, but only if it was close so the women wouldn't be too far from each other, so that one could let the other know what was going on, what to do when you had a small baby: if it got sick, what [the illness] was like, what medicines to get at the pharmacy.[38]

Small enclaves of blacks, many of them linked by hometown affiliations, thus sprouted up around the city.

Conditions were not easy for the new arrivals, although they were mitigated by a spirit of mutual aid. Children, lovers, in-laws, distant relatives, and friends down on their luck or newly arrived to the city all found shelter under a single roof. So many people crowded into the *porões* and *cortiços* that the larger of these became miniature communities in which mutual assistance was indispensable. The journalist Francisco Branco, a longtime resident of Barra Funda, described the rapid process of settlement in the neighborhood, where "there was established an enormous black community [*colônia*], a vast *quilombo* installed in the basements. These, in turn, were linked and interlinked, converted into intricate subterranean labyrinths to which, impelled by economic pressure and seeking the support of racial fraternity [*fraternidade de côr*], flocked the blacks."[39] The Cunha family moved to São Paulo from the Paraíba Valley around the turn of the century. They opened their small house to those who needed help, "be they relatives, from the same city, compadre or comadre." When an epidemic hit São Paulo the house became a hospital, with the Cunhas laying pallets on the floor for ill friends and family.[40]

Educational opportunities were difficult in São Paulo. Economic circumstances forced many black children to work. Those who were able to study had to provide their own supplies and clothes. The 1934 school census revealed that of nearly 85,000 public school students, only 7 percent were black. Although this may appear proportional, the 1940 census revealed that only 3 percent of blacks and 2 percent of mulattoes had completed primary education, compared with 92 percent of whites.[41]

Lack of education exacerbated the difficulties encountered by Afro-Brazilians seeking work. São Paulo's principal industry, textiles, was characterized by its domination by foreign workers, many of whom were women and

the Brazilian-born children of immigrants. Afro-Brazilians found it difficult to penetrate the growth industries, finding work (when they could) predominantly in domestic and other types of service positions or occasional work. George Reid Andrews notes the importance of the labor activism of the late 1910s that brought Afro-Brazilians into the work force as strikebreakers. They proved diligent and capable, thus paving the way for increased representation after the 1940s.[42]

The New Negro: *Afro-Brazilian Collectives and Changing Consciousness*

Afro-Brazilians in São Paulo created a variety of collectives after abolition that reflected new identities and needs as they adjusted to the changing pace of urban life. The most vocal of these were the social clubs, political advocacy groups, and newspaper cooperatives, but they were but one part of a broader spectrum of collective activities. The oldest form of Afro-Brazilian organization in São Paulo was the lay Catholic brotherhood, a social institution in existence since colonial times. Many sought to help enslaved members purchase their letters of freedom, although their typically meager resources were often insufficient. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these religious associations in São Paulo assisted their members with such services as loans and burial expenses.[43] Some sodalities, such as the brotherhood at the Igreja da Bôa Morte, were restricted to mulattoes. Among the black brotherhoods were those of Santa Efigenia, São Bento, São Francisco, and São Benedito. The local branch of the Rosário brotherhood was founded in 1711.[44] Black churches were institutions central to the lives of the black slaves prior to the city's expansion. Some occupied prime downtown locations. The area around the Rosário church was appropriated by the city council in 1861 to widen the street and build a square. The building itself was appropriated in 1903 and the Largo do Rosário was renamed Praça Antônio Prado in honor of the mayor in 1905.[45] The city council gave the brotherhood a site on the Largo de Paissandú, where the new church presently stands. [46]

Although the brotherhoods continued into the post-abolition era, new forms of collectives and activities began reshaping the contours of Afro-Brazilian community life in the capital. An early cultural meeting point for Afro-Brazilians was the hometown picnic, an essential means for the large numbers of black migrants to São Paulo to reinforce their ties to family and friends. Trains linked the capital to virtually the entire interior, and since many blacks were employed by railroads in some capacity, excursions to hometowns were relatively easy to organize. The festivals of the towns' patron saints were invariably occasions for excursions, by no means limited to native sons and

daughters. At the annual festival of Pirapora, held between August 3 and 7, delegations from all over the state sought to outdo one another every year. Blacks attending the festival stayed in an abandoned religious retreat. One of the two buildings had two floors, and families could stay in individual rooms with some degree of privacy. The other was in ruins, a giant open space where the majority of visitors lodged during the event.

As the sambas rolled on, each neighborhood or town had a favorite singer who would lead the improvisational lyrics in musical challenges in which one would sing a verse and another would respond, a style still popular in rural Brazil. In such a setting, the neighborhood became the basis for group identity, facilitating activities among the same circle of friends back in the city.[47] Neighborhood-based social groups organized around events such as excursions, picnics, dances, and Carnival were a new form of black collective in post-abolition São Paulo.

The veterans of the festivals in the interior re-created similar activities in the capital, making samba a cultural manifestation that developed along many lines. The samba world ranged from the highly structured Carnival associations to circles of friends who frequented nightclubs and house parties. Most of the important figures in Paulistano samba attended the Pirapora festivities during their youth. Among them were Dionisio Barbosa, a founder of the Barra Funda Carnival Group (later renamed Camisa Verde e Branco), Donata Ramos of Campos Eliseos, and Madrinha Eunice of Vai Vai, who subsequently co-founded Lavapés.[48]

Much of the samba world consisted of unstructured groups of acquaintances who socialized regularly at house parties and spontaneous gatherings. Because samba parties were so frequently based in domestic spaces, women became dominant figures. One of these was "Tia [Aunt] Olimpia," known for her house parties on the Rua Anhaguera in Barra Funda. In Lavapés, Eunice and Chico Pinga gave parties in the 1930s, and founded a samba school twenty years later.[49] This was a private world, Iêda Britto notes. "There is little information about these black spaces, but it is known that they were closed spaces within the black world itself and even more so to outsiders."[50] The private samba world was ongoing, unlike the occasional events such as empresario Zé Soldado's annual 13th of May party in the suburban neighborhood of Jabaquara.[51] In a tradition akin to that of the Bahian "aunts" in Rio de Janeiro, samba house parties gave rise to a distinct culture out of which developed the modern samba schools, the *escolas de samba*.[52]

Another social circle in which samba played a major role revolved around soccer. Neighborhood soccer clubs were more fluid in their membership, open as they were to players of all backgrounds. After games, players and their families typically gathered for informal parties. Alberto Alves da

Silva, whose family moved to the eastern end of São Paulo from Minas Gerais, became active in this community, earning himself the nickname "Nenê do Pandeiro."[53] He made his first *pandeiro* out of a tin of guava jelly and beer bottle caps, but his father, who worked on the railroads, found one forgotten by a passenger. His father was one of many railroad workers who belonged to local soccer clubs that played on Sundays.

> We had one in Vila Matilde. There were others in Bras, they had the "Fourth Stop" and "Fifth Stop," which today is called Caron. In Penha they had Guayaúna, Vila Matilde had Alturaví. . . . All these neighborhoods had ball clubs. So on Sundays, folks would have those *domingueiras* [Sunday get-togethers] in one of the neighborhoods. Folks would come from the others, bring pandeiros to make it fun, the good old days. Ay! Black folks came, black folks had fun.[54]

Soccer club circles were not exclusively black, as the other Afro-Brazilian collectives tended to be, and were probably the forum for the transformation of samba into the city's popular culture. Nenê's first performance was at a samba party alongside a white musician known as Russo do Pandeiro, and other whites were important influences in his adolescence. During his interview, Nenê sang sambas popular at the parties of the 1930s, many of which originated in, or were influenced by, Afro-Cuban and Puerto Rican music. The soccer club circles contributed to the development of multiethnic samba, whose various musical and dance styles eventually developed into modern Paulista samba. Vai Vai, the first Carnival group in Bexiga, originated from a soccer club of the same name.[55]

Organized samba became a fixture of black Paulistano culture with the emergence of *cordões carnavalescos,* precursors of modern *escolas de samba.* The first of these was the Barra Funda Carnival Group, whose debut was in 1914. The *cordões* enjoyed immense popularity and quickly sprang up wherever blacks were concentrated. An unstructured group from the Alameda Glette known as the Bloco dos Boêmios reorganized itself as the Campos Eliseos Carnival Group in 1917.[56]

Samba *cordões* provided the impetus for wider-ranging social clubs *(sociedades)* formalized through governing statutes and executive boards. It was their responsibility to sponsor activities throughout the year to raise money for Carnival expenses.[57] Some of these developed a political orientation, expressed in newsletters and auxiliary activities. The political and recreational dimensions coexisted for a time but eventually diverged along distinct paths in the 1920s with the creation of the explicitly political newspapers *Progresso* and *Clarim da Alvorada* and the Palmares advocacy organization.

By the 1920s samba consisted of the organized Carnival clubs and an

unstructured world of parties and spontaneous gatherings. The clubs took on unique characteristics. Most important, they were family oriented, with entire families attending as a unit. If, for some reason, one member chose to leave a group, other relatives often left as well.[58] The importance of family was also evident in the leadership structure, passed along from one generation to the next within a single family. Dona Sinhá of Camisa Verde e Branco in Barra Funda was the daughter of the famous Felão de Pirapora. She subsequently brought her son Tobias into the leadership, who restructured the group into its modern incarnation as a samba school.[59]

There were less formal cultural manifestations taking shape in the poorer black communities, where bars *(botequins)* became a meeting point for music, billiards, dancing, and drinking. The *botequins* also served as a melting pot in which blacks from diverse regions of Brazil developed a distinct Afro-Paulistano musical and social culture, in the same way that the Praça Onze had given rise to samba in Rio. One such area was the Alameda Glette in Barra Funda, near the trolley terminal. It was the site of a crowded *cortiço,* several soccer fields, and numerous bars. Partying and alcohol became so associated with the area that *negro da Glette* became a common euphemism to refer with disdain to lowbrow Afro-Brazilian culture.[60] Black bars were targeted by the police, who made more arrests for drunkenness, disorderliness, and vagrancy than any other crimes. Between 1914 and 1916 Afro-Brazilians made up 28.5 percent of the prison population, despite the fact that they were only 10 percent of the general population. In 1923 *pardos* and *prêtos* were 33.5 percent of all detainees.[61]

A founder of one of Barra Funda's social clubs recalled the dynamic of the Glette *botequins:*

> [T]he Corote was a *botequim* on the Rua Cruzeiro, but we never entered from the street because if we entered from the street, the police were always around to get the blacks that had no jobs. We left from the Patio da Banana and entered from those bushes, and 1–2–3, we were there at the Corote to drink *pinga* [cachaça] in peace. . . . There were lots of black girls, we flirted with the black girls there. . . . In the *botequins* there was lots of silliness, drunken antics, but there was a good side. Folks [*Negro*] fought with each other, then when it was over they'd go drink *pinga* and make peace.[62]

Part of the stigma of the *botequins* derived from their location in the crowded tenements known as *cortiços.* The negative image of the *cortiços* and the "negros da Glette" was one the aspiring black working class strove to avoid. The *cortiços* represented squalor, whereas recently developed districts idealized clean living; city planners expressed this thought literally with the

creation of the district named Higienopolis. In 1929 the black newspaper *Progresso* compared São Paulo's *cortiços* with the slums known as *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro: "barbarous, once even savage, nuclei of a life that contrasts in stark anachronism with the progress of the Paulista capital." The newspaper congratulated the city for having destroyed a particularly infamous *cortiço* known simply as Tressentos (Three Hundred) for the widening of the São João Avenue. It denounced the *cortiços* as an impediment to progress:

> It is possible that the *cortiços* have the picturesque quality of things that survive as relics of remote eras, but the attraction they might hold for the occasional antiquarian cannot compensate for the moral and material disadvantages caused by the persistence of these ugly fragments of antiquity in the Paulistana community. As regards sanitation, the *cortiços* are wellsprings of epidemic disease and it is certain that they played a role in the recent incursions of the [influenza] pandemic that so devastated São Paulo.[63]

The boisterousness of the *botequins*, though frequented by many whites, became a symbol of black marginality and evoked negative images of promiscuity, alcoholism, and crime incompatible with the image São Paulo cultivated of itself as a genteel and progressive city. It was a question of social values and lifestyles that took on class dimensions between an aspiring black middle class and a marginalized underclass. The differences were not great in terms of family income, but their social views led to radically different manifestations of Afro-Brazilian collectives in the social and cultural life of the city. Ironically, many of the clubs that became the backbone of the Afro-Paulista aspiring middle class were born in the *botequins*. Campos Eliseos, which later became a formal social club, began in the botequins on the Alameda Glette around 1915.[64] Formal black social clubs were also a response to the exclusion of Afro-Brazilians from white clubs. Those seeking a more "respectable" form of socializing discovered that Italian clubs and dances in mixed neighborhoods such as Bela Vista excluded blacks.[65] The only way for Afro-Brazilians to attend such functions was to sponsor their own. In the early years of the century, a number of clubs appeared in São Paulo's black neighborhoods. The first of these, Luvas Pretas (Black Gloves), was founded in 1904.[66] The main activity of the clubs *(gremios recreativos)* was to sponsor social functions, and they enjoyed enormous popularity. In order to circulate information to club members, the organizers published small newspapers.[67] Juxtaposed as they were to "white" groups and events, these early social clubs were instrumental in developing "black" ethnic identity among Afro-Paulistas. It is important to note that they were also juxtaposed to the lowbrow image of the social circles associated with the *cortiços* and the *botequins*.

After the appearance of the Luvas Pretas in 1904, black social clubs and newspapers gained widespread popularity. Well over twenty such clubs existed at any given time and some, such as Centro Recreativo Kosmos, Brinco de Princeza, 28 de Setembro, Elite Flor da Liberdade, and Centro Recreativo Smart, were maintained over several years. Kosmos, which survived into the late 1920s, had been founded as early as November 1908.[68] The clubs were fairly complex organizations; the directorate usually included a president, vice president, and two each of secretaries, treasurers, *procuradores* (official representatives, or proxies), *fiscais* (accountants), and a *mestre-sala* (host of the house, emcee at events). This type of organization is common in modern *escolas de samba*, and probably derives from the organizational structure of the Catholic brotherhoods.

The social clubs sponsored picnics, athletic events, dance contests, beauty pageants, and other entertainment. Some, like Kosmos, were able to develop educational components as well, but this was unusual. Occasionally large clubs would have a women's auxiliary, which maintained its own directorate. There were women's clubs, like G.R. (Gremio Recreativo) Flor da Mocidade ("Flower of Youth"), G.R. Princeza do Norte ("Northern Princess"), G.R. Rainha Paulista ("Paulista Queen"), G.R. 8 de Abril ("Eighth of April"), and the Grupo das Que Não Ligam Importancia ("The Group of Those Who Don't Care"), that were led by female directorates.[69] It appears that each club had a nucleus of highly loyal members, and marriages among members were not uncommon. Club affiliations identified people, and improper behavior reflected badly on their organizations. *A Liberdade,* a bi-weekly newspaper founded in 1919, carried neighborhood gossip using references to clubs as identifiers. "Madame Idalina of Kosmos," for example, was sent an anonymous message from someone unhappy with her choice of dance partners.[70] Mainstream newspapers regularly carried announcements from white groups. The black association newspapers such as *Menelick, Kosmos, Liberdade,* and *Bandeirante* emerged as parallel vehicles within the Afro-Paulistano community for circulating their own information, gossip, and social commentary.

The early Afro-Brazilian social press also served as a forum for the identification and discussion of racial issues. Using the black population of the United States as a model, a front-page editorial in *O Alfinete* called for Afro-Brazilians to recognize that they had the responsibility for improving their own situation.[71] The *Bandeirante* declared itself "A Combative Organ for the General Revitalization of the Class of Men of Color." It was one of several outlets complaining about police harassment and general racial discrimination. In one case, *Bandeirante* reported on a funeral procession that had been detained by the police. The coffin was being carried through the streets because the family could not afford a car. "They were jailed simply because the

ILL. 3. Early Afro-Brazilian newspapers in São Paulo. Clockwise, from top left: *O Menelick, Elite, A Liberdade,* and *O Alfinete.*

issue involved only poor people of color." Four people who protested were also arrested. *Bandeirante* issued a terse warning. "These senseless jailings continue, and the innocent people will not forever be able to maintain the necessary calm in the face of the vexation to which they are subjected."[72] This was still a problem in the 1930s. The first issue of *A Voz da Raça* complained of an unprovoked attempt by the police to arrest some Frente Negra youths leaving a theater rehearsal.[73]

The black press often presented such issues as a point of departure for complex discussions about Afro-Brazilian political strategies. Accompanying *Bandeirante*'s story on the funeral was this editorial:

> Given the dispersion in which people of color are living, doing nothing to protect one another in the cosmopolitan environment, who have no solidarity, who do not join in a cause that would assure them relative tranquility in the face of any of life's eventualities, that would give them the means to confront anything that conspires to undermine their legitimate rights as free citizens, as Brazilian citizens, incidents such as that which Snr. Gastão [Silva] has reported are very natural.
>
> When the Bandeirantes club was founded, their extensive program was read at the inaugural festivities. It was this program that served as the platform for the appearance of this journal; among the many ideas contained therein and for whose fulfillment we asked for everyone's cooperation, whether or not they were members of Bandeirante, was the creation of a special fund to aid the sick and needy and those who were unjustly imprisoned.
>
> Very well. No one listened or even read our words of concern. Now Snr. Gastão comes to alert us to the bitter fact that four blacks were jailed without just cause, merely because they were returning from the cemetery where they had left the cold corpse of a brother who had died penniless!
>
> And we ask ourselves, why did that poor soul die destitute? Let those who did not heed us answer the question. And those well-intentioned blacks, have they been set free? Are they yet back in the bosom of their worried families?
>
> We do not know. Everything is unknown. Could it be that those poor souls, those unfortunate unprotected souls, have been sent away, working themselves to death in the gloomy Northeastern backlands?
>
> Ah! This bitter doubt that we now entertain would have had no reason to exist if our voice had been heeded. There would be a fund for a lawyer to aid those unfortunate prisoners.
>
> There would be a collective of all people of color in defense of

the rights of the sacrificed brothers. But our cry goes unheeded in an immense desert!

No one listened and no one will listen. If it had to do with collecting for dances every day, then there would be no lack of acclaim and support. But since it deals with a fund for defense and legal aid, no one steps forward. Why not embrace the Bandeirante's program?

What sadness! Always disunited! Always unprotected! Always persecuted and without a generous arm to defend us!

And, if we don't lift our heads and see it, in short order we will fall precipitously into the abyss of our criminality, and then, our final ruin!

All this is bitter, it is painful. But what can we do when it seems to us that it is the force of an adverse Destiny that impels us on this fatal march of disunity![74]

The editorial, written in 1919, touched upon three of the four themes that characterized black activism in post-abolition São Paulo. First was the need for unity. The young activists discovered that a program based on a concept as amorphous as unity was difficult to sell to a populace of Afro-Brazilians for many of whom politics and philosophy were too far removed from the everyday realities of work, family, relationships, parties, and basic survival. Nonetheless, such newspapers as *Clarim da Alvorada* consistently stressed this point. In the words of editor José Correia Leite, "We can do nothing unless we unite. This is the reason we live in endless retrocession, without the means to organize a financial base [*patrimônio*] to help ourselves."[75] Despite class, color, regional, and other differences, São Paulo's black activist leadership felt that unification was not only possible, but the indispensable prerequisite for the progress of all blacks. They were already articulating a color-based group identity, *homens de côr,* one that did not distinguish mulattoes from blacks. The second theme was that the social clubs and dances were a waste of valuable energy and resources that could be better spent in securing an economic base, social support mechanisms, and class advocacy. Third, the editorial depicted the predicament of visionary black leaders in convincing the rest of the community to go along with their programs. The message appears in the newsletter of a social club because, despite their criticisms, leaders needed the clubs as a vehicle for reaching the black constituency. A fourth theme, Afro-Brazilian patriotism, was to become more pronounced in the 1920s with the emergence of a new generation of urban activists.

This overview of black organizational life prior to 1940 highlights the fact that Afro-Brazilians in São Paulo pursued several strategies as they determined the roles they wished to occupy as free citizens. There existed a viable alternative cultural community built around music that served more than recreational purposes. It was a retreat from the unpleasant aspects of mainstream life into a black world in which music served a spiritually regenerative function. Samba stemmed directly from African slave cultural gatherings, the latter a ritual for the restoration of psychological and spiritual balance. Early descriptions of samba in Pirapora contained markedly African elements—the formation of musicians and dancers into a circle, the restriction of drumming to men, the call-and-response style of song, and the orientation of the dancer to the drums rather than to a partner.[76] As samba moved into the capital, it is likely that its essential role was very similar given the hostility of the environments in which Afro-Brazilians circulated. Black samba also reflected philosophical differences with the larger society. The unquestioned dynastic leadership of organized clubs reflected notions of governance moving in direct contrast to the increasingly democratic clamorings in mainstream Brazilian politics. In addition, women played significant roles as leaders and organizers whereas white Brazilian women had yet to overcome the weight of traditional stereotypes.

It is important that the history of the black samba community be placed alongside that of the activists as part of the larger history of Afro-Paulistas in the post-abolition period, because theirs was yet another adaptive strategy to the conditions of urban life. Until recently, many researchers have portrayed the organized political activism of the 1920s and 1930s as a "movement" expressing the aspirations of *the* black community.[77] That image is now subject to reassessment in light of the fact that the known number of participants was relatively small given the total number of blacks in the capital. Were the activists a black elite distinct from the majority of Afro-Paulistanos? To answer this, it will be important to conduct further research on the less visible strategies of those who retreated into universes of their own creation as yet another expression of self-determination in the post-abolition era.

Still another group of Afro-Paulistanos, whose story is not told here, pursued individual strategies, capitalizing on valued assets such as fair skin.[78] Although it is not possible to fully explore each of these adaptations, this chapter has sought to broaden the scope of analysis in the consideration of post-abolition responses in the city of São Paulo. For the collectives, new forms of organization only became possible after the consolidation of group identities around both race and geographic origins. The most vocal of these, as we shall see, were the political advocacy organizations of the 1920s and 1930s.

42. See, for example, Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987; Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
43. Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 9.
44. Ibid.
45. On the Central African component of these traditions see, for example, Robert Farris Thompson, "Kongo Influences on African-American Artistic Culture," in Joseph E. Holloway, ed., *Africanisms in American Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 148–184; Luc de Heusch, "Kongo in Haiti: A New Approach to Religious Syncretism," in Darién J. Davis, ed., *Slavery and Beyond: The African Impact on Latin America and the Caribbean* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1995), 103–119.
46. This was the experiment of the Rastafarian community in Jamaica in the 1940s and 1950s when they established the commune of Pinnacle. Earlier examples are the large maroon societies such as Palmares in Brazil and the Jamaican maroon settlements under Nanny, Cudjoe, and Accompong. Leonard E. Barrett, Sr., *The Rastafarians: Sounds of Cultural Dissonance* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988), 86–89; Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas,* 2d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979).
47. I am referring here to choices made by people of African descent, which is different from enforced segregation imposed by the dominant society.
48. Leo Spitzer, *Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, and West Africa, 1780–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 129–130. This is consistent with Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony as summarized in Walter L. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 170–171.
49. Spitzer, *Lives in Between,* 122.
50. Capistrano de Abreu, quoted in Spitzer, *Lives in Between,* 106 (translation revised).
51. Aline Helg notes the same tripartite classification in Cuba. Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886–1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 33.
52. Because nationalism is so closely associated with the physical possession of territory, "black nationalism" came to describe the shared feelings of a nation conceived on the basis of race rather than land when discussing the experience of African Americans in the United States. I use the term "ethnonationalism" because it is a universal concept not limited by race.

Chapter 3 *São Paulo: The New City—The New* Negro

1. Aristides Barbosa, interview by author, tape recording, São Paulo, 21 January 1989.
2. As noted earlier, Paulista is an adjective denoting São Paulo origin; Paulistano refers specifically to the city of São Paulo.
3. Brazil, *Recenseamento Geral da População,* 1890; 1940, 60. Because of changes in demographic categories between census years, "Afro-Brazilian" as used here is the combined total of *prêto* and *mestiço* for 1890 and *prêto, pardo,* and *côr não declarada* for 1940. The 1940 total without the "undeclared" category is 108,682.

4. Although much data necessary for a detailed social history of Afro-Paulistanos during this period were never recorded, the following sources provide fairly comprehensive overviews: Roger Bastide and Florestan Fernandes, *Brancos e Negros em São Paulo,* 3d ed. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1971); Florestan Fernandes, *A Integração do Negro na Sociedade de Classes,* 2 vols. (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1978); George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); José Carlos Gomes da Silva, "Os Sub-Urbanos e a Outra Face da Cidade. Negros em São Paulo, 1900–1930: Cotidiano, Lazer e Cidadania" (M.A. thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1990); Iêda Marques Britto, *Samba na Cidade de São Paulo, 1900–1930: Um Exercício de Resistencia Cultural* (São Paulo: FFLCH-USP, 1986).
5. Leslie Bethell, ed., *Colonial Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 24.
6. Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), 113; Robert H. Mattoon, Jr., "Railroads, Coffee, and the Growth of Big Business in São Paulo, Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57:2 (May 1977), 276.
7. São Paulo's 1874 slave population was 174,622 as compared with 165,403 in Bahia and 106,236 in Pernambuco. Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 285.
8. Bastide and Fernandes, *Brancos e Negros,* 52, 63.
9. Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), 17; Bastide and Fernandes, *Brancos e Negros,* 52–54.
10. Brazil, *Anuario Estatístico, 1908–1912.*
11. Arlinda Rocha Nogueira, *Imigração Japonesa na Historia Contemporanea do Brasil* (São Paulo: Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros, Massao Ohno Editora, 1984).
12. "A lavoura não pode contar com eles, não só pela indolencia herdada dos escravos e nacionais, como porque em geral os libertos preferem o mercantilismo." Relatorio do Clube da Lavoura, testimony presented to Assembleia Geral, 17 May 1880, cited in Paula Beiguelman, *A Formação do Povo no Complexo Cafeeiro: Aspectos Politicos* (São Paulo: Livaria Pioneira Editova, 1968), 133. Some coffee growers used the excuse that Afro-Brazilians preferred trade to agriculture in an attempt to justify increased subsidies for the *colono* program.
13. This movement was specifically toward the capital. Of São Paulo's other large cities, Santos had the second-largest population of *prêtos* and *pardos* in 1940, at 15,068 (13.5 percent of the total in the capital). Brazil, *Recenseamento Geral da População,* 1940, part 17, tome 1, 60.
14. Fernandes, *The Negro,* 11. See also Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 49–66.
15. Dean, *Industrialization,* 8; Mattoon, "Railroads, Coffee, and the Growth of Big Business, 273–295.
16. Brazil, *Recenseamento Geral de 1940,* part 17, tome 3, 462–463.
17. Rollie E. Poppino, *Brazil: The Land and People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 228–230.
18. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis,* 132; Frederick Luebke, *Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict during World War I* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 47–49; Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in*

New York City, 1825–1863 (New York: King's Crown Press/Columbia University, 1949).

19. Fernandes, *The Negro,* 61, 70. Fernandes bases this estimate on demographic growth rates from 1886 to 1893 and 1940 to 1950, census data, and a general proportion of Afro-Brazilians in the city's population between 8–12 percent. On immigration figures to São Paulo, see Thomas Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 179; Dean, *Industrialization,* 153.
20. The figure of 108,682 includes *prêto* and *pardo* categories and excludes *amarelo* and *côr não declarada.* Brazil, *Recenseamento Geral de 1940,* part 17, tome 1.
21. Fidelis Reis, *Paiz a Organizar* (Rio de Janeiro: Coelho Branco, 1931), 236.
22. Henrique Cunha, interview by author, São Paulo, 20 January 1989. *Pinga* is slang for a strong cane liquor.
23. Aristides Barbosa, interview by author, São Paulo, 21 January 1989.
24. Fernandes, *The Negro,* 70.
25. AMSP, book 603, "Pecúlio com que contribuiram os escravos." These slaves were all married. This entry has no date but follows earlier entries dated 1876. The total amounts received by slaveowners in this record are striking, given the fact that other provincial payments were extremely limited. The province compensated planters at the rate of 2$624 *milréis* per slave after the 1871 law freeing children born of slave mothers, and an 1882 distribution paid owners 1$593 *milréis* per slave for 174,622 *libertos.* AMSP, book 603, "Relação dos municipios da provincia e dos escravos matriculados em cada um delles, aos que cabe as quantias abaixo mencionadas, destinadas á sua libertação em virtude da lei de 28 de Setembro de 1871," 20 November 1876; book 603, untitled entry of distributions to 109 *municipios* dated 1 September 1882.
26. A small number of slaves belonging to the state were freed, under compulsory labor and residence provisions for a period of five years under article 6 of the Rio Branco Law. Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian,* 305–309. Some letters of manumission under this provision have been preserved in the state archives of São Paulo. AMSP, Registro de Cartas de Liberdade, Secção Historia, no. de ordem 602.
27. One of the best, though brief, discussions of urban black residence patterns is Britto, *Samba na Cidade,* 37–41. On the lack of ethnic statistics, José Carlos Gomes da Silva noted, "The exclusion of blacks from the narrative of the principal historians of the city is a precise reflection of the intellectuals' perspective—that blacks were not part of the cosmopolitan life of São Paulo." Gomes da Silva, "Os Sub-Urbanos," 32.
28. Bernard Gontier, *Bexiga* (São Paulo: Mundo Impresso, 1990), 16–19; Britto, *Samba na Cidade,* 40–41.
29. Mattoon, "Railroads, Coffee, and the Growth of Big Business," 274.
30. Nancy Leys Stepan discusses the impact of health concerns on social policy in "Eugenics in Brazil, 1917–1940," in Mark B. Adams, ed., *The Wellborn Science: Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 113.
31. Gomes da Silva, "Os Sub-Urbanos," 47–49. Some *cortiços* were constructed expressly for that purpose, although Florestan Fernandes notes that "the most well-known were constructed for commercial, not residential, ends." Fernandes, *The Negro,* 81.

32. Gomes da Silva, "Os Sub-Urbanos," 54–58; Britto, *Samba na Cidade,* 38–39.
33. Alberto Alves da Silva, interview by author, 17 April 1992.
34. Aristides Barbosa, interview by author, 21 January 1989.
35. Francisco Lucrecio, interview by author, 10 January 1989.
36. Censo Escolar, 1934, in *Diario Oficial de São Paulo,* 14 June 1936.
37. Samuel H. Lowrie, "O Elemento Negro na População de Sao Paulo," in *Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo,* ano IV, vol. 48 (June 1938), 54.
38. Carlota de Oliveira Galdino Silva, interview by author, São Paulo, 7 October 1992.
39. Branco, cited in Gomes, "Os Sub-Urbanos," 51; see also Fernandes, *The Negro,* 80–81.
40. Henrique Cunha, Jr., interview by author, 7 October 1992.
41. Censo Escolar, 1934, in *Diario Oficial de São Paulo,* 14 June 1936; Joseph Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 12–13.
42. George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 92–101. Andrews relied principally on case studies of the Jafet textile factory and São Paulo Tramway, Light, and Power, the city's electrical and trolley utility. The author himself recognized that, although his is one of the most detailed studies to date on post-abolition labor patterns among blacks in São Paulo, it can only offer preliminary hypotheses owing to the lack of data collected by race during this period.
43. AESP, MSS, no. de ordem 614.
44. Raul Joviano de Amaral, *Os Prêtos do Rosário de São Paulo: Subsidios Historicos* (São Paulo: Alarico, 1954), 35; José Correia Leite and Cuti [Luiz Silva], . . . *E Disse o Velho Militante José Correia Leite* (São Paulo: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1992), 56–57. Approximately 200 brotherhoods were registered in São Paulo between 1864 and 1883, during the city's initial expansion. AESP, mss., 614 and 618.
45. Amaral, *Os Prêtos do Rosário,* 99–109.
46. Lack of documentation does not permit detailed analysis of the role of Catholic brotherhoods in Afro-Paulistano social life between 1888 and 1938, but the topic merits further study. There is ample information on Afro-Brazilian brotherhoods prior to 1888, including A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: A Study in Collective Behavior," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 54:4 (1974), 567–602; Russell-Wood, *The Black Man in Slavery and* Freedom (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 128–160, 254–301; Patricia A. Mulvey, "Black Brothers and Sisters: Membership in the Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 17:2 (Winter 1980), 253–279; Mulvey, "Slave Confraternities in Brazil: Their Role in Colonial Society," *The Americas* 39:1 (July 1982), 39–68; and Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 82–87. Amaral's *Os Prêtos do Rosário de São Paulo* is the only published source currently available on these institutions in the city of São Paulo between 1888 and 1938. The vibrant history of the political organizations, social clubs, and samba groups has attracted the majority of research attention, obscuring developments within the brotherhoods that may shed further light on black life and history in São Paulo.
47. Gomes da Silva, "Os Sub-Urbanos," 62–63.
48. Britto, *Samba na Cidade,* 62–65.

49. It is unclear whether this is the same Eunice associated with the Campos Eliseos club.
50. Britto, *Samba na Cidade,* 70.
51. The thirteenth of May was the anniversary of abolition, traditionally given over to festivities in the black Paulistano community. Britto, *Samba na Cidade,* 70.
52. Roberto Moura, *Tia Ciatá e a Pequena Africa do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte/MEC-Secretaria de Cultura, n.d.). The title "Aunt" is frequently used as a form of address for older black women to denote respect and affection.
53. A *pandeiro* is a tambourine integral to samba music. When Alberto Alves da Silva founded his own samba school, he renamed himself "Nenê da Vila Matilde," the name of the neighborhood.
54. "Nenê da Vila Matilde" (Alberto Alves da Silva), interview by author, São Paulo, 17 April 1992.
55. Soccer was an important organizational base within the black community that merits further study. Many black players aspired to play professionally with São Paulo's Corinthians. On soccer in Barra Funda, see Gomes da Silva, "Os Sub-Urbanos," 67–68.
56. Ibid., 64; Britto, *Samba na Cidade,* 77.
57. Britto, *Samba na Cidade,* 81.
58. Ibid., 84.
59. Ibid., 62–63; "Zulu" (Antônio Pereira da Silva Neto), interview by author, São Paulo, 18 April 1992.
60. Gomes da Silva, "Os Sub-Urbanos," 69.
61. Ibid., 81–82; Fausto, *Crime e Cotidiano: A Criminalidade em São paulo, 1880–1924* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1984), 52.
62. Zezinho-da-Casa-Verde, cited in Gomes da Silva, "Os Sub-Urbanos," 93–94. In the original Portuguese, he uses *negro* colloquially to mean "folks" when referring to a black milieu.
63. *Progresso,* 24 November 1929. The editorial also noticed the prevalence of crime in the slums. The image of the *cortiços* as a haven for squalor, violence, promiscuity, and poverty was popularized by Aluísio Azevedo in his novel *O Cortiço* (Rio de Janeiro: H. Garnier, 1890).
64. Gomes uses the categories *pardos* and *negros*. Gomes da Silva, "Os Sub-Urbanos," 64.
65. On ethnic associations, see Morse, *From Community to Metropolis,* 132; Luebke, *Germans in Brazil,* 47–49.
66. Andrews, *Blacks and Whites,* 141.
67. Michael Mitchell, "Racial Consciousness and the Political Attitudes and Behavior of Blacks in São Paulo, Brazil" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1997), 125; Michael Mitchell, ed., *The Black Press of Brazil,* Firestone Library (Princeton: Princeton University, n.d., microfilm); Miriam Nicolau Ferrara, ed., *Jornais da Raça Negra,* Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, n.d., microfilm). See also Table 6.
68. *O Kosmos,* 25 January 1925.
69. *Bandeirante,* August 1918; *A Sentinella,* 10 October 1920. Further research into the women's clubs would provide us with rare insight into the lives of black women during this period.
70. *A Liberdade,* 3 August 1919. The practice of using club names as identifiers is still common among samba singers today, including Martinho da Vila, Graça do Salgueiro, Neguinho da Beija-Flor, and Jorginho do Imperio, popular singers of,

respectively, Vila Isabel, Salgueiro, Beija-Flor and Imperio Serrano *escolas de samba* in Rio.

71. *Alfinete,* 3 September 1918.
72. Gastão R. Silva, "Os Agentes da Policia em Acção," *Bandeirante,* April 1919.
73. *A Voz da Raça,* 18 March 1933.
74. J. D'Alencastro, "Em Ferro Frio," *O Bandeirante,* April 1919.
75. José Correia Leite, "O Verbo do Prêto," *O Clarim,* 7 December 1924.
76. Britto, *Samba na Cidade,* 64–65.
77. I include my own master's thesis in this category. This view was first articulated in a chapter entitled "The Negro in Politics" in Arthur Ramos's *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1939), and remains a topic of debate among researchers.
78. In his study of Afro-Brazilian penetration into the Paulista work force, George Reid Andrews notes the greater ease with which *pardos* were able to find jobs as compared with *prêtos*. Andrews, *Blacks and Whites,* 107.

Chapter 4 *The Politics of Race in São Paulo*

1. Michael Mitchell, "Racial Consciousness and the Political Attitudes and Behavior of Blacks in São Paulo, Brazil" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1977), 159. The most significant and complete studies of São Paulo's black press to date are Roger Bastide, "A Imprensa Negra do Estado de São Paulo," Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciencias e Letras, *Boletim CSSI, Sociologia,* no. 2, *Estudos Afro-Brasileiros,* 2a serie, 1951; Mitchell, "Racial Consciousness," esp. chapter 4; and Miriam Nicolau Ferrara, *A Imprensa Negra Paulista, 1915–1963* (São Paulo: FFLCH, 1986).
2. "Bourgeoisie" is used here in the context of the Afro-Brazilian population alone and is not equivalent to the bourgeoisie of Brazilian society as a whole.
3. George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 141.
4. Bastide, "Imprensa," 50.
5. I found some inaccuracy in Bastide's dates, such as *A Voz da Raça* listed for 1936 when it was first published in 1933, and 1918 rather than 1919 listed for *A Liberdade*'s first edition. Bastide is the only author to cite *O Getulino* in 1919 when all other sources give its first date as 1923. My sources are microfilmed copies of first editions in Michael Mitchell, ed., *The Black Press of Brazil, 1916–1969,* Firestone Library (Princeton: Princeton University, n.d., microfilm). Bastide, "Imprensa Negra," 52–53. The words "O" and "A" preceding a newspaper title are the Brazilian article ("The"), and are omitted in the text when following the word "the" in English.
6. *O Menelick,* cited in Bastide, "Imprensa Negra," 52. It is possible that another paper, *O Baluarte,* appeared in São Paulo in 1904.
7. Examples of election results: *A Liberdade,* 14 July, 28 December 1919, *A Sentinella,* 10 October 1920; upcoming events: *O Kosmos,* October 1922, *O Xauter,* 16 May 1916; Pirapora festival reminder: *A Liberdade,* 14 July 1919.
8. *O Kosmos,* October 1922.
9. *A Liberdade,* 9 May 1920.
10. *A Liberdade,* 28 December 1919.
11. *Elite,* 20 January 1924; *Liberdade,* 28 December 11.