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RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

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REGIONALISM AND CULTURAL UNITY IN BRAZIL

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FOR both practical and theoretical reasons there is an increasing interest among social scientists in the study of the contemporary cultures of foreign nations and areas of the world. The so-called "area study" aims to present an integrated picture of the culture pattern of an area or nation rather than a series of unrelated studies dealing with single aspects of that culture. The anthropologist, with experience in dealing with primitive societies as integrated culture patterns, has much to contribute. But while for the Trobriand Islanders one man—the anthropologist—attempted to be at once the economist, the linguist, the sociologist, the historian, the student of literature, the study of modern complex civilizations calls for the cooperation and collaboration of specialists in several disciplines of the social sciences and the humanities toward a unified goal. Furthermore, there does not seem to be any widely accepted concept of the geographic and cultural units to be studied. Should one study Latin America, Brazil, or a single valley in Brazil? A taxonomic classification of the major forms of world cultures and their special varieties would provide a framework for further analysis and objective study.

Recently, Dr. John Gillin in an article in *Social Forces* has presented a very useful concept of a modern Latin American culture,[1] with common patterns and values distinguishing it from other varieties of Western culture. The institutions, culture elements, and values which unify modern Latin American culture are, according to Dr. Gillin, mainly Iberian, and are derived from a common Spanish heritage and common experience under Spanish colonial rule. This modern Latin American (or "Creole") culture, although found throughout Central and South America, has many areal, regional, and local forms due to great differences in natural environment and in the influence of various indigenous cultures. Although Dr. Gillin deals primarily with Spanish-American countries, many of the elements he describes in Latin American culture apply to Brazil despite its Portuguese heritage. Yet, Brazil must be thought of, in the writer's opinion, as a unique and important variant of Latin American culture. Furthermore, because Brazil as a nation and as a cultural unit is so large, there are important regional forms of Brazilian culture to be taken into account. The present article is an attempt to classify Brazil into various regional sub-cultures and to relate the national culture to modern Latin American culture in general.

Throughout the immense area of modern Brazil (3,286,170 square miles), over a third of the land surface of South America, people share a set of basic culture patterns, in the main inherited from Portugal, but strongly flavored with African and American Indian elements. With the exception of a few unassimilated Europeans and a relatively few forest Indians, all people in Brazil (41,065,083 inhabitants) speak one language—Portuguese. Unlike the neighboring highland countries such as Peru and Bolivia, Brazil does not contain peoples who speak distinct languages

[1] "Modern Latin American Culture," *Social Forces*, 25 (March 1947), pp. 243–248. In another publication he calls it "Creole Culture" (*Moche, A Peruvian Coastal Community*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication 3, pp. 151–154).

(e.g., Spanish and Aymara in Bolivia) and who have distinct cultures (e.g., Spanish and Spanish-Indian). As compared with other great political units of the world such as China, India, and the U.S.S.R., Brazil is a country with a homogeneous national culture.

Yet, both native and foreign writers on Brazil constantly refer to the various regions of Brazil and are impressed with the cultural diversity from one part of this country to another. In Brazil, the man in the street has stereotyped ideas as to the personality structure and behavior patterns of his fellow citizens from various parts of the country. The "Paulista" from the State of Sao Paulo is thought to be an energetic, efficient business man. The "Gaucho" from Rio Grande do Sul in the extreme South is a cowboy with rather crude manners. The "Carioca," the inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro, is sly and urbane, and the "Cearense" from the northeastern State of Ceará is a keen commercial man and a wandering exile, driven out of his beloved homeland by drought. Such stereotypes have some basis in fact. Different ecological conditions and different historical factors, combined with poor communications between one part of this huge country and another, have produced rather clearcut regions of Brazil, each with its characteristic version of Brazilian national culture.

Most social scientists who are interested in Brazilian problems recognize regional differences, but only recently has the problem been approached with intensive and objective research methods. Each student of Brazil tends to divide the country on the basis of the major interest of his own field of specialization. That is, a geographer, an economist, an historian, an agronomist, tend to see the map of Brazil somewhat differently. Yet most of them agree on the main outlines of the principal regions, and their differences are due chiefly to the criteria they use in defining regions and to the confusion of state boundaries with sub-cultural areas. Based on a combination of criteria such as climate, surface features, racial composition of the population, historical past, and modern cultural patterns and institutions, it seems to the writer that modern Brazil may be tentatively divided into six major regions: the Amazon Valley, the Northeast Coast, the arid Northeast, the industrial Middle States, and finally the "Wild West" Frontier.

The Amazon Valley is a tropical, humid, low area covered for the most part by thick, monotonous forest, although grassy plains and occasional ranges of hills do occur. The great river system formed by the Amazon and its tributaries has provided man with an easy mode of transportation, and the majority of the Amazon people live along the water routes. The tropical forest provides the characteristic economic activities of the region—the collecting of forest products (Brazil nuts, rubber, palm nuts, hardwoods, timbó vine, etc.). The Amazon population has a strong American Indian component, and the Indian has contributed more to the culture of the Amazon region than to any other part of Brazil. Only a few Negro slaves were imported into the region, and the basic population of the Valley consists of Portuguese and Indian mixtures.[2] The culture of rural inhabitants is strongly flavored by American Indian culture patterns. Until the nineteenth century, *lingua geral*, a modified form of the aboriginal Tupi-Guarani tongue, was the most commonly spoken language of the area. Amazon agricultural techniques, folk beliefs, and folklore are basically American Indian patterns. Medicine men who cure the sick by sucking and massaging practice in small Amazon towns, and Amazon folktales tell of Zurupari, a forest demon who was formerly an Indian supernatural. The Amazon region is characterized by a distinctive ecology, a pronounced residue of Indian culture patterns in the modern culture, and a strong American Indian element in the population.

To the south and east of the Amazon basin lies the arid *sertão* of Brazil. It is a region of scrub forest, cactus, and low thorny bushes. There are low mesas and a few mountain ranges. Periodic droughts occurring each eight to fifteen years are recorded as far back as 1710–11, and during each of these droughts thousands of people die and additional thousands are forced to migrate to other regions of Brazil. The typical economic pursuit of the region is grazing. Agriculture is

[2] In 1852, it was estimated that whites made up only 8.5 per cent, Negro slaves 2.3 per cent, and Mestiços (probably Negro-white mixtures) 4.9 per cent of the total Amazon population. The rest were American Indians. (V. Correa Filho, *Devassamento e ocupaçao da Amazonia Brasiliera*, Revista Brasiliera de Geografia, IV, No. 2, 1942, p. 283.) Since that time there has been an influx of people from the arid Northeast who are themselves mixtures for the most part.

only profitable in a few oases where there is a steady water supply and irrigation produces magnificient yields. The typical *sertanejo*, as the rural inhabitants of this region are called, is a cowboy, and his leather garb used to protect him from the thorny bushes is characteristic of the arid Northeast. The northeastern rural inhabitant shows strong indications of his American Indian ancestory, for it was not profitable to bring Negro slaves into this region, and the Portuguese landowners used Indians to care for their herds. This region is famous for religious fanatics and for numerous outlaw bands. The fanatic religious movement led by Antonio Conselheiro, described by Euclides da Cunha in this Brazilian classic *Os Sertões*,[3] occurred in this region and has been repeated on a minor scale several times since. Bandit bands, such as that of *Lampeão* (The Lamp), were common in the region until a few years back. Despite the ravages of drought, the Arid Northeast is still one of the most densely populated areas of Brazil (14.1 per square kilometer for Ceará as compared with 4.9 per square kilometer for Brazil as a whole). Despite the strength of American Indian elements in the population, the Indian has not influenced the culture of the arid Northeast to the degree that it has the Amazon. The culture patterns of this region are basically Iberian but strongly marked by the necessity of adapting human life to a hostile and inhospitable environment.

The Northeast Coast region somewhat south of the so-called bulge on the Brazilian coastline contrasts violently with both the arid *sertão* and the humid Amazon. This strip of coast, with a regular rainfall and a fertile red soil, was the scene of a rich sugar economy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Profits from sugar attracted wealthy families from Portugal, and the need for labor was solved by the importation of slaves from Africa. The Negroid element is therefore stronger in the modern population of the Northeast Coast than in any other portion of the country. And, as one might expect, African culture elements are more numerous in the modern culture of the Northeast Coast than elsewhere in Brazil. Such typical foods as *vatapá* (dendê oil, peanuts, rice flour, fish, shrimp, and various spices) and *acarajé* (beans fried in dendê oil) were adopted from African slaves. The *macumba* or *candomblé*, the religious cult of African origin which corresponds to the Haitian *vodun*, is found in great strength in this region. The folklore of the region is a mixture of African and Iberian tales for the most part. Culture patterns derived from Africa as well as the traditions inherited from the aristocratic plantation system distinguish this region from the rest of the country. This is the region described by Gilberto Freyre in his *Casa Grande e Senzala*.[4] Although the plantations of the Northeast Coast have long since lost their preeminence as sugar producers, plantation type agriculture is still the characteristic economic activity of the region. Sugar, cacao, tobacco, fruits, and castor beans are grown.

The three southernmost states of Brazil, namely Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, are temperate in climate in contrast to the semi-tropical and tropical climate of the rest of Brazil. The southern portion of the region is *pampa*, the great rolling prairie which extends into Uruguay and Argentina. The Brazilian *pampa*, like the *pampa* across the border to the south, is an area of grazing. The *Gaucho*, the Brazilian cowboy of the *pampa*, shares with his counterpart in Uruguay and Argentina many culture patterns such as the *bola*, the wide breeches cut something like plus fours, a colorful poncho, a wide hat, the habit of drinking maté tea in a gourd vessel through a tube, a meat diet, and a life on horseback. In the States of Paraná and Santa Catarina, the *pampa* fades into great stretches of pine forest very different from the rain forests somewhat to the north. These pine forests cover rich fertile soil and the region has attracted a large number of settlers from Europe (Germany, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, etc.). There are almost one million people in Southern Brazil of German descent, and some 500,000 Poles and their descendants. These Europeans, especially the Germans, have resisted assimilation tenaciously and their influence upon the culture of the region has been profound. Farming techniques, crops, language, and house types, to mention only a few culture traits, show this European influence. The extreme South, therefore, is characterized by two varieties of

[3] English translation entitled *Rebellion in the Backlands*, translated by Samuel Putnam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944).

[4] Translated into English by Samuel Putnam, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946).

Brazilian culture—the recent European and the Luso-Brazilian *Gaucho*. The two groups have combined to create in the South the most energetic and dynamic region of the country.

The Middle States of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and part of Espirito Santo, form a region which today might well be called industrial Brazil. Within this region are found the two great cities of the country, Rio de Janeiro, with almost 2,000,000 inhabitants, and the city of São Paulo, with more than 1,300,000 inhabitants. Most of Brazil's motor roads and railways, most of its heavy industry, most of its modern universities, research laboratories, trade schools, and cultural institutions, and most of its commercial farming are found in this part of Brazil. It is this region of Brazil where modern Western technology has been introduced most successfully and from which modern Western culture diffuses to the rest of the country.

Industrialization and a modern system of communication have in recent years smothered old cultural differences. Formerly, this region contained three distinct local traditions, which have not yet been forgotten by Brazilians. The State of Rio de Janeiro, during the colonial epoch, was developed by sugar planters who brought numerous slaves, and the colonial system of Rio de Janeiro was similar to that of the Northeast Coast. In contrast, the State of São Paulo was the home of the adventurous *bandeirantes*, who penetrated into the interior of South America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in search of gold and slaves. São Paulo was the center of the rich coffee industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and wealth from coffee attracted immigrants from abroad and from other Brazilian regions. São Paulo today is the richest Brazilian state and the center of Brazilian financial and industrial life. The State of Minas Gerais owes its importance in the colonial period to the discovery of rich mineral deposits in the seventeenth century. Gold made this state the richest portion of Brazil for a time and an important political center of colonial Brazil. Residues of these differences in historical development are still retained in the rural areas of these Middle States, but for the most part they have given way nowadays to a standardized Brazilian version of modern machine culture.

West of these industrial Middle States, in the heart of South America, in the States of Goias and Mato Grosso, lies a great modern frontier. The territory between the Xingu and Tapajos Rivers in Mato Grosso is only partially explored. It is inhabited only by a few tribes of Indians who are among the few remaining untouched savages of the world. Other areas of this great frontier "Far West" are already partially settled, and the social conditions usually associated with the frontier are present. Law and order are loosely organized; there are well-known bad men with several killings to their credit, and citizens in small towns go about armed. Prospectors and placer miners constantly explore the hinterlands, and boom towns grow up over night when they make an important find. The Far West at this particular time in its history is a region only inasmuch as it reflects a dynamic frontier culture. The population is drawn from all regions of Brazil and contains Europeans, Negroes, Indians, and mixtures of every conceivable degree of these three elements. Much of the Far West is good farming and grazing land, and Brazil has under way a movement called "The March of the West" to attract Brazilians from the Coast into this undeveloped region.

Within each of these six Brazilian regions, differences exist in contemporary culture as between socio-economic classes and between urban and rural groups. In each region, with the exception of the Far West frontier, there are large cities, and in these cities the upper classes, at least, live in a manner which differs only slightly from their counterparts in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Yet each of these urban centers reflects strongly the region of which it is the economic and cultural center. The basic economic activity of the region provides a major industry for the city. The population of the city has approximately the same racial components as the region. A large proportion of the population of the city, many of whom originated in the surrounding rural areas, share the current folk culture of the region. Porto Alegre, for example, the largest city of the extreme South, has meat packing as an important industry, and there are a large number of Germans in the population. Belem, the major center of the Amazon region, is the export center of forest products, and the population of Belem is basically Iberian-Indian mixtures, as it is throughout the entire Amazon.

These six regions, as indicated in their bare outlines, present, to my mind, specialized versions of a Brazilian national culture. Despite such marked differences from one region of Brazil to another, however, there seems to me to be a general framework of cultural uniformity, which characterizes Brazil as a nation and as a distinct cultural area apart from the other national and regional cultures of the Western Hemisphere and from European cultures in general. As Gilberto Freyre says in his *Brazil: An Interpretation*,[5] there is over all Brazil a "healthy minimum of cultural basic uniformity" which is composed for the most part of Portuguese, therefore of European, culture patterns and values. Although American Indian influences are strong in one part of the country, African influences in another, and recent European influences in still another, it was the Portuguese who were the governors and, in a broad sense, the creators, of Brazil as a nation. Portuguese settlers formed an important component of the Brazilian people from the Amazon Valley in the North to the *pampa* in the extreme South. The Portuguese in a sense might be thought of as forming the common denominator of all Brazil.

Because so many of its basic patterns and values derive from Portugal, Brazil therefore shares many common culture traits and institutions with all so-called Latin cultures. As Dr. Gillin has pointed out, Latin American culture is Roman Catholic in religion, and this Catholicism is Iberian in its emphasis on the cult of the saints, public fiestas, monastic orders, and religious brotherhoods. "Ideologically this culture (of modern Latin America) is humanistic rather than puritanical . . . and intellectually it is characterized by logic and dialectics rather than empiricism and pragmatics."[6] In Latin America the family is an exceptionally strong and solid unit. There is a strong double standard of sexual morality. There is a wide extension of kinship terms, and patterns of ceremonial kinship (godparenthood) are used for greater social solidarity. Latin American towns are built with a plaza plan in contrast to our Main Street plan, and their houses are generally placed flush in the street with no front yard. Latin American patterns of law and legal procedure follow Roman Law as developed by the Code Napoleon rather than Anglo-American patterns which we know. These and many other cultural institutions and elements are common to all Latin American cultures, and, in a sense, are characteristic of Brazil.

Yet, the national culture of Brazil is clearly distinguishable from other Latin cultures. It differs not only in specific institutions and formal patterns peculiar to itself, but in the singularly Brazilian interpretation given to features which are held in common with other Latin cultures. The result is a different culture configuration, a different way of life and a different way of looking at the world.

Such differences in form and in meaning of culture patterns result from ecology, from the Portuguese variety of Iberian culture, from the aboriginal American Indian cultures encountered in the area, from the strong influences from Africa, and from the unique fusion of all these elements in the historical development of the country. The aboriginal people of Brazil, although few in number when compared to those of West Coast South America, had a culture especially adapted to the semi-tropical and tropical environment. They had an influence on the culture of Brazil out of keeping with their small numbers. The Portuguese suffered less from religious fervor than their Spanish neighbors and they were, and still are, famous for their lack of racial prejudice. The large number of African slaves (estimated at over 3,300,000 from 1600–1900) gave a special tone to Brazilian culture. As the only Portuguese colony in America, Brazil was isolated through a strict mercantile policy from the other American colonies and its historical development differed from that of the Spanish-American countries. Brazil was first an Empire, then a Republic, and the class structure of the Empire with its native nobility, the "Barons of the Empire," was unique in America. The mother country, Portugal, was a minor nation in the nineteenth century and as soon as Brazil gained political freedom, it looked down on Portugal and turned to France, even more than did other Latin American countries, as a center of cultural influence.

Most apparent of the cultural features which distinguish Brazil from the other countries and culture areas of America is language. Not only is Brazil the only country in the Western

[5] New York: Alfred Knopf, 1945, p. 75.

[6] Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 243–248.

Hemisphere in which the people speak Portuguese, but Brazilian Portuguese is quite different from that spoken in Portugal. Brazilian Portuguese has such a different intonation and vocabulary from the language of Portugal that there is never any doubt which language is being spoken. Brazilian Portuguese has developed so many local expressions and has borrowed so many terms, foreign to the mother tongue, from native languages (both American Indian and African) as well as from other European languages, that a recent arrival from Lisbon would have about the same trouble understanding what is said in a Brazilian cafe as an Englishman in an American fraternity house.

With difference in language, both from English, Spanish, and Portuguese of Portugal, goes a multitidue of subtle cultural differences reflected by language such as modes of address, concepts of beauty, and expressions of values and attitudes. The Brazilian expression of endearment "minha nega" (literally, "my Negress") used sometimes by a white man to his white wife reflects the peculiar Brazilian memories of warm personal relations with Negroes as nursemaids and as personal servants.[7] The "é mato" (literally: "it is forest") used to express superabundance of anything can only be understood in terms of the over-abundant forests in Brazil.

Although race mixture is a common phenomenon in most Latin American countries, nowhere in the Western Hemispheres has race mixture taken place to the extent it has in Brazil. The Brazilian attitude toward race is one of the characteristic traits of the national culture. Although Brazilians are not without certain racial prejudice, as is shown by the claim of some Brazilian whites that they feel a revulsion from the *catinga do preto* (smell of the Negro), in general one finds that in Brazil less emphasis is placed on color as a symbol of superiority or inferiority than elsewhere in Latin America. Even the caste system of colonial times with its numerous slaves and its plantation aristocracy seems to have been tempered by the Brazilian lack of racial antagonism. During the Empire, men of slave ancestry and low birth rose to high positions in the Brazilian aristocracy and monarchical system. There were mulatto Barons and Viscounts during the Empire, and the Crown Princess herself is said to have made a point of dancing with André Rebouças, a noted engineer and a dark mulatto, when she noticed that a lady had refused him a dance, presumably because of his color.

In all Latin American cultures there is an emphasis on family ties, but in Brazil it might be almost said that there is a cult of the family. Although present day conditions with smaller houses, apartments, and industrial life have brought profound changes in the Brazilian family, it is still a relatively large and decidedly intimate group. The social life of many Brazilians is carried on predominantly with relatives. There are birthday parties, baptisms, weddings, and family gatherings. The group of relatives is remarkably large; kinship terms are applied to individuals for whom kinship would have been forgotten in other countries. A father's first or second cousin may be called "Uncle" and his children may be "cousins." The spouse of a distant "cousin" is often called "cousin." Beyond any possible kinship connection, solidarity is assured in Brazil by the godparent relationship (*padrinho*, *madrinha*, and *afilhado*) which is set up at baptism, at confirmation, and at marriage. It is common in Brazil at marriage for each participant to invite one man and one woman to act as godparents at the religious ceremony and a different pair for each in the civil ceremony. The couple thus garners eight new godparents at marriage. In Brazil "cousins," and godparents are used to facilitate official and commercial relations; small favors and special considerations may be asked of a *parente* (relative) or of a *padrinho* (godfather). This extraordinary extension of the terms of relationship and the use of these ceremonial relationships to extend family ties is considered *muito Brasileiro* (very Brazilian) by Brazilians themselves.

Brazilian foods and food habits differ from those of the surrounding Latin American cultures. Although each of the various regions of Brazil is famous for special dishes, such as the Afro-Brazilian dishes of Bahia and *churrasco* (a barbecue) of Rio Grande do Sul, over most of the entire country *farinha* (manioc flour), black beans, rice, dried beef (*charque*), and coffee form the basis of meals. *Goiabada* (Guava paste) and *marmelada* (quince paste) with a piece of cheese are deserts known in every part of

[7] Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York: Knopf, 1946), p. 418.

Brazil. Except in the maté-drinking area of South Brazil, nothing is more typically Brazilian than the small cups of black coffee, the *cafêzinho*, served several times a day in Brazilian homes and offices. Spain and Spanish-American countries are famous for their late dinners. In Brazil, breakfast is coffee and milk with a piece of bread or manioc cake (*beijú*), lunch is traditionally at 10:30 to 11:00 a.m. and dinner at about 5:00 p.m. followed by a light supper before retiring. In Brazilian cities, these traditional hours for meals have been modified by the necessities of modern commercial and industrial life in the direction of the meal hours of Paris or New York.

Numerous other culture patterns differentiate Brazil from the rest of Latin America. The Carnival period before Lent, although it is celebrated in most Catholic countries, is the most important festival of the year to Brazilians, overshadowing both patriotic and religious holidays. The zeal with which the Brazilian people lose themselves in dancing and music for four days and the manner of celebrating Carnival are not found elsewhere. The music they sing and the style of dancing is uniquely Brazilian. The music and the dance which is known abroad by the generic term of *samba* (in Brazil there are local terms and local varieties) is quite distinct from the Argentine tango, Cuban rumba, Mexican folk music, and North American jazz. Other festivals, such as *São João* (on June 24th), are celebrated in Brazil in a specifically Brazilian manner. On the great Brazilian plantations, St. John's day was the equivalent of Christmas on the southern plantations of the United States during colonial times.[8] There were great dances in the *Casa Grande* and in the slave quarters the Negroes danced their *sambas* around large bonfires. There were special foods, songs, and music for the occasion. Even nowadays Brazilians celebrate the Eve of St. John by building large bonfires, roasting sweet potatoes, sending up paper balloons, and setting off fireworks.

Brazilian folklore with its complex of *bichos*—such as *quibungo*, of African origin, a horrid creature half human and half animal which swallows children through a hole in his back, *sacipererê*, a little Negro with one leg who pursues travellers, and *pé de garrafa*, the man with a sharpened leg who lures men into the forest—is a fusion of American, African, and Iberian folklore elements. It is now a truly Brazilian folklore, no longer similar to any of the ingredients.

Although Brazilian domestic architecture resembles in a general way that of other Latin American countries, the *patio* is replaced by a backyard-like *quintal*; and the internal arrangement of the Brazilian house, with its small room for visitors and its emphasis on the dining room, which serves the family for intimate living, is somewhat different from the typical Spanish-American dwelling. In northern Brazil, the Brazilian type hammock is a common fixture in any house. These, and many other cultural traits too numerous to describe here, are distinctive aspects of Brazilian culture.

Finally, there seem to be a series of distinctively Brazilian "psychological" traits, if we may accept the impressions of travellers and of students of Brazil, which set off Brazilians from other Latin Americans. Brazilians are said to be more overt and more voluble than the comparatively taciturn Argentinian; they are less proud and less worried about losing face than the Spanish-American. Yet, many writers, both native and foreign, mention a certain sadness, a softness, and a melancholy about the Brazilian. "In a radiant land lives a sad people," is the opening line of Paulo Prado's famous interpretative work on Brazil.[9] This is another side of the Brazilian personality. Both Paulo Prado and Gilberto Freyre describe the excess of sensuality and the great love for luxury of Brazilians, and Freyre writes of a "gentleman-complex," that is, an inclination toward white collar work and the professions and a distaste for physical labor, as a personality trait of Brazilians inherited from colonial feudalism.[10] With these traits goes a desire to "get rich quick" and a love of gambling. The economic history of the country is made up of a series of speculative booms and almost all Brazilians gamble in some form—either in the *jogo do bicho* (a sort of numbers racket), or in the federal or state lotteries, or, until recently, in one of the luxurious casinos.

The Brazilian monarchial system, Brazilian democracy, and Brazilian dictatorship were unlike similar forms of government as they existed in Eu-

[8] Gilberto Freyre, *Brazil, An Interpretation* (New York: Knopf, 1945), p. 57.

[9] *O. Retrato do Brasil*, 5a. ed., (Sao Paulo, Edit. Brasiliense Ltda., 1944), p. 11.

[10] Freyre, *Brazil, An Interpretation*, pp. 62–63.

rope or even in neighboring countries. The recent dictatorship, despite its aping of European patterns, never became a harsh system with strict control over the people. Jokes about the dictator, complaints and discussions of the lack of freedom of expression, and rumors of growing opposition were discussed openly in cafes and salons. When the dictator was finally overthrown, it was a typical bloodless Brazilian revolution. Brazilians give a uniquely Brazilian twist to institutions and concepts which they share with the Western world. As one student of colonial art remarked: "In Brazil, even Christ hangs comfortably on the cross."

The foregoing sketch of the regions of Brazil and of a few of the culture complexes which unify Brazil is necessarily tentative and brief. It is presented as a framework to be tested by future interdisciplinary research using objective methods. On a tentative basis, however, the writer finds that modern Brazil contains six distinct regions, namely, the Amazon, the arid Northeast, the Northeast Coast, the industrial Middle States, the extreme South, and the Far West frontier. Each of these regions is characterized by a particular ecology, a major economic activity, an emphasis on one of the three racial stocks which form the Brazilian population, and a distinctive modern folk culture. In such regions as the extreme South and the industrial Middle States, more than one historical tradition has been present, but modern tendencies seem to have welded these older traditions into a single region. To be specific, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the States of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro each must have constituted a distinctive Brazilian region, but modern technology with its rapid communications and transportation is breaking down these old local differences. At least two of the regions described (i.e., the Amazon and the arid Northeast) are characterized in terms of population by the strength of the Indian component, but a violent contrast in ecological conditions clearly distinguishes the regions one from the other and assures differences in their cultural adjustments.

These regional differences in Brazil are local varieties of a national culture. As a nation, Brazil has had a unique historical development. The Indian, the African Negro, and the Portuguese have each contributed to modern Brazilian culture and the resulting configuration sets off Brazil from the other Latin American countries and the Anglo-American countries of this hemisphere. Even the Latin institutions and culture forms which it shares with the other Latin American countries have been given different connotations and meanings in Brazilian culture. Brazil is a distinctive and important "culture area" of modern Latin America, and within Brazil there are important regional differences in the Brazilian culture pattern. These facts must be taken into account in forming policies for Latin America as a whole or specifically for Brazil.

Pendleton Herring to Head Social Science Research Council

Appointment of Pendleton Herring as president of the Social Science Research Council, effective June 15, has been announced by J. Frederic Dewhurst, chairman of the Council's Executive Committee. Mr. Herring succeeds Donald Young who has been named general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, according to Mr. Dewhurst.

A former faculty member of Harvard University, Mr. Herring has been an officer of the Carnegie Corporation of New York since 1946. He was loaned by the Corporation to serve as secretary of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in preparing the first report on atomic energy control submitted to the Security Council. During the first year of the Commission's operation, Mr. Herring directed the Atomic Energy Commission Group in the United Nation's Department of Security Affairs from June 1946 to April 1947. He was cited by Secretary Forrestal for "distinguished civilian service" to the Navy in 1945. He is currently a consultant to the Department of Defense and also serves on the Advisory Committee on Military History as well as on the Navy's Advisory Panel on Human Relations.