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BRAZIL: PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS



A VIEW OF THE CORCOVAO WITH PORTIONS OF THE CITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO, SUGAR LOAF PEAK, AND THE ENTRANCE TO THE HARBOR IN THE BACKGROUND (Courtesy of the Brazilian Government Trade Bureau.)



BRAZIL

People and Institutions

Revised Edition

by

T. LYNN SMITH

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To
the memory of
MY FATHER AND MOTHER

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PREFACE

FOR proper perspective Latin America should be divided into three rather equal parts. Mexico, Central America, and the Islands constitute one of these, Spanish South America another, and Brazil a third. In writing of Brazil, one treats an area and a population that are as large, and probably as diverse, as those of the remainder of South America. To Portuguese America, one-half of all South America, this book is devoted.

The time has come to bury the stereotype of Latin-American culture that prevails in the popular mind throughout the United States. Analysis will show that most of its principal elements, particularly those having to do with food, dress, and music, apply only to Mexico. Our southern neighbor is sufficiently colorful and interesting to stand on her own. Better acquaintance will reveal equally striking features in many of the other American republics. Brazil, in particular, is so large, so varied, so important economically, and so situated strategically that it deserves a great deal of individual consideration. We in North America should know at least a few elementary facts about her history, geography, and culture. Above all, Brazilians, with their long record of co-operation with the United States, should not continually be bombarded with allusions to their "Spanish language." I would not be misunderstood. This book was not written in order to correct widespread popular misunderstandings. Instead, it takes for granted that the readers already know something about Brazilian history and geography, facts which are readily available in innumerable sources. For those who lack such a background, I suggest *Conquest of Brazil* by Roy Nash, *Seven Keys to Brazil* by Vera Kelsey, and the chapters about Brazil in *Latin America* by Preston E. James. My purpose has been to organize, analyze, and interpret the materials on Brazilian demography and social institutions, a vast field of general interest in which I specialize.

A few comments are necessary about the handling of the Portuguese words and phrases. This has been very difficult because the variations in Brazilian usage are so great. Even the recent attempts at standardization have not been completely successful as yet, and for the present have merely added to the confusion. In references to the titles of books and articles, I have attempted to preserve the original orthography. This leads to the

spelling of a word such as *anuário* (*annuario*, *anuario*) in three ways on the same page. Likewise an author's name sometimes is spelled one way on one of his publications and differently on others. Wherever translations are involved, and where Portuguese expressions are made use of, the third edition of *Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa* by Hildebrando Lima and Gustavo Barroso is relied upon. Place names are spelled as they are in the recent publications of the Instituto Nacional de Geografia e Estatística. When Portuguese titles of articles and books are cited, the English rules of capitalization have been followed. Since the Brazilian practice is not at all consistent, the use of the English system seemed a logical way of resolving the difficulty.

My first visit to South America on a fellowship from the Rosenwald Fund in 1939 gave me a desire to return to Brazil and Peru for additional detailed study. But this book would not have been possible had I not had an opportunity to spend one full year as senior agricultural analyst attached to the American embassy in Rio de Janeiro. Subsequent additional assignments to the embassy in 1945, service as a visiting professor at the University of Brazil in 1946, a visit as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation in 1951, work as advisor to the National Commission on Agrarian Policy in 1952, and participation as observer for the International Labor Organization in the round tables and field trips organized for the Seminar on Rural Welfare Problems in Latin America in 1953 enabled me to make the additional observations and secure the more recent data that were utilized in the preparation of the revised edition.

A host of persons have aided in one way or another in the preparation of this volume. None of them is responsible in any way for any of the statements or conclusions contained in this book, for those are mine and mine alone. However, I desire to express my appreciation to all. Among those who have been of greatest assistance are various officials of the United States governmental agencies, and I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Dr. Carl C. Taylor, formerly chief of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the U. S. Department of Agriculture; to Jefferson Caffery and Herschel V. Johnson, the American ambassadors in Brazil during much of the time I have spent in that country; Erwin P. Keeler and Guy Bush, the agricultural attachés at the embassy with whom I worked; Kenneth Wernimont, the agricultural commissioner at the embassy in Rio de Janeiro; and Drs. Ross E. Moore and Ralph H. Allee of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The list of Brazilian friends and associates who have aided me materially in my studies is a very long one. Among those who must receive specific mention are the following: the late Dr. Arthur Ramos, eminent anthropologist, and his wife and co-worker, Louiza; Dr. A. Carneiro Leão, director, and Professor Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg, professor of geography, at the Faculdade Nacional de Filosofia of the University of Brazil; José Arthur Rios of Rio de Janeiro, formerly director of the Campanha de Educação Rural; João Cleophas, Minister of Agriculture, and one of the officials of his cabinet, João Gonçalves de Souza, who also serves as secretary of the National Commission on Agrarian Policy; Dr. Giorgio Mortara, eminent demographer, of the Comissão Nacional de Resenseamento; Edmundo Genofre of the Serviço Social da Indústria in Rio de Janeiro; Fernando Mibielli de Carvalho of Rio de Janeiro; Dr. Christovam Leite de Castro, Dr. Virgílio Corrêa Filho, Dr. M. A. Texeira de Freitas, and Percy Lau of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística; J. V. D. Saunders of Rio de Janeiro; the late Dr. F. J. Oliveira Vianna, eminent sociologist, of Niterói; and Carlos Borges Schmidt and J. V. Freitas Marcondes of São Paulo.

My friends and colleagues at Louisiana State University, Vanderbilt University, and the University of Florida have helped in many ways. The late President W. B. Hatcher and former deans Fred C. Frey and Henry V. Howe of Louisiana State University, along with the late Dr. A. R. Mann and the late Jackson Davis of the General Education Board, did much to make possible the first edition of the book; and thanks are due the recently deceased president of the University of Florida, Dr. J. Hillis Miller, along with Dr. John M. Maclachlan, head of the department of sociology, Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, director of the School of Inter-American Studies, and Dr. Ralph E. Page, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of the same university for the favorable academic environment which makes possible my various publications. Dr. Homer L. Hitt, Dr. E. A. Schuler, and Dr. Vernon J. Parenton, while we were colleagues at Louisiana State University, aided materially by reading and criticizing parts of the original manuscript. Invaluable assistance with the tables and charts was given by Louise Kemp, Mrs. Julien R. Tatum, and Mary Ellen Caldwell at Louisiana State University, Mrs. Marylee Vandiver at Vanderbilt University, and Joseph Sardo and Sam Schulman at the University of Florida. Marion Comeaux, Mabel Cleary, and Mrs. Elizabeth Little of Louisiana State University, and Louetta Young of the University of Florida assisted in typing the manuscripts. The late Dr. Marcus Wilkerson, director of the Louisiana State University Press, and his staff are due the most grateful acknowledgment, with special thanks going to Mary Bell White, Mrs.

Mary Smith McMinn, Ernestine Cappel, and Joan Doyle for their work on the editorial detail. Their care helped eliminate many defects that otherwise would have marred the volume. Finally, my wife, Louvina Jackson Smith, and my sons, Jackson Lynn and Richard Lisle, deserve a word of appreciation for the thousands of things they have done to make this book possible.

T. LYNN SMITH

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introductions are difficult, but anything worth writing deserves to be introduced. This short one is used mainly to state purposes and explain methodology and procedures.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THIS BOOK is a comprehensive study of Brazil's people and institutions. For a decade I have been applying the empirical methods developed and used by North American sociologists and demographers in an analysis of Brazil's population and social organization. These pages contain a systematic exposition of the results of that study. It is hoped that such an approach to the Brazilian scene will prove of interest and value to a rather large public. It should provide results that are useful to all those engaged in the comparative study of populations and institutions; it should supply basic materials of great value in giving substance to the more popular accounts of travels; and much of it should prove of interest to the general reader. Perhaps it may also be of assistance to a considerable number of forward-looking Brazilian scholars and officials engaged in bringing Brazil into her rightful position as the leading country of South America and as one of the world's great nations.

The work of gathering the materials for the first edition of this book began during my first visit to Brazil in 1939. That stay of one month only whetted my appetite, and I returned to spend a full year, from February, 1942, to February, 1943. Not less than six months' time was spent in travel throughout the interior. I visited each of the states on at least one occasion and made repeated visits to those most accessible from Rio de Janeiro. The routes followed and the means of transportation employed are detailed on the map which is used as endsheets for this book. The total adds up to some 24,350 miles. Of these about 12,570 were covered by plane, 9,090 by train, 2,220 by car, bus, or truck, and 470 in boats of various kinds. This total does not include rides on horseback and muleback within various communities.

My travels were undertaken with four purposes or objectives uppermost in mind:

(1) I wanted to become intimately familiar with rural Brazil and to learn as much as possible about the farms, neighborhoods, communities, and regions; to know the details of the rural scene and to see the people engaged in their daily activities. Back of this was the desire to be able to formulate significant, tentative hypotheses about the Brazilian system of

social organization and the population, hypothesizes the establishment or refutation of which would assist in making the principal features of the nation's social organization and demographic situation stand out clearly.

(2) I wanted to visit each of the state capitals, so that I could see and talk with those in charge of the state's educational program, agricultural work, statistical service, and land settlement and colonization activities. This was very important, for Brazil, like the United States, is a federation of states, and it is impossible to secure a large share of the pertinent data that are to be had unless one does go to the capitals of the various states. This is especially true of materials for the divisions of the states, the *municípios*. The immense size and the heterogeneity of most Brazilian states make it necessary to have data for the smaller units and communities if very much real understanding of any phenomenon is to be achieved.

(3) I wanted to meet Brazilian scholars, technicians, and governmental functionaries and to learn of their work and problems. As not all the best or more significant research work in the United States is being done in Washington, so too in Brazil the Federal District by no means has a monopoly on productive scholarship.

(4) As the work progressed, I wanted to be in a position to check provisional hypotheses by additional personal observation.

These travels naturally presented an excellent opportunity for firsthand observation and enabled me to secure access to many materials which are not generally available. Even at this, many of the most essential data on some of the more important subjects are simply lacking. For the present, this means that many conclusions are more hypothetical than might be wished.

In the pages which follow I have sought to avoid conclusions and generalizations unless they could be checked against objective, quantitative data. Naturally, it was possible to formulate some hypotheses on the basis of a general understanding of rural life and peoples; others were suggested by my firsthand observation in Brazil. Conversation with Brazilian scholars gave me many leads. But in all cases, after a tentative hypothesis had been formulated, a diligent search of primary sources such as the census reports, statistical *anúários*, *relatórios* or annual reports of various official agencies, and other reports, was made. This was as thorough as time and ability would permit. The pertinent books, articles, and other publications bearing on the question were read. Numerous requests were made to various state and federal agencies for special tabulations of materials in the files, data which so far had not been made public. Because of the courteous co-operation of many officials, these requests yielded valuable results. Finally, much time spent browsing in new and secondhand bookshops

brought to light a great deal of useful material for consultation in Brazil and later in the United States. In this connection it should be indicated that in Brazil the bookshop serves much more as a library than it does in the United States; on the other hand, while there are large collections of books in many Brazilian libraries, these serve more as storehouses for books than as centers of research. The system of indexing and cross referencing is not developed to the point that the library can readily be used for discovering what is known about a given subject. The new municipal library in São Paulo, however, is building along modern lines, and in the future scholars will be able to use its facilities to improve greatly the efficiency of their research activities.

After returning to the United States, I spent three months at the Library of Congress in Washington, where I was permitted to utilize fully the excellent holdings of Brazilian materials which that institution possesses. This brought into use a great many important works which I had not encountered in Brazil and helped to ensure that the more important works had been consulted.

Subsequent to the preparation of the first edition, I have had the privilege of returning to Brazil on five different occasions for additional travel and study. In 1945 an assignment by the United States Department of State gave me, in the course of three months, the chance to extend my observations in parts of São Paulo and Central Goiás, and to visit for the first time the São Francisco Valley and other interior portions of the states of Bahia and Pernambuco. The following year I spent another three months in Brazil, where I served briefly as visiting professor at the University of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro. Travels on this occasion included another visit to Corumbá in Mato Grosso and a trip to see the sugar plantations and the fishing villages in the vicinity of Campos in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

In 1951, as a fellow of the Guggenheim Foundation, I visited all of the Latin-American countries in connection with some general demographic studies of Latin America. Three weeks were spent in Brazil, with visits to the city of Rio de Janeiro, the Paraitinga Valley and the capital city in the state of São Paulo, Fortaleza in Ceará, and Belém in Pará.

In August and September of 1952, at the request of the Brazilian Minister of Agriculture and under the auspices of the United States Department of Agriculture, I returned to Rio de Janeiro to advise with the minister and the members of the National Commission on Agrarian Policy on agrarian reform; and in January and February, 1953, I returned for another month to participate, as observer for the International Labor Organization, in the Seminar on Rural Welfare Problems in Latin

America. In addition to intensive round table discussions for two weeks at the Rural University, about 35 miles from the city of Rio de Janeiro, this involved field trips to Campos and the município of Itaperuna in the state of Rio de Janeiro and to several parts of the state of São Paulo.

Nevertheless, I am far from satisfied with the data. The book should be judged in the light of what it was possible to do, and not by what one might desire to see done. In writing of Brazilian population and institutions, it has not been possible to outline the subject in a logical manner, and then, with ample data, to prepare an exposition that would treat each subdivision in proper sequence and appropriate detail. Rather the problem has been to assemble as much pertinent data as possible, and to do the best job possible with the materials at hand. Even though the phrases "for which data are available," "data are lacking," and "the unsatisfactory nature of the data" occur with monotonous regularity in the pages which follow, they are never inserted unless absolutely essential. The task was made doubly difficult by the lack of comprehensive treatments of the demographic situation and social institutions. Had there been a few general treatises on the family, on the land system, on the vital processes, and on the other subjects to which one could go for a summary of the available data and an indication of the principal sources, the job would have been greatly simplified. As it is, I cannot be sure that I have not missed some important sources.

Only gradually did I become aware of the elements in my new cultural environment. Brief experience in southern Brazil during 1939 had given me the impression that rural people and rural life in Brazil were much the same as they are in the United States. Later, as the study progressed, as I visited other and different parts of the immense country, as I observed the growing of new and strange crops, as I spent weeks and months in the back country, and as hundreds of conversations and much reading gave me a better insight into the values and thoughts of Brazil's scholars, very naturally my appraisal of the Brazilian rural scene underwent considerable modification. Slowly I began to appreciate the importance of traditional agricultural practices inherited from the Indians, in which *fire* is the dominant element in the preparation of the soil for planting. I came to see how deeply embedded in the life of the people was this system of agriculture and all of the work habits and consumption practices associated with it—how great was the gap between rural life based on these methods of agriculture and one which utilized the plow, the wheel, and animal traction.

By degrees it also became apparent to me that Brazil's break with Portuguese tradition had been much sharper than that which occurred

between the Spanish-American countries and Spain. Brazil's exclusive use of the large estate stood out in contrast to Portugal's widespread system of small farms; Brazil's scattered farmsteads and trade-center towns and villages differed greatly from Portugal's village settlement patterns; the Brazilian diet, deficient in nutritive elements and with its undue dependence upon mandioca, beans, and dried fish or dried meat and sweets, showed few resemblances to the more adequate and better balanced consumption patterns of Portugal.

The study of the demographic data revealed enormous differences between Brazil and the United States, both in the make-up of the population and in the vital processes. The comparative lack of rural-urban migration in Brazil became apparent, and with it the absence there of a whole host of effects which such migration has had upon society in our country.

Little by little I also came to appreciate the importance of the gradual debasing of persons born in the upper classes. I began to see that the high rate of reproduction among the landowning classes, the absence of a system of primogeniture, and the lack of a large-scale development of urban industrial and commercial centers to supply employment for the numerous progeny of the landed aristocracy, led to the subdivision of the land, the inability to maintain old standards of luxury, and the gradual leveling of many of the descendants of old families. And all of this took place without the development of a system of family farms in which the use of machinery and manual labor on the part of the farm operator and his family led to a fairly high level of consumption for the population.

Finally, I became able to appreciate more fully the nature of Brazil's domestic institutions, to comprehend more clearly how the educational institutions performed, to understand local governmental agencies, and to see the numerous evidences of heterogeneity in religious beliefs and practices. In short, one after another I came to a realization of the very fundamental differences between the populations and institutions of Brazil and those in the United States.

Since an attempt is made in this volume to deal with many of the more significant aspects of demography and social organization, it has been necessary to use many technical concepts and terms. Realizing that this book would come into the hands of persons unfamiliar with many of the sociological expressions, I have attempted to clarify or define the technical meaning of many such terms. The constant endeavor, however, has been to make these explanations and definitions as little pedantic as possible.¹

¹ See T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (3d ed.: New York, 1953), for

It also has been judged necessary to adopt, with definitions and explanations, many Brazilian words for which there are no exact English equivalents. Such words as *fazenda*, *município*, *caboclo*, and *roça*, will be found throughout the book. Many of these are defined in the text or in footnotes, and all of them in the Glossary. It will be evident that the meaning in each case would have been altered had approximate English equivalents such as plantation, county, mixed breed, or new clearing been used in their stead.

A word about the quotations is necessary. The pages which follow contain a liberal sprinkling of materials borrowed from other writers. For the most part they are taken from Brazilian works in an attempt to bring at least a few samples of a significant sociological literature within easy reach of students in the United States. In each case I have tried to quote enough to avoid distorting the author's meaning. The English sources quoted are old ones, those generally unavailable in the library. They are books written at a time when the methods of transportation forced the traveler to spend some time in the open country, smaller villages, and cities in order to learn something about the country and the people. This has been changed with the coming of the airplane. Observations made by contemporary travelers are for the most part too superficial to have any real value.

All of the translations of Brazilian materials are my own. In attempting to transfer as accurately as possible the Brazilian writer's thoughts from Portuguese to English, I have endeavored to give as literal a translation as I could without doing an injustice to the Brazilian author on account of the stylistic differences between the languages.

The organization of the book is simple and conventional. In addition to the introduction and the conclusion, the treatise consists of five parts subdivided into 21 chapters. Following the introduction are three chapters designed to set forth the cultural diversity encountered in Brazil. Part Three, dealing with the population and demographic features of Portuguese America, is divided into seven chapters. A single chapter on standards and levels of living makes up Part Four. The relations of the people to the land, the field of my greatest personal interest, includes six chapters and constitutes Part Five. The four chapters of Part Six are used to analyze and describe the principal social institutions in Brazil. In the conclusion I present some of my reflections upon and suggestions relative to the manner in which Brazil's population policies and social institutions

more detailed explanations of these concepts, and for an attempt to use them in a systematic analysis of rural life.

might be modified for the purpose of augmenting the welfare and standard of living of the Brazilian people.

Any sociological study of an area, whether it be that of a community, a state, or a nation, almost inevitably must present some facts and conclusions which are not pleasing to those who are dominated by the "chamber of commerce" mentality. There is no reason to suppose that Brazil is an exception to this rule. Furthermore, one who writes of Brazil should remember, or at least console himself with the thought, that it is an agricultural and collecting country living in a family of industrialized nations. There is a tendency nowadays to gauge modern "progress" by industrial advancement. This factor seems to help keep many Brazilian intellectuals constantly on the defensive, oftentimes far more so than would seem to be necessary. Perhaps for this reason some Brazilians may be unduly sensitive to the presentation of facts which show that Brazil, too, has social problems with which it must cope.

Fortunately, my own considered appraisals are somewhat temperate in comparison with those of Brazil's most outstanding scholars who have written on the subject. For example, M. A. Teixeira de Freitas, the leading Brazilian statistician, who also is a notable educator, has made an inventory of Brazil's principal social problems. His original work had its impetus in the census of 1920, which he directed in the state of Minas Gerais. However, his observations, reflections, and attempts to formulate clear statements of the major problems did not stop at the limits of Minas Gerais, nor with the termination of the census. They represent the most substantial attempt yet made to appraise the social and economic realities in Brazil. Furthermore,

. . . Minas is so typically Brazilian that the observations apply, with minor variations, to all Brazil. . . . The *Mineiro* population (we could say the Brazilian) is, to the highest degree, dedicated to work, hospitable, of moderate habits, orderly in social conduct, intelligent, honest, thrifty, humble, courageous, sincerely religious, possessed of the most lively sentiments of chivalry and patriotism, without trace of pernicious regionalism, well equilibrated between progressivism and conservatism, and an impassioned champion of liberty.²

But in spite of all these favorable qualities, "such are the historical contingencies of its distribution over the land, such are the hostilities of the physical environment that it has to face, such are the accumulated errors of administration, that as yet the population has not been able to erect the marvelous political and social structure destined by its innate aptitudes."³ For these reasons there are serious shortcomings in Brazilian society, social

² M. A. Teixeira de Freitas, "Educação Rural," *Revista Nacional de Educação*, Nos. 18-19 (March-April, 1934), 56.

³ *Ibid.*

problems in the ordinary usage of the term. To conclude this introductory chapter the twenty-seven "unfavorable realities" given by Teixeira de Freitas are presented. They are as follows:

1. The excessive dispersion of the population, which determines that a large part of the people live in complete social isolation, which is often accompanied by extreme physical and moral degradation.
2. The insufficiency, in some places, of religious participation, facilitating the moral regression provoked by other factors.
3. The lack, sufficiently general, of urban hygiene, and even of domestic and personal hygiene among some social strata.
4. Extreme misery among a part of the agricultural proletariat, subjecting this stratum of the population to the most precarious conditions of diet, dress, and shelter.
5. Frequent appearance of outbreaks of banditry.
6. The widespread abuse of alcohol.
7. The worst sanitary conditions in some zones, resulting from frequent recurrence of one or more of the greater maladies prevailing in the Brazilian interior (syphilis, lung troubles, digestive and intestinal ailments, leprosy, goiter, constipation, malaria and other fevers, grippe, etc.).
8. The exercise with impunity, in all parts, of the pernicious quackery of fetish doctors and charlatans.
9. The lack of medical and pharmaceutic assistance for the great mass of the rural population, and even in numerous centers of relative importance.
10. The injurious development of gambling.
11. Routine in the processes of work.
12. The blind, wasteful, and often unproductive and unnecessary devastation of the forests.
13. Deficient means of communication and transportation.
14. An insufficient number of cities, deserving of the title, as co-ordinating elements in the social and economic life.
15. Lack of technical and administrative organization in the great majority of agricultural undertakings.
16. Illiteracy among the mass of the rural population and even among a large part of the urban population.
17. Lack of the most rudimentary knowledge of practical life among most social classes.
18. Regression to illiteracy of the ex-students of the primary schools because the backwardness of social life does not provide them an opportunity to utilize the knowledge acquired.
19. Insufficient administrative assistance to the producing classes.
20. The corruptive action of motion pictures without the necessary censorship.
21. Extremely numerous cases in which landed estates are not divided among the heirs, unmarked, and lacking a legal title.
22. Great confusion in weights and measures.
23. The most rudimentary system of institutions of credit.
24. Irrationality in the administrative division of the territory.

25. Imperfect and deficient conduct in the administration of the *municípios*, resulting from the lack of knowledge of the boundaries, from extravagant cases of extraterritoriality of local governmental powers, and from the lack of co-ordination and combination of forces between the various *municípios*.

26. Lack of harmony and convergence in the undertakings of the various branches of public administration.

27. Deficient selection, discipline, stimulus and remuneration for the general body of public servants.⁴

⁴ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

PART TWO

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

From the first, one should appreciate that Brazil is a large and extremely varied country. Great differences in climate, race, and cultural backgrounds make life in one part of Brazil entirely different from that in another. Cultural lags which are greatest where social contacts with the rest of the world are fewest and most difficult have added to the heterogeneity. Three chapters, one a general treatment, the second a detailed description of a primitive system of agriculture, and the third composed of extracts from my diary, make up this part.

CHAPTER II

A CULTURAL MOSAIC

BRAZIL PRESENTS one of the most extraordinary cultural diversities to be found anywhere in the world. There is the immense range of man-made surroundings that distinguishes the inhabitant of beautiful Rio de Janeiro, one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world, from the member of a small tribal group in the interior of Mato Grosso, Goiás, Pará, or Maranhão. The latter may never yet have seen a white man. Between the two are to be found representations of all the other stages of man's social development. But this is only one striking example of the rich diversity to be found. Brazilians from one part of the immense nation usually are startled by the differences they observe as they visit other states and other regions, or even other portions of their own state. An inhabitant of Rio Grande do Sul who migrates to Maranhão can hardly convince himself that the latter, too, is Brazil, that his new neighbors also are Brazilians.

What a variety of impressions about landscapes passes through the thoughts of the educated Brazilian when he attempts to visualize Amazonas, São Paulo, Ceará, Pernambuco, Mato Grosso, Rio Grande do Sul, and the other states! These are matched by the widely varying connotations of occupational names such as *praiano* or *pescador*, *garimpeiro*, *camarada*, *tropeiro*, *vaqueiro*. An equally varied imagery of social classes would be recalled by references to *fazendeiro*, *sitiante*, *colono*, *sertanejo*, *matuto*, *agregado*. And, although the designations for the inhabitants of Bahia and of Rio Grande do Sul, *Babiano* and *Gaúcho*, probably are applied to the two most highly developed regional types of personality in Brazil, other striking reasons could undoubtedly be found for comparable typification of the *Paulista*, the *Cearense*, the *Pernambucano*. In brief, Brazil is one of the richest panoramas of natural contrasts, human types, and cultural forms to be found in the world. Long observation and careful study are necessary if one is to know the people and their ways of living. Even then, one who enters the various states of Brazil may well feel that he always has an appointment with the unexpected.

One who travels throughout Brazil constantly is passing from one culture area to another, and with little exaggeration it might be said, from one epoch to another. In addition to such great regional variations as

distinguish the Amazon from the northeast, or progressive São Paulo from the also highly advanced culture in the gaúcho state of Rio Grande do Sul, there are the striking contrasts to be observed within the same state or area. Side by side with the most modern sugar plantation one will discover a *sitiante*, or small farmer, who is using an aboriginal agricultural system.¹ In the south of Brazil the journey of a few hours may easily carry one through areas representative of nineteenth-century European peasant communities of German, Polish, Italian, and Volga German types, interspersed with pockets of old-type Brazilian *caboclo* patterns of living. In São Paulo the old and the new will be found almost side by side. In the north great changes accompany movement from the coast to the interior. On such a journey one is sure to be impressed by the cultural lags, which make interior settlements seem to belong to a different epoch from that of the life in the coastal cities.

In part this exceptional diversity among the numerous segments or regions of Brazil grows out of the different influences that have had a part in laying the cultural bases in the various areas. Thus, one who would understand present-day Brazil must reckon with the multiple cultural influences from Portugal, an extremely heterogeneous social heritage from Africa, and the exceedingly important contributions from the various groups of Indians. Brazilian Indians may not have been as highly differentiated culturally as those of the United States in language, agricultural practices, methods of transportation, religion, food habits, and many other phases of human culture, but, on the other hand, their imprint on Brazilian civilization has been much greater than the Indian contribution to the United States' pattern of living. Africans and African influences were probably much more varied and certainly have been at work for a much longer time in Brazil than in the United States. But not only the influences from Portugal, Africa, and aboriginal America must be taken into account. There are also the influences of the early Dutch settlers in Pernambuco; the cultural patterns transferred by the Germans into the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, and São Paulo; Polish systems of living transplanted into Paraná and the adjacent states; many small editions of Japan set up in São Paulo, Mato Grosso, and Paraná; the Spanish-American cultural traits and populations injected into the border areas from the sections adjoining Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay, and into those fronting on Colombia and Venezuela. These Spanish-American elements are especially important in the mate-producing sections

¹ Says Carlos Borges Schmidt of São Paulo: "Inside a determined zone may be encountered the most varied grades of evolution, from the first system of the *foice* [bill hook] and fire alone, to the perfect and complete mechanical preparation [of the soil], founded in the most developed technology." *O Meio Rural* (São Paulo, 1942), 54.



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A BRAZILIAN TYPE: THE VAQUEIRO OF MARAJÓ ISLAND AT THE MOUTH OF THE AMAZON



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A BRAZILIAN TYPE: THE LEATHERN-CLAD VAQUEIRO OF THE NORTHEASTERN SERTÕES



by Percy Lau and Reproduced through the Courtesy of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística

A BRAZILIAN TYPE: THE NEGRESS OF BAHIA

of southern Mato Grosso and in the cattle-growing area of Rio Grande do Sul. In addition to the numerous cultural islands, the student must also take into account the cultural luggage sifting into rural Brazil with the millions of Italian immigrants, and hundreds of thousands of Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, and German immigrants from twentieth-century Europe, along with the Asiatic influences brought by some 200,000 Japanese introduced during the last forty years. All these influences merely add complications to the general pattern of the blanket of man-made environment or culture which covers the entire nation. The design of this pattern includes almost every possible combination and permutation of the original Portuguese, African, and Indian systems of living, together with the multiple less influential social heritages, as they have been tremendously altered through necessary adjustments imposed by the heterogeneous natural environment of Brazil.

A SUPERIMPOSITION OF EPOCHS

But the time element, cultural evolution, and cultural lag are concepts to be reckoned with in properly interpreting the present cultural diversity in Brazil. One would not be far wrong in saying that Brazil contains representations of all the cultural stages through which man has passed during the last millenium. A world citizen feels at home in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and other great metropolitan cities. Areas adjacent to these and other twentieth-century capitals such as Bahia, Pôrto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, Curitiba, and Recife enjoy all of the cultural accoutrements of civilization. Paved roads and automobiles, telephones and radios, telegraph lines and busses provide a system of communication and transportation that compares favorably with that found anywhere. Newspapers, books, magazines, and a host of other material and nonmaterial culture traits are integral parts of the system of living among the farmers situated in close proximity to the metropolitan centers. To a considerable extent these modern cultural appliances and privileges are also enjoyed by the upper classes on the larger fazendas throughout the interior areas, particularly those of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and parts of the sugar-growing littoral. Yet one does not need to go far from any of the capitals to have firsthand contact with much older material culture and patterns of living.

Thus, very near São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, as well as throughout the "interior,"² are found many houses of the wattle-and-daub type—

² In Brazil "interior" may be used to refer to the parts of a state other than the capital, in addition to its usage as a designation for the central portions of the nation. One can hardly resist smiling at the signs along the Central do Brazil railway in Minas Gerais, the main line between Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte. An arrow pointing

structures lacking glass windows, with a covering of thatch, and a floor formed of the bare earth.³ As one goes into the interior, especially into the more hilly and mountainous portions, roads, trucks, and automobiles give way to foot and saddle paths, saddle horses, pack trains, and ox-drawn carts. Electric- and steam-propelled engines are replaced by water-

in one direction is labeled "*Ao Belo Horizonte*" (To Belo Horizonte) while that pointed towards Brazil's federal capital reads "*Ao Interior*."

³ This house type is to be found throughout all Brazil. Even in Santa Catarina occasional "islands" of dwellings of this caboclo type are seen. There is little doubt that it is of Indian origin, for it is given as Number 6, Plate 26, in J. B. Debrét, *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique Au Brésil* (Paris, 1834), I. By this author this caboclo house was said to "*présente dans la charpente le modèle de toutes les petites maisons faites pour loger les esclaves des cultivateurs brésiliens en général*" and to have been common with the Puris, Camacans, and Coroados. *Ibid.*, 41. Various writers have described this house type and commented on its prevalence. John Mawe described the typical house of rural Brazil in unflattering terms: "The farm-houses are miserable hovels of one story, the floor neither paved nor boarded, and the walls and partitions formed of wickerwork plastered with mud, and never under-drawn. For an idea of the kitchen, which ought to be the cleanest and most comfortable part of the dwelling, the reader may figure to himself a filthy room with an uneven muddy floor, interspersed with pools of slop-water, and in different parts fireplaces formed by three round stones to hold the earthen pots that are used for boiling meat. As green wood is the chief fuel, the place is almost always filled with smoke, which finding no chimney, vents itself through the doors and other apertures, and leaves all within as black as soot. I regret to say that the kitchens of many opulent people are in not much better condition." *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (Philadelphia and Boston, 1816), 81.

Joh. Bapt. von Spix and C. F. Phil. von Martius described the houses in the town of Taubaté, long the chief rival of São Paulo's capital city: "The houses in general are seldom above one story high; the walls are almost in all cases of thin rafters or laths, interwoven with twigs, plastered with loam, and covered with a white clay (*sabatinga*), which is found here and there on the banks of the rivers; the roof is carelessly covered with pantiles or shingles, rarely with maize straw, and the wall has in it one or two wooden latticed windows. The interior corresponds with the light construction and scanty materials. The entrance, which is generally half or entirely closed by a latticed door, leads directly into the largest room in the house, which being without boards, and often with unwhitewashed walls, resembles a barn. This division serves for the habitation of the family. Store-rooms, and in some cases a side-room for guests, occupy the remainder of the front of the building. The back part contains the apartments for the wife and the rest of the family, who, according to the Portuguese fashion, must immediately withdraw on the entrance of strangers. From this we enter the veranda, which generally runs along the whole length of the building, and opens into the court-yard. A similar veranda is sometimes annexed to the front of the house. The kitchen and servants' apartments, generally miserable sheds, lie opposite the house, at the further end of the court. The furniture of these houses is confined to the most necessary articles; often they have no more than a few wooden benches and chairs, a table, a large chest, a bed, consisting of a straw mat, or an ox hide on boards, supported by four pegs (*giráo*). Instead of beds, the Brazilians almost always make use of the woven or braided hammocks (*marqueiras*), the best and most durable of which are manufactured, in the provinces of S. Paulo and Minas, of white or coloured cotton threads. The traveller nowhere meets with any wells, and must therefore be satisfied with rain, spring, or river water, for every purpose. The inhabitants of Taubaté have the appearance of more prosperity and refinement than those of the other small places through which we had before travelled; which is perhaps owing to their more lively intercourse with Rio de Janeiro and S. Paulo. A few vines also are cultivated here, the fruit of which was just ripe, and of an agreeable flavour." *Travels in Brazil, in the Years 1817-1820* (London, 1824), I, 313-14.



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directoria de Publicidade Agricola
Upper. CABOCLO HOUSE NEAR THE SPRING. Lower. CHARCOAL ON THE WAY TO MARKET

powered gristmills and sawmills, of types common in the United States a century or so ago. Other aspects of the cultural landscape belong to what in most parts of the United States is considered a part of the almost forgotten past. As I traveled through the interior of the great state of Minas Gerais I was constantly being turned back in memory to early boyhood days in the Rocky Mountain states of Colorado and New Mexico. But in the interior portions of the northeastern states, I found a cultural environment that belonged to a past with which I am acquainted only through reading. In parts of Maranhão, Pará, Amazonas, Goiás, and Mato Grosso, there are vivid reminders that neolithic man still is to be reckoned with by rubber gatherers or others who would collect nature's gifts.⁴

Brazilian scholars are well aware of this tremendous cultural diversity existent in their country and many of them have described its essential features. "There is not one Brazil, but many Brazils," frequently says M. B. Lourenço Filho, one of Brazil's outstanding educators.

To a son of the south—used to seeing the constant renovation of life, the feverish activity of progress in cosmopolitan cities, theaters in which are agitated the most contrary interests, moving in waves and cycles towards a future as yet poorly defined but always tending towards the improvement of social existence—the first impression when he buries himself in the Northeast is of going, as in a dream, retreating through time at each step [taken on his way to the interior]. Life appears to stop and then to begin a reverse cycle, leaving behind two decades with each day's journey. People, habitations, the appearance of towns and cities, agricultural processes and means of transportation, ways of dressing and speaking, every manifestation of social, political, esthetic, or religious existence—everything shows itself out of the dimness of time, or speaks to the soul as the indefinite voices of an ancient past.

Upon viewing the window of a church, of a congregation only slightly removed from the coast, on a Saint's day at the hour of Mass, framed in a line of coconut trees or of leafy *mangabeiras*, below whose large and powdery leaves on rare occasions a Ford introduces the single and scandalous aspect of modern life, one is forced to say: "It was thus in the time of the Empire." Upon observing, a little beyond, the conditions of rural life in many parts of the *sertão*, where the factor of the "human arm" is so cheap that it comes to be employed as a matter of course in the transportation of burdens and is used as the moving force in small mills for making sugar and mandioca flour, one has to think with me, irresistibly: "It must have been thus in the times of slavery." And later, upon burying himself in the semi-arid vastnesses, where in each one of the poorly arranged villages, a dozen men are engaged in the precarious

⁴ Lead for bullets and powder were among the 42 indispensable items included in the agreement between the Rubber Reserve Company and the Superintendency of Supplies for the Amazon Valley. They received the same consideration as salt, tobacco, cigarette papers, fishhooks, rice, fishing lines, beans, flour, matches, knives, lard, *charque*, lanterns, sugar, kerosene, machetes, and other indispensable items of the rubber gatherer's equipment and supplies. The agreement is published in the *Journal do Commercio* of Rio de Janeiro, April 14, 1943.

growing of livestock, cattle or goats, where food that is offered him is on most occasions a plate of dry mandioca flour or a tray of wild fruits, where the sad huts resemble those of Indians, and the rude utensils are reproductions of those of the primitive Tapuyas and retain their original names, one must exclaim with conviction: "It must have been like this in the epoch of the Independence."⁵

As yet, I have not run across the concept of "contemporary ancestors" in Brazilian literature, but a Brazilian historian, Pedro Calmon, expressed much the same fundamental idea:

In the sertão we encounter an archeological picture of our colonial civilization—in race, language, economy, costumes, folk-lore, in mysticism. . . .

Socially Brazil is not a superimposition of classes but of epochs. It is not divided into layers of human beings but into a juxtaposition of centuries. If near the seacoast, the intensely cultivated regions, there vibrates the same activity as in the countries that are possessed by the machine, in the agricultural band of territory work still has aspects of the eighteenth century, in the pastoral areas society still contains survivals from the seventeenth century, and the sixteenth century survives in the forests of the West, where the drama of collecting the Indians into villages and teaching them the catechism continues to repeat the image of the first day of colonization. As Alberdi observed, "between one man and another there are three centuries of difference." It is for this reason that the history of Brazilian civilization descends indistinctly in time and extends in space, encountering, to the extent that it insinuates itself into the past or invades the sertão, the facts of colonial evolution . . . the typical colonist still is encountered in the northeast of Brazil. He is almost unchanged. In the Empire he considered himself governed by the King of Portugal; in the Republic he considered himself governed by the Emperor of Brazil. He lives in a socially obsolete existence; he vibrates with his old colonial sentiments; he repeats the resistance of fifteen generations of sertanejos. His villages invariably cluster about a square, with a chapel in the center, as were the Indian villages which the Jesuits constructed. The fazendeiro, who is the spiritual chief of the clan, continues to be "major," or "colonel," as were the ancient officials of the ordinances, whose militarily administered government left in small communities pleasant remembrances [*saudades*] that could not be erased. The priest has powers approximating those of the historic missionaries. Little is done without him, and nothing is done against him. Where there is no priest the role is exercised by the "monk," the ascetic who combines the virtues of the medicine man and of the priest, the re-incarnation of the Indian medicine man [*pagé*], to whom the families confide cases of conscience and local justice. The mysticism of the sertanejo is intense and complex. He participates in the religious practices of the Portuguese, in the belief of the aborigines, and in some of the fetishism of the African: he necessitates a spiritual chief and considerable manifestations foreign to his cult. This is complicated by the ingenuity of the *Tupis*, thanks to their fear of spirits of the forest and of natural forces—and of the European ancestral worship; the cult is *mamaluco* [mixture of Indian and Portuguese] like the vaqueiro.⁶

⁵ M. B. Lourenço Filho, *Jaoseiro do Padre Cicero* (2d ed.: São Paulo, 1926), 14–15.

⁶ Pedro Calmon, *Espirito da Sociedade Colonial* (São Paulo, 1935), 197–99.

Available statistical data for the state of Pernambuco give numerical substantiation to such observations. These data refer to the presence or absence of lighting facilities in the main *praças* or squares in the small cities which are the seats of the various *municípios*. Pernambuco is particularly significant because it reaches inland from the coast in a long wavy band, that resembles a slightly ruffled ribbon, for a distance of some six hundred miles, cutting across the sugar-growing coastal and densely wooded sections, the more arid *agreste* and *catínga* or scrub timber zone where cotton is the chief cash crop, and penetrating far into the arid cattle-growing *sertão*. The illumination of the central *praça* is especially significant as an indicator because this square is the spot in which converges all the social, economic, political, and recreational life of the *município*. Every night it is the scene of the community stroll or "footing" in which persons of both sexes and all ages participate, males revolving in one direction, females in the other, so that all have a chance to see and chat with one another. Facing on this central *praça* are the more important buildings of the *cidade*, the church, the cinema, the best stores, and the homes of the leading citizens. In short, it is the hub about which revolves the life of the *cidade* and the *município* of the same name. The improvement of this particular public square, through paving, lighting, and planting, takes precedence over all other civic undertakings.

The data on lighting of public places in Pernambuco are as follows: In the zone designated *litoral e mata* (littoral and forested), of the 37 *idades* other than Recife, the state capital, all except Maraiial have installed public lighting systems. The average number of public places lighted is 27 per city, indicating that many additional squares and public buildings are not left in darkness. In the next zone on the way to the interior, that known as *agreste e catínga*, where the trees constituting the original covering are relatively low and covered with thorns, and where cotton is now the chief agricultural product, all of the 28 *idades* possess public lighting systems. The average number of public places lighted is 28 per city. But in the most remote portions of the state, the *municípios* comprising the cattle-raising *sertão*, the central squares of only 15 of the 25 *idades* have lights; and among the 15 that are not in perpetual black-out, the average number of public places lighted is only 12 per city.⁷

DESIGNATIONS FOR THE COUNTRYMAN

A brief discussion of the terms used to designate the country people, with a few comments on their distributions, also helps to bring out the

⁷ These data were compiled from the *Anuário Estatístico de Pernambuco*, Ano XI (Recife, 1942), 271-73.

immense cultural diversity encountered in Brazil. Even a cursory examination reveals that the Brazilian species of the Portuguese language is rich in terms used to designate the *homem do campo*, the countryman, or the person who lives outside the towns and cities. For the reason that the overwhelming proportion of Brazil's rural people belong to the laboring class, have enjoyed little or no schooling, and have been limited socially to the narrow vistas of their own small world, these terms seem to reflect even more of the city man's smug sense of superiority than do comparable designations in the United States. Thus, *caboclo*, *matuto*, *roceiro*, and *caipira*, the terms most widely used to designate the humble resident of the rural districts, all have depreciative connotations. This is especially true of *caipira*, probably the term in most general usage, and for which Bernardino José de Souza quotes with approval the following definition by Valdomiro Silveira: "the man or woman who lives outside the village; who lacks instruction or social graces; who does not know how to dress well or to make a good appearance in public."⁸ *Caboclo*, now used almost universally throughout Brazil as synonymous with *caipira*, also retains its use as the designation (synonymous with *mameluco* and *cariboca*) for the mixed-blood descendants of Indians and whites, a fact suggestive of the importance of the Indian racial strain in the population of Brazil's great interior sections. Probably of even greater importance than the Negroid elements are the strains of Indian blood coursing through the veins of most Brazilians of the lower and middle classes. *Matuto*, literally a forest dweller, also in almost universal use throughout Brazil as a designation for the countryman of the lower classes, carries much the same connotation as does the expression "backwoodsman" in the United States. *Roceiro*, literally the seminomadic person who annually selects a site, builds a rude shelter, and makes a *roça* (the small burned patch in the midst of the forest in which are planted subsistence crops such as corn and beans), by extension also has come to be used as a designation for the man of the small-farming class. On the radio, in the press, and on the stage, the *caipira*, the *caboclo*, the *matuto*, and the *roceiro* in caricature are a source of considerable amusement for the middle and upper classes of Brazilian urban society.

Other terms nearly synonymous with the four given above, but having a more limited distribution, are the following: *babacuara*, literally knowing nothing, or ignorant, as applied to low-class plantation workers in the sugar-producing sections about Campos in the state of Rio de Janeiro. In the same area *muxuango*, signifying a rustic person, is also in rather general use for much the same purpose. The person who travels throughout

⁸ *Dicionário da Terra e da Gente do Brasil* (4th ed.: São Paulo, 1939), 82-83.

Brazil may also frequently hear a member of the more humble class referred to as a *caboré*. This is the name of a tribe of Indians who formerly lived in what is now the state of Rio Grande do Norte, and like *cafús* or *cafuso* it is a designation sometimes applied to the mixed-blood descendants of the Indian-Negro cross. In the great state of Minas Gerais, most of whose seven million inhabitants are scattered throughout its immense rural districts, numerous terms are employed to designate the *homem da roça* (the man who uses the axe, fire, and the hoe to produce small subsistence crops on a little patch of ground) and other varieties of rural people of the lower classes. In addition to being called *caipira*, one of these *mineiros* may be designated as *chapadeiro* (plainsman), *bruaqueiro* (literally a person who carries produce to market in a large leather sack or bag), *mandioqueiro* (one who subsists by raising and eating mandioca or manioc), or *pióca*. If he lives beside one of the state's numerous streams, "without a master," in a miserable hut and on a diet of mandioca and fish, he is generally called a *ribeirinho*.

In Brazil's most advanced state of São Paulo the four most generalized terms are all in use, many of the more regionalized usages also make their appearance, and in addition at least two terms specific to the state are found. One of these, *cangussú*, is merely another way of saying *matuto*, while *caçara* is used to differentiate the humble resident of the coastal lowlands from his fellow *caipira* on the plateau. Confined largely to certain localities of São Paulo and Minas Gerais is the use of *mandi* as a synonym for *caipira*, while throughout Minas Gerais and Goiás *queijeiro* (cheesemaker and eater) is employed in a similar sense, and in Minas Gerais and the state of Rio de Janeiro *tapiocano* (tapioca maker) is another designation for the *caipira*.

Along the headwaters of the Rio São Francisco and extending northward from Minas Gerais into Bahia, *capiau* enjoys widespread usage as a designation for members of the more humble social classes of the region, and another synonymous term, *capuava*, has much the same distribution. Also in these portions of Bahia, which adjoin the São Francisco, *casacudo*, derived from the coarsely made costume used by the low-class countryman, is prevalent as a synonym for *caipira* or *roceiro*. Another designation that is widely employed in Bahia, and which has diffused from there to neighboring states, is *tabaréu*. This almost ranks with *caboclo*, *matuto*, *roceiro*, and *caipira*, as a designation for the member of the rural Brazilian lower class. Farther to the north, in the interior of Piauí, the widespread use of a dress of leather has led to the employment of *casaca* as a designation for the rural person of low estate. In other parts of the great northeastern interior, a person of the same class is referred to as a *corumba* or *curumba*,

but this designation carries the added connotation of one who periodically flees the drought-stricken sertão in search of work in the better-watered coastal sections of the area. Interestingly enough, in the near-by state of Sergipe almost exactly the same shade of meaning is attached to the word *curáu*. Along the Paraíba River in the northeastern state of the same name, the humble Brazilian who lives mainly from fishing is called a *piraquara*.

In the great interior areas of the northeast, where periodic droughts play havoc with the social and economic life of the area, the common folk who care for the herds are usually called sertanejos, a term derived from the common name for the section, sertão, or sparsely populated and, sometimes, semiarid area. Finally, in the extreme south in the cattle-growing state of Rio Grande do Sul, a variety of terms are used to designate the member of the rural working class. In addition to the familiar *peão*, which is applied also to urbanites of the lower class, such expressions as *guasca* and *mambira* enjoy considerable popularity.

The terms given above by no means exhaust the possibilities but they do indicate the wide variety of designations one meets with when he attempts to discover the names by which the masses of lower class rural Brazilians are designated. The ones considered do not include such terms as *colono*, *camarada*, *empreiteiro*, and *parceiro*, which are specific names for rural workers of particular categories in São Paulo. *Colono*, in general use as the name for the smaller farmer of immigrant stock in the southern states, is also lacking. Likewise absent is *Bahiano*, commonly applied to the cattle-raising people living in the interior of Maranhão and Piauí, and *praiano* as a general designation for the poverty-stricken fisherfolk who live along the coast of southern Brazil. Nor have the designations for members of specific occupational groups been included. These alone would make a long list, merely the beginning of which are terms such as *gaúcho* and *vaqueiro* for cowboy, *garimpeiro* for diamond hunter, *seringueiro* for rubber collector, *machadeiro* for the axeman who fells the forests and also sometimes for the rubber gatherer, *mateiro* for the workman who gathers the branches from the mate forests, and *tropeiro* as the name of the person who conducts one of the nation's thousands of pack-mule trains. Finally, *agregado*, a term formerly used to designate one of the fazendeiro's "men" or retainers, in distinction from his slaves, has been omitted. Perhaps this is not entirely justified since today this term is generally applied to the worker who resides on the lands of the fazenda or *engenbo*, as distinguished from the *camarada*, or hired laborer who does not live on the property. Usually the *agregado* is permitted to make small

plantings of his own, to raise a little poultry or a pig, and to keep a horse or a mule.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Variations in the systems of weights and measures constitute another aspect of the man-made environment, one drawn from the field of non-material culture, that indicates the cultural diversity in Brazil. The rich variety of terms in use and the different values of a given term from one part of the country to another are sometimes confusing even to Brazilians. For others they make necessary great caution in the use of terms for expressing distances, weights, and measures. Otherwise, much confusion is sure to arise. Since, theoretically, and to a considerable extent, practically, the metric system is used in Brazil, the various other Brazilian measures may be equated to the metric units for purposes of this analysis. Consider first some of the linear measures in use.

The largest of these is the *légua* (or league). It is 6,600 meters long, or three *milhas* (miles).⁹ This old Portuguese *milha*, of 2,200 meters, is equal to about 1.35 English miles. Another very common measure of distance is the *braça* (arm). The attempt is now under way to standardize this at 2.2 meters and 1,000 *braças* has always been considered as equal to one *milha* and 3,000 as the equivalent of one *légua*. The *braça* in turn is equal to 2 *varas* (1.10 meters), the *vara* to 5 *palmas* (palms) of 23 centimeters each. There is also the *côvado*, corresponding to three *palmas*. In addition, the *pé* (foot) of 33 centimeters, the *polegada* (inch) of 27 millimeters, or slightly larger than the English inch, and the *linha* (line) 2.3 millimeters are in use. One cannot go far from Brazil's larger centers of population without coming into sections where meters and kilometers are not yet in general use, where the population still thinks and deals in terms of the old *braças*, *milhas*, and *léguas*. If one travels extensively throughout the nation, passing repeatedly from city to *sertão*, the variations in linear measures are likely to give the impression of a "crazy quilt" pattern.

Measures of area are still more varied. Here one must reckon with the *alqueire*, which itself is not uniform, the *tarefa* (task), likewise of different sizes, and the *quadra* (square), also differing in magnitude from place to place. One variety of *alqueire* called the *paulista* is used in São Paulo, from which it takes its name, in Paraná, in Santa Catarina, in the northern part of Rio Grande do Sul and the southern part of Mato Grosso.

⁹ This must not be taken too literally, for as Sir Richard F. Burton commented, "Koster sensibly divides his leagues into *legoas grandes*, *legoas pequenas*, and *legoas de nada*—of nothing which may mean four miles." *The Highlands of the Brazil* (London, 1869), I, 156-57.

This alqueire paulista designates an area 100 braças long and 50 braças wide, or of 24,200 square meters. Thus, one alqueire of this type contains 2.42 hectares. A second alqueire, the *mineiro* is in general use in Minas Gerais, from which it takes the name, and also in Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, and Goiás. It is twice as large as the alqueire paulista, being 100 x 100 braças, or containing an area of 48,400 square meters, or 4.84 hectares. As will be noted below, this alqueire mineiro corresponds in size to the quadra that is used in Maranhão and Piauí.

The tarefa is another land measure which, like the alqueire, varies in size. One of the varieties is the *tarefa babiana*, so called because of its prevalence in the state of Bahia, although it is also used in Ceará, Pernambuco, Goiás, and to some extent in Minas Gerais. This tarefa is 30 x 30 braças, 4,356 square meters or about .44 of a hectare. Farther to the north another tarefa, called the *nordestina* (northeastern), is in general use. This one is only 25 x 25 braças, 3,025 square meters or about .3 of a hectare. This variety of the tarefa is the one most generally used in Alagoas and Sergipe, but it also competes with other measures in Pernambuco, Paraíba, and Ceará. In Rio Grande do Norte an area of this size adds to the variety by going under the name of *mil covas* (1,000 "hills").

Still another tarefa, the *gaúcha*, is found in Brazil's most southerly state. It is only 10 x 20 braças (968 square meters or about one tenth of a hectare), and its use is restricted to the northeastern portion of Rio Grande do Sul. Finally, there is the *tarefa cearense*, named for the state of Ceará. It is an area of 30 x 25 braças, containing 3,630 square meters or about .361 of a hectare.

Much used in Rio Grande do Sul farming districts is the *quadra gaúcha*, literally the "cowboy square." It is an area 60 x 60 braças, or 17,424 square meters, or about 1.74 hectares. In the cattle-growing *fronteira* (frontier) or *campina* (prairie) portions of the same state the *quadra de sesmaria* is in use. It, too, is 60 braças wide, but is one légua deep, thus containing 871,200 square meters or 87.12 hectares. One may be sure that in previous times this has been a very indefinite measure of area.

The quadra is a name applied to other areas elsewhere in Brazil. That in use in Maranhão and Piauí has already been described as the equivalent of the alqueire mineiro. There is also the *quadra paraibana*, or of Paraíba. It measures 50 x 50 braças, so that it contains 12,100 square meters or 1.21 hectares.

There may be still other measures in common usage, but these are some most frequently encountered. They also are sufficient to demonstrate that

one who is concerned with the land and man's relations to it will encounter plenty of variety as he moves about Brazil.

Measures of weight include a considerable variety of units in addition to grams, and kilograms of the official system. Although superseded in many places by the metric system, these older measures still continue to be used in the rural districts. The largest of such units is the *tonelada*, the equivalent of 793.24 kilograms. The official *tonelada métrica* of course contains 1,000 kilograms. Next in size is the *quintal*, which contains 58.759 kilograms. Of these, 13.5 are required to make a tonelada. A weight of 100 kilograms is called a *quintal métrico*. The *arroba* is the next of the older measures of weight. Four of them constitute a quintal, so each is the equivalent of 14.69 kilograms. The *arroba métrica* is just slightly larger, or 15 kilograms.

Another old measure was the *arratel*, 32 of them making one arroba, or being equivalent to 459 grams. Today this unit of weight goes under the name *libra*. It is about 5.5 grams lighter than the English pound. This libra in turn is made up of 16 *onças*, so that the onça is equal to 28.69 grams. (Interestingly enough, English writers are prone to translate onça as "ounce" even when the term applies to the South American jaguar.) The eighth part of the onça is called an *oitava*, the equivalent of 3.586 grams. The latter in turn has been considered equal to four *escrópulos*, the *escrópulo* being used a great deal for weighing the precious stones in which Brazil abounds. Its equivalent in grams is given as 1.195. Next is the *quilate*, also used for weighing precious stones, considered to be one sixth of an *escrópulo* and as being equal to .199 grams. Exactly .20 grams is called a *quilate métrico*. Finally, there is the *grão*, weighing .049 grams.

The metric system is, of course, generally used in the cities and towns. In the far interior it has hardly penetrated, although it is rapidly diffusing throughout the length and breadth of the land. Until it succeeds in more fully replacing the older units of weight and measurement, the coexistence of the various units will continue to make for cultural diversity in Brazil.

AN EXAMPLE OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL VARIATION

Racial and cultural elements also vary tremendously from one place to another, even within the rather well-defined regions of Brazil. This is brought out clearly for the state of Santa Catarina in a recent study by Lourival Câmara.¹⁰ Preparatory to a rather detailed analysis of the German, Polish, and Italian colonies, a brief summary was given of the main characteristics of people and society on the seacoast, in the colonial sections

¹⁰ Lourival Câmara, *Estrangeiros em Santa Catarina* (Florianópolis, 1940).

which occupy the two principal valleys, and on the mountainous plateaus. The descriptions bring out some of the more striking differences found within a single state, Santa Catarina.

Except for sporadic nuclei, minimum discrepancies, Santa Catarina is composed of three anthropo-geographic zones: that of the oceanside, that of colonization properly so-called (consisting of the valleys of the principal rivers) and that of the *campos* (the prairie-like pasture lands on the high plateau, and mountain tops). Each of these has its norm, its specific type of individual: the *praiano* [inhabitant of the seacoast], the *colono* [immigrant small farmer], the *serrano* [mountaineer]. Each of these lives a life divergent from the others and fundamentally different in its composition and spirit.

The *praiano* is the reincarnation of his Azorian ancestor. "In the midst of incidental variations," says Ribot, "there exists a cell which always remains unattainable, which permits nature to copy itself and imitate itself consistently." The inhabitant of our coasts is essentially the degenerated reproduction of the Azorian who failed on the coast of Santa Catarina in the epic of its settlement. Osvaldo Cabral establishes with exactness the picture of our coastal populations: "They live as their parents lived in times gone by: without stimulation, abandoned, keeping the same primitive organization, gaining for themselves a precarious existence by the day's fishing, by growing small plots of mandioca and by making mandioca flour on a small scale. The inhabitants seem to expect favors and misfortunes from the sky with the fatalism of a Mohammedan, receiving both with the indifference of the conquered."

Degeneracy, in a succession of generations, has affected the morphological (already altered in a large measure because of crossing with Bantu negroes) and psychological qualities of these populations, of small stature, indolent, resigned, ossified, schizothymic. The degeneracy continues, furthermore, because of the low state of basal metabolism; the diet of these people, monotonous, unbalanced, incomplete, poor in carbohydrates, and highly deficient in vitamins, consists only of fish, mandioca flour, and coffee. Man is a function of his diet, psychologically and morphologically. The result of these periods of undernourishment is inanitation. . . .

Josué de Castro, studying in Brazil the consequences of a monotonous diet, generally having mandioca flour as a basis, as in case of our *praiano* now under consideration, said that such a diet "made its influence felt in various ways upon the organic and psychological life of the Brazilian, making him a type of weak and undernourished man, below normal in weight, with a chronic incapacity for working, with an index of longevity fearfully short and above all with an index of infant mortality among the highest in the world." All of these effects are seen in our coastal population, we repeat, originating in their growing sub-nutrition.

The paternity of the panorama delineated has been attributed to determined characteristics of the soil which magnify the climatic ills, decimating hundreds of lives. But in other countries, thanks to prophylactics and sanitary procedures, the basis of such deterministic theories has been destroyed. Climate does not generate absolutisms. Its influence is relative. . . . The degeneration alluded to did not come from the soil nor from the climate, but from the diet—from the

singleness of the diet, precarious, the very poorest, aggravated by alcoholic intoxication.

The colono society is the second type in Santa Catarina. The descendant of the German element, or the Slav, or the Atlanto-Mediterranean, who sought the state in a permanent emigration, located by preference along the rivers Itajaí and Tubarão, disseminating later to the plateau above, in a conquest of perpendicularity. The colono—in pages to come, we will explain in detail his role in the formation of our social organism—constitutes the most exotic, dissonant note in the population of Santa Catarina, ethnically, psychologically, socially.

Economically the colono is a type pattern of monolinear orientation. Anthropologically, however, there is no type: in the colonization zone there is a group of the most varied ethnic stocks, coming from diverse latitudes and with specific characteristics the most divergent. [These colonists are described much more thoroughly in the main body of the publication.]

The third type is the mountaineer, somatic revivification of the *bandeirante*, of the mameluco, whose genetic origin, in its turn, is one of the most complicated: the result of crosses and recrosses of the Portuguese complex, where various bloods are united, with the indigenous Tupí strain. On the ethnological map of the state, the central mountainous region presents the highest proportion of Tupí blood, although these people would be numerically insignificant in the percentage distribution of this stock in Brazil.

Generated by a society composed of another human group and in a habitat different from those which molded the *praiano*, the *serrano* has to have, *ipso facto*, a different, even an antithetical, psychology. Cattle raising has been the economic base of *serrano* society, a consequence of the *latifundia* and of the expansion of the cycle, of which Roberto Simonsen speaks, when herds and herds of cattle went from the campos of the south for consumption in the center.

The environment impressed on the psychological physiognomy of the *serrano* the sense of extension, of liberty, of grandeur, or richness, of the sense of the infinite.

The Tupí heritage gave to him a profoundness of sentiments, of hate as well as love, the duty of hospitality, and the characteristics of mobility. Heredity impressed on him strongly ambition, authoritarianism, indicative of the Portuguese, tinted by semitism.

The diet of the *serrano*, predominantly of meat, also served to accentuate his absolutism. . . .¹¹

To describe in detail all of the more important regional contrasts, or to determine accurately the precise limits of the major culture areas in Brazil is not possible with the facts now available in Brazil's sociological and geographical literature.¹² Nevertheless, by presenting some firsthand

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 11-14.

¹² Several recent studies, however, represent a good beginning on the type of work that eventually will make possible such a description. Among them are the following: Donald Pierson, *Cruz das Almas, A Brazilian Village* (Washington, 1951); Emilio Willems, *Cunha, Tradição e Transição em uma Cultura Rural do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1948); Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão, *The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil* (New York, 1949); Jorge Zarur, *A Bacia do Médio São Francisco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946); Alberto Ribeiro Lamego, *O Homem e o Brejo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1945); Alberto Ribeiro

observations and by studying certain important cultural complexes, integrated combinations of culture traits, it is believed possible to bring out some of the more important differences in the patterns of life found within Brazil's national territory. This is attempted in the next two chapters. Chapter III contains a somewhat detailed analysis of one of the most significant aspects of Brazil's economy—its system of "fire agriculture." The complex which has been given this name is of overwhelming importance in the nation's history and economic setting. Intermingled from one end of Brazil to the other with more modern methods of agriculture it does much to make Brazil a land of sharp contrasts. Chapter IV presents a series of abstracts from the writer's notes and observations. These were written in the field, mostly late at night before retiring, an hour when the writer made a practice of trying to organize the observations of the day and to set down his immediate reflections. These two approaches reveal some of the cultural diversity to be found in Brazil, and perhaps suggest some of the factors that are responsible for the variations in the cultural landscape—the man-made portion of the environment.

Lamego, *O Homem e a Restinga* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946); and Alberto Ribeiro Lamego, *O Homem e a Guanabara* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).

CHAPTER III

FIRE AGRICULTURE

THE MOST widespread system of agriculture carried on in Brazil is the one which I have chosen to call "fire agriculture." Because of its central position in the pattern of rural living, the analysis of this aspect of Brazilian culture does much to bring out the essential aspects of Brazilian rural life; because it is so different from the peasant agriculture of south Brazil's European colonies and São Paulo's rational system of production, a study of this form of agricultural production serves to throw regional cultural differences into bold relief.

FELLING AND BURNING

What is here designated fire agriculture in Brazilian terminology is sometimes obliquely referred to as "empirical methods," although usually it is designated *derruba e queimada* or "felling and burning."¹ This refers to a cluster of agricultural practices in which the land is prepared for planting by clearing the underbrush from a portion of the forest with the machete, felling most of the larger trees with an axe, permitting the tangled masses of fallen trunks, limbs, branches, twigs, and leaves to dry for a short time, and then firing the entire lot. If the onslaught of the rainy season is predicted correctly, in this process the leaves, the twigs, and

¹ In Bernardino José de Souza, *Dicionário da Terra e da Gente do Brazil* (4th ed.: São Paulo, 1939), *derrubada* is defined as "a general term which denominates the agricultural operation which follows the *broca* or *roçada* or *cabruca* of the forest, and which consists in felling the large trees with the axe in order to prepare ground for planting. In another sense, it is the wood that has been felled by the axe . . . in order to make use of the land in agriculture." *Broca*, in turn, is said by the same authority to be "a term used in the north, especially in the northeast, to designate the first operation in the preparation of the soil for planting. It is the act of clearing or cleaning the land of the small timber, undergrowth, brush and vines that grow among the larger trees." The same authority quotes with approval the nine agricultural processes given by Juvenal Galeno: "*Brocar*: to cut the undergrowth with a *foice* [swinging blade]; it is the first task in making the clearing. Second, *derrubar*, to fell the larger trees with an ax. Third: *picar*, to pile the fallen timber to facilitate the firing. Fourth: *queimar* (to burn). Fifth: *encoivarar*, to pile and burn the trunks and limbs that escaped in the general fire. Sixth: *cercar* (to fence). Seventh: *plantar* (to plant). Eighth: *limpar, capinar* (to pull or cut the weeds or saplings). And last: *apanhar, colher* (to harvest)." Much the same order of steps is given in the little classic, *Jéca Tatá e Mané Chique-Chique* by Ildefonso Albano (2d ed., Rio de Janeiro, n.d.), 11. For a description of similar systems in Asia and a discussion of the relationship of fire agriculture to other ways of extracting a living from the soil, see Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, Chap. XIV.

the smaller branches are entirely consumed, the larger logs and the stumps merely charred. The burning process leaves the soil extremely pliable, and for a short time the ground is comparatively free of noxious weeds and grasses. In these burned-over patches, amid the standing stumps and between the blackened logs, are planted the seeds that supply the bulk of the food eaten by millions of Brazilian families. By the bulk of Brazil's caboclos, sertanejos, matutos, and other countrymen, any other system of preparing the land is either unknown or considered unnecessary. The only implement used in the planting is the hoe or the digging stick, and if there is any further attention given to the growing crop it is merely by use of the hoe or the swinging knife.

After a crop, or at best a few crops, have been taken from a clearing, the incursions of weeds and grasses cause the patch to be abandoned and a new one to be prepared. Second growth is allowed to flourish in the old field and after a few years this *capoeira* attains sufficient size so that the felling, burning, and planting process may be repeated. Whether in the north, as in the state of Maranhão or Ceará, in the west as in Mato Grosso, in long-settled, mountainous parts of the most advanced state of São Paulo, or even in parts of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul, where peasant immigrants from Europe recently have introduced a well-rounded pattern of small-farming practices, this fire agriculture is to be found. Except in the rice areas of Rio Grande do Sul, the diversified farming sections found elsewhere in the south and São Paulo, and in small zones about the larger centers, it is the system almost exclusively used for producing the food-stuffs with which the nation's people are fed.

This system of fire agriculture is merely one of the complexes, although a central one, in the pattern of living derived from the Indians.² Regional differences exist, of course, but many of the essentials in this pattern of life are brought out in the following quotation which details the cultural heritage received from the Indians by the present-day inhabitants of the interior, the vast sertões.

The sertanejo came to live, work, and hunt like the Indian. He simplified the village, making his dwelling of thatch and palms. Inside he places his hammock of cotton twine and stores in a *giráu* [primitive storehouse of sticks ele-

² The earliest description I have found is in Hans Staden, 1557: "In the places where they intend to plant, they cut down the trees and leave them to dry for one or three months and then set fire to them and burn them. Afterwards they plant the roots between the trunks, from which the roots take sustenance. This root is called mandioca and is a small tree about a fathom high, giving out three kinds of roots." *Hans Staden: The True History of His Captivity* (New York, 1929), 137. Carlos Borges Schmidt, "Rural Life in Brazil," in T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent* (New York, 1951), Chap. VII, is fundamental for those interested in this and other aspects of Brazil's agricultural pattern.

vated off the ground] reserves of food. They consist of dried or jerked meat and his customary war flour, the bread of the aborigines, "principal food of this land," which the near-by *roça* made in the virgin forest or in the second growth gives him with abundance. To obtain that flour he burns and destroys the forests in the surrounding area, in an incessant conquest of new grounds. Where he harvests he never more plants. Primarily a nomad, he advances, devastating [the forests] with his small *roça* of mandioca: he sacrifices an entire forest. A few handfuls of mandioca flour represent the burning of a majestic forest; a great elaborator of second growth, the sertanejo was, inevitably, a great destroyer of nature which so strongly recompensed him: "the entire system of Brazilian agriculture begins with the destruction of the forests, and where there are no woods there is no culture." The Tupí was like that. The man of the sertão, however, did not imitate him only in his destructive activities. He went to the fields in the same mode, in "the way to the roças," the farmers forming a silent column, with the women in the middle for better defense. With the facility of the Indian he opens the passage way, breaking smaller branches, felling larger trunks. The sertanejos seat themselves, eat, sleep, erect houses of wattle and daub, navigate in dugouts, as did the Indian. The enjoyment of singing to the accompaniment of the *viola*, of the contests between singers as they mutually improvise the elements of the popular account, made of pride and lyricism, is also indigenous.³

The acculturation of the Europeans in the New World, the process by which the newcomers adopted the essential elements from the mand-made environment of the Indians, has been summarized in a concise form by José Francisco da Rocha Pombo in one of his excellent little books:

The first colonists were adopting the usages and customs of the indigenes: the dietary regime; the processes of work, of farming, of hunting and fishing, and even the rudimentary acts of constructing habitations, the use of domestic objects, the manipulation of implements, etc.

They learned the language of the natives and many even learned the sports and diversions.

What is more extraordinary is that the strangers soon permitted themselves to be influenced by the ideas, the sentiments, and even the vices of the barbarians.

It may be said that, after some years of life in America, the European had more resemblances to the savage than to the civilized man.

There occurred here a cultural regression, a lowering of the level to the primitive sense of life.⁴

Evidences of this fire agriculture may be seen almost everywhere one goes, whether traveling up the Amazon, flying over Bahia, going overland across the northeast, traveling by truck in Mato Grosso, passing along farm roads in Santa Catarina, or riding on the train near the great industrial plants on the outskirts of São Paulo. It is this system of devastating a forest to gain a few handfuls of mandioca flour that gives the jungle near

³ Calmon, *Espirito da Sociedade Colonial*, 194-96.

⁴ Rocha Pombo, *Historia de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1925), 62.



Courtesy of Carlos E. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directorate de Publicidade Agrícola

CABOCLO FAMILY AND HOUSE. THIS HOUSE TYPE PREDOMINATES IN THE MOUNTAINOUS DISTRICTS BETWEEN RIO DE JANEIRO AND SÃO PAULO AND IS FOUND THROUGHOUT BRAZIL

Belém such a jagged appearance that, when seen from the air, reminds one of a small boy's head after the youngster's first few experiments in cutting his own hair.

But one need not go into the remote parts of Brazil to see this agricultural system in full practice. He who takes the plane from Rio de Janeiro to São Paulo on a spring day (September or October) will see hundreds of smoking patches below, where the burning process is under way, other hundreds of brown patches on which the felled brush is awaiting the fire, and still more hundreds in which a blackened surface gives evidence of a burning process already completed and ground that is ready for the seeds. "Pockmarks" in one of these patches indicate the places where trunks and branches have been piled and fired. Even in those parts of Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, and Paraná where cultural practices introduced by the German, Italian, and Polish settlers have not penetrated (although the ethnic stock frequently is German) this fire agriculture is the prevailing mode of producing food crops. Needless to say, this system is extremely lavish in its use of labor, as well as wasteful of land, soil, and timber resources. With a minimum employment of modern knowledge and agricultural skills, and the most elementary farming tools such as the plow, the harrow, and the cultivator, the same amount of labor and land would produce many times the present harvest. Certainly the introduction and diffusion of such practices should do much to increase the effective labor force and the level of living in the nation.

A few descriptions of the typical manner in which this fire agriculture is carried on, chosen from the west, the north, and the south of Brazil, serve to make its essential characteristics stand out more clearly.

Agriculture in the State of Matto-Grosso, as in many states of the Brazilian confederation, still continues tied to the routine and to the struggle which come from the employment of the primitive processes.

Until the present, the use and utility of those marvelous agricultural machines which, by multiplying the work of man, facilitate and greatly improve the cultivation of the soil and augment its productivity, are completely ignored in this state.

The axe, the foice, and the hoe are still the sole instruments that are used by the farmers of Matto-Grosso. . . .

Here is the system of culture: As a rule from April to June is spent in cutting the underbrush and felling the trees for a clearing, followed in the month of August by putting the fire which devours everything except the stumps and some of the larger trunks. Farmers say, "He who has a clearing well burned will have a good harvest." In reality soils containing extremely high proportions of humus, perhaps because of the acids which they contain, only produce well when they have been well burned.

There is a significant difference observed in the growth of plants in parts of the clearing well burned over and in those parts in which the burning was not thorough, or where the fire did not pass. In addition to this, well burned-over fields save the farmer much labor and money because they assist him greatly in preparing the ground and decrease the number of weeds, as a consequence of destroying the seeds of the noxious plants; and there is even a decrease in the number of insects due to the action of the fire. So decisive is the influence of fire in the preparation of fields in Matto-Grosso that frequently they are entirely abandoned when out-of-season rains make impossible the firing of them.

When clearing is designated only for the planting of corn and beans, it is customary at felling time to leave the larger trees, these being merely girdled with the machete, about a yard above the ground. . . .

Due to this girdling process the tree dies, the leaves fall and the farmer prevents two things: the shade which is injurious to the plantings and having the field covered with fallen trunks which would result if all the trees were felled. There is also the advantage of keeping for a longer time a supply of wood in the standing trunks than is possible in those that are lying on the ground. Generally also, regardless of what is to be planted, palms such as the *bacaiuveiras*, *aguasal* and *uacury* [urucari?] are not felled. The latter, since they give a great deal of shade, are trimmed with an axe, leaving only the growing central portion; but they soon put out beautiful new foliage and assist greatly in keeping the ground fresh and also in the formation and growth of the second growth.

In order to clear and fell one *alqueire* of ground in a day, requires 60 men, more or less.

Following the burning over of the clearing comes the process of breaking off and piling up the limbs and branches that were not consumed by the fire. These are piled in different places throughout the clearing, preferably in those which the fire failed to reach, for burning. But the better sticks are saved for fencing and for wood.

When this operation is completed, the work of fencing follows in order to keep out the cattle, horses, and mules. Then the first September rains are awaited for the planting of the corn.

In the planting of corn, as with all other crops in Matto-Grosso, until the present time only the hoe is used to open hills.⁵

The planting of rice follows a similar routine: "As we have said, rice requires fertile, humid soils, and the ground for its planting should be carefully prepared. Following the burning, it should be thoroughly cleared of limbs and branches, cleaned of weeds and grass and inclosed. The system of planting is the same as that employed for corn and for beans—the routine manner."⁶

Today the diffusion from São Paulo of the plow, and the agricultural techniques associated with it, has considerably modified agricultural practices in southern Mato Grosso. This is especially true in the area around

⁵ *Album Gráfico do Estado de Matto-Grosso* (Hamburg, Germany, 1914), 260-61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 265.

the thriving little city of Campo Grande and near other stations along the railroad (the Noroeste) which links the lower part of the state with São Paulo. However, throughout most of the vast territory within the borders of Mato Grosso fire agriculture continues to hold undisputed sway.

In the region which figures so prominently in the lore of rural Brazil—the sertões of the northeast—the routine of agricultural practices is cut to the pattern described so well for Mato Grosso. One of the most striking descriptions of farming in this area is that by the Brazilian writer, Gustavo Barroso, also known as “João do Norte.” He introduces the subject by referring to the observations made by a French journalist who traveled through Asiatic Turkey and reported that agriculture there was so retarded that only slight use was made of the plow and that other agricultural implements were unknown. Barroso questions:

And what would he say if he should go to the sertão of Ceará, where the plow has never been used and the soil has never felt the tooth of the harrow; where wood ashes are the fertilizer, improvidence the base of agriculture, and the generosity of the rainy season the principal reliance; where the only agricultural instrument is the hoe, happily of iron, equal in its rude handle and manipulation to those with which primitive man dug in the hard ground searching for tubers when the river refused fish, the forest game, and stronger tribes had forced him to migrate from the more fertile places? What would he say upon seeing the rustic simplicity of the equipment in the grist mill, its strain of primitive machinery, its backward, confused and disordered ways . . . ? He would say that the cultivation of the soil in the sertão of the North is more rude and primitive than the agriculture of the stony western provinces of Anatolia.⁷

In another chapter the same writer describes the tenacity with which the rural folk of Brazil's northeast cling to their customary agricultural methods.

Furthermore he [the sertanejo, or countryman] is a person of routine and does not care for innovations. When one or another departs from the prevailing routine, bad results are soon predicted for the procedure: “He wants to encircle the world with legs that have never encompassed the belly of a horse.”

He plants and harvests in the given way because his father did so; he cares for his cattle in this way because his grandfather did so before him. He scorns farming implements and disdains repeating firearms. During centuries the structure of society in the sertões has not modified a single line in any of its activities, moral, physical, or psychical. The sertanejo is unalterable in his mode of dressing, speaking, planting, caring for cattle, and living.⁸

Going by truck through the Brazilian north and northeast in December of 1942, I had a good opportunity to observe the countryside, and frequent delays presented many chances to talk with the people of the area. In addi-

⁷ Gustavo Barroso, *Terra de Sol* (3d ed.: Rio de Janeiro, 1930), 68–69.

⁸ *Ibid.* 174–75

tion, many facts were secured in conversation with fellow passengers, who varied in number from about thirty to fifty. At this time the drought had been serious for two years, but rains were setting in. The roças were well burned over and ready for planting. The only thing wanting was the rains. Particularly impressive were the fences.⁹

Agricultural specialists describe this fire agriculture similarly. "The cultural processes for all crops may be summarized as felling, burning, etc., and cleaning with the hoe."¹⁰ "Mechanical agriculture is little practiced. Only one agriculturist, in entire contrast with his neighbors, is using some plows in this [sugar cane] culture. Although his methods are deficient and do not conform to the best agronomical standards he has used them with profit. The remainder of the cultivation is made according to the old routine. Following the felling and burning the land is planted with the hoe."¹¹

Finally, let us turn to the far southern state of Santa Catarina where a large immigration of peasants from Germany, Poland, and Italy has done much to introduce and diffuse the agricultural methods used in Europe. Even in this area, and especially in the stages of sparse settlement which precede compact colonization, there still remain large areas in which fire agriculture is the prevailing mode of farming. A recent description of farming practices in the município of Rio do Sul, which until 1927 formed part of that little "Germany in Brazil" called Blumenau, reads as follows:

The most common agricultural process in the município of Rio do Sul is hand labor. Mechanical farming is practiced only in the most extensive river bottoms throughout the various districts. This farming consists of the use of a small plow drawn by animals, the harrow, and the mower.

Artificial fertilization of the land is little practiced. The agriculturist generally farms a part of his land two or three years and then abandons it until it has produced a flourishing second growth, returning only after nature has cared for the fertilization of the soil. In these conditions the colonist does not utilize, out of a tract of 30 hectares, more than 10 in pasture and cultivated fields. In addition to this he always takes care to keep as a wood lot at least one third of the land which he owns.

The farming of the "posseiro" [squatter] is different. While the colonist prospers on a tract of 30 hectares, the posseiro requires 200. . . . He never farms two years on the same land, because after the first felling it is necessary to clear the grass and weeds four times between planting and harvest.¹²

⁹ Reflections made at the time of these travels are presented in Chapter IV.

¹⁰ Ministerio da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio, *Estudo dos Factores da Produção nos Municípios Brasileiros: Aracajú, Sergipe* (Rio de Janeiro, 1923), 10.

¹¹ Ministerio da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio, *Estudo dos Factores da Produção nos Municípios Brasileiros: Camaragibe, Alagoas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1924), 15.

¹² Victor A. Peluso, Jr., *Rio do Sul* (Florianópolis, 1942), 67.

Farming in another município of the same state, São Joaquim, a cattle-growing section bordering on the state of Rio Grande do Sul, is described as follows:

The present farming conditions still do not merit a position of importance [in the description of the município]. Our farming processes are for the time being very primitive. It is true that many farmers and *fazendeiros* already employ the animal-drawn plow. Frankly, other agricultural machinery does not exist. On our extremely uneven lands it is still the machete followed by fire that holds undisputed sway, in a mad fury of destruction which brings deforestation. Behind comes the hoe, slow and expensive, which diminishes the margin of profit and raises the cost of production. . . .¹³

Lying along the mainland, across from and to the north of the island on which stands Florianópolis, the state capital, and on the road to Blumenau and Joinvile, is the município of Biguassú. Here also the old routine agricultural methods hold undisputed sway. The author of the monograph on this município has only the following to say regarding agricultural processes in the section:

The farming process, in almost all parts of the município, is the ancient one: that of burning.

As yet the routine has not been torn away from our people. Still, as with the first colonists, the machete and the axe fell the woods. Following this it is left to dry in order that it may be burned and soon after planted.

When, after some years the soil becomes tired, a new felling and new burning is made in another place. A rickety vegetation, the second growth, takes the place of the former opulent forests.

The worker of Biguassú does not know what fertilizer is.¹⁴

THE PLOW

The presence or absence of the plow is one of the best indicators of the system of agriculture practiced in any particular part of Brazil. Naturally, such an implement has no place in the routine of activities that make up the fire-agriculture complex. On the other hand, its presence is almost certain to be accompanied by many of the other essential traits and practices that characterize the systems of production which stem from Europe, the patterns of tillage in which manual labor does not play such a dominant role. Therefore, it is worth while to give some attention to the distribution of the plow in Brazil.

Since the available data are already somewhat out of date for much of the country, it is necessary to precede this analysis with a brief reference to attempts to bring about changes. Leading Brazilian thinkers have long

¹³ Enedino Baptista Ribeiro, *São Joaquim* (Florianópolis, 1941), 40-41.

¹⁴ José M. Born, *Biguassú* (Florianópolis, 1941), 31.

recognized the need for improvement in the nation's system of cultural practices. In the Constitutional Assembly of 1823, José Bonifácio advocated the widespread use of the plow as a way of solving the labor shortage in Brazil, pointing out then that a single slave equipped with a plow could do the work of twenty employing only hoes.¹⁵ But the rural folk of Brazil continued in their customary ways, and after a century the problem was much the same and the recommended solution similar when Bulhões Carvalho wrote in 1920: "The substitution of present cultural practices by agricultural implements is an essential improvement in a country such as Brazil, where the scarcity of labor constantly becomes more pressing. Only mechanical agriculture, aided by intelligent methods of cultivation, can transform our farming and place it in condition to satisfy the necessities of the nation."¹⁶

Nowadays one can see that some progress is being made through the efforts of agricultural experiment stations, demonstration fields, agricultural colleges, and, especially the National Ministry of Agriculture. Today in much of São Paulo, rather generally in the three southernmost states, and on the larger fazendas engaged in commercialized production of cotton and sugar throughout Brazil, the plow and other machinery, as well as many of the most modern agricultural practices, find a place. But until the data from the 1950 census are available, it will be impossible to measure the progress made in the last ten years.

For the years 1920 and 1940 detailed data are available relative to the number and distribution of plows in Brazil. In preparing the first edition of this book the author hesitated to use the materials for 1920, which were the latest then available, for the reason that they were much out of date and showed a total of only 141,196 plows in all of Brazil. According to the 1920 census only 15 per cent of Brazil's farms possessed the all important implement of tillage called a plow. Furthermore, more than one half of all the plows in the nation, a total of 73,403, were in the single state of Rio Grande do Sul, a section which had received this and other cultural influences from the Old World as the result of a considerable immigration of Germans and other settlers from northwestern Europe. In only five states—Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais—was as many as one farm out of ten equipped with a plow. Throughout most of the vast territory of the nation the plow was virtually unknown. See Figure 1. To such a great extent were Brazil's cultivators dependent upon fire agriculture, or at best upon hoe culture, for extracting

¹⁵ See quotations from his remarks in "Agricultura," *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920* (Rio de Janeiro, 1927), III, Tomo 3, xv. They have also been reproduced in full in José Bonifácio (Porto Alegre, 1922).

¹⁶ "Agricultura," *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, III, Tomo 3, v.

a living from the soil that there was in 1920 an average of forty-four persons engaged in farming pursuits for every plow in the nation.

By 1940 the number of plows enumerated by the census had risen to 500,853. (There also were 3,380 tractors on the nation's farms at that time.) This was one plow for every 23 persons employed in agricultural activities. Almost one fourth, or 23 per cent, of the nation's farms were equipped with a plow or some other piece of agricultural equipment such as a disk or a roller. For all practical purposes this figure may be treated as though it referred to plows only. In Rio Grande do Sul 80.6 per cent of all the farms possessed these implements of tillage (compared with only 40.8 per cent in 1920), and the increases were also marked in several other states, from 15.6 to 47.5 per cent in São Paulo, 16.7 to 32.3 per cent in Paraná, and from 16.5 to 26.5 per cent in Santa Catarina. Minas Gerais, too, was characterized by a somewhat greater diffusion of the plow during the 20-year period, with the number increasing from 17,513 in 1920 to 49,373 in 1940, or with the percentage of farms with plows mounting from 10.2 to 14.3 during the decade. In addition, the states of Mato Grosso, Rio de Janeiro, Sergipe, and Rio Grande do Norte all moved up into the category of those in which at least one farm in ten was equipped with a plow. See Table I.

BACKGROUNDS

Those interested in social change may like to compare the present situation with that prevailing in the past, for the historical sequence does much to assist in the understanding of existing societal patterns. Fortunately, rather accurate observations are on record to facilitate the comparisons. The best of these were made in the years immediately following the Civil War in the United States, at a time when Brazil was receiving careful consideration as a home for those Southerners who desired to emigrate. The representatives of the groups desiring to resettle themselves sent their agents to Brazil to study the country and to seek out the best sites for locations. The descriptions given by these representatives are among the most detailed of the early reports. For example, in November, 1865, the Reverend Ballard S. Dunn, formerly a New Orleans pastor, traveled through parts of Espírito Santo and Rio de Janeiro in search of lands for himself and his Southern friends. During this journey he visited the sugar estate of Colonel João Gomez near Itapemerim in southern Espírito Santo. Although Dunn usually saw the bright side of the picture, possibly from pecuniary motives, in his report to the Brazilian Minister of Agriculture he wrote: "This planter uses no other implement than the broad hoe. As I walked over these favorably situated lands, the thought kept pressing itself

TABLE I

Distribution of the Plow in 1940, by States*

State	Number of plows	Number of persons engaged in agriculture per plow	Percentage of farms with plows or other implements
Brazil	500,853 [†]	23	22.8
<i>North</i>			
Acre	6	3,930	3.9
Amazonas	36	2,386	0.3
Pará	85	2,671	2.7
<i>Northeast</i>			
Maranhão	71	4,756	0.1
Piauí	132	1,798	2.3
Ceará	725	861	6.6
Rio Grande do Norte	571	401	13.8
Paraíba	496	950	5.5
Pernambuco	3,213	201	3.9
Alagoas	1,007	228	3.3
<i>East</i>			
Sergipe	569	220	11.5
Bahia	1,645	706	2.6
Minas Gerais	49,373	34	14.3
Espírito Santo	708	316	5.4
Rio de Janeiro	8,248	48	12.8
Distrito Federal	245	70	4.0
<i>South</i>			
São Paulo	168,073	10	47.5
Paraná	20,498	11	32.3
Santa Catarina	21,431	14	26.5
Rio Grande do Sul	222,657	4	80.6
<i>West Central</i>			
Mato Grosso	719	105	10.1
Goiás	345	712	0.7

* Source of basic data: *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano X, 1949 (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), 91-97.

[†] Data for states does not include that for the territory in dispute between Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo.

upon me, if they produce *such* cane under *such* a system, what would they yield under all the appliances of improved culture?"¹⁷

Such thoughts also come to the minds of twentieth-century visitors, especially after they become familiar with the Brazilian cultural landscape.

¹⁷ Ballard S. Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners* (New York, 1866), 107.

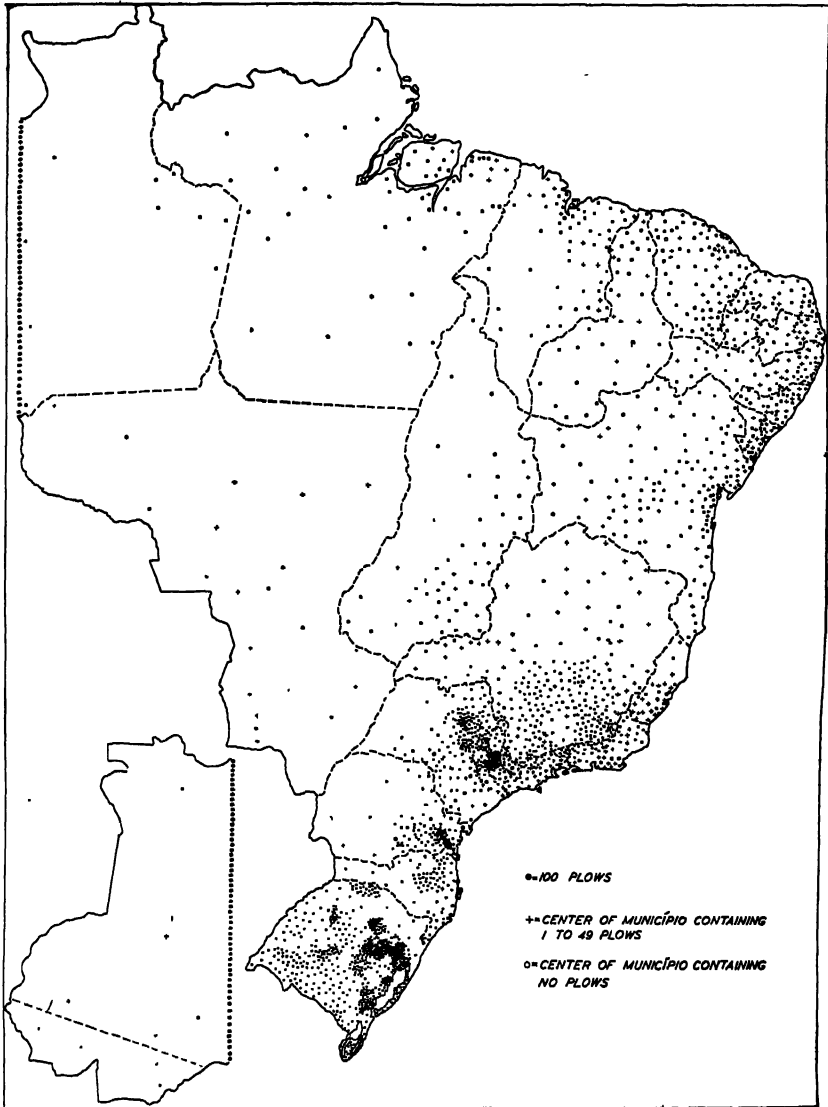


FIGURE 1. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PLOW, 1920

Undoubtedly, similar reflections weighed heavily upon R. M. Davis, M.D., who wrote one of the testimonial letters used by Dunn in his appeal to prospective Southern emigrants.

All the productions of the Southern States may be raised here, in as great abundance, with less labor, than in the Southern States at any former period of their history. Corn may be raised in full as great quantity (per acre), and with less labor, and *were the same mode of cultivation used*, I believe that it would

be greater than any of the Southern corn-growing regions. Rice grows here most luxuriantly in every portion of this Province, and yields abundant harvests, *even under the rude culture which it receives. With proper cultivation and suitable seed*, the crop would surpass any of the Southern States.

Tobacco may be raised profitably in all parts of the Province, to compete favorably with any tobacco-growing country. In fact, I do not believe that this plant could be raised in the United States, *if it received no better cultivation than here.*

I have traveled through different portions of the Province of San Paulo, and have seen all of these crops growing and matured, and have no hesitation in saying, that I do not believe that the United States can compete with this Province in cheapness and quantity, per acre, in any of the articles which I have mentioned, and when our people shall come and settle here, and *use their modes of cultivation*, there is no country that can yield them greater remuneration for their labor.¹⁸

They come out even more strongly when Dunn comments on sugar and cotton, the predilections of the Southerners, in contrast to coffee, the favorite of the Brazilians in Espírito Santo.

The Dr. [Antonio Olinto Pinto Coelho da Cunha] seemed much amused at our fondness for sugar and cotton culture, and remarked: "A short residence in the country will cause you to transfer your affections to the great staple of Brazil." It is his decided opinion, that the culture of coffee is the most remunerative channel into which labor can be turned. In this I would be obliged to agree with him, if the *mode* of culture is to remain the same. That is, the mountain side shall continue to be scraped by no other implement than the broad hoe; while the level plains lie idle, or are only used as grazing grounds for the surplus stock of the plantation. But let these level lands be torn up by the fertilizing plow; let the numerous old logs and stumps that cumber the ground be removed, so that not a stalk nor a plant shall be missing, and these money yielding mountains will soon find competitors, in all that is useful, in the unpretending plains that now lie, unnoticed and uncared for, at their feet.¹⁹

Finally, at the end of his journey and during his visit in Campos, Dunn observed the first plow he had seen in Brazil. "While in Campos, we visited the fine sugar estate of Commendador Julião Ribeiro Castéo, a very public spirited gentleman, one mile from the city. This plantation is finely situated, and the most advanced in the mode of culture that I have seen while on this tour. It was here that we met with the first plow. His sugar house, distillery, &c., are very creditable to the establishment."²⁰ Later in southeastern São Paulo he saw another plow, but his comments

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 73-74. The italics are not in the original.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 113-14.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 128. In 1943, also, the sugar plantations about Campos were distinguished by their modern methods of cultivation.

indicate that he thought it unlikely to make the favorable impression necessary for promoting its use throughout Brazil: "It was here that I saw a great curiosity in the way of a plow. It is very large, very clumsy, and as nearly as I can judge, after the pattern in use in Europe two centuries ago. This plow has a cast plate nailed to the beam, marked, 'Paris.' I should be sorry to have Brazilians judge the utility of plows, by a trial of this one."²¹

It was in the same part of São Paulo that Dunn observed and described in detail the culture of cotton.

I am sorry to be obliged to note almost a fatal mistake in the planting and management of this cotton. In North America it would prove entirely fatal. First of all, the ground is new. Having been cleared, or rather chopped and burnt off, just previous to planting. No plow has yet been used, either in preparing the soil or cultivating the cotton. But the slaves have taken the cotton seed, just as the North American Indians take corn, and after opening a small orifice in the virgin soil, placed the seed carefully in, and then raked a little soil upon it. When the young plants were up, and the weeds began to grow, they went in with broad hoes, and, scraping *from* the plant, cleared away the weeds. Here the culture ended: so that the cotton stands in the middle of a considerable *depression*, instead of upon an elevation of eight or ten inches above the general level, as its health and maturity require.²²

Other Americans, Major Robert Merriwether and Dr. H. A. Shaw, who were looking over these lands at the same time, and whose reports on São Paulo are included in Dunn's book, described the practice of fire agriculture as follows:

The timber is cut down, allowed to lie and dry for two months, commonly, then set on fire. All the timber not consumed by the fire, remains just as the fire left it, till it rots. Then usually with a stick—sharpened at the end, sometimes with a hoe—a hole is made in the ground, the seed, from five to ten grains, put into this hole and covered with the foot, and this is all the cultivation the crops receive.²³

That the Americans were thoroughly convinced of the superiority of their own farming practices is indicated in a quotation from Dr. J. McF. Gaston, of Columbia, South Carolina, who was looking for a home in Brazil in 1865. "The farmer of the United States is needed here to learn the fazendeiro of Brazil the proper use of the plough, and should any considerable number remove to this country, they will effect quite a revolution in agriculture in a few years."²⁴ That they sought to impress upon

²¹ *Ibid.*, 137.

²² *Ibid.*, 138-39.

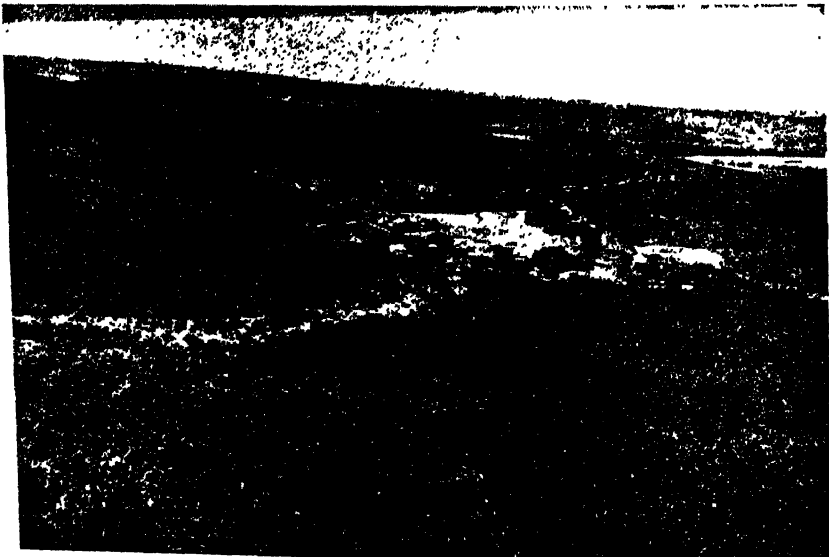
²³ *Ibid.*, 232.

²⁴ J. McF. Gaston, *Hunting a Home in Brazil* (Philadelphia, 1867), 87. Confronted with Brazilian laws forbidding the immigration of Negroes unless they were free born, the Doctor wrote: "The negro from the Southern States could give negroes here a practical illustration in the use of the plow, which would be worth more to Brazil than all the treatises on agriculture which are likely to be written for twenty years. . . ." *Ibid.*, 227.



Courtesy of the Brazilian Government Trade Bureau

COFFEE FAZENDA. *Upper.* OWNER'S HOME. *Lower.* VILLAGE NUCLEUS AND FIELDS



Courtesy of the Pan American Union

the Brazilians the superiority of their methods of agriculture is apparent in one of the reports (that of Frank M. Mullen and William Bowen) submitted to the Minister of Agriculture. "If the state of agriculture among us is at present backward and antiquated, our people are willing and desirous to improve. They say if the improved mode of culture used by the Americans beats theirs, they too will plow their land, and fell their timber with Collins' axes. 'If you prove to us that the valley lands will produce more than the mountain sides, we too will come down and reap the more abundant harvest.'"²⁵ Judging by the state of Brazilian agricultural practices in 1954, the experiment was not conclusive. This makes it seem probable that the Englishman Mawe was overoptimistic as to the ease of making social changes when, nearly a century and a half ago, he wrote of experiences in the year 1809:

Being now within the province of Minas Geraes, (a country famed at Rio de Janeiro for its excellent cheese,) I expected to see some improvement in the condition of the country—some establishment worthy of being called a farm—some dwelling, constructed not merely for shelter, but for comfort. I hoped to remark among the inhabitants that air of health and animation, which springs from the invigorating occupations, and cheering pursuits of husbandry; but no such pleasing change was perceptible; the same want of exertion prevailed here as in other parts of the country: the people seemed to act as if the tenure by which they held their lands was about to be abolished; all around them had the appearance of *make-shift*: their old houses, fast hastening to decay, bore no marks of repair about them: wherever a bit of garden-ground was inclosed, it appeared over-run with weeds; where coffee-trees, planted in former years, still existed, the present occupiers were too indolent to gather the fruit: no inclosures

²⁵ Dunn, *Brazil*, 179. A half century earlier on his estate, Mandiocca, near Rio de Janeiro, the Prussian consul general, Langsdorff, had attempted to introduce the plow. An account of the experiment is given by von Spix and von Martius: "During our stay at Mandiocca, our kind host was visited by his neighbours, who regarded with surprise, and not without jealousy, the rapid progress of his establishment. As the first attempt to turn up, with a European plough, the spots which had been cleared by burning the wood, had failed, through the awkwardness of the negroes and for want of oxen trained to work, this gave them sufficient ground to prove the unfitness of European agriculture on the Brazilian soil. Many had not yet seen a plough; some would not allow the justice of the observation, that the soil gained in fertility by being loosened, and by the chemical influence of the atmosphere, because the virgin forests, the surface of which had been the same for thousands of years, afforded the most fertile land; others doubted whether the oxen, which Mr. Von Langsdorff had procured from Minas, possessed strength to bear, even for a few days, the hard labour of ploughing; some again lamented the loss of time of the negroes that must be employed. In truth the use of the plough in these and the more northern districts which cultivate no corn, and have not yet lost their original fertility, appears less to be recommended than in the capitanias of S. Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul. As the productions of the earth chiefly cultivated here are not sown but planted, and on that account do not require the surface of the ground to be so uniformly prepared, the negro works with the hoe much more effectually and easily than it would be possible for him to do with the plough, the use of which is besides rendered more difficult by the many roots, and the unburnt trunks remaining in the plantations." *Travels in Brazil*, I, 255-56.

were made for pasturage; a few goats supplied the little milk that was consumed; and cow's milk was rarely to be procured. On observing these deplorable consequences of the apathy of the inhabitants, I could not but reflect on the advantages which might accrue, from the introduction of the English system of agriculture among them. The example of a single farm, conducted on that system might go far towards rousing the people from their slothful state; and, when they once felt their faculties awakened, they would be ashamed to lounge about as they now do, under an old great coat, for days together, burthens to themselves, and objects of contempt to all strangers who see them.²⁶

Much more detailed information concerning Brazil's system of agriculture during our Civil War decade is contained in the following extract from the official report which Dr. Gaston made to the Minister of Agriculture.

The culture of the land in all parts visited is performed with the hoe exclusively, and though improvements of various kinds are observed in the mechanical department, there seems to be very little disposition to resort to the plow as a more thorough and efficient process of cultivation.

Though a good yield is secured without it, we may calculate that it would be increased at least one half more by the proper use of this important implement of the planter in the United States. Throughout this wealthy province I saw but three persons who used the plow at all and it was limited in their cases to a very narrow sphere, being employed simply to prepare the ground for planting and not used subsequently for the treatment of the growing plant. Could anything I may say induce the adoption of plow-culture for the cotton that is now engaging so much of the attention of planters of this Province, it would serve to enhance greatly the value of this crop, and at the same time lessen the actual amount of labor by those working the lands.

Where the ground is laid out in right lines by the plow, preparatory to planting, it simplifies very much the labor of planting, and the ground being deeply and thoroughly loosened up, gives the young plant a better prospect for taking root in the earth.

I observe but few persons who realize the importance of stirring the soil as a means of promoting the growth of what may be planted, and in most instances cotton and corn are allowed to grow in close juxtaposition as materially to interfere with the supply of nutriment from the soil, and the action of the atmosphere as an invigorating agent.²⁷

²⁶ Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 159-60. The same writer described the fire agriculture practiced then and now throughout much of this immense state in the following words: "The prevailing method of clearing, and cultivating the land here, is precisely similar to that practiced in the neighborhood of St. Paul's. After the timber and underwood have been cut down and burnt, (often very imperfectly), the woman negroes dibble the seed; in about six weeks a slight weeding is performed, and then the ground is let alone till harvest. The seedtime begins in October, and lasts to November; the maize is ripe in four or five months. The next year they commonly sow beans on the corn land, which they then let lie, and proceed to clear new ground. It is not common to molest the land from which they have had two crops in succession, before eight or ten years have elapsed." *Ibid.*, 141.

²⁷ Dunn, *Brazil*, 187-89. (Gaston does not include the report in his own volume.) J. J. Aubertin, Superintendent of the São Paulo Railway Company, who accompanied

The state of Brazilian agricultural practices in 1866 is brought out also by this warning to the Americans immigrating to Brazil:

The Government allows all immigrants to introduce, for their own use, free of duty, all articles of prime necessity, such as tools of all kinds, wagons, gear, machinery, furniture, &c. This should not be forgotten by the emigrant, for in the interior you will find only the hoe, ax, billhook, and bullock cart, and they, except the hoe, of the rudest manufacture. Plows can be had only in the larger towns, and none have been seen by us that are suitable for the ordinary cultivation of the products of this country.²⁸

John Codman, an American steamship captain, who in 1866 carried many of the emigrating Southerners from Rio de Janeiro to Cananéia, on the coast of São Paulo, and back, prophesied that their presence would affect the country.

A number of American immigrants have settled in Campinas, where they have already commenced the cultivation of cotton. More have gone farther south, upon the Iguape and Ribeira Rivers, having there, as a company, purchased a large tract of land, which they intend to plant with sugar-cane. Be these immigrants few or many, their presence will have some influence in developing the resources of the country. They will introduce machinery, and will bring their experience, which is a mighty power as opposed to the old, inherited customs of this slowest of slow nations.²⁹

But the considered opinion of John Luccock, an Englishman who knew the country well, was that all attempts to introduce the "English plough" were unavailing. ". . . I have held it myself, and learned from my own brief experience, how utterly impossible it is to teach a black man to manage it; and the Brazilians are almost as dull, and fully as much prejudiced. Should Providence again open to me an opportunity of superintending rural affairs in this country, I would certainly commence with boys."³⁰

Gaston, Shaw, and Merriwether through parts of São Paulo, wrote the Baron of Piracicaba: "Your Excellency knows that in all the Province perhaps not a score of men ever saw the plough." J. J. Aubertin, *Eleven Days' Journey in the Province of São Paulo* (London, 1868), 6.

²⁸ Dunn, *Brazil*, 239.

²⁹ John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), 131.

³⁰ John Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the Southern Parts of Brazil* (London, 1820), 297.

CHAPTER IV

LEAVES FROM MY DIARY

SUGAR USINAS AT PIRACICABA, SÃO PAULO

IT WAS during a visit to the interesting little city of Piracicaba in the state of São Paulo in April, 1942, that I gained my first impressions of Brazil, other than those gained in the larger cities, and on the flight from Belém to Rio de Janeiro. Piracicaba is the seat of the município of the same name, one of the most diversified, and prosperous, farming areas in Brazil. It lies on the Paulista Railroad about 115 miles northwest of the city of São Paulo. Naturally, some little time was required for becoming oriented in the Brazilian cultural landscape, and for developing techniques for obtaining information about it. However, the following notes were made after the first day's observations of the wattle-and-daub (*caboclo*) houses, a trait complex later discovered to be one of the most widely diffused features of the Brazilian cultural landscape.

"April 7, 1942. I left Rio on the 'Litorina' at 12:00 noon en route to São Paulo. The day was extremely warm, but clear. I had a good view of orange groves and hillside farming on the outskirts of Rio. As we climbed into the *serras*, I observed that the houses of the area were very distinctive. Elements: walls of crossed sticks and mud; roofs of straw or tile; and, sometimes, plaster inside and out. The crudest type is probably that having unplastered walls, with a straw roof; the next in the scale has unplastered walls and a crude tile roof, although some that are plastered have only a straw covering. The best type is plastered both inside and out, and has a tile roof. Small farming plots are dotted about in the mountains.

"Near Rezende we saw the beginnings of the steel mills. Temporary wooden houses have been erected for the workers. As we proceeded up the Paraíba Valley into São Paulo, the land apparently got better. This is an old coffee section, now going into other types of cultivation, including considerable dairying."¹

¹ On later trips I was able to observe all the processes of fire agriculture, skulls of cattle placed on poles amid the plantings, poles of St. John, and many other material traits of the *caboclo*'s culture. On this first trip all of these, if seen at all, were meaningless.

After several days spent in São Paulo's capital, a short visit was made to Piracicaba, site of one of Brazil's leading agricultural colleges. While there it was possible to visit several sugar *usinas* and some small farms. The following notes were made on the occasion of the visit to one of the *usinas*.

"April 10, 1942. Monte Alegre is one of two *usinas* owned by a 'Companhia Brasileira de Usinas Açucareiras' or by the Morganti brothers. It includes some 2,500 *alqueires* of the best *terra-roxa* in the region. The mill grinds about 150,000 tons of cane annually, carrying it through all stages. Seventy kilometers of railroad are on the properties; power is furnished by 10 small engines, all of which were constructed on the place. The machine shops also cast all of the machinery for the mill, even the vacuum kettles. In addition to the sugar, alcohol is produced, varying from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 liters per year; the more profitable the sugar the less the amount of alcohol produced. With the prospects for increased sugar demand brought on by the war and the probability of no restrictions on production, the milling facilities are being greatly expanded. The rush is now to complete the work before the grinding season, due to start in two weeks, or about the twenty-fifth of April.

"Some 5,800 persons, men, women, and children, live on the *fazenda*. In the production of cane the *usina* furnishes the land to the workers, called *colonos*. The *colonos* receive their pay as a share of the crop, with the price paid for cane varying according to its sugar content. Each family is supplied quarters for living, consisting of about three rooms, in houses of brick and tile. The new houses are of good construction, and the old ones are rapidly being replaced. The *usina* has a meat market, macaroni factory, and general store, which sell at wholesale prices to the workers. Medical attention is available, and a hospital and a school also are present in the workers' village—all of these supplied by the *usina*. An athletic plant with football field, lake for swimming, and other facilities is located on the grounds, each worker contributing a small amount of his wages for its upkeep. At the time of our visit the team was practicing in uniform; it now occupies second place in the local standings, being paced only by the team from the agricultural college. A recent addition is the church, a duplicate of the chapel in the Italian community in which the founder of the *usina* (deceased seven months) was born. A son now operates the *usina*. According to his reports, the establishment of the chapel has reduced the mobility of the *operários* (skilled workers) by 40 per cent.

"Each family is given space for a garden and pasture for its mules, and is allowed to plant some food crops among the cane and to keep chickens.

"The layout of the usina is of the village type. The owner's home stands near the summit of the hill facing nearly due west. It overlooks the mill at a distance of some 150 yards and is flanked on the left by a guest house and houses for managerial employees and technicians; about 300 yards to the left stands the church, with houses for workers beyond. On the right are more workers' homes, the school, and still more distant, beyond the draw and lake, are the football field, stables, and more homes for workers. The new hospital under construction is to the right front of the mansion. The mansion itself faces upon a spacious garden. It has a wide veranda on the front and north, with an arbor on the south extending almost to the guest house. In the garden on the north is a fine tiled swimming pool, with a corner especially prepared for the children.

"At present the park extending from the owner's home to the mill and including the church is under construction. This, along with the cemetery, is family property, and does not go with the usina.

"The usina is some eight or ten kilometers from Piracicaba, with a free-transportation bus running to it three times a day. Carts drawn by mules are owned by many families."

Another day we went to see the *sítio*, or small farm, whose owner lived in Piracicaba. This farm contains 55 alqueires and lies about five kilometers from the city on the road to Limeira. On this occasion the following notes were made:

"April 11, 1942. We drove out to the farm, which consists of orange and avocado groves for the most part. Ordinarily Senhor ——— employs fifteen families, but at the present time he has only seven. The severe economic difficulties with oranges had led him to shift to sericulture. His camaradas are now planting mulberry bushes and are to work from March to September in these. This is an attempt to save the farm.

"Sr. ——— has eleven children, two of whom are now studying at the *escola*. The families are now working on *meiação* or halves. The owner furnishes land, seed, power, and a house in which to live. He takes one half of the crop. Each family is allowed three alqueires for food crops and cotton, except those with small families, who get only two alqueires.

"Sr. ——— was offered 10,000\$ (\$500) per alqueire by the usina for his land, but has not sold. He has sold two alqueires off the northeast corner to a *sitante*, who is living on it with his family. We observed two members of this family working in the field; the wife, aged about fifty, another very old lady, and two children were at the house. The boy, about eight, opened the gate, and was given 400 *reis*.

"Sr. ——— has developed several new varieties of oranges including one based on the *babiana* called '*Babianinha Piracicaba*.'

"In the afternoon we went to see the usina Piracicaba, located across the river. It is owned by a French company and has been in operation for about 45 years. The property includes some 3,000 hectares of which 1,600 are cultivated. The usina grows approximately two thirds of the cane it grinds, the other one third coming from colonos and *fornecedores*. Or, in other words, of 120,000 tons of cane ground (making in sugar 180,000 sacks of 60 kilos), 80,000 are produced by wage hands, 20,000 by colonos, and 20,000 are supplied by *fornecedores*. It was reported that the governmental program has made it more difficult to use the colono system.

"On the usina are a total of about 2,000 persons aged fifteen and over. Among these are the members of about fifty families of colonos. Workers on the place receive a house to live in, space for food crops (including considerable corn), and pasture. They receive medical attention and hospitalization. The school is on the usina, in a substantially constructed and well-equipped building."

A third day was spent on a *chácara* (small farm) near the city, along the road leading from Piracicaba to Santa Barbara.

"I had breakfast by eight and met Sr. ——— who came to show me his *chácara*, which lies on the river at a distance of about eight kilometers from the center of town. He has thirty hectares, rather sandy soil, on the river. It is worked by a camarada who lives in a small house on the place. The owner's house is unoccupied. This *chácara* adjoins Santa Terezinha, a small collection of houses of agricultural laborers who work on fazendas or usinas. Sr. ——— grows mostly oranges, but has some pasture and six milk cows. We also visited the place of his father-in-law who has 120 hectares and 20 milk cows.

"After returning to Piracicaba we drove out on the Santa Barbara road. About 12 kilometers out we came to a group of *sítios* called Baquem, from the name of the owner of a near-by fazenda. All of these *sitiantes* are diversified farmers producing rice, cotton, and potatoes, and also *fornecedores* of cane. The children from these *sítios* are carried on the railroad to Tupí, up the road three kilometers, to school. Each Saturday night, it is said, the *sitiantes* go to Piracicaba for business and the movies, returning about five o'clock Sunday afternoon. The women rarely go to Piracicaba, and then only for the *festas* and religious assemblies. Children also rarely go to town.

"Soon after we came to Tupí, a small hamlet containing some 50 houses, a school, church, railway station, and about three stores. The families are mostly agricultural laborers, and work for the most part on a near-by government fazenda.

"Passing on, still in the rather poor and cut-up land inhabited by *sitiantes*, we came to Caiuby, a very small hamlet consisting of twelve to fifteen houses, a school, and two stores. There is no church here. Soon, along the roadside I saw a small (4 feet square by about 6 feet high) shrine. My driver said these are erected along the road at the scene of a killing or other grave crime. Formerly it was the custom to bury the victim on the spot, but now this custom is passing away and the body is taken to the city for interment.²

"Some five to eight kilometers from Caiuby we came to the *usina* Santa Barbara, and shortly thereafter to the town, a center of the surrounding territory and the seat of several textile mills, including some for spinning silk.

"From Santa Barbara we drove out to the farm of Mr. Henry O. McKnight, which lies about a mile out of town. McKnight's father was one of the North Americans who settled here following the Civil War. He was born near here, and has been on this place eighteen years. He has six children, all of whom have been sent to school and have left the farm, except the youngest, a boy of about twelve. McKnight has 65 *alqueires* of land and grows cotton and considerable livestock."

A SOUNDING IN MINAS GERAIS

My next trip into the interior was a journey into the southern part of Minas Gerais. On passing over the mountain range and entering for the first time into Minas Gerais from São Paulo, the following notes were made:

"In addition to cattle, beans, rice, and corn, some tobacco is grown. It seems to be planted following the corn and is now (April 23) anywhere from a few inches to two feet high. Agriculture here is of the hoe type. I see no plows or other cultivating equipment—nothing except the hoe.³ On the São Paulo side of the divide, hillside farming is plentiful and continues to be so on the lesser slopes found on the Mineiro side."

A stop for several days at the small city of Lavras, and the opportunity to talk with and question at length some well-informed Brazilians, aided greatly in securing basic facts about the section. Some of the information gained in this manner is summarized in the following paragraphs:

² Hardly any reference to this trait is found in the literature on Brazil. However, one of the most observant of the writers said: "In the course of this day we saw four or five large and rudely constructed crosses erected by the roadside, pointing out the situations upon which murder had been committed." Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil* (London, 1816), 47.

³ At that time I was not familiar with the farming system which I later described as *fire agriculture*.



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A BRAZILIAN TYPE: THE GAÚCHO OF RIO GRANDE DO SUL

"In and around the município of Lavras, the laboring classes are almost entirely of mixed blood, with the Indian element being very prominent. Caboclo, more scientifically meaning a mixture of white and Indian, here means 'white' or 'whitish.' The Negroid elements are not of great importance in the population of this section and the term *creoulo* is used almost synonymously with Negro. But caboclo, mulatto, and creoulo all are on the same social level. Inheritance of property equally among all the heirs, coupled with a high birth rate and relatively little migration from the farms, has brought about in parts of the município of Lavras an excessive subdivision of lands. Already the term fazenda is applied to any holding of 150 acres or more, *fazendola* being used for the largest estates, and *sítio* for places of less than 150 acres, except those of five acres or less near the city which are called *chácaras*. The net result of the excessive division of land is that many farms are now too small to provide a living for their owners (under the agricultural practices in use), who are forced to hire out on the neighboring fazendas to supplement the incomes from their own farms.

"A variety of terms is used to designate the groups in the laboring or lower classes of the population in this area. Probably at the very bottom of the scale are the *ribeirinhos* who *não têm dono* (have no master) and live in hovels along the streams. Mandioca and fish are almost their only foods; the scourge of malaria contributes greatly to their misery. The worker who does not reside on the fazenda is called *camarada*, in distinction to the *agregado* who resides on the place. A man and his family may contract to do a specific job, such as mowing a pasture or hoeing a field. In this case he is called an *empreiteiro*. A *parceiro*, similar to our share cropper, works on a given tract of land under the supervision of the farm operator for one half of the crop.

"Health and education are thought by leading men to be the two big problems of the area. Various 'quack doctors' and herb doctors (*curandeiros*) are resorted to by the members of the lower classes, and even by some of the upper classes. In this area, toilets or privies are almost entirely lacking, as rather generally is true elsewhere throughout rural Brazil.⁴

"Among the laboring classes in this region, the meals taken and foods consumed at each are about as follows: *café* (coffee) is taken about 6:00 A. M., and consists of coffee, *bolo de milho* (a bread or cake made of corn meal), *angú* (a corn-meal mush), and *farinha de milho* or *de mandi-*

⁴ Even in the rural zone of the Federal District, a recent study showed that only 10 per cent of the families made use of these primary sanitary needs. Cf. Edgar Gonçalves da Rocha, "Aspecto Médico-Social da Zona Rural do Distrito Federal," *O Hospital*, XIX, No. 1 (January 1941), 128.

oca (corn or mandioca flour). At 9:00 A. M. comes breakfast (*almôço*), consisting of beans prepared with lard, mandioca flour, and sweet potatoes. Sometimes dried beef (*charque*) and rice, and also squash and similar vegetables, are eaten at this time. During the last year or so, however, rice is rarely eaten because of its comparatively high price. At 1:00 P. M. more coffee is drunk, this time in the field whence it has been carried. About 5:00 P. M., the final meal of the day, *jantar*, is eaten, consisting of the same foods as the *almôço*. Formerly, when times were better, there was another meal, *ceia* (supper), served around eight or nine o'clock in the evening. Nowadays, this meal rarely is enjoyed by the rural workers. Only on special occasions, such as *festas* (holidays or feast days) or at the periodic family reunions, a chicken may be killed, a pig butchered, or a piece of fresh pork secured in another manner, and the entire group makes a festive occasion of the *ceia*.

"At the better hotels throughout this area, the traveler will be served foods that are typical of those eaten by the upper classes of the region. Usually the menu, all of which is served to everyone and, except for the soup and the dessert, all at the same time, is about as follows: soup, rice, beans, spaghetti, roast beef; and for dessert, *goiabada* (guava paste) and cheese, followed by the inevitable *cafezinho*. The latter is a demitasse of strong coffee, poured into a small cup that previously has been filled from one third to one half with sugar. At a typical town in Minas Gerais, seat of a município to the north of Lavras, an *almôço* consisted of cold meats, followed by *canja* (a chicken broth with rice), and then rice, beans, roast lamb, sweet potatoes, steak, and a fried egg. For dessert came oranges and *mamão* (papaya) and also *goiabada* and cheese; and then came coffee. All of this cost 5\$000 (twenty-five cents)."

After visiting Lavras the journey to Belo Horizonte was made by *jardineira* (a "pick-up" or truck equipped with seats for passengers and widely used throughout Brazil's interior—not a bus), a mode of travel that offered opportunity for learning more about social relationships in the state of Minas Gerais. Notes for April 26, 1942, include the following:

"I was awakened about 5:30 by the strains of Ave Maria ringing out in the clear, quiet daybreak, coming from a record being played in the belfry of the church." This number was followed by others, audible throughout the city. This record playing is one of the important devices in the religion.

"After breakfast I caught the *jardineira* for Oliveira at 7:00 A. M. The fare amounted to 20\$000. Two Brazilians I had met previously were among the capacity load (fourteen) that set out. They were on their way to visit friends some 28 kilometers down the road (or tracks) and planned

to return with the same driver as he came back from Oliveira late in the afternoon. Everything was extremely informal. Passengers got off saying that they would pay on the way back, or next week. In addition to driving the pick-up (a Ford), the driver carried out a newspaper to this family or that, a watch to someone living in the small *povoado* of Guarita some 35 kilometers from Lavras, and letters and notes to leave at the fazendas along the way. He picked up packages at some places and deposited them at others. In front of each house is a large box (2 x 3½ x 2 feet) that the fazendeiro has placed on the road for such use.

"The ride was unusually interesting as we drove along through the fazendas with small fields of old coffee trees, corn fields now dry, and mandioca as high as the corn. The fazendas are comparatively small and mostly given over to cattle; in addition to the big house there are at the seat of each fazenda from three to twelve homes for the workers, at some distance from the house, sheds, and corrals. Some *sítios* are interspersed among the fazendas.

"At each of the inhabited places there are crosses, many of which have all the symbolic decorations such as the cock, the hammer and nails, the spear, the ladder, and the black cloth draped over the main crosspiece to form the letter M (*morte*, or death).⁵ The crosses, the church that overshadows all other buildings in every hamlet, and the numerous little shrines along the way serve as reminders of religion and its role in human affairs.

"Every few miles along the streams is a small ditch carrying water to a little water-driven gristmill. Ground corn (*farinha de milho*), the staff of life of the people in this part of Brazil, is prepared in these small mills by grinding between two circular stones. The people may be seen on foot and on horseback carrying their small sacks of corn or of meal, the contents of the sack depending on whether they are coming from or going to the mill. The miller gives a sack of meal for a sack of corn, keeping the increase in payment for his services in doing the grinding.

"In addition to corn, the people eat mostly beans and rice. Because of the price, only those who have suitable land may now have rice. The hulls are removed from the rice either by the *monjolo* or by the *pilão*, mortar and wooden pestle. Both are water-driven.

"The people my friends were going to visit are the third generation of a numerous clan residing in this locality. Together they constitute an

⁵ It was in Juiz de Fora that Burton wrote: "Here we see for the first time the tall black cross of Minas, introduced probably by the Italian missionaries, and recalling to mind Norman France; it is garnished with all the instruments of the passion—ladder, spear, sponge, crown of thorns, hammer, nails, pincers, and a peculiarly wooden cock." *The Highlands of the Brazil*, I, 51.

excellent example of a closely knit neighborhood. Their grandfather owned an immense tract here northeast of Lavras. He had a large family, and each of these children in turn has had a large family. They have all remained in the locality and they all inherited equally. This process greatly reduced the average size of the holdings, but, at that, every family still has a considerable acreage, enough so that it continues in the class of fazendeiros.

"At São Antonio we stopped for oil, to leave mail, and to let off some passengers and take on others. By this time we had lost all but two of our original passengers. However, most of them would return to Lavras in the evening after spending a day with friends in the country. But in one case the passenger was a husband returning home after being at least overnight in Lavras. This tendency of the men to spend week ends in town seems less prevalent here than in parts of São Paulo. As we went along we gathered in new passengers, persons for each small place, and distributed others who were on their return from town. Women and children, as well as men, were going to and from the towns. Not infrequently a couple with four or five children were among the passengers.

"Our next stop was Oliveira, where we arrived about 10:00 A. M. Here I first bought a ticket on to Belo Horizonte (26\$000) and then went over to Hotel Central for almôço. The proprietor, a Pole, was inclined to be talkative, but then few travelers pass through here.

"After lunch I took the jardineira for Belo Horizonte. In front with me and the driver was a young Russian who has been in Brazil sixteen years. I finally secured his help in keeping tab on what we were seeing instead of discussing international affairs. We passed through Japão where, the driver replied in answer to a question, there is 'not a single Jap,' and where we stopped for coffee. Here we were beset by beggars who flocked around the bus. At the next stop, a *vila* by the name of Itaquara, I saw one of the most disgusting I have ever seen. Greasy, in tatters, and gnawing away on a hard wad of corn mush, he was a frightful sight.

"Some ten or fifteen kilometers from Itaquara, and probably about the same from the next center, São Silveira, was observed an example of another type of neighborhood. Nestled in a cozy little valley here are some fifteen or twenty houses, probably homes of sitiantes because they are mostly fairly good (only three or four were *casebres*) and well surrounded by plantings. On a little table land some fifteen persons were participating in a football practice.

"At another very small place I inquired the name of the *povoação*, to learn that it is Aroça and that it is too small to be a povoação and is, therefore, only a povoado.



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SADDLE OXEN, USED IN THE PANTANAL OF MATO GROSSO

"At Brumadinho, the next povoação after Bomfim, there was another *futebol* game going on. This village is on the railroad.

"All of the small places were filled with men, women, and children who had come in from the country on horseback. In the centers and along the roads could be seen numerous families on horseback, usually with the father carrying a child of one or two years, and the mother an infant. (The women ride with side saddles.) The larger children managed their own mounts. It was also possible to tell when one was getting within four or five kilometers of a little population center by the appearance of a well-beaten footpath at the side of the road. In this part of Minas Gerais this seems to be an even better indicator of community attachments, at least near the villages and towns, than is Galpin's device of using the buggy (here cart and horse) tracks, although this also is useful and indicative.

"There is evidence of much Indian blood in the population of these places. The countenances that peer at one from the windows in some of the small towns, such as Bomfim, have more than a trace of Mongoloid features."

THE CAMPOS OF GOIÁS AND MINAS GERAIS

Some time later, when returning from the eighth Brazilian Congress of Education in Goiânia, I had an opportunity to pass through some of the vast open spaces of Goiás and Minas Gerais. These sections are given over mostly to cattle growing. Notes made on this occasion include the following:

"We left Goiânia early, or rather we got up to leave, for it was eight o'clock before we got away, in a *jardineira* for Araguari. The old car was in bad shape and needed constant coaxing in order to keep it moving. Our route back was a little to the west of the railroad, passing through Hidrolândia, Fazenda Felicidade, Pouso Alto, Caldas Novas, and Corumbahyba.

"The country is vast and little populated. The widely separated houses are located along the streams and as yet they show little relationship to the road. It is the dry season, and the seat of each *fazenda* stands out as a little green island—mangoes, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, palm trees, and other plantings growing luxuriously in the *horta* adjoining the house. Corrals for cattle also usually adjoin the house, the walls forming one side of the enclosure or corral.

"At Fazenda Felicidade two truck loads of gypsies were observed in the process of breaking camp. We lunched at Pouso Alto at the Hotel dos Viajantes, where rice, beans, chicken, beef, and mutton were, in the usual manner, all placed on the table at once. Also as usual everyone reached

and helped himself with a minimum of passing. None of my companions took beer.

"In the seat beside me in the *jardineira* was a young teacher of Portuguese and sociology from a *liceu* in Goiás, who was going for a few days to São Paulo and Rio. In conversation he indicated that he would like to know my views on *latifundia*. He clearly expressed the Brazilian thought that unused lands are the principal element in this concept. He asked about farming in the United States. Our system of family farms he thought of as 'agrarian socialism'!

"At *Caldas Novas*, where we stopped while our driver went to see the *prefeito* about some law infraction he had committed on a previous trip, we walked over to the hotel for coffee. This, along with cheese and oranges for those who wanted them, was forthcoming. Although this is a hotel, the proprietor would accept no pay. Here in the patio of the hotel I saw a small girl parching coffee in the old-fashioned way. A large, round 'corn popper' is filled with the beans and then held over hot coals and shaken, much in the same manner as that in which corn is popped.

"We crossed the *Paranaíba* into *Minas Gerais* just after sundown, first stopping in a small thatched hut near the bridge for coffee. Soon we were stopped again, for the car had a dirty gas line. The boys tested the gas line by blowing into the opening of the tank with their mouths until gas poured out of the end of the line. They also used this method for filling the carburetor when they ran out of gas. This impressed me as a distinct improvement over the practice of using a few feet of rubber hose, that was customary in the community of my boyhood days.

"While we were going up a long hill the car stopped again, but after it was given a little 'doctoring' we made it up to the top.

"As we drove along in the night, we could see large campfires burning near the poles with the saints' pictures⁶ in each of the farmyards. About the fire was assembled the entire family and all its retainers. This lighting

⁶ Hardly any of the visitors to Brazil have had anything to say about these, but Dr. Gaston mentioned them: "I observe here, as elsewhere, that there is a long, slim pole erected in the front yard, with an emblem of some saint on a piece of cloth in a frame, attached to the top of the pole. They are called saint-poles, and the figure is changed in commemoration of each particular saint's day." *Hunting a Home in Brazil*, 122.

Burton, much more observant than most travelers, wrote: "The next stage showed us to 'Retiro,' a bunch of huts tenanted by negroes, who had hoisted a black saint upon the 'Tree of St. John.'" *The Highlands of the Brazil*, I, 60. Later he reviewed at length the history of St. John's eve, the oldest "holy day" in the civilized world, and then added details about the celebration of the occasion in Brazil: "People meet at the church towns from every direction; each place has its bonfire, bands promenade, and people sit up all night and gleefully renew the 'Tree of St. John.'" Then he continued: "The 'mastro de S. Joao' is a tall, thin tree-trunk, sometimes left growing and merely trimmed; more often it is felled, stripped, and replanted. This is generally done a week or so be-

of fires on St. John's day is widespread throughout Brazil. It was late—too late for supper—when we reached Araguari.

"I was up at 5:00 A. M. to catch the *jardineira* for Monte Carmelo. It was a good one (new Ford) and left on time. Estrella do Sul, located in a rather large valley, seems to be the small town of colonial days almost untouched by those modern introductions that are called 'progress.' Near every church or chapel is the large cross with all the symbols. The houses are of the best old colonial style, built with cedar corner posts and sleepers, old-fashioned tile roofs, plastered over bricks, adobes, upright poles, or *pau-a-pique*. This would be an interesting place to study. The river which passes through the town is a red flow of mud because of the activities of the *garimpeiros*, or diamond seekers.

"At Monte Carmelo I had almôco at a *pensão* near the station and then bought a railroad ticket for Lavras. The ride was extremely dusty—the dry season is on in full force.

"All through this part of Minas undoubtedly the major part of the agricultural population lives in villages or towns. This was observed all afternoon, also. When I inquired about the names of some of the stops (unindicated on the time table, but at places where there were from one to two hundred houses), my fellow travelers answered that they were *fazendas*.

"At Catiara we stopped to load a ton or so of 'dalha' butter that was packed in tins holding about three gallons each. This butter is produced from milk of cattle in which the zebu or Brahma strain is predominant. These cattle give only a few pints of milk per day.

"One fellow passenger, who also was along yesterday on the *jardineira* from Goiás, outlined for me the function of the small town as follows: (1) In this part of Minas Gerais it is a political center—government employees are most numerous in the population; (2) it is a center of trade; and (3) it serves as a location for the homes of the *fazendeiros*. However, he said that in general *fazendeiros* and their employees live on the land in the region, probably in village-like clusters such as those at which we have been stopping.

"All through here the land looks too poor for anything except cattle growing. The *fazendas* are large and the population is sparse."

SÃO PAULO: A COFFEE FAZENDA

One does not see all the sharp contrasts in the Brazilian cultural

fore the festival. Attached to the top is a vane about two feet square, of light framework filled with calico, upon which is painted a figure of the Saint, and amongst negroes he is often black. This 'mast' reminds the English traveler of our 'shaft' or Maypole." *Ibid.*, 148.

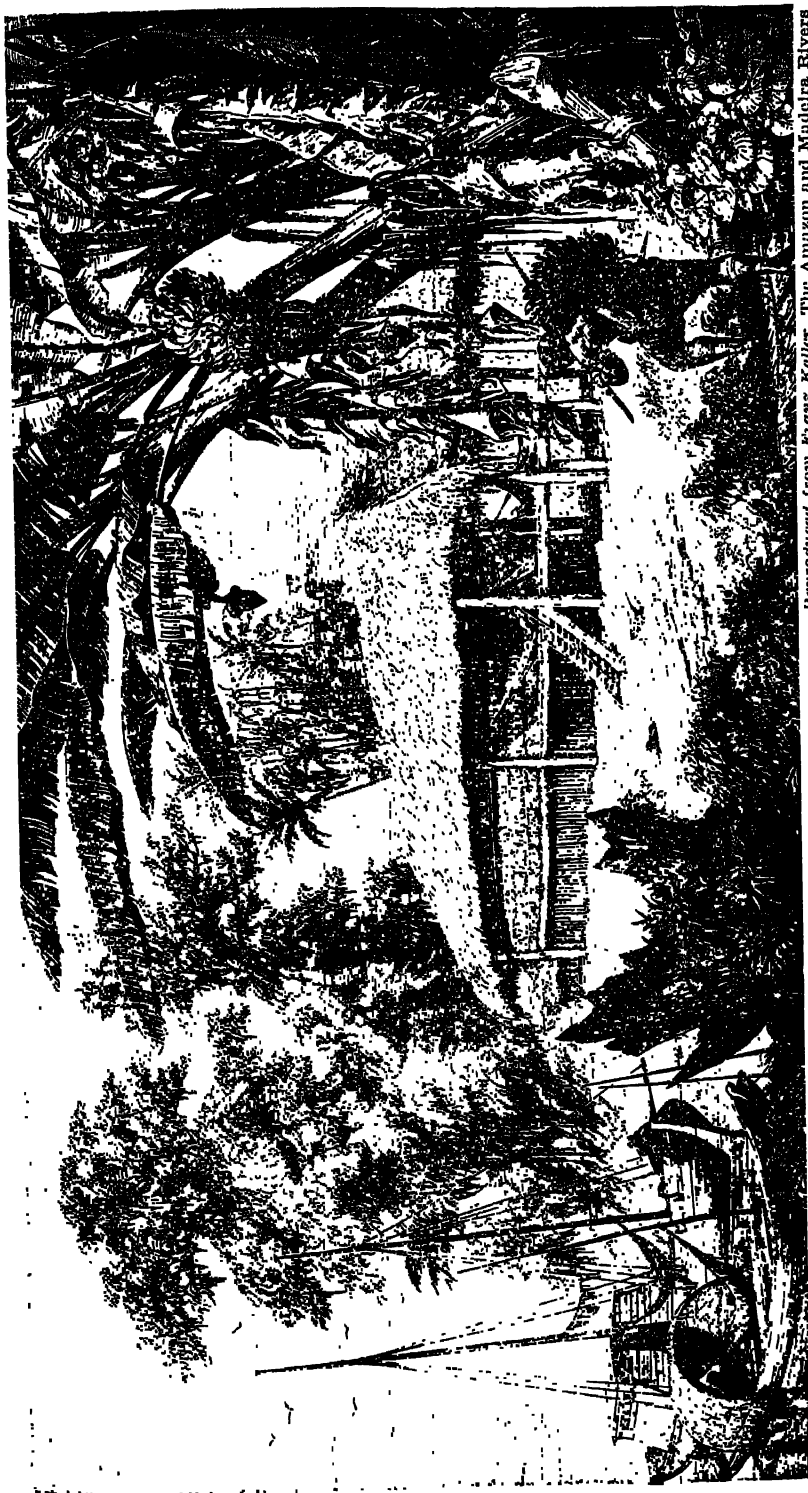
horizon unless he looks closely at some of the larger, better managed fazendas. The following observations abstracted from my field notes bring out some of the essential features of a coffee fazenda.

"This estate is decidedly above the average since it is operated by one of the most progressive of Brazil's fazendeiros. The fazenda is located near Riberão Preto, and is owned and operated by a young Brazilian of mixed English and German descent, who has had considerable training in technical agriculture. It consists of a total of 1,800 hectares of which 400 are in coffee, growing some 360,000 trees. (Before the estate, of which this fazenda is a part, was divided, it contained 8,000,000 trees.) The oldest trees on the place are 36 years of age and the youngest were set out this year as replacements. Formerly there were 500,000 trees on this fazenda of Dr. ———. Each alqueire grows 2,000 trees. In addition to the coffee plantings, forest occupies 800 hectares, and pasture 800 hectares. The remaining 300 hectares are devoted to corn, beans, rice (115 hectares), and castor beans (40 hectares).

"One thousand cattle are kept on the place. They are of the national or *caracú* type and are kept chiefly for the production of fertilizer. Each night they are bedded under sheds on a thick bedding of straw or grass. In the course of a year enough fertilizer is produced to care for 150,000 coffee trees, allowing 70 tons of fertilizer per alqueire. Thus it takes two and one-half years to fertilize the entire fazenda, or to give all of the coffee groves one fertilization. In order to have always on hand for the cattle plenty of green stuffs, a variety of cane (*Taquara*) is planted; the best of the pastures are sown in molasses grass or *capim gordura*.

"Approximately 100 families containing 800 members live on the fazenda. All are Brazilian citizens of Italian, Spanish, and Brazilian descent. When the present owner inherited the property some four years before the time of my visit, there were a few families of Japanese on the property. These were let out for the following reasons: (1) They did not desire to stay, merely wanting to remain long enough to learn the business when they would leave to buy land in a Japanese community. (2) They would not take orders. They would claim that they did not understand and would run to the Japanese consul with their stories. (3) They were dirty and unsanitary and were the means of introducing a great deal of disease onto the fazenda.

"Except for the dismissal of these Japanese there has been very little migration to or from the fazenda in recent years. Most of the colonos on the place have been there for a long time, some of them for as long as forty years. The driver who gave me much information about the place



Reproduced from Frans Keller, The Amazon and Madeira Rivers

HOME OF A WELL-TO-DO RUBBER COLLECTOR ON THE LOWER MADEIRA

has been there for sixteen years, as had his father, who was in charge of the work oxen. These people, the chauffeur and his father, are mulattoes.

"The homes of the workers, the *colonia*, extend for nearly a mile along one side of the valley, and there are also about a dozen cabins on the hillside opposite the owner's dwelling. A railroad station, a commissary (*armazém*), the fazenda offices, and the *matadouro* (local slaughterhouse) are grouped across the valley from the owner's home, while close by the residence are the mill and the drying floors.

"On this fazenda each family has a three-room dwelling, constructed of masonry, having tiled roof and floor, painted white. A water system for the fazenda supplies each house with running water from a huge spring, or 'eye of water' that is found near the owner's house. Electric lights are furnished to the families at a cost of 2\$500 (twelve and one-half cents) per light per month.

"On this fazenda each family receives 350\$000 in return for caring for 1,000 trees throughout the year. A man and his wife working alone can care for 4,000; if there are three workers in the family it is allotted 6,000 and so on at the rate of 2,000 trees per worker. At present one family on the fazenda is taking care of 20,000 trees, which means that it contains the equivalent of ten able-bodied workers. In the time that is not required for looking after the coffee trees the worker is paid 5\$500 per day for doing other work on the fazenda. In addition to the cash earned, the working family enjoys the following perquisites: water and wood; one and one-half hectares of land for planting corn, beans, rice, mandioca, and other food crops; a garden plot located near the house; pasture and salt for a cow and some pigs; and the fruit from two orange trees.

"The management of the fazenda also assumes considerable responsibility in seeing that many health and social services are available to all. Thus, each family pays 4\$000 per month into a co-operative, which entitles them to essential medical service. On the fazenda is a state school and also a chapel where services are held once a month. The fazenda has an organized football club, with uniforms supplied by the management. It has a 20-piece band also, and the management supplies uniforms for the members of this as well.

"On the average, the fazenda produces 5,000 bags of coffee per year. Each bag weighs 60 kilos, or about 130 pounds. During 1941, on account of the drought, only 250 bags were produced. In 1918 the trees were damaged by a big freeze and there was very little production during the following three years.

"The most modern agricultural practices are the rule on this fazenda, the list including such things as contour plowing, cover crops (to protect

from the sun), and erosion control by means of little carefully built, hand-made dikes about the trees.

"Sugar cane produced by the families on their allotted acreages, or on surrounding fazendas, is manufactured into rum or *cachaça* here on this fazenda. The management retains one half of the product for the service of processing the cane into rum."

SÃO PAULO: A TRIP TO BARRETOS

São Paulo is by no means all coffee, cotton, and sugar. Observations made on June 14, 1942, bring out some of the variations seen on the trip from São Paulo to the small city of Barretos, which is the hub of the cattle industry in the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Goiás, and Mato Grosso.

"I left São Paulo at 8:30 A. M. en route for Barretos. On the outskirts of São Paulo in the hills I observed again the manner in which the sítios with houses strung along the little valleys have given rise to a modified line village type of settlement.

"I observed also the poles standing in the yards, topped with frames containing square cloth pictures representing the saints.

"Between Jundiá and Campinas I noted one coffee fazenda in which the homes of the colonos were strung along the valley in a long line, the coffee planted on the sides and tops of the hills.

"In the old coffee district north of Campinas now devoted to cotton to some extent, the grouping of cabins around the *casa grande* is retained, whereas in the new cotton lands around Marília in western São Paulo residences are dispersed.

"At Limeira I bought more of the delicious tangerines which are grown in this município. Shortly after leaving this little city we came in view of a large fazenda on which are located some seventy-five houses grouped in four clusters, or colonies.

"At the small town of Ibaté my traveling companion left the train. He is a young man, son of a merchant here, who used to work on a sugar usina, but for the last two years he has been in São Paulo working for the prefeito. He was returning home to spend his vacation of three weeks.

"Soon, at the second station, we came into a district of beautiful fields of sugar cane, with groves of equally spaced eucalyptus trees on the hill-tops. But this is just a small oasis in the broad expanses of shrubby growth. Most of the land is very sandy and used only for pasture.

"Nicely terraced truck gardens, sugar cane, orange groves, and banana plantings on small farms of the Japanese are found near Araraquara.

"There is new clearing, planted to cotton and rice, near Barrinha. Throughout this area a tall (six or eight feet) red-top grass (*jaraguá*)

covers the ground. Now that the trees (of which only a few long charred trunks are still standing) are gone it resembles a rolling prairie country, with only a clump of trees here and there.

"We passed many cars of cattle on the sidings headed down the line.

"There are many Japs in and about the towns in this part of São Paulo.

"Just before reaching Macuco I saw the first huts having perpendicular logs for walls; however, even they had tiled roofs. In the village of Macuco such houses with thatched roofs are abundant. So far, all the way from São Paulo the houses for the most part have been of masonry.

"Between Macuco and Passagem were observed extensive fields of sugar cane. One crop was being harvested, and others were about two and four feet high, respectively. A deep red soil showed in the cuts along the railway. The jaraguá here was fully eight feet high. In the fields with the cattle it has been 'cropped off' leaving clumps some four feet high.

"At Areia I observed poles topped with representations of saints, three sides, one saint to the side, but no cross on top as I have seen elsewhere. Some of these poles had been decorated recently with red and white streamers.

"It was after dark when we arrived at Barretos and I went to the Hotel São José. After supper I strolled out to the main park which was crammed with people 'footing.' Negroes as well as whites were participating. I checked carefully on the racial composition of the small groups of strollers. Frequently they were mixed couples or mixed groups, but on the whole the groupings were highly assortative. As many as nine *pretos* with no whites were seen together, although Negroes as a whole made up probably not more than 15 or 20 per cent of the total. The small groups of two or three persons, assembled as onlookers at the periphery, were mostly colored.

"Few barefooted children were seen, although there were several. But the one-shoe trait was very prevalent, especially among children three to eight. There seemed to be an association of this with the most poorly clothed families, but several well-dressed children, accompanied by well-clothed parents, also wore only one shoe.

"Some of the houses in town also have the pole with square frame containing the representation of a saint, freshly decorated, standing beside the building.

"Barretos is the center of the cattle movement into the state from Mato Grosso, Goiás, and Minas Gerais. Some data taken from a small mimeographed *Boletim, Sindicato dos Invernistas e Criadores de Gado, Barretos*, a copy of which was found at the hotel, showed the volume of the movement: in 1937 the cattle killed and shipped (not including those driven out) amounted to 510,562; in 1939, 443,298; in 1940, 497,653; in 1941,

551,896. The largest numbers of cattle are handled in the months from March through July."

THE PARAITINGA VALLEY, SÃO PAULO

In the month of August, 1951, I took advantage of another visit to Brazil and made some personal observations in the long-settled, mountainous area of eastern São Paulo. Here in and about the Paraitinga Valley is a section which the well-informed Brazilian student of rural life, Carlos Borges Schmidt, considers to be about average for all Brazil, a representative sample of the social conditions and local culture of the nation. Notes taken on that occasion include the following:

"After lunch at the Palácio Hotel in Taubaté, J. V. Freitas Marcondes and I headed for the Paraitinga Valley in his little Prefect. The road is in fair condition and is being improved rapidly, giving a great stimulation to the entire area between Taubaté and the port of Ubatuba. We stopped occasionally along the way to take some photographs, including some of the milk cans along the roadside in front of what was once a grand old fazenda called Forteleza and now is a dairy farm. The milking sheds, interestingly enough, are the old senzalas somewhat remodeled. Another picture was taken of an *arrendatario* plowing the hillside with a steel turning plow drawn by oxen. He plants on shares which vary according to the crop, from 15 per cent of the tomatoes paid as rent to 50 per cent of the corn and beans. One of the best 'shots' was of the road workers preparing their coffee over a small fire beside the road. They receive 35 *cruzeiros* per day (slightly more than one dollar) for work on the road, whereas wages on the fazendas in this area now range from 12 to 13.5 *cruzeiros* per day. The building of this road is a tremendous factor in the depopulation of the fazendas and the shift of the area to a crude, extensive type of dairy farming.

"At São Luís do Paraitinga we stopped briefly in the praça for some pictures and a cafezinho and to consider the possibility of going on to the fazenda of 'Nho (Senhor) Ramos, a distant relative of Freitas'. We were assured that the road was bad and that we could hardly expect to get through to the fazenda, which lies near the place where the municípios of São Luís, Natividade, and Redenção adjoin one another. After some deliberation, however, we decided to make the attempt and headed on down the Ubatuba road. Five kilometers from town we turned off into the fazendas and passed through the first of seventeen gates encountered in the remaining seventeen kilometers to the home of 'Nho Ramos. The road was passable for there had been no rain in the last two or three days, and we moved right along. Shortly before we reached the *sobrado*, or big house,

perched high on the hillside, we were hailed by three of 'Nho's youngest sons, who had stopped briefly on their way home from school (about four kilometers distant) at one of the small wattle-and-daub huts on the fazenda. The boys, aged about seven, nine, and eleven, got in with us and rode to the bottom of the hill on which the house was situated. There, all except the driver had to get out and push in order to help the car over some of the most difficult pitches.

"At the big house we were greeted by two of 'Nho's older sons, the wife of one of them, and one of the grown daughters of the family. They were all busily engaged in the daily routine of work on the fazenda, the men in making the small bricks of brown sugar called *rapadura* and the women in making cheese and preserves. After *cafezinhos* we made an inspection tour of the place, including the old *senzalas* (now in ruins), the cattle sheds, the pens for the pigs, and the small sugar mill. By this time it was getting late, the road we recalled was steep and slippery in many places, and our hosts were insistent, so we decided to spend the night. 'Nho was in Taubaté with his wife, who was not well.

"This *casa grande* is two stories high with all the living quarters on the second floor, which can be entered directly from the back wing containing the kitchen. The downstairs rooms are entirely given over to storerooms for harness, saddles, *rapadura*, and cheese, and to the large space in which the small, water-driven, steel cane-crusher is located. The big water wheel which furnishes the force is just outside, and the water which dashes past one of the kitchen doors is sufficient to keep it moving rather fast. Beside the water wheel is a small building in which are located the furnace and two small vats for boiling the syrup and also the small molds into which the cakes of *rapadura* are formed. They make each day about six boxes or 250 pounds.

"The stairs leading to the second floor open directly into the large living and dining room. The floors are of hard boards about fourteen inches wide. There is no ceiling, and the light shows abundantly through the openings between the tiles on the roof. The partitions which separate the bedrooms from the living room extend only to the point where a ceiling would be if there were one.

"Supper was by candle light, since the small electric generator was out of order, and it was served at about 6:45. There was plenty of beans, rice, fried eggs, roast beef, french-fried potatoes, beef tongue, *goiabada*, cheese, and coffee. The members of the family usually retire about 7:30, but we sat up and conversed until after 9:00 P. M. It was so cold that we all gathered about the small fire in the kitchen stove, surrounded by the newly made cheese and preserves. It was not long after we got to bed that we

were sound asleep, but the water falling just outside the window caused Freitas to dream of rain and the impossibility of getting me back to São Paulo in time for the ceremonies at the University.

"Friday, August 31, 1951. We were up at the break of dawn for coffee and cakes, and then we went to the milking corral for fresh milk before leaving on our return trip.

"This fazenda has belonged to 'Nho Ramos for almost forty years. He is a distant cousin of Freitas'. In 20 years he has fathered 21 children, 13 of whom are living. The rule is that the girls marry and leave, and the boys stay and work with their father. One boy who attended an agricultural school for a while is now living with a sister in Mato Grosso. Of those still at home, nine are girls (many in town at school) and four are boys.

"The fazenda includes about 3,500 acres, of which only a few are cultivated. Most of it is given over to grazing. There used to be 60 families of workers on the place, but now there are only seven. Five of these are renters. They cultivate small patches of corn and beans, paying 20 per cent of the produce as rent. The dairying, the making of the rapadura, the growing of beef, and the raising of the hogs are enterprises conducted by the members of the family. 'Nho Ramos is a fazendeiro and a recognized member of the upper class; nevertheless most of the work is done by the men and women of the family themselves. There are only two families of laborers to assist. The older sons boil the sugar, pour out the rapaduras, milk the cows, and care for the pigs. The younger boys help with the milking, clean the stables, round up the mules, and so on. The women of the family make the cheese and the preserves.

"About sixty cows are milked, each giving about a quart once a day. This is made into cheese. It would be much more remunerative to sell the fresh milk, but as yet they have not been able to solve the problem of transporting it daily the seventeen kilometers to São Luís. The sale of the cheese and of the rapadura are about equal in value, each bringing in about \$750 per month. 'Nho and his family have taken over the mineiro dairying complex and are making a good thing of it."

WESTERN SÃO PAULO AND NORTHERN PARANÁ

During the month of May, 1942, I spent a couple of weeks in western São Paulo and northern Paraná. After going to Marília and seeing the new cotton sections in the river bottoms a few miles on either side of that thriving young city, I continued on westward into the areas of still more recent settlement and then proceeded on to Londrina in Paraná. Extracts from the notes about this trip are as follows:

"Soon after we left Marília, the frontier aspect became much more pronounced, and we descended from the tableland. At Tupã we found a settlement just four years old. Here I secured a car and headed for Fazenda Bastos, the large Japanese settlement. The road to California, a new town farther down the projected line that I wished to visit, was impassable on account of the rains. West of Tupã there was an excellent opportunity to observe the new settlement, with plantings of cotton, rice, and coffee. All of these were planted among the standing stumps and charred logs. At the time of my visit the rice was in the shock.

"Fazenda Bastos is a trade center, the farmers all living on surrounding farms. It was particularly interesting to see this example of scattered farmsteads, even in the Japanese settlements.

"The driver on this occasion was a Pernambucano. I questioned him and found that he had no desire to return to Pernambuco. He indicated the monotony of the diet (rice, beans) in the Northeast as one of the reasons for his not caring to return to his 'native land.'

"After leaving Fazenda Bastos we headed for Rancheria. Shortly after we crossed the Rio do Peixe, we came into the cattle fazendas. Apparently the land, which seems poor, has been cleared just for these pastures. There is a toll road (4\$000 fee) most of the way from Fazenda Bastos to Rancheria, and we passed over this.

"After lunching at Rancheria, a meal reminiscent of those served in a western mining town (perhaps the house of boards was responsible for the association), I got another car and started for Londrina in Paraná. This change of chauffeurs was necessary because the boy from Pernambuco did not know the road—he was already forty miles from home. My new driver was a Bahiano and a mulatto who had been in São Paulo about fifteen years. His wife, from Santa Catarina, was a pronounced blonde of German descent. He, too, would not want to return to his old home. He reported that there are many Bahianos located as operators of their own small farms in this locality.

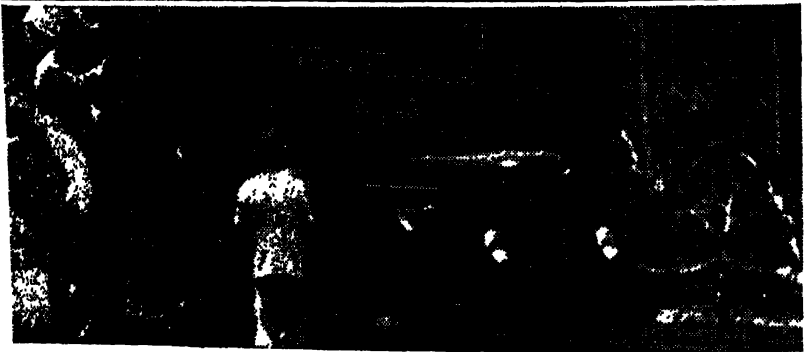
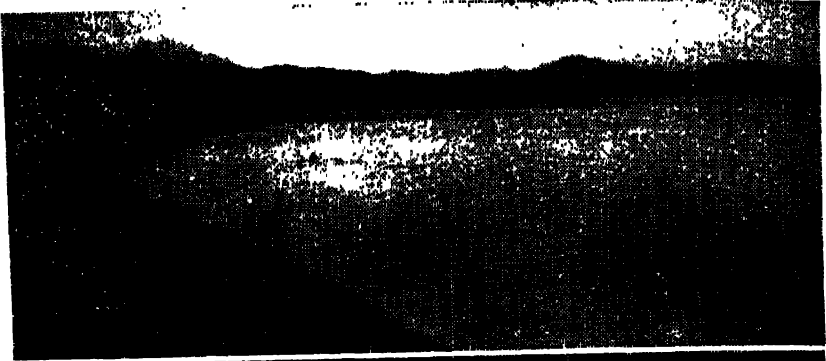
"The preparations for the trip to Londrina, some 100 miles away, were elaborate: the extra supplies assembled included two five-gallon cans of gasoline, extra oil, two spare tires, an axe, and a hoe. Since I planned to return to São Paulo by train the driver also took along another young fellow for company on the return trip.

"Soon after leaving Rancheria we passed from the area of the cotton and coffee fields into the ranch country. There are many cattle in this section, mostly of a mixed zebu type. The timber is very scrubby and the soil looks poor. At 'patrimônio' Nantes (a small trade center) we came to the end of the road. From here on only a trail leads through the fazendas.

Midway between Nantes and Ipé we crossed a small valley where numerous fazendas and sítios of the long-lot type are strung along both sides of the valley. And as we approached Ipé, this system of land division and settlement pattern became very apparent. Here the land is better and there were more evidences of agriculture. We stopped for *agua tônica* at Ipé, and then continued towards the Paranapanema River, which separates São Paulo from Paraná. Soon we were stuck in terra-roxa mud in the bottom of the valley below the village. While the boys were getting the car out, I had a good chance to observe a water-driven sawmill beside the road. After starting again up the hill we found our way blocked by two oxcarts, each drawn by twelve oxen. I got a photograph of this scene, for it was a family moving. All the members, including the women, were on horseback.

"Over the hill we passed through another small hamlet and then into a very muddy stretch of road. Here, there were scattered farms on each side of the road, and the soil looked good. Time after time we were stuck in the mud. Finally, a boy on horseback from the Paraná side of the Paranapanema came along. He reported that it would be impossible for us to go through. A car just ahead had been stuck for three days; even the trucks could not make it. There was nothing to do but return to Rancheria, take the train to Ourinhos, and go from there to Londrina by train. It was now 5:00 P. M., so we turned around, after considerable pushing in which we were aided by several horsemen who came along, and headed back. As we passed through Ipé the boys commented on the splendid physical types of inhabitants. They certainly are a striking type. The boys would have liked to have stayed for the dance Sunday. There are no cars in Ipé, which must have five or six hundred inhabitants, but one motor bike passed us. On the return we again saw many whole families on horseback, going from one fazenda to another. Many of these parties were on the road long after dark.

"We got back to Rancheria at 8:00 P. M. Everyone in town was out in the square and the unpaved main street 'footing.' The small town seemed more crowded than a farm trade center in the United States on a Saturday night. I was quite muddy and went into the restaurant to wash up (the only hotel is owned by a Jap) and to get a little supper. In about an hour, after supper, I went back out on the street. Now, everyone had disappeared from the streets. Two well-attended dances were going on; and as I walked about I saw several Protestant churches holding services. In all of these frontier towns there are numerous Protestant congregations—Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and often in addition, various independent churches, Holiness groups, and spiritualists. Of course, there is always



ALONG THE WAY FROM FORTALEZA TO TERESINA. Lower. STOP FOR GASOLINE. Lower center. VILLAGE SQUARE IN CHARÁ. Upper center. DROUGHT-STRICKEN VEGETATION. Upper. ONE OF THE NEW RESERVOIRS

a Catholic church, the most prominent building, in the center of town. Throughout most of Brazil one sees only the Catholic churches and the meeting places of the spiritualists.

"After riding most of the night, and undergoing a long wait at the station where one changes trains, at eleven o'clock the next morning (May 18) I was on the train going from Ourinhos to Londrina. This ride also opened many new vistas. Soon after crossing the river into Paraná we were among beautiful large coffee fazendas. In one of them I saw extensive plantings of tung trees. As we passed on we came into the newer settlements, where hundreds of thousands of new coffee trees are being set out. The controls in São Paulo and Minas Gerais, even if not effective in preventing new plantings in the western portions of the former, may be assisting northern Paraná to go into coffee production on a large scale.

"I think the coffee planters must be like the Maine potato growers: a good-looking farm must have straight rows running as far as the eye can see. The rows run directly up the hillside, and even over and down the other side of small flat tops which are found on the way. A slightly different alignment might assist greatly in erosion control. The belief that the aesthetic element is primary in this arrangement was somewhat confirmed by assurances received in Londrina that a fazenda is much less valuable if the trees are not perfectly aligned. There is much ditching among the coffee trees.

"In Londrina I was met by officials of the North Paraná Land Company, who showed me every courtesy and gave me the opportunity of learning about this extensive colonization project. This company owns an extensive tract of land in northern Paraná. It constructed the railroad from Ourinhos to Londrina, the seat of the company's activities, a new town which it established and which is already the second city in the state. The railroad is now extended some forty miles beyond Londrina into the company's lands.

"The North Paraná Land Company sells only in small tracts, and its project has already in hardly more than a decade resulted in the establishment of probably 7,000 new farms in the state. Before plots are sold in a section of the company's holdings, careful surveys are made to determine the courses of the streams and the tops of the dividing ridges. Roads are constructed along the divides. The road and the stream then become the base lines used in laying off the tracts. This is to say that the stream serves as the boundary on the lower end of the tract, the road on the upper. The width of the tract is determined by the amount of land purchased by a colonist, but the overwhelming proportion of the farms are much longer than they are wide.

"However, as stated above, the roads are all on the divide, and at the opposite end of the farm from the house, which is near the water. Here a determining factor in the company's planning is the difficulty of constructing and maintaining roads. The opening of a farmstead proceeds as in western São Paulo. The first step is the felling of the trees, which are then burned before they get too dry so that the fire does not damage the soil badly. After this, planting is done without a previous stirring of the soil. Coffee trees may be set out immediately, or the first crop may be corn, rice, beans, or peas. One cultural practice is that of planting beans in the corn and then when the beans are ripe, hanging them up to dry on the broken cornstalks. There is no plowing, and very little stirring of the land with a hoe. The farmer must cut a way for air drainage from crests where he plants the coffee, to the water course. If this is not done, the frosts will damage the coffee.

"The older establishments already have completed cleaning to the divide. Despite the company's emphasis on diversification, all of the land soon goes into coffee, and diversified agriculture does not flourish."

FROM SÃO PAULO TO FLORIANÓPOLIS

In the month of August, 1942, I had the opportunity to travel by car from the city of São Paulo to Florianópolis, capital of the state of Santa Catarina, with several stops along the way. This trip provided the opportunity of seeing other of the more striking changes in the cultural landscape that present themselves in the states of São Paulo and Paraná. Thus, after a full day of travel from the city of São Paulo to Curitiba, the following entries were made in my notes.

"This trip made in a Ford of the 'Paraná Express,' running between São Paulo and Curitiba, led through Cotia, Una, Piedade, São Miguel Arcanjo, Capão Bonito (where we had lunch), Guapiara, Apiaí, Ribeira (where we crossed the river into Paraná), Pedra Preta, and Bocayuva. In the course of the day we passed from one culture area to another.

"*House Types.* As the miles rolled by, one had an opportunity of observing how, in accordance with socially inherited configurations as to what is essential, useful, and of good appearance, men make use of a considerable variety of materials at hand to provide shelter for themselves and their families. For the first 180 kilometers out of São Paulo (or until the vicinity of São Miguel) the occasional better homes (i. e., those of small fazendeiros) were of brick or masonry, plastered, and with a roof either gabled with light pitch or with four slopes (*aguas*), and covered with tile. The caboclos' houses were the typical kind of wattle and daub, the best ones plastered, the poorest lacking the plaster and covered merely

with thatch. A number of them were made entirely of thatch; walls and roof, usually gabled; but near Cotia (among Japs) some were observed with four aguas very steep.

"From near São Miguel on, shingles of a rough type, and later shakes, as well as boards for walls, began making an appearance among the poorest houses. (The Paraná pine is still found all along here to some extent.) The shingles vary from those that are very well made to extremely rough shakes; but strange to say, no board roofs were observed. The nearest to this was on one house (a small hut) which required only two very long shakes to reach the width of one side of the gabled roof. The shingles are laid with a side lap as well as end lap—a method that never carries over into the walls in this area. As we passed on, wood and shingle continued and even gained in importance. However, all the better houses, and even some of the huts, have tiled roofs, even though the walls may be of wood.

"In the very rough mountainous section between Guapiara and Apiaí we noticed a most interesting variation in the covering, a complex which continued almost to Ribeira and then reappeared briefly as we gained height on the other side of the river and before reaching Pedra Preta. This is the use of a split bamboo for shingles. This type of covering is confined to the poorer homes, but in some valley nooks it is the prevalent type. These cane strips are put on (1) in mats by themselves, (2) over shakes, and (3) over a smooth fiber matting, similar to that used on the floors and in baskets.

"Immediately after crossing the river the '*casa polaca*' (Polish house type) appeared, owing to the fact that the Paraná road department has used this type in its buildings. The house is of one-and-a-half stories, has vertical board walls and gabled roofs, and is placed with the long side of the house facing the road. The roof loses part of its slope near the edge, giving it a distinctive curved feature. A cut-under porch, in which the main roof of the house extends over the porch, similar to 'Cajun' type, may be present. Slats are nailed over the cracks between the boards. The highway department has used tiles on the roofs of its buildings; although on the older houses, which are almost continuous beyond Pedra Preta, shingles are generally used.

"The idea of horizontal placing of boards with overlap (clapboard type) gains no expression here, and of course there is no such thing as a log cabin in this pine country. Even in the towns there are no houses made of clapboards.

"Near the river the poorest houses sometimes are merely walled with vertical sticks (*pau-a-pique*), a trait widespread throughout Brazil, lacking

the cross sticks and the mats that are the next stage, as well as the mud of the caboclo's house, which at least gives protection from the wind.

"*Agriculture.* From near São Paulo until we reached the outskirts of Curitiba, we traveled for the most part along the divides and through deep valleys, so that nearly all of the country traversed was very poor for agricultural purposes. The upper Ribeira Valley, around Capão Bonito, an open rolling country, looks good, but it is said to be an exhausted coffee section. Early on the journey we saw some potato planting, and later we observed an extensive hillside agriculture in which the cultivation is carried on by fire. All along the way from near São Paulo to within forty miles of Curitiba the skulls of cattle are placed on sticks amid the plantings, indicating that the old routine superstitions have not been replaced by more modern cultural practices. A few plows, drawn by two animals, were seen in São Paulo. As we neared Curitiba, four-wheeled wagons, drawn by two- and four-horse teams, and other evidences of the European peasant type of farming made their appearance.

"*Erva mate or Paraguayan Tea.* When about twenty miles out of Curitiba and still amid the pines, we suddenly came upon the *erva mate* tree. It resembles a holly, especially one that has been trimmed for use in Christmas decorations. *Mate* is gathered between May and September by pruning limbs from the trees. The limbs are then dried over a bed of hot coals, which has been covered with a protection of green poles. In its rough dried stage the product is known as *sapeco*. This is carried in lots of about 130 pounds to headquarters where it is weighed. Next, the dried leaves are run through a mill, *cancha*, which crushes the leaves and separates out the wood of the branches and twigs. Then four-wheeled wagons transport the product to Curitiba, where the *cancheada* is further refined to *mate*.

"Later devices avoid the smoke of the simpler processes by conduction of heat for drying purposes.

"*Realm of the Sacred.* South of São Paulo one sees numerous material objects designed to assist man in his relations with the supernatural. The skulls in the fields and the poles in the yards near the houses are two of these objects. On some of the poles are pictures of various saints, particularly St. Anthony and St. John; on others, oranges are stuck on the limbs. Many have streamers attached, and flowers dangle from some. Near some of the more humble cottages, only a tree with its leaves has been cut and placed in the yard. They all seem to serve the same purpose. In a number of yards there are three or four of these highly decorated poles, some painted in such a manner that they resemble totem poles. Large crosses also are set up in many of the yards, sometimes in between the poles,

helping to support them. In one instance a tall cross itself had attached to it three saints' pictures, one at the top and one at each end of the cross-piece.⁷ These faded out considerably before we reached Ribeira, and were intermittent thereafter. At the entrance of Curitiba, the big cross, with the suspended image of Christ, was seen, reminiscent of Polish communities in Wisconsin."

CURITIBA TO BLUMENAU

Two days were spent in Curitiba and then the journey was continued to Blumenau. After another day of travel the observations and reflections made led to the following entries:

"Rarely does one see sharper lines of cleavage between cultural areas than are to be observed in the course of less than 200 miles during the trip from Curitiba to Blumenau. Leaving Curitiba, for the first thirty or forty miles one passes through a fairly good farming country, with houses of Polish type, mainly roofed with tiles but with some shingles and shakes; this latter type of roof becomes dominant on houses in the hills surrounding the Curitiba basin. Soon one starts the descent into a very rugged mountain country and enters an area reminiscent of parts of Kentucky or North Carolina.

"Houses here are walled with vertical poles, or with rough boards placed vertically and lacking slats over cracks between boards, or merely with a crude matting of leaves from a very thick-leaved plant. The roofs are also for the most part made of the leaves of a palm-like plant, held down by slats placed mostly vertically but sometimes horizontally. The poorest of these huts are miserable hovels, but as one gets into the broader valleys below they become more livable.

"As in Kentucky and North Carolina the gun-and-hunting-dog motif dominates the scene. As we drove along this Saturday morning, between eight and nine o'clock, we saw in the road every few miles (or less) a man leading his hunting dogs and carrying a double-barreled gun. Other men were assembling in front of the scattered houses which we passed.

"Agriculture is little developed although there are some small plantings. We passed some women afoot and barefoot, carrying meal from a small gristmill that we saw later on.

"At the Rio Negro, the state line, we were stopped for passport examinations—the first of four in less than two hours—and then passed into Santa Catarina. Immediately the cultural scene changed, and we were in a third area. Here, some of the most obvious of the material traits are

⁷ These poles with the saints' pictures are widespread throughout São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Goiás, but in no other place so much as in this part of São Paulo. *

(1) covered bridges and (2) houses of brick with distinctive wooden frames and supports. Tile is used on the roofs, and is of a flat type not hitherto observed. These typical German rural houses are dominant here, although some are plastered over, and some exhibit other minor local variations, especially in the porches. In some small districts, for example, the arch is used extensively under the ends of the porch, and not infrequently white painted plaster is used on the front of the house. All in all, there is more than a slight resemblance to certain little side valleys of the Rhine, which becomes more apparent as we pass through Bananal, Jaraguá, and on to Blumenau. But now and then we pass through a settlement of typical caboclo houses.

"The settlement pattern here represents a fairly well-defined variety of the line village type. The valleys are narrow, with only a limited amount of bottom land, and in some places practically none. Holdings have been laid off on both sides of the stream. What are probably rather small holdings, laid out in this manner, give rise to a fair degree of proximity between the houses. Just out of Jaraguá in the direction of Bananal the settlement is highly compact, the houses being as close together (two hundred feet) as in the line village of south Louisiana.

"*Agriculture.* General farming is the rule here. At present the corn is in the second leaf. Dairy cattle are plentiful, and they include a good sprinkling of Holsteins. No Brahmas are seen, except a few in one herd of cattle that is being driven along the road. The holdings are small and little machinery used, although plowing is generally practiced. Here are seen no ox carts; the four-wheeled horse-drawn wagon prevails. This hardly seems like Brazil.

"Rural industries include tile kilns, water-powered sawmills, and gristmills.

"Men and women frequently are barefooted, and the women are working in the fields.

"One gets the impression that the people here are an industrious and solid folk, clinging rather stubbornly to cultural forms of some forty years ago, working hard, dwelling in fairly good homes, dressing fairly well, and living on what they produce."

RIO GRANDE DO SUL, THE LAND OF THE CATTLE ESTÂNCIAS

Notes and reflections recorded while passing by train across the great plains in the southwestern portion of Rio Grande do Sul serve to bring out other important regional variations in the rural scene. Here the lack of machinery and failure to use modern agricultural methods cannot be the principal causes of the widespread poverty and misery. They must be

found in the social organization, particularly the land system. On August 20, 1942, I made the trip from Santa Maria to Uruguayana. The following extracts are from my notes for that day:

"My fellow traveler was a medical doctor who has a big rice farm near Alegrete. He has about 200 families on his place, and says he looks out for their health and sanitation but that this practice is the exception. He uses modern methods of cultivation, including electrically controlled tractors for plowing. Water is pumped up 12 meters, and then allowed to flow to the plots. The Bank of Brazil is now advancing funds to rice growers at 7 per cent per annum.

"We passed through rice fields in the valley bottoms most of the way to Caciquey, where there was a one-hour stop. In this area cattle growing and rice farming are combined as in Louisiana. Fields are carefully laid out and diked. Plenty of tractors, threshers, and other machinery are seen in the sheds and in the open. But the houses are only hovels of sod, covered with thatch or galvanized roofs, just about the most miserable dwellings I have so far seen in Brazil. There was a cold wind blowing, but many of the people were outside huddled over a mate cup, apparently drying out after the rain.

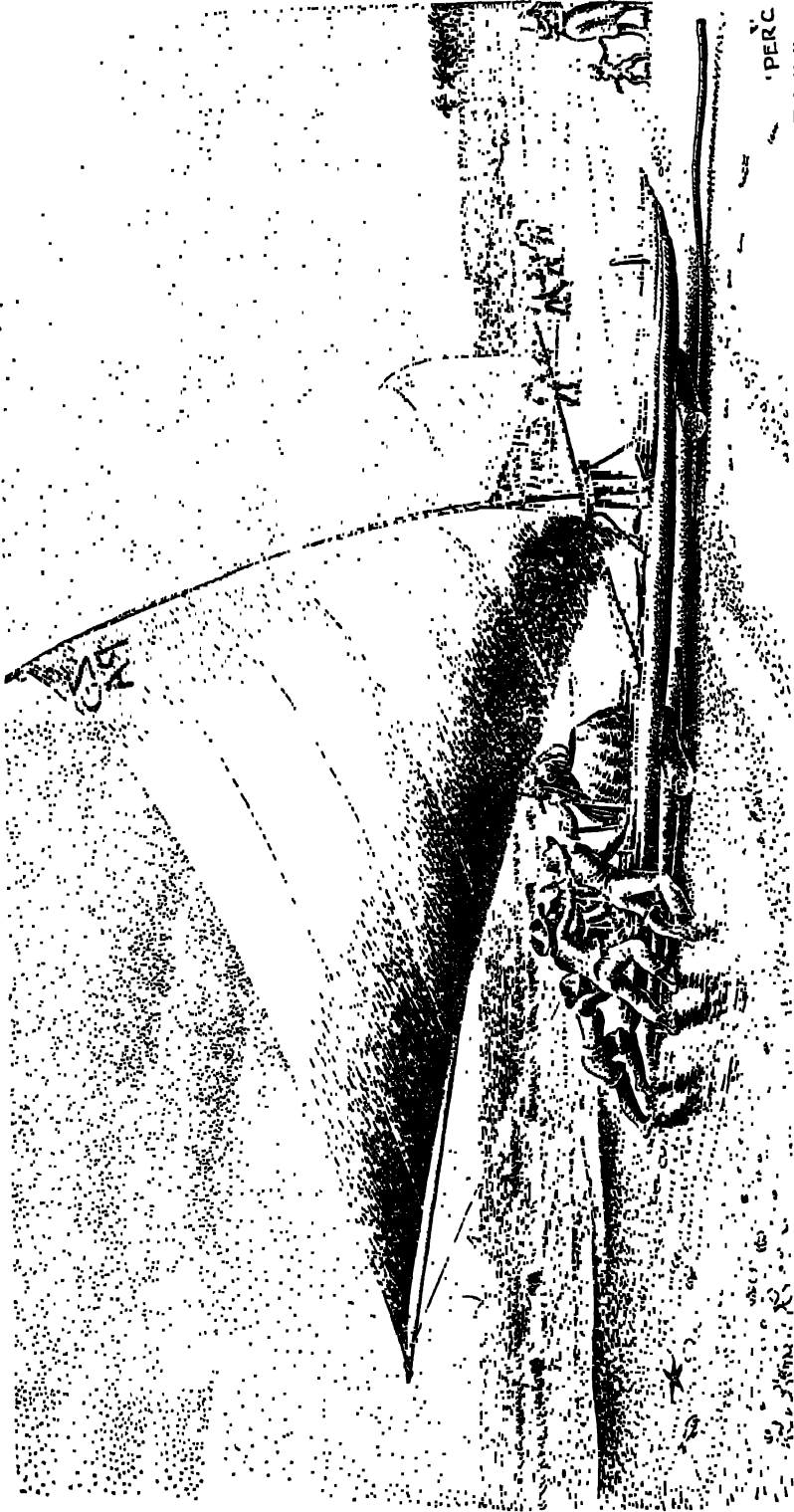
"The traditional outfit of the Gaúcho was much in evidence, even among the lower classes, but they have substituted the wooden, rubber, or leather sandal for the boots.

"Evident was the greater intermixture of the three races in the population, but some almost pure-blood Negroes also were seen. In general, the mixtures seem to have occurred some time in the past, and the result is a blending varying through many degrees of shade. The Indian element has formed a considerable part of the ethnic base, and in Uruguayana one sees many bootblacks, and so forth, of almost pure Indian blood.

"After passing Alegrete we left practically all traces of agriculture, and were in the campina proper. This country looks much like the pampas of the Argentine. The mud hovels, in fact almost all buildings, gradually disappear. The few, widely scattered *casas grandes* are large two-story buildings, almost square in shape."

After several days in Uruguayana, on August 25 I again made this trip by train, going in the opposite direction.

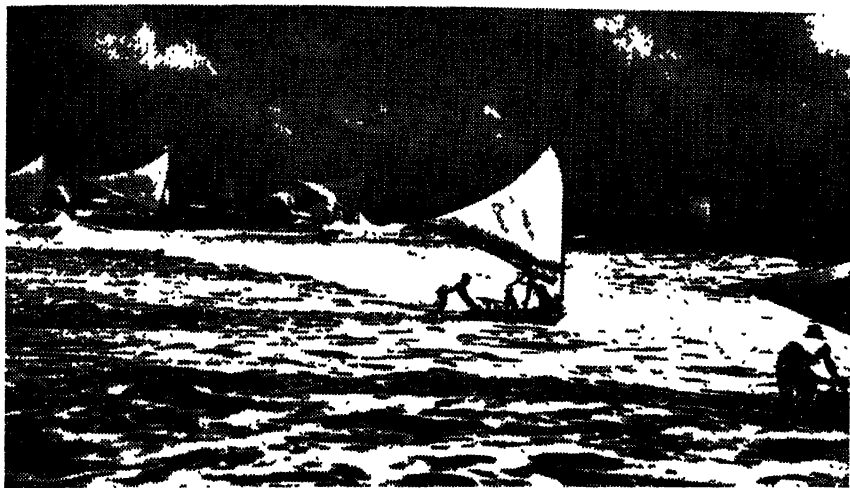
"I caught the train in the early hours and was well on my way when day broke. In some ways the daybreak was reminiscent of that of a Louisiana swamp deer hunt, for it came while the train was stopped in front of an immense *estância* headquarters. As it got lighter, I could make out the dim outlines of four square towers at each corner of a tremendous multi-storied building, with a still higher tower surmounting the front



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JANGADAS, THE TINY RAFTS ON WHICH THE FISHERMEN OF NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL PUT OUT TO OPEN SEA



*Upper and center. JANGADAS ALONG THE NORTHEASTERN COAST.
Lower. CARNAÚBA PALMS IN CERÁ*

entrance. It looked like a medieval castle in a geometric pattern of red brick.

"The conversation of the persons in the seat behind me was interesting. It included such remarks as '20,000 *contos*' (\$1,000,000), or '*Quartos de luxo para hóspedes*' (luxurious rooms for guests). This building is the seat of the Assis Brasil Estância.

"All the way to Alegrete, 160 kilometers and four hours by train, we passed through a country given over entirely to cattle and sheep growing. Much of the land is not suited for agriculture, being either rocky or having a very shallow soil on top of a layer of stone, but a large part of it would produce well, as is demonstrated on the small garden plots kept by railway workers along the right of way.

"Even the oxcart, and all signs of the trails made by it, are absent. Roads are merely driveways, between fences, with almost impassable bogs in the low places.

"From Alegrete on to Santa Maria rice in the lowlands combines with grazing to entirely monopolize the area. Only on the outskirts of Santa Maria, as one approaches the mountains, does other agriculture begin. This is the section of the sod hut with thatched roof, the most miserable hovel I have seen in Brazil. As one nears Santa Maria he observes among other things the round haystacks built about an upright pole, as in Louisiana. This is a certain sign of European peasant influences strange to most of Brazil.

"In the rice fields the plowing season was on. Plowing is done mostly by a man with two oxen, but sometimes as many as six oxen are used. However, the number of men increases as the teams become larger, three and even four men being employed where six oxen are used to draw the plow. No draft horses were observed.

"At one place, that of my traveling companion, Dr. Miguel Olive Leite, just across the bridge to the east of Alegrete, threshing was going on with a Case machine. Elsewhere other machines were standing in the sheds or in the open.

"Observations today led to the following thoughts about the standard of living and social stratification in Brazil. On these estâncias, of which only a few are enough to occupy large portions of a tremendous state, a very small number of people have at their disposal the means of satisfying every whim. Luxurious living at its acme! But the distance socially to the remainder of the population, the workers and the inhabitants of the few small villages surrounding the stations, is tremendous. In the country are the miserable sod hovels. In the villages, except for the houses of a few railroad employees and possibly a storekeeper or two, the houses are mere

shacks of straw or rough lumber walls and straw, galvanized, or old scrap tin roofs. But in *A Nação* of Uruguayana, which is published three times weekly, one finds an interesting article by Ulysses Villar (August 24, 1942) entitled 'Nem Facismo Nem Comunismo' ('Neither Facism nor Communism'). In this issue which also carries the official Brazilian proclamation of war we read: 'In the postwar social democracy, "The rich will not be so rich nor the poor so poor." Proportional taxation will reduce the possibilities of class struggle. Poor people will be able to follow the counsel of the Department of Health and feed themselves better. There will be no more hunger in the suburbs of the city. Mortality from tuberculosis will diminish from its alarming percentage. On all the fazendas of Rio Grande do Sul *there will be not only baths for the cattle, but also for the people.* Schools will no more be the sole privileges of the children of the rich. The poor will be richer and the rich more illustrious, because money alone will not be valued but also the technical culture of each man. Men being more illustrious and the poor being richer, there will be no place for the bugbear communism.'

"Such writing and similar agitation has already had some effect for one hears the fazendeiros 'kidding' one another about having heard that their fazendas were to be turned into *colônias agrícolas* (agricultural colonies).

"Throughout almost all of Brazil the lavish use of human labor, furnished by people who have extremely few skills either in working or in living, coupled with the sparse use of machinery, equipment, and power, means a very low standard of living for a very large section of the population. Great concentration of landownership and control, and rigid social stratification maintain this low standard from generation to generation, while they also give the favored few an abundance of everything desired.

"One man with two oxen, four men with six, in areas where the plow is used! A man with only the axe and the hoe elsewhere! To harvest rice, cotton, as well as nuts and rubber—all hand work! Ditches, roads, all worked by hand and without the use of mechanical aids! Under such conditions the total output can never be great enough to divide into a high level of living for all.

"Nevertheless, since a man with his knife can soon make a shelter, since a few clothes can surely be secured, and since '*plantando dá*' (planting gives),⁸ or if not, in most sections '*nature dá,*' there is less actual

⁸This expression is widely used throughout Brazil as a caustic reference to the caboclo's failure to select better seed, choose the best soil, and adequately care for a crop. The story from which it originates involves a caboclo who was bemoaning his lot. The roof of his rude shelter was leaking, his clothes were in shreds, and he was *passando fome*, or slowly starving. The passer-by, learning the sad plight of the countryman, solicitously inquired if he had tried planting. Scornfully the caboclo replied, "Que nova! Plantando dá!" Although this expression defies translation, roughly the thought might be

suffering from lack of food, clothing, and shelter than in most places. Still, despite the warnings of social workers, I can never resist the plea of the small boy in Santa Maria, in Uruguayana, or in the other towns, who lives near the matadouro and asks for money to buy bread. Especially is this true if he's barefooted, while I'm shivering in an overcoat, as is the case tonight."

FLYING OVER MATO GROSSO

Much of Brazil is given over exclusively to a few widely scattered cattle fazendas. Those of Mato Grosso are deservedly notable for their size. In such sparsely populated cattle-growing areas as those of Mato Grosso, one sees certain of the more significant features of man's relation to the land more clearly from the plane than from the river boat, the *jardineira*, or the one railroad that pierces the region. My notes for September 10, 1942, include the following:

"This second flight across the bush and the *pantanal* gave me a better chance to observe the fundamental land patterns of Mato Grosso. Since I am now a little better oriented, several points stand out: (1) In this extremely sparsely populated area, the occasional fazenda is the hub of a web of trails that lead off in all directions. Some of them go to near-by fields, which usually are located on the hilltops (if these can be called hills) of a slightly undulating country. Others lead to widely scattered *ranchos*, and a very few lead off seemingly without end until they finally attain some kind of road that links this vast bush country with one of the widely separated villages or towns. (2) The system of surveying and marking, which uses washes, arroyos, and streams for boundaries has an interesting effect on the fences. Fences there are, and long ones, each standing out clearly from the air because of the trail which follows it. In this case there are no curves and bends in the path, so that the fence always stands out from the other modifications man has made in the landscape. In this country a fence can never cross a stream, hardly a wash, because the natural boundary is the property limit. Sometimes at a mere curve in the wash, or creek, the fence halts abruptly, turns off at a sharp angle, and then resumes its line. (3) Evidence of man's presence, in the form of fields, is infrequent. When it does appear, the irregularity of the patches gives mute evidence that the plow and similar implements are unknown or unused, and that fire agriculture is the rule. Frequent pock-marked patches in the few fields show that the burning process has been

expressed: "My, but you're a big help! Everyone knows that I'd have something to eat if I'd planted it!"

completed, but only very recently. The palms left standing in the fields also indicate the agricultural complex which prevails in the region.

"As we passed over the pantanal the scene changed. At this time of year it is green and only partly covered with water, and the rains are just starting. When one is over the pantanal a fence can be known to exist if a straight line sharply divides water, grass, and moss from the more open or uncovered water on the other side. Only a few fazendas are seen. Along the river banks are some slight evidences of agriculture at widely spaced intervals.

"As one gets nearer to Corumbá the mountain tops are almost entirely engulfed by this young part of the earth's surface. Near Corumbá, numerous dead trees standing in clumps, with water now all around them, seem to indicate, as in coastal Louisiana, that the surface here is still sinking."

A GLIMPSE OF THE AMAZON

After I had become somewhat familiar with the area about Belém, a flight up the Amazon to Manaus offered opportunity to observe one of the most talked-about parts of the world. This region is of course radically different from other sections of Brazil, but must be included in any study of the Brazilian scene. My notes for the day include the following entries:

"Most of the way the weather was fairly good and I had an excellent chance to observe the great bed of the Amazon. It reminds one of the lower flood plain of the Mississippi, on a much larger scale. Here for a thousand miles, and often extending farther than one can see on both sides of the plane, the great river is always uncertain of its course, and itself describes fantastic shapes. Sending out feelers in every direction it spreads its influence over an area of almost boundless dimensions. The larger of these are reminiscent of any river, such as the Mississippi, which runs through a level plain, describing in its course those long graceful curves which give the name to the host of oxbow lakes which it spawns. Other long slender ribbons of water cut directly across the landscape as if hurrying to a goal. Finally, intermingled with it all is a varied labyrinth of puddles, ponds, lakes, bayous, and rivers, which seemingly try to achieve the maximum shore line, and in so doing give rise to almost every pattern from the serpent to the genealogical tree. One of the interesting features this country has in common with the pantanal of Mato Grosso is the manner in which a circle of brown (i. e., fresher) water throws a protecting arm around the darker and more stagnant ponds which lack close connection with the flowing currents. In its indecisive manner of travel even during the dry season the river makes millions of acres more water than land.

"Naturally, I was most interested in the man-made features of the landscape, and here I was surprised by the evidences of man's presence. Although towns and cities were few, we were rarely out of sight of man-made or man-influenced features of the landscape.

"1. On the surprisingly (to me) large amount of low grassy plain, in many cases only mud bank, which constitutes thousands of islands and much of the accompanying shore, were numerous cattle, and cattle fazendas.

"2. Roças were in sight nearly every minute of the journey. They were in all stages from (a) those in which the trees were just felled, (b) those in which the fires were burning, (c) those in which a blackened surface indicated that the land was ready for seed, (d) those in which new green plants were appearing, (e) those in which the corn and mandioca were ready to gather, and to (f) those where the *capoeira* had already had one, two, three, or more years in its process of recreating the jungle. Today, as never before, it was brought home to me the extent to which fire agriculture prevents man's efforts against the jungle from becoming cumulative. If through such a system he ever becomes master of the land, it is only after it has become thoroughly 'tired,' as in parts of São Paulo.

"3. Burned-over pastures, in all stages, are to be observed in the savanna areas which emerge from the mud flats. Through many of these, the natural levees and wooded centers of old bayous cut a direct line which looks from the plane like an old roadbed.

"4. Houses of thatch are to be seen along the various more permanent water courses, sometimes as many as 25 or 30 being concentrated along a bank only two or three miles in length.

"The Amazon is a good place to study the influences of geographic determinism. A Huntington or a Semple here undoubtedly could find enough materials to fill volumes. Probably they would not report, however, that here, where man's chief struggle is against wood in the making, shingles are not to be seen. There are shingles and shakes as well in the Bragança district east of Belém. There are sawmills and houses of boards throughout the middle Amazon. There are roofs of thatch on the poorer houses, of tile on the better ones. Many roofs are of galvanized iron that has come from thousands of miles away. But the shingled roof is not to be seen. The trait has not diffused from Belém; nor has the use of the region's sawmills been expanded to provide shingles in the area.

"Another interesting feature of the landscape is the clear water in the Tapajoz, and the black water of the Rio Negro.

"Another type of farming also became evident today. On the margins of the streams, as water recedes with the end of the wet season, a seed is

dropped and sunk into the spongy ground by the pressure of the bare foot. The print of the foot becomes the 'hill.' Much of the food production of the entire Amazon is carried on by this simple process. Not even a digging stick need be employed."

To supplement these observations from the air are presented the following notes from a day's boat trip on the river below Manaus.

"I was up at 6:00 A. M. to go on a trip on a milk-collecting boat. We got away rather heavily loaded, some sixty to seventy people and a crew of five, on a small lugger-like boat, and headed down the Rio Negro. After about an hour we passed through a little *paraná* and into the brown waters of the Solimões, passing across the main stream and following down a right-hand channel until 1:00 P. M., when we were at Gamboa, eighteen nautical miles from Manaus. Here we turned around and headed back, arriving at Manaus at 7:00 A. M. with standing room only and fully a hundred persons.

"This boat collects each day 1,200 liters of milk from about 37 fazendas. The producers have the milk in large cans, covered with thatched shades, at the landing in canoes awaiting the lugger. When the boat comes along they push out, come alongside, grab hold of a short rope, and are towed along while the milk is poured from their containers (often 5-gallon oil cans) into 10-gallon cans in the hold. The latter are equipped with a square-shaped tin that fits down inside to hold 10 to 20 pounds of ice. Now and then we tied up briefly at the landings for the discharge or taking on of passengers. On other occasions people came aboard from canoes, or transferred from the lugger to the smaller craft which carried them to the shore.

"This is a rather thickly populated district, similar in many ways to the False River area in Louisiana. All the houses are on the crest of the natural levee, which is lined with banana, mango, and cocoa trees. Here and there jute is growing. Most of the agriculture, however, is of the type that enables man to lean most heavily on nature—as the waters recede in the dry season, seeds are crushed into the spongy ground by the weight of the foot. Nothing else is done except the harvesting. My main *amigo* on this journey was Demosthenes Coelho Travessa, Agente Fiscal do 4º Distrito Municipal, and owner of Fazenda Nazaré, Murumurituba. He was going home, and from Camboa had two hours more of travel by canoe. Questioning him about plows, I got the answer, '*Agricultura aqui no Amazonas é quasi que empirica*' ('Here in the Amazon agriculture is entirely empirical'), and the explanation that here things grow so well it isn't necessary to use the plow. But he also warned a young fellow not to plant jute unless he had an assured labor supply, and explained to me that

in the Amazon men must work in groups. They will be overcome by the jungle if they try to work alone.

"Cattle here are a mixture of the Holstein, *caracú*, and in some cases the zebu or Brahma types. Quite a few horses were seen.

"Each landing seems to be a neighborhood center. The larger of these floating stores always has two big doors in the gabled front, and a few things, including bottled drinks, for sale. A considerable crowd was always there to meet the boat. The smallest landings are merely two logs bound together to make a floating dock.

"House types were interesting and homogeneous. The buildings have a steep gabled roof, with the narrow end fronting the river. Usually the door is in the center, and on each side there are two windows whose tops are flush with the top of the door. The houses may be constructed of boards or thatch, or a mixture of the two. Boards are always placed upright, never in clapboard style. If boards are used only on one side of the house, it is always on the front. A gabled part, with the angle in the opposite direction, may be attached in the rear; and sometimes the house is double, i. e., two gables both fronting the river, one placed behind but adjoining the other.

"The roof is generally of thatch, but on the very best houses, tiles are used. No shingles were to be seen.

"Among the population the mixture of white and Indian, the *caboclo* type, prevails, but there are many persons of pure or almost pure Indian blood. Some Negroes were seen, but not many, and there were relatively few traces of Negroid features in the majority of the population.

"*Senhor* —— gave me a long lecture to emphasize the facts that the life of the Amazon does not depend on rubber, that the government neglects Amazonas, that the state's politicians fail to get anything out of the federal government, and that the rural people in the area are poverty-stricken. He pointed out all the *fazendeiros* who were on board, and said they all were very poor. He added that if I would go with him he would show me how bad off they were. He emphasized that the *caboclo* isn't lazy, but that he has nothing to work with and is neglected by the government. He indicated that if men are not cared for, there will be no rubber gathered.

"I was impressed by the manner in which settlement clings to the river banks, where, especially on the gradual slopes of the inside of the numerous curves, it is possible for man and his agriculture to lean most heavily on nature."

On the return to Belém the plane passed over the area previously visited by boat. This offered opportunity for checking observations, and

generated other reflections. The notes for this day include the following:

"We flew over the island area which we visited yesterday by boat. Especially on the upper end, the farms are pushing the wilderness back in a manner reminiscent of the line village settlements on False River in Louisiana. Lower down, the land becomes more swampy, but with more open, grassed areas, too.

"In addition to labor shortages, the lack of entrepreneurs is a great limiting factor in the increased production of rubber. The land is mostly controlled by the families who had it when rubber was giving good results. In the meanwhile they (the fathers) have become twenty years older, and sons have centered interests in Manaus, Belém, Rio, or São Paulo. These families with elderly heads who own or control the land are fairly well fixed. Naturally they are not willing to gamble their security on what may happen in Amazon rubber; especially are they skeptical about the possibilities with the labor available. Consequently, they can be counted on for very little increased effort."

Observations made while in the Amazon, plus some reading on the region, formed the basis for the following summary, which is little altered from my field notes.

Undoubtedly, one of the major obstacles to rubber production in the Amazon, either as a long-time or a short-time proposition, is the nomadic nature of the rubber-collecting labor force. The nomadic existence led by the rubber gatherers so impressed the members of the American field party who reported in 1924,⁹ that they endowed the seringueiro with a "migratory instinct." The same evidences probably could be found for concluding that the more recent arrivals from the northeast were also possessed of physiological constitutions which make it necessary for them to keep constantly on the move. However, it is probably more to the point to analyze the features of the mode of life followed by these people which result in a nomadic existence, to detail the elements in their cultural or social heritage that are largely responsible for the wandering existence they lead.

In the first place, the material possessions of the Amazonian seringueiro are all such as can easily be transferred from place to place; or if they must be left behind, they can quickly be replaced in another locality. Consider first the house which is the cultural element that does most to fix a family in a given location year after year, and even generation after generation. Sometimes, in the Amazon, the habitation is a houseboat, which may be shifted about at will. Generally, however, it is a rough

⁹ William L. Schurz, *et al.*, *Rubber Production in the Amazon Valley* (Washington, D. C., 1925), Trade Promotion Series, No. 23, pp. 163, 202, 219, 221, 271, 273.

shelter of poles and thatch. A few days' or weeks' labor on the part of the seringueiro and his family is sufficient to provide a new shelter of the type commonly used. Except in a few districts in the central portions of the towns and cities, and on a very limited number of fazendas, the Amazon Valley is completely lacking in all of the cultural elements whereby one generation contributes to succeeding generations the actual material comforts of a well-constructed habitation. It cannot be overemphasized that only the skills involved in the construction of the thatched shelter are passed on, not the shelter itself. The head of a family may supervise and participate in the construction activities of dozens of dwellings during his own lifetime. The rubber collector's house is little enough reason for attachment to a given locality.

Nor is the house surrounded with other adjuncts, which, because they represent the expenditure of great amounts of effort and contribute materially to the satisfaction, comfort, and even safety of life, make a family loath to leave the place in which these aids to satisfactory living are located for a new place in which they all must be supplied anew. The well, for example, is unknown, the drinking water being dipped from the river. Even a cistern for catching a supply of pure rain water for drinking purposes is lacking. Just below Manaus one may observe even upper-class families out on Sunday excursions in their launches, dipping and drinking the river water. Throughout the entire area, neither the well, the cistern, nor traits such as windmills, serve as brakes upon the migratory proclivities of the population. Yards, fences, outhouses, barns, and all the other features of a permanent country home are lacking in any form requiring material investment of capital or labor. In the Amazon, none of these has any great strength as a tie binding a family to a given locality.

Much of the same may be said of the "farm" itself. Most agriculture in the Amazon is of the "riverbank" variety. In this type of agriculture, man, or more accurately woman, leans to the utmost on nature. In its simplest form such agriculture differs from a purely collecting economy only in two features: (1) preservation of some seeds for planting, and (2) dropping these seeds and pressing them with the bare foot into the spongy soil left by the receding river. If a few weeds are removed by hand or with the use of a hoe during the growing season, it represents a considerable advance over the minimum essential that is the general practice. In this riverbank type of agriculture, it is almost as easy to tramp seeds into the ground in one place as in another. The best locations are those on the inside of a large curve in the river where the slope of the bank is comparatively slight, and where the slowness of the current has contributed to the depositing of the finest silt. But there is no advantage to

be gained from staying in one locality for two consecutive seasons, since the river does equally well elsewhere in preparing the ground for seeds. Even where fire agriculture is practiced and man uses his axe and the blaze to prepare the ground for the seeds, the plot planted is a different one each year. Since the fields utilized from one season to the next are different ones, they may as well be separated by 100 miles as by the corresponding number of feet. Neither in the northeast from which a large part of the Amazon's people came, in Maranhão and other states to which people from the same areas have moved, in the Bragança district which supplies food for Belém, nor in the great valley itself, does fire agriculture make for a settled mode of existence.

Since work stock, milk cows, and practically all other living things found on the farm are lacking, none of them hinders the seringueiro in his movement from one place to another. In fact, one can well summarize by saying that the material possessions of the Amazonian caboclo are all those which, if they do not actually contribute to nomadism, at least do exceedingly little to hinder such a wandering mode of existence. American farmers have a saying that "three moves are as good as a fire," a meaningful phrase which serves to indicate the impossibility of accumulating material possessions while constantly moving about. In this respect, the rural inhabitant of the Amazon seems always to be near the position of the North American farmer who has recently been "burned out." But the Amazon caboclo's position is more unsatisfactory because he (1) does not feel the propulsions of a standard of living which takes greater material possessions for granted, and (2) lacks the technical skills necessary to obtain more of the material aids to living.

Nor do social institutions of the Amazon region do much to prevent the continuous perambulations of the seringueiro. The rubber gatherer is attached to no specific church congregation. He does not pay taxes in or send his children to an educational institution provided by a particular school district. His recreational activities do not demand a sedentary life. He is an established member of no definite business enterprise. The one institution which does attempt to make him stay put is the *barracão*, the commissary of the *seringalista* for whom he works, who supplies him and to whom he delivers his product. But, as in the plantation sections of the South or the sawmills of the West in the United States, the system of advances, bookkeeping, and payment is fully as likely to create in the seringueiro a desire to leave the locality as to stay. Among the seringueiros themselves, and reaching to far-off Ceará and Paraíba, are passed on stories of cheating on the accounts, unfair weights, corporal punishment, inability to leave because the seringalistas are in collusion and will not allow

another's workers to travel in their boats, and even of labor forced at the point of a gun. To the extent that these reports are true, they depict an institutional pattern which generates a desire to flee, rather than to remain fixed.

On the other hand, there are a number of elements which actually conduce to a nomadic mode of living. There is, for example, the knowledge the caboclo has of the river, its meanderings, its branches, its habits, and of the things it freely gives to man. He has a culture which enables him to collect almost all the means to live from the forest and the jungle. He has, in his pirogue, a means of transportation. In fact, all his man-made luggage, including his institutions, are those that at least permit, if they do not lead to, a migratory manner of existence. Until the social heritage is changed radically, the inhabitants of the Amazon will continue to move about from place to place. Other attempts to "root" the population will meet with about the same results as the recent efforts of the Serviço de Fomento Agrícola of the state of Amazonas. This agency cleared and laid out ten plots of ground, totaling seventeen hectares, on which were established nine families from the Northeast. But "of these lots, only two were effectively occupied, because, of the nine northeastern families which were installed, seven went away in various directions, carrying with them the implements they had received for use in the work."¹⁰

IN THE FAR NORTH—MARANHÃO AND PIAUÍ

On the basis of a brief visit to Maranhão, both to the capital and to several interior towns, which provided an opportunity for noticing details and for talking with observant informants, the following notes were made about this interesting portion of Brazil:

"The state may be divided roughly into the following regions: First is the old sugar and cotton area about the bay, where a strong Portuguese current entered in the eighteenth century and into which some 5,000 slaves per year were entering during the time of the 'traffic.' This extends inland to include Rosario. Second, south of a line running roughly from Imperatriz to Pastos Bons is found a Paulista pastoral culture. The sertanejos settling this part of Brazil arrived at Carolina in 1810, bringing their herds, and coming by way of Bahia. The result is that Bahiano in this area is the designation for a countryman, and is synonymous with sertanejo. Third is the central forest section in the middle of the state, an area into which the Cearenses poured following 1920, practicing fire agriculture, collecting nature's gifts, and in general leading a nomadic existence.

¹⁰ Alvaro Maia, *Exposição ao Exmo. Sr. Dr. Getúlio Vargas, Presidente da República (Manaus, 1942)*, 67.

"*Quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive Negro slaves, are said to exist in the western, slightly known parts of the state.

"East of the bay is an area used as fattening fields for cattle brought from the South to supply the city market.

"One of my informants knew Carolina in the South, where he was a missionary, and which is the cattle-raising area. In that region cattle are valued chiefly for their hides. Most of the livestock are owned by merchants, each of whom has a number of fazendas, sometimes many of them. These fazendas are limited in size to about 400 to 500 head of cattle, and it is the cattle and not the land that is of importance. One vaqueiro can handle about 500 head, and he does so under a contract that gives him one fourth of the increase. The merchant provides him with essential supplies under a system of advances, and it works out so that the vaqueiro's share of the increase just about enables him to mark off the advances that he has received. Once a year the owner will appear and oversee the branding, making certain that the division of the increase is made properly. This time of the year is a period when Carolina loses three fourths of its population, temporarily. The numerous visitors to the fazenda make it a gala occasion, much milk is drunk, and much curd (*coalhada*) is consumed.

"Carolina, as was indicated, was settled by Paulistas. It is said that the early history was largely the record of a feud between two families who possessed large acreages of land. As a result of the conflict, two lines of mango trees were planted, one bounding the claims of each family of the conflict, with a no-man's land in between. This was in the period 1810-1824, but the parallel lines of trees remain today. In 1924, the first launch got up the river; in 1930 the first truck was brought in.

"In general, in the state of Maranhão, unfenced land belongs to the state. Squatter's rights are had if a house with a tile roof is constructed, but not if the shelter is merely a thatched one. Accordingly, landowners permit laborers to build thatched houses more or less at will, but do not permit them to erect buildings having tiled roofs.

"One informant told of traveling on a boat carrying salt (60 kilo sacks) which was valued at 1\$500 on the coast near São Luís. At Carolina a sack sold for 45\$000; and from there it was headed southwest into Goiás, with the price still going up.

"In the southeastern strip, towns are mostly 'one-man' towns—São Raimundo, Loreto, Benedito. One person, well-to-do, powerful, and influential, is responsible for all. An informant related the story of a sitiante's garden which was destroyed by a *coronel's* (colonel's) pig. The small farmer killed the pig, the coronel shot him, and the sitiante's son beheaded the coronel with an axe. Both men had large families, so the result of the

quarrel over one pig was 26 orphans. But my informant asks, "Who would arrest a coronel?" Besides, there are no police. In addition to the coronel, who is the undisputed boss, each town has its major, and also a *capitão*, who is the liaison man for the boss.

"In the center of the state, near Barra de Corba, is being established a colony for 5,000 families of agriculturists.

"The Valley of Mearin contains one third of the state's population.

"People were attracted from growing food crops to collecting and cracking babassú nuts twelve months ago, but now they are transferring their activities from babassú back to food crops.

"The Prado family from São Paulo have obtained 10,000 hectares at Keelm served by railroads and stream, to which they transported overland in cars and trucks 14 artisans, and where they are building a cotton mill and town. It is said that the town's name came from a Brazilian's visit to Keelm in Ireland, a center of population with which he fell in love.

"One of my informants had interesting ideas about developing more continuous habits of work among the caboclos of the area. He thinks people here must be brought together and organized, must be saved from their indolent life, their nomadic habits, their deficient diet, their diseased conditions, and their generally miserable pattern of living. He would like to see more roads for trucks cut through the forests of palms. Along these cleared tracks he would like to see established some babassú collecting and cracking stations. Each of these would consist of a small village or hamlet into which the families would be assembled and in which they would build their houses of thatch. He thinks each family should be given a garden plot and also some land in the fields that would surround the settlement. The people themselves would provide the labor not only for building their homes and caring for their plantings, but also for making sanitary improvements. A school should be established, and it should be a social and health center as well as a place for learning to read and to write. Trucks should come certain days for the nuts. Fathers and sons should work in groups of three, with four to six mules, gathering the babassú nuts and transporting them to the breaking station. Here the mothers and daughters should work at the job of opening the hulls and getting out the oil-laden kernels. If possible, they should have the aid of a portable machine for cracking the nuts. The males should also assist at this job when they are in the settlement."

After seeing some of this country from the air in a flight from São Luís to Teresina, additional notes were made.

"The trip over gave a good opportunity to observe from the air the covering and settlement patterns. Just out of São Luís are great flats,

covered only with grass, on which many cattle are grazing. Then comes the rough country, with little hillocks and ridges, where hundreds of thousands of babassú palms are growing.

"From the air it is readily apparent that the settlement patterns here are definitely still to be determined. For the most part the thatched huts of the caboclos are scattered about throughout the forests, which show ample evidence of a long-continued fire agriculture. Occasionally six to ten of these rude shelters are found huddled together. Now and then a village or hamlet, largely of thatch, is passed over. But for the most part habitations are scattered. However, the attraction power of any way of communication seems to be very great. So impermanent are the buildings that even a trail through the forest seems to have for them a strong attraction force. Viewed from the air a trail resembles the strands of an Inca calendar, or it might be said to look like the top cord on a fisherman's net, the path representing the strong cord and the houses the floats. Any road that is passable for wheeled vehicles brings about an arrangement which is far along on its development toward the line-village type of settlement. The same is true of a stream. Where a road and the stream are parallel at close quarters, as is the case near the small cotton capital, Caxias, one flies over many miles of highly concentrated line-village settlement patterns. Of course, in all of this the collecting economy and lack of systematic land pattern have made the division of fields very irregular."

IN PIAUÍ

Several days were spent in and about Teresina, capital of Piauí, which lies just across the Parnaíba River from Maranhão. The observations made at this time led to the following entries in my notes:

"Today, also, I saw much to impress me with the great extent to which man in this area is a beast of burden. Little boys not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age were seen shuffling along, with huge sacks on their heads. The sacks were filled with charcoal, or some other rough substance, that obviously made a weight very near the limit under which the boys could bear up. Men with 50 or 60 kilogram sacks of cement on their heads were transferring this product from one part of town to another. The trees in one of the parks were being trimmed. After the limbs were cut, the branches were bundled up in lots of about 80 to 100 pounds, placed on the head of a man who shuffled along to the dump on the edge of town. The truck or *caminhão* in which I was trying to arrange a ride to Fortaleza arrived today and my *carregador* came by the hotel to inform me. At that time he was carrying two large heavy packages (of paper?) on his head, one above the other.

"All of this caused me to reflect that the *falta de braços* in Brazil is in reality a *falta* of managerial skills and the lack of certain material traits, particularly the proper appreciation of the wheel, and the skills and traits involved in harnessing animal power to it.

"I believe a search will show that the four-wheeled carriage has not been known or used to any extent by Brazil's upper classes, even in the cities.¹¹ Certainly neither it nor the four-wheeled wagon were known in the rural areas until introduced by the Germans and Poles in the second half of the nineteenth century. Only the oxcart, which, it is important to note, does not call for a knowledge of harnessing and driving the horse or the mule, was known. Here in the North even these are not too plentiful, there being according to the official registration statistics only about 1,800 in the entire state of Piauí. Other vehicles also are lacking, there being a total of 505 motor vehicles, 595 bicycles, 861 hand-propelled carts, a grand total of 3,946, covering vehicles of all-types. This means that here, in a country of gently rolling hills, only the human head and small burros and mules are utilized for the transportation of burdens. Small burros are packed with bricks, and wood, the packs being made with the use of forked sticks similar to those first observed in Amazonas. The introduction of a small wagon, training in the manner of harnessing and hitching mules, horses, and burros to the wagon and to farm implements would go a long way to solving the *falta de braços*.

"Two types of vehicles seem to be making a beginning here: (1) the small horse- and mule-drawn two-wheeled carts, often rubber-tired in the cities and towns represent the first steps in the harnessing and hitching of animals, (2) a few four-wheeled wagons of the type introduced by the Poles and Germans in south Brazil have been placed at the army posts. These are probably the first four-wheeled vehicles, other than automobiles, seen in this part of the world. If the idea can catch and spread, it will do much to remove man from his present role of beast of burden.

"Another interesting new trait observed here is the windmill at the airport. Perhaps the quality of the drinking water in this region can be improved if the use of the windmill should become general. If the trait is to be widely diffused, however, the mill must be largely home-made and of wood.

"My *carregador* was from the southern part of the state, and from one-half to three-fourths Negro. He said he was anxious to return to '*minha terra*' (my land) because life is better there. Where he came from,

¹¹ This is partially confirmed by the observation made in 1865 by Dr. Gaston: "Among the many vehicles seen in the streets of Rio de Janeiro I observed nothing like the buggy which is in common use in the United States. . . ." *Hunting a Home in Brazil*, 11.

the *dono de terra* permits one to build a house and make a roça more or less as he pleases. Here, if one tries to build a house the dono '*o bota fora*' (kicks him out).

ACROSS THE NORTHEAST

From Teresina I went by truck across the sertão to Fortaleza, capital of Ceará.

"Sunday, December 13, 1942. My porter, number 29, called me at the hotel at 6:00 A. M., and after breakfast at 7:15, we put in an appearance at the loading station. Now it developed that no one could leave the city without a pass, so we headed for the police station to get one. At the station the fellow at the desk didn't know what to do about an *estrangeiro*, so he had me wait while he cared for all the others, and then informed me that the chief would have to handle my case himself. Since the chief wasn't in, we prepared to go out and find him; but as we were leaving the building the chief arrived. He said that in order to get a pass I must have a *salvo-conducto*. But it was Sunday, and the authorities there were not in and would not be in again until Monday. Argument did no good, but finally we got into the station wagon and started in the direction of the chief's house. Since we passed the point where the truck was loading, I asked them to stop so we could tell the driver of the caminhão not to leave without me. Here one of the many inspectors understood that United States citizens did not require 'safe conduct,' and after more argument we returned to *Posto de Policia No. 2*, where he convinced the officer in charge, and I got my pass. This done, we went back to the corner where the caminhão was still loading; and at 9:30 we pulled out.

"At the river we were stopped for inspection and then went on our way through the *babassú* palms, and houses of thatch. The road was fairly good, although washboardy, and we sped right along.

"We passed through Altos and the Campo Maior, stopping of course for a *cafezinho*. The latter town is in drier and more open country. Throughout this distance practically all houses in the open country were thatched huts, with some better ones also of thatch. The palm forests through which we passed were loaded with stems of *babassú*.

"In Periphery we stopped for *almôço*, and to have a repair job done on our truck. We were at the *pensão* there until 6:00 P. M., taking *jantar* as well. With several companions I visited the church, and took a few pictures, including one of our traveling companion, the old Cearense who is the father of 22 children. It took some maneuvering to get this picture, but with the aid of my friend, the dry-goods merchant in Fortaleza, it was accomplished. After supper we were off again, and shortly after dark we

came to the border of Ceará. Here the road became much worse, but later it got better again. We were traveling on a high plateau, and after the road got good enough to make some speed it was very cold. Even though we were paralleling the equator at close range my raincoat helped a lot. Without it I should have suffered greatly in the outside seat I occupied. At 10:30 P. M. we pulled up temporarily in a completely blacked-out little village, but after consultation the driver decided to go on to the foot or the base of the plateau. This drive must give a magnificent view in the daytime, because obviously we were zigzagging down from an altitude of 800 meters, and the descent was rapid. At midnight we arrived at a little village and stopped in front of the Pensão Saúde. Every house in the village was pitch dark. After we had honked the horn and pounded on the door, a light appeared, the bolts and bars on the inside were withdrawn, and we were admitted. Now there was a great bustling about, making of coffee and arranging of hammocks. Since the pensão was small and there were more than forty on the truck a great deal of doubling up in rooms was necessary. Three of us, the Fortaleza drygoodsman, his assistant, and I, spent the remainder of the night in hammocks hung in an interior room with no windows, but with some ventilation from the roof. In this part of Brazil many of the windows are false, i. e., the walls of the houses are constructed with the outlines of the windows prepared, but the wall is solid. This facilitates locking up the house, and at the same time conforms to accepted aesthetic standards. At five o'clock we were up and we got away at six, after coffee with no bread. Even at this early hour there were a couple of dozen people at the pensão begging.

"This begging is part of the drought refugee problem. Yesterday at Peripery there were many others around the hotel. As usual I gave such small change as I had. To two little girls with extremely bright eyes I gave in addition to a small coin, the two preserved bananas my Brazilian friend bought for me yesterday. As we went on, at every small stop we were surrounded by more, many of them cripples, or defectives of one kind or another, and probably not refugees. Anyway, today I gave away in small change the equivalent of several dollars, so that at least 75 people must have received something. It should also be stated that almost never did my Brazilian traveling companions refuse to give something.

"Sobral, an interesting small city, was a stop for coffee. Here we had to share our bread with the throngs who pushed into the restaurant. Shortly after, at a small village (Forquinha) and reservoir, we really were in the dry country.

"In this area it had not rained for two years, and the effects of the drought were all too evident. Many of the reservoirs were low, and one

was entirely dry. The barren cotton stalks were standing in the fields, and the entire country looked parched. Finally, at 4:30 we arrived at Fortaleza.

"This trip rather firmly convinced me of the truth of the hypothesis that most of the colored elements in the sertão population are of Indian origin. In the villages and towns occasionally one sees persons of Negroid, or practically Negroid, characteristics; but, in general, dark skins here are found together with the straight, raven-black, silky hair of the Indian. Even in Teresina, the servants (Negroes or mulattoes) said they were from Maranhão.

"House types which were almost exclusively of thatch in Piauí gave way in Ceará to wattle and daub or rough brick or stone, with tiled roofs. Only in cities and towns is the familiar lime plaster used to any great extent. The caboclo house of wattle and daub, with thatch or tiled roof, seems to me to be the most all-pervasive culture trait I have been able to observe in Brazil.

"All along the way I watched carefully for the stick on which had been placed the skull of a cow, but saw none. Probably this is because the fields are only ready to be planted, and further measures are not justified until the rains come.

"The amount of labor that goes into the construction of the fences around the roças is enormous. The fences are about five feet high, and consist of upright stakes every three feet or so, often paired, and with the crooked poles intertwined so thickly as to make the structure almost basket-like. These poles are the unburned limbs from the trees and capoeira. Some of the fences are fairly well made. I even saw one field surrounded by the rails being laid up in zigzag fashion.

"In the entire trip from Teresina to Fortaleza, I saw no plows, nor evidences of their use. However, in Fortaleza itself I saw some on display in a store. These appeared to me to be too large and to require more horsepower than is practicable here, at least in the beginning. A small implement that would make a six-inch furrow, about three inches deep, and that could be pulled by the small hinnies and burros¹² that are so numerous here, would be better. Near Fortaleza, however, wheelbarrows in use on road construction indicated that the use of the wheel is beginning.¹³

¹² In this part of Brazil the hinnies are produced by breeding the jinnies to a stallion. Because of the periodic droughts that scourge the region it would be very risky to maintain a large number of mares for breeding purposes. Burros are much easier to care for at the critical times. To secure enough grass and hay for one stallion is much easier than trying to keep alive a large number of brood mares. However, to secure a stallion that will breed easily with burros is rather difficult.

¹³ Shortly after my visit to Fortaleza, where I discussed transportation, health, and other problems of northeast Brazil with several of Ceará's leading citizens, there appeared in the daily *O Povo*, December 17, 1942, the following *nota* signed by the editor:

"The *açudes* (reservoirs) that are being constructed throughout the Northeast are worthy of comment. Below the one at Forquinha, just out of Sobral, are pretty green fields of bananas, and sugar cane. Only to a very minor extent are these reservoirs devoted to irrigational purposes. Incidentally, around these reservoirs there is a tendency for the homes to become aggregated into a species of village settlement.

"For the rest through the area, the settlement is strictly of the scattered type. Only two qualifications need to be made: (1) it is not entirely settlement, since the mode of life is nomadic, and (2) the fazendas may include from three to twelve houses for *agregados* or retainers. Some few of the fazendas are large, and give a more truly village character to the pattern of settlement."

Already there begins to be seen on the streets and in the suburbs of Fortaleza small animal-drawn cars for the transportation of the proprietors and their families.

"The 'cabriolet,' which has not entirely disappeared, because some are still encountered in cities in the interior of Ceará, now is being multiplied by the pressure of necessity.

"But the cabriolet, the vehicle of two wheels, for two, three, or four passengers, does not solve the problem of transporting merchandise even for short distances.

"During the peak of automobile use in peacetime there always existed in Ceará, the following and ancient means of transporting loads:

"(1) The urban cart of two wheels drawn by a mule, carrying a load of 600 kilograms and having a radius of action normally of up to 12 kilometers, or more if there were no sand to overcome.

"(2) Pack animals (horses, burros and asses) with pack saddles all able to transport up to 120 kilos.

"(3) The oxcart carrying a load up to 3,000 kilos, whose passage was prohibited, however, because its wheels cut up the road bed, making it unfit for the passage of cars and trucks.

"The urban cart also rested upon wheels with very narrow metal rims, the cause of great damage to the city's pavements. But when the Mayor of Fortaleza, the late Col. Tiburcio Cavalcante, decreed the obligatory use of broad wheels equipped with automobile or truck tires, the use of these made the carts silent, prevented the damage of the pavement and facilitated the work of the animals that pulled them.

"Examining the situation of rural transportation in Ceará, in the light of the three means referred to above, we see that, without trucks the agriculturist cannot transport his harvests greater distances in search of larger and more active markets.

"Yesterday the subject of these comments was discussed in a long and profitable conversation that we had with the Senior Agricultural Analyst, T. Lynn Smith, of the Department of Sociology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, U.S.A.

"This American professor, who is a penetrating observer and grasps problems of this nature with keen insight and practical sense, soon suggested—

"The question of transportation in the hinterland of Ceará could be solved with the four-wheeled wagon drawn by two mules. These wagons, which readers are accustomed to seeing in the movie films, move loads for long distances in the United States and in Europe, carrying from 1,000 to 1,200 kilos of merchandise.

"The advantages of these wagons are worthy of attention. They would cost perhaps only one-twelfth as much as a truck and would last a lifetime, being repaired easily. Water for the animals could be carried on the vehicles when it might be necessary to do so. The expenses are minimum. Wagons of this type could enter the cities and could carry agricultural products from the field to the market, eliminating even the middleman, because the vehicle could serve as a moving store.

"The suggestion of Professor Lynn Smith is then, worth examination by interested parties and it remains to be tried here by the most enterprising people.

"Democrito Rocha"

A train ride from Natal to Recife offered the opportunity to observe some of the other radical changes in the cultural landscape which are to be seen in the northeastern part of Brazil. Notes made on December 19, 1942, include the following:

"The train pulled out from Natal at 5:40 A. M. and arrived at 12:00 midnight at Recife, some three hours late. It was a very interesting day. Only once did the train fail to make a grade and have to back down the hill to take a fresh start. From Natal to São José the land is hilly, sandy, and dry. The vegetation is of the *catinga* type and little agriculture is to be seen except now and then a *roça*, or a narrow strip of planting along the occasional creek bottoms. Sugar cane grows here without the aid of any machinery. Most of the houses are miserable huts of thatch or wattle and daub, although a tiled roof is not uncommon. Coconuts, mangoes, and bananas grow well where there is a little soil and water. The roads are mere burrows through the sand and *catinga*.

"Today, sugar cane was for sale at almost every station. One buys it already trimmed in lengths of about one inch which are stuck on the end of short little sticks and offered for sale in bunches of half a dozen.

"As we moved farther south we passed through an occasional *várzea*, or bottom, where considerable cane is grown. One of these is found near Goianinha, where there is a good-sized *engenho*. In this section the cane is transported from the fields on the backs of burros. This is the case also in southern Paraíba, where we again ran into cane fields. During the day, I also saw thousands of small bundles of cane stalks rolled up, with the leaves used for ties, lying in the field awaiting transportation.

"In northern Paraíba we passed through a large cotton section. Anderson and Clayton have a mill at Caiçara. There was no sign of any wheeled vehicle except a few oxcarts, and there was no evidence that plows or other agricultural machinery were in use.

"Shortly after leaving Caiçara we came into a great mandioca-producing area. Fields were well kept (ridged), but all the work is done by hoe. This was the greatest concentration of mandioca production I had seen in Brazil. Constantly we were passing the small sheds that shelter the big 'tubs,' and so forth, where the manufacture of *farinha* takes place.

"As we approached Cobe we passed into the sugar-producing area that borders the Paraíba River. Here sugar growing is ever impinging on the hills, in much the same manner as it once spread into Louisiana's Felicianas, and as is general in São Paulo.

"These Paraíba and Pernambuco sugar *engenhos* and *usinas* include a surprisingly large number of cattle in their enterprises. So important did



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CATINGA

these livestock seem to be that I was reminded of the rice and beef cattle combination in Louisiana.

"Settlement observed today was strictly of the scattered type, except in the sugar areas where the plantation has brought about a considerable concentration of senzalas about the mill and the casa grande. In the mandioca and corn-cotton districts there is general dispersion of dwellings.

"In Rio Grande, especially, the intermingling of crops, cane, corn, cotton, and beans, all mixed together indiscriminately, was very evident.

"Today I saw many cattle skulls placed on poles amid the roças, the cross with all its accompanying symbols, and occasionally the saint's picture on the pole by the house.

"At every stop the train was beset by a host of blind, crippled, and afflicted persons. Even if there are no more of these unfortunates than one sees collected at the small stations, the rates must be terrific. One reflects that Brazil would be a 'vast hospital' if all these people were institutionalized and treated.

"I arrived at Recife at 12:00 midnight in the blackout. Here I was met by my friend, the American Consul, and taken to his home for refreshment, a hot bath, and a good bed."

HERE AND THERE IN BAHIA

In the month of August, 1945, Professor Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg of the University of Brazil and I were sent as members of a Joint United States-Brazil reconnaissance survey into parts of the states of Bahia and Pernambuco. We studied and reported upon possibilities of agricultural developments in the area to be affected by proposed power developments at the site of the Paulo Afonso Falls in the São Francisco River. A few of the notes taken on that occasion help set forth some of the more salient features of several highly interesting parts of Brazil. On the eleventh, after spending the morning in the capital city of Salvador, commonly called Bahia, we proceeded to the wharf to take the boat that would carry us on the first leg of a circle tour, in the course of which we would visit the agricultural college at Cruz das Almas, look in briefly at the famed cattle market at Feira da Sant' Ana, and drive through the noted old sugar plantation section in the Reconcavo.

"At the wharf a guard was waiting to conduct us to the president of the company, and the latter personally conducted us through the gates and onto the ship and presented us to the captain. Special chairs had been arranged for us to occupy during the trip.

"There was little delay in getting under way, and soon we were viewing the wonderful sight which the city presents from the bay. The masts

of hundreds of small sailing vessels constitute an unforgettable sight. A large share of these boats are engaged in carrying cacao from Ilhéus and in taking foodstuffs, especially jerked beef, and general merchandise back to it. Other boats bring tobacco from the Cachoeira section.

"Our steamer is of fairly good size for river work, measuring about 125 feet in length. It makes three round trips weekly between Bahia and Cachoeira. Sundays it remains at Cachoeira. From Bahia jerked beef and general merchandise constitute the cargo, and on the return the boat is loaded with tobacco. Some castor beans come down to the falls at Cachoeira by train and then on to the capital by boat. Passengers also are important. Today we had about 500 aboard, with the baggage and trunks being piled all over the two decks. Three Bahianas occupied the open space below the captain's bridge, where they were busily engaged in dispensing peeled oranges, peanuts that had been boiled in salt water, and cakes of several kinds.

"We headed directly across the bay for the mouth of the Paraguassú River. Several little squalls came up and spoiled picture taking. Occasionally, however, the sun would break through. After we entered the river, there were frequent stops to receive or discharge passengers. Many of them landed from or disembarked into large dugout canoes, but sometimes we tied up briefly at small piers.

"The hills here rise up directly out of the water so that there is very little farming near the river. As we ascended the stream, however, the slopes became less abrupt, the top soil became heavier, and there were many more evidences of farming. Near Nagê we saw one little hamlet built about a church on the top of a large round hill. Here the gardens were laid off in a neat pattern. Immediately after this we were at Coquieras, a much larger place. The boat stopped at each. It is reported that there has been a serious feud between the two places, with considerable shooting, and that for this reason the boat must stop at both of them. Shortly before we reached Cachoeira we passed the sugar factory of one of our traveling companions. It was to our right, nestled in the mouth of a small valley. The *casa grande* and the water-powered mill fronted directly upon the river, and the whitewashed cottages of the workers extended in a long line up the little valley.

"The *casa grande* is large, and consists of two parts, each of three stories, whitewashed and with plenty of blue tile contributing to a neat effect. Much of the cane is brought to the mill, which was founded in 1812, by sailing boats. There is no evidence of the use of carts or wagons about the place. Here the wheel is probably not used at all for transportation purposes.

"The large dugout canoes are interesting. They must be from sixty to seventy feet long. The gunwales are built up by the addition of some boards. One of the canoes is elaborately equipped with a roof and curtains.

"It was just after dark when we arrived at Cachoeira. Then we had the fun of trying to pick out of the crowd the person or persons sent to meet us. Our choices were no good, but we had not gone far after leaving the boat before a guard asked us if we were not the Americanos. We were presented to Sr. _____ of the Escola de Agricultura e Medicina Veterinaria de Bahia."

"August 13, 1945. We were up early to look at some more of the buildings, and then with the driver and Sr. _____ we headed for Feira da Sant' Ana. The region around Cruz das Almas is one of light, sandy loam soils mostly lying on slightly rolling slopes with now and then a deeper valley. It is given over almost entirely to the cultivation of tobacco, with mandioca used often to alternate with it in rotation. The tobacco is planted at various times throughout the year so that the several plantings vary from those just set out to some about two feet high. Planting was still going on.

"Most of the small tracts on which the tobacco is grown are rented, for cash in some cases, but frequently the rent is paid in labor of one or two days per week. The houses here are all of wattle and daub or of a large and crude adobe brick.

"Before we had been on the road long we passed through Muritiba and then descended rapidly into the valley at São Felix. Here we crossed the bridge to Cachoeira and then ascended to a comparable height on the other side of the valley. All through this area the tobacco, mandioca, beans, peanuts, and a little very poor corn are tilled by a simple hoe culture. The hoe is used to prepare the hills in which the mandioca and tobacco are planted. The former seems to receive little more attention, but the latter is kept clear of weeds. This is the most thorough and the most extensive hoe culture I have seen in Brazil. The era of fire agriculture seems to have passed long ago. In this area the countryman is generally called sertanejo, although tabaréu is also commonly used.

"The diet of the local people consists almost entirely of mandioca flour, jerked meat, and beans. Rice cannot be had. Peanuts also are eaten to some extent. The corn we saw might almost have been better left unplanted, although we did see some of the ears for sale in the markets.

"At about 11:15 A. M. we arrived at Feira da Sant' Ana, after passing a large plantation of sisal (about two million plants) near the town. We went immediately to the cattle market. The movement was light, probably

because of the rain. Cattle are driven here from all over the state of Bahia and many also from the northern part of the state of Minas Gerais, many hundreds of miles away. Here they are sold and many of them are slaughtered. The scene is reminiscent of the western part of the United States, except that the horses are saddled with the big leather protector for the breast and the croup, with a very light cinch around the middle of the belly. Another difference is the leather clothes of the vaqueiros, consisting of hat, gloves, jacket, coat, and pants. The boys who handle the livestock seem even darker than the average.

"After lunch at the hotel (run by a Spaniard) we headed back toward the capital. Our way led through Humildes, the usina *Alliança*, São Sebastião, and Camacary. Just before we got to the usina we dropped down a couple of hundred feet and left the land of tobacco and mandioca to enter the one of heavier soils on which sugar cane is grown. Huddled about the large mill are about one hundred houses, which are much better looking than those in the sad little independent villages through which we passed before and after. There must be a tremendous acreage in this plantation, for we saw no other mills and no other villages or hamlets for the workers. The cane looked very poor. It is a blue variety, small and short. One field was in flower, and it had not arrived at any considerable size. Apparently it receives little or no cultivation, and is replanted only once in seven years.

"We saw some plantings going on. A large plow (the only one seen all day) was being used in the process. It was built largely of wood, and turned the furrow both ways simultaneously. It was carried on a large four-wheeled wooden carriage. Along with this contraption twelve oxen and seven men were involved in the process of plowing.

"The villages all appear to be in a severely decadent stage. They probably are inhabited mostly by people who because of age or for other reason are largely incapable of any very great amount of productive activity. At Camacary we talked with two public employees who were planting flowers in a small park. They complained bitterly about conditions, stating that they worked day and night and still were unable to make a living. Their pay, they reported, is only 130 cruzeiros (about \$6.50) per month.

"It was 6:45 P. M. when we arrived at the Nova Cinta Hotel."

"August 15, 1945. (Bahia to Bomfim.) We were up at 4:15 A. M. to take the train. There is no light and little water at the hotel. We drank some coffee in the square and then took a taxi to the station.

"The tropical scenes with the low houses, palms, and bananas were very interesting as we skirted the bay on the way out of town. São José da Mata appears to be in an especially decadent condition. After passing Pau

Lavrador we were once more in the tobacco country. The housing is better. Thatch is less prevalent, wattle and daub gives way largely to adobe, and many of the walls are plastered. On the better houses there is an overhanging roof with porches on three sides. After we passed Alagoainhas, however, the country became very poor and offered little prospect of becoming very productive. First there was the agreste and then this gave way to catinga. At Serrinha we crossed a geologic formation in which the underlying gneiss is thickly covered with decomposed matter. Here we found what excited Sternberg as the one and only penaplain in captivity.

"Throughout this whole area man's influence has been very slight, although repeated burnings may have altered the vegetative covering to a considerable extent. Darkness closed in by the time we reached Quemadas. At supper we talked with a fazendeiro from Novo Mundo. He and four brothers and sisters have a fazenda stocked with about 1,500 cattle. The livestock are under the care of two vaqueiros in a *sorte* arrangement, that is, the vaqueiros care for the herds and receive one tenth of the increase for their own.

"The *lavradores* of the area (also called matutos) are allowed to plant wherever they wish since grass for pasture springs up in the roças they make. On the fazenda of our companion from Novo Mundo are twelve families who work as agregados; that is, they live as they wish and do as they will, but they receive a daily wage whenever they engage in the work of the fazenda.

"At about 10:00 P. M. we reached Bomfim. Sternberg rushed to the pension to try for a bed while I followed with the bags. In this I was assisted by a carregador or porter who had met the train two stations before Bomfim in order to secure customers. Sternberg succeeded in getting, in the very rear of the Pensão Oriente, a little cell which barely had room for the four small beds that had been crowded into it. By paying for the four we managed to have the accommodations to ourselves. A stroll down to the center of town revealed little of interest except that in one house we passed a group of young fellows who were playing *batuques* in a lively manner. Then we 'hit the hay' on a bed that was about one foot too short and extremely narrow."

"August 16, 1945. I was up at 6:00 A. M. to wash in cold water which Sternberg poured from a tin can. After this I performed a similar service for him. Breakfast consisted of some oranges and coffee which we had along. By this time our porter was on hand to assist us in getting the bags back to the train.

"Large numbers of beggars crowded around the train as it was loading. One blind singer offered numerous songs, including the following:

A igreja do Senhor Bom Jesus da Lapa,
 Ela é feita de pedra e luz.
 Quem vai doente vem são,
 E quem vai cego vem com luz.
 Meu irmão me dê uma esmola
 Pelo amor do Bom Jesus,
 Pelo amor do Bom Jesus.
 Não tenha pena de dar
 Que é a roça do pobre cego.
 É essa que não pode trabalhar.

Que mão abençoada que Jesus abençoou.
 Senhor Bom Jesus da Lapa
 Dê um voto a seu favor.
 Quem me deu a Santa esmola,
 Dada de bom coração,
 Neste mundo ganha um premio
 E no outro a salvação.

Quem tem dinheiro neste mundo
 E sabe de dirigi,
 Compre o ceu e vende a terra
 Faz escada pra subi.
 Outros que tem o dinheiro
 Compre as trevas
 Para ele se consumi.
 "To cantando, estou pedindo,
 "To dando o que entendê.
 Quem tem sua boca fala;
 Quem tem seus olhos ve.
 De uma esmola a um pobre cego
 Para Deus lhe arrecompensê.¹⁴

¹⁴ In a literal translation these verses would read about as follows:

The Church of Our Lord Jesus of Lapa
 Is made of stone and light.
 He who goes sick returns healed;
 And he who goes blind returns seeing.
 My brother give me alms
 For the love of Jesus,
 For the love of Jesus.
 Be not ashamed to give,
 For charity is the farm of the blind
 man.
 He cannot work.

"After leaving Bomfim we passed slowly along the base of the serra to our left. Here rains and water seem plentiful, and there is quite a little farming of the 'fire agriculture' type, with the hoe also playing an important role. The principal crops are tobacco, castor beans, corn (the most and the best seen in Bahia), and mandioca. Papayas, mangoes, oranges, and bananas also are plentiful. The farming plots are small, and it is evident that much of the land is turned back to second growth after short use. However, some of the clearings have been planted to grasses for pastures.

"Transportation here is furnished almost entirely by the backs of pack animals and the heads of men and women. There is practically no evidence of the wheel.

"Housing is better than in the decadent areas along the coast. Wattle and daub is used for the walls and a crude tile for the roofs. Some adobe construction is also employed.

"Racially the population shows much less Negroid influence than that on the coast and appears to be predominantly white or white-Indian mixture.

"At Itumurim we crossed the divide and began to leave the mountains, passing abruptly into catinga of the most distinctive type. Every plant seems to be covered with spines, and the varieties of cacti are very numerous. Once in a while a beautiful tree of *pau de arca* covered with bright red blossoms enriches the landscape.

"Only a few goats, an occasional ranch hut, and now and then a horse or a cow are to be seen. At present the population seems to be engaged largely in crushing quartzite boulders and piling them up along the right of way of the railroad. Around Juremal and Carnaiba numerous small

What a blessed hand, blessed by Jesus.
 Our Lord Jesus of Lapa
 Gives a promise in your favor.
 Whoever gives me holy alms,
 Given from a pure heart,
 Gains a prize in this world
 And salvation in the other.

He who has money in this world
 And knows how to use it
 Sells the earth and buys heaven,
 And makes a ladder to ascend.
 Others who have money
 Purchase only darkness
 To consume them:
 I'm singing, I'm petitioning,
 I'm giving my understanding.
 He who has a mouth speaks;
 He who has eyes sees.
 Give alms to a poor blind man,
 For God will recompense you.

lime kilns are in evidence and the outcroppings of limestone are plentiful. Some of them look like cliffs of white quartzite and reflect the sun's rays with dazzling brilliance.

"Today there was so much time between stations that I had a chance to reflect on many matters and especially the difficulty in changing the cultural heritage and the agricultural system in general, and introducing such things as draft animals, the wheel, and housing designed to protect health. These people have adjusted to this harsh environment, and are able to survive. What will happen if power and water are brought to this area? Much of this long, flat slope, underlaid by limestone, looks as though irrigation would make it prodigiously productive.

"At about 2:35 P. M. we arrived at Joazeiro, having waited for about twenty minutes at the station a few miles out of town, so that we might not arrive ahead of schedule, an offense for which there is said to be a fine."

"Saturday, August 18. (Joazeiro to Sant' Ana and return.) At about 8:00 A. M. I headed for the docks. Sternberg's fever was down, but he was not in shape to make the trip. After visiting a while and having coffee we headed up the river in the launch. The crew numbered three, and, in addition, one of the local engineers was along to help with the general orientation. We ascended the river about fifty kilometers and then returned. The motor did not work too well, and navigation must be careful to avoid submerged rocks.

"The land on the eastern bank appears much better than that on the west. Settlement is thicker there; too. Most of the houses are small (two or three rooms), of adobe, and have gabled roofs. The roof usually is covered with tile. These are the homes of the small proprietors who practice an intensive agriculture in the sandy loam that is deposited by the stream, and who raise a few livestock, mostly goats, in the *catinga* to the rear.

"We had a chance to talk with some of them, and received a most friendly reception. Each time there was an invitation to the house and profound excuses that the fruits were not ripe.

"Near the city the water front is covered with gardens, many of them in small terraced beds. Onions, lettuce, a plant which resembles the cauliflower, sweet potatoes (which bloom almost as soon as they are set out), corn, beans, a very small tomato, and large and small peppers are grown. Into the small, diked plots, goat manure is spread thickly over the surface. Irrigation is practiced by the women who carry water on their heads from the river and then empty it into a large wooden tray. Then one of them

scoops the water out with her hands in a manner to make it fall upon the plants in a manner simulating rain.

"As we proceeded up stream the crops became less numerous and consisted mostly of corn, beans, and mandioca. We met two steamboats coming down the river, and we overtook and passed one headed for Pirapora. One of those that was descending is the oldest on the São Francisco and is the only side-wheeler in service there. It has received the picturesque nickname *Gallinha do Rio Corrente*, a rough translation of which is the 'waddling duck.'

"The engineer accompanying us, Sr. Martins de Souza, is very well informed about the area. He stated that the holdings here were at first the large *sesmarias* given by the Portuguese crown. This land was of such slight value that it was not divided among the heirs upon the death of one of the proprietors. As a result, as time has passed the land has accumulated tier upon tier of owners, until today it is usually thought of as the communal property of those who are native to the region. If a person wants land he either settles in an unoccupied place or buys the rights of one who is making use of a piece of the land, and then he proceeds to make use of the surrounding territory.

"Near *Joázeiro* are several small pumping stations for irrigation purposes. Each of them supplies water to about one hundred hectares. At *Santa Ana* we went ashore and had a long talk with the chief of police and the owner of one of the stores. Then at about 3:30 P. M. we started back to *Joázeiro*. In the rapids we observed a small double rigger sailboat coming down wind and up stream with sails fully spread and engaged in the task of helping one of the steamboats up the rapids. As we neared *Joázeiro* the boatmen had to navigate very carefully, but a bright moon was of considerable help to them. Some of the boats were moored above waiting for the daylight before proceeding."

PART THREE

THE PEOPLE

The study of population is among the most rapidly advancing fields of knowledge. In nearly all comparative studies the data for South American countries have been lacking. This part, consisting of seven chapters, is devoted to the important aspects of Brazilian demography.

CHAPTER V

DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH OF POPULATION

A RECENT CENSUS placed the population of Brazil, as of July 1, 1950, at 52,645,479. This count must be accepted as reasonably accurate. No accusations of padding the rolls for certain states, such as followed the 1920 enumeration, have been forthcoming. There is, of course, always the possibility and probability of underenumeration, particularly when the enumerators are faced with physical obstacles such as confronted those in charge of the Brazilian census. However, it is doubtful if these led to serious omissions in Brazil's most recent population inventory. After all, the number of persons living in the most remote areas is small. Probably not more than one per cent of the total population were missed, a margin of error that would compare favorably with those of most enumerations in the United States. There are few countries in the world in which the census counts are any more accurate.

In 1950 density of population, measured in terms of persons per square kilometer, was 6.2, an increase from 4.9 in 1940. The equivalents in terms of persons per square mile are 16.1 and 12.7, respectively. For purposes of comparison it also may be well to have in mind the number of inhabitants per square kilometer in a few other areas: the United States and Mexico, 20 and 13, respectively, according to the 1950 censuses; Argentina 6, on the basis of her 1947 enumeration; Egypt 20, Japan 225, India 113, the Philippines 65, France 76, and the United Kingdom 207, according to the 1950 estimates of the United Nations.¹

Data from the 1950 censuses supplemented by estimates made by the author indicate that there were in 1950 about 155,400,000 people in the twenty Latin-American Republics and 109,600,000 in the eleven of them that are located in the South American continent. Therefore, Brazil, or Portuguese America, should be thought of as containing approximately one half of all the inhabitants of South America, or somewhat more than one third of the total population of the Latin-American countries. Its population is a little more than double that of Mexico, somewhat more

¹ *Demographic Yearbook*, 1951 (New York, 1952).

than three times that of Argentina, approximately five times that of Colombia, and about ten times that of Cuba, Chile, or Venezuela.

DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of Brazil's population among the twenty states, five territories, and the Federal District, is indicated in Table II. The largest state in terms of population is São Paulo, which, in 1950, had nearly 9,250,000 inhabitants, or 17.5 per cent of all the people in Brazil. Minas Gerais, with 7,920,823, is the second most populous state, followed by Bahia, and Rio Grande do Sul. Pernambuco and Ceará rank fifth and sixth, respectively, and the Distrito Federal, the state of Rio de Janeiro, and Paraná are next in order. Mato Grosso, whose area is more than double that of Texas, has the fewest inhabitants of any of the Brazilian states, followed by Amazonas which spreads over a still larger portion of the map. Next come Sergipe, Rio Grande do Norte, and Espírito Santo, in the order named.

In 1940 Brazil's center of population fell in the east south-central part of Minas Gerais, not far from Belo Horizonte, and it probably is located in essentially the same position today. Until a new map giving the 1950 distribution of the municípios is available, however, it will be impossible to determine it exactly. The center of population is, of course, very far from the center of the nation's territory. Since the center of population in the United States is in southeastern Illinois, a comparison of the maps of the two countries will show Brazil's population to be concentrated in the south near the coast, to an even greater extent than our own is in the northeastern part of the country. Furthermore, between 1920 and 1940 the center of Brazil's population moved to the south in a slightly easterly direction. This means that the population has tended to become even more concentrated in this limited portion of the nation's territory. The growth and development of the cities of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Pôrto Alegre, were of course the principal factors which pulled the center of population to the south. However, such a tendency must be overcome before the much-heralded *Marcha para Oeste* can get out of the slogan stage.

One need only glance at a map of Brazil showing the distribution of population by municípios (see Figure 2) to see the overwhelming extent to which the population is confined to a narrow band along the seacoast. From the Bragança district of Pará to Rio Grande do Sul there are few areas within two hundred miles of the seacoast which are not rather densely populated. In the same enormous extension of littoral there are

TABLE II

Number of Inhabitants, Area, Density of Population, and Percentage Distribution of Population in Brazil, by Regions, and States or Territories, 1950*

Region and state or territory	Number of inhabitants	Area (square kilometers)	Persons per square kilometer	Per cent of total population
Brazil	52,645,479	8,464,198	6.2	100.0
North	1,883,325	3,540,032	0.5	3.6
Guaporé†	37,438	254,163	0.2	0.1
Acre†	116,124	153,170	0.8	0.2
Amazonas	530,920	1,595,818	0.3	1.0
Rio Branco†	17,623	214,316	0.1	‡
Pará	1,142,846	1,188,769	1.0	2.2
Amapá†	38,374	133,796	0.3	0.1
Northeast	12,652,624	969,704	13.1	24.0
Maranhão	1,600,396	332,239	4.8	3.0
Piauí	1,064,438	249,317	4.3	2.0
Ceará	2,735,702	153,245	17.9	5.2
Rio Grande do Norte	983,572	53,048	18.5	1.9
Paraíba	1,730,784	56,282	30.8	3.3
Pernambuco	3,430,630	97,016	35.4	6.5
Alagoas	1,106,454	28,531	38.8	2.1
Fernando de Noronha†	648	26	24.9	‡
East	19,162,745	1,260,169	15.2	38.4
Sergipe	650,132	21,057	20.9	1.2
Bahia	4,900,419	563,281	8.7	9.3
Minas Gerais**	7,920,823	587,040	13.5	15.1
Espírito Santo**	952,018	45,950	20.7	1.8
Rio de Janeiro	2,326,201	41,666	55.8	4.4
Distrito Federal	2,413,152	1,171	2,060.8	4.6
South	17,183,594	809,258	21.2	32.6
São Paulo	9,242,610	247,223	37.4	17.5
Paraná	2,149,509	200,731	10.7	4.1
Santa Catarina	1,578,159	93,849	16.8	3.0
Rio Grande do Sul	4,213,316	267,455	15.8	8.0
West Central	1,763,191	1,885,035	0.9	3.4
Mato Grosso	528,451	1,262,572	0.4	1.0
Goiás	1,234,740	622,463	2.0	2.4

* Source: Compiled and computed from the data given in "Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil*, 1950 (Rio de Janeiro, 1951).

† Territory.

‡ Less than 0.1 per cent.

** Area and population of the area of the Serra dos Aimorés, in litigation between the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo, is allocated 50 per cent to each of those states.

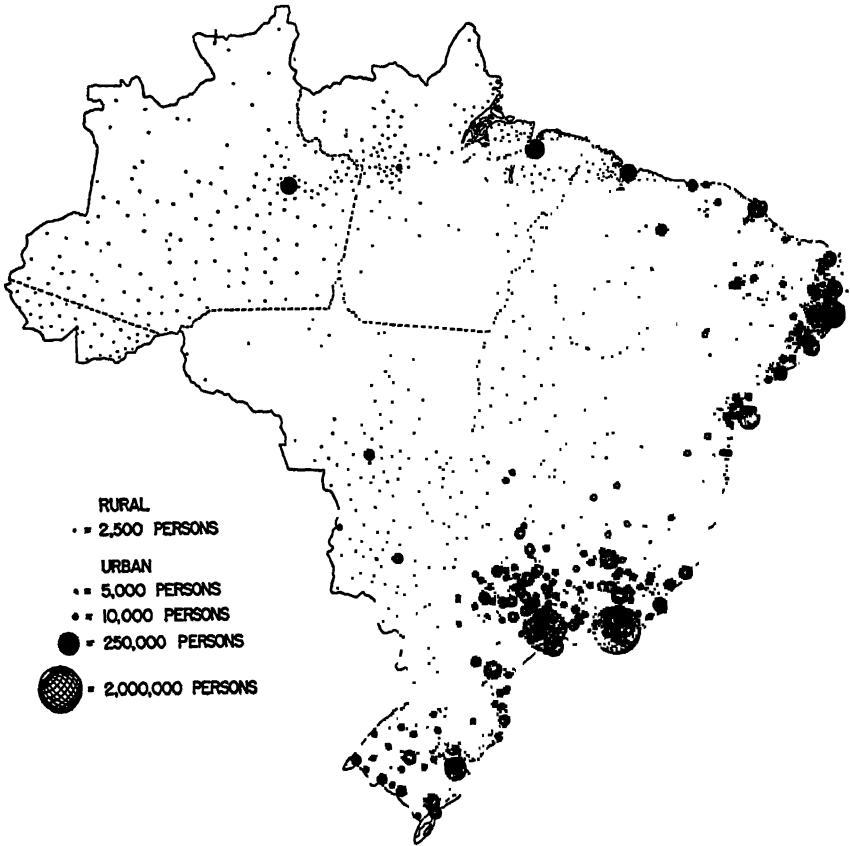


FIGURE 2. Distribution of the Population in Brazil, 1940, from Smith and Marchant, *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent* (New York, 1951), 148. Reproduced by permission of the Dryden Press.

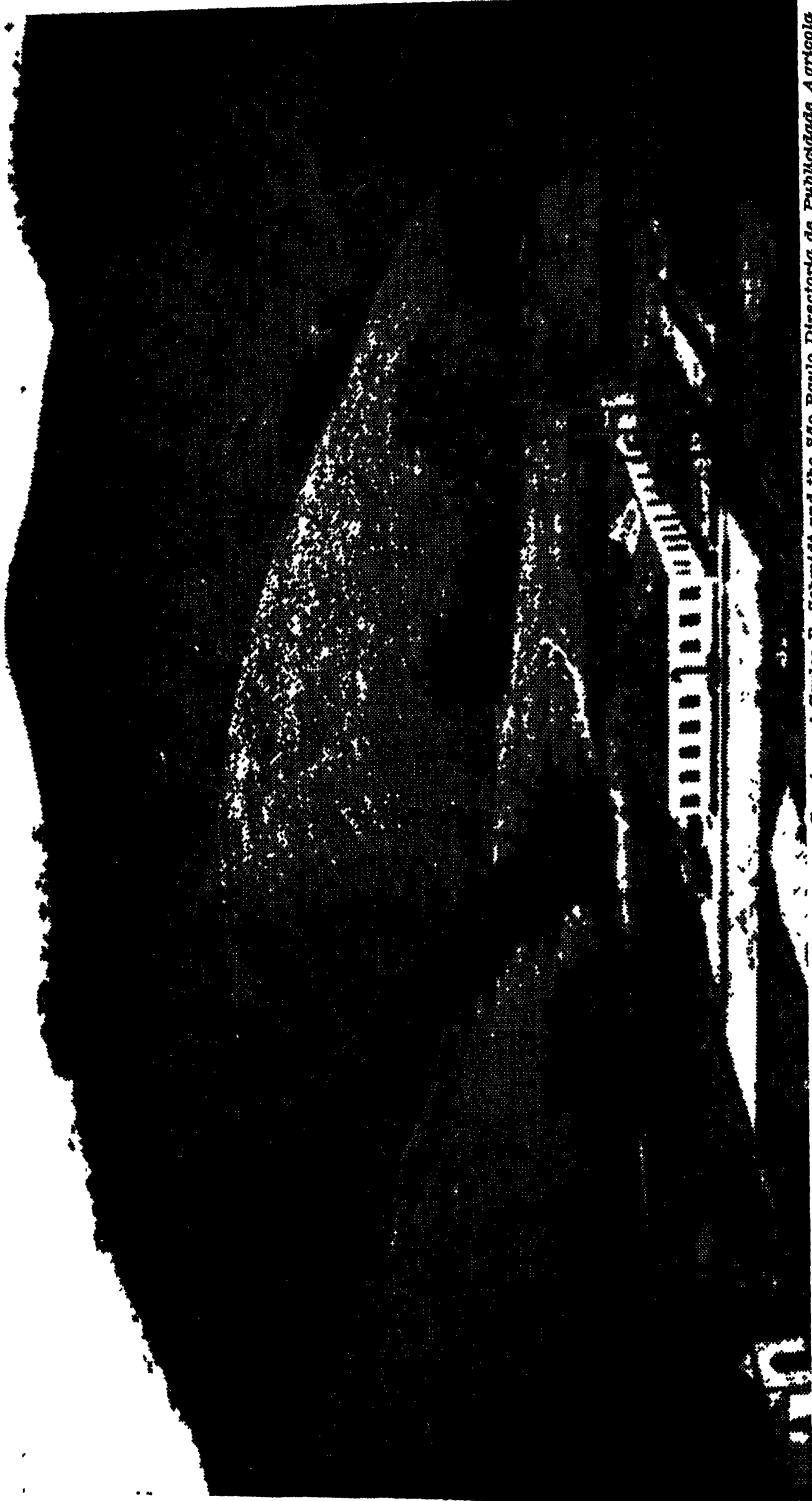
only a few places where fingers of dense settlement have been pushed inland for any considerable distance.

The tremendous variations in density of population prevailing throughout Brazil are readily apparent, and call for little comment. It is significant, however, that only Amazonas, Pará, Maranhão, Piauí, Mato Grosso, and Goiás have indexes that are below the national average. By making use of data from the *Demographic Yearbook* of the United Nations for comparative purposes, it is interesting to note how the density of population in the different parts of Brazil compares with that prevailing in other portions of the earth. Omitting for obvious reasons the Distrito Federal, one observes that the density of population in Brazil's most thickly settled state, Rio de Janeiro, is almost exactly the same as it is in Spain. The second most densely populated Brazilian state, Alagoas, has a man-land

ratio about equal to that in the Malay Federation; and São Paulo, which ranks third in Brazil compares closely with Israel. Pernambuco is closely matched by Thailand; Sergipe and Paraíba have a slightly greater density of population than Hawaii; Espírito Santo, Rio Grande do Norte, and Ceará have numbers of inhabitants per square kilometer closely approximating those in the United States or Egypt. Continuing on down the scale, the density of population in Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul are approximately equal to those in Ethiopia or Liberia, that of Minas Gerais is a little lower than the index for Sweden, and that for Paraná is about the same as for South Africa, Finland, and Iran. Bahia is nearest to Norway in population density; Maranhão and Piauí resemble Algeria, Bolivia, Venezuela, and the Belgian Congo; Goiás is as sparsely populated as New Guinea or French Equatorial Africa. The scarcity of inhabitants throughout the vast expanses of Mato Grosso and the states and territories which lie in the Amazon Basin, where density of population is less than one person per square kilometer, is unmatched elsewhere in the world except in the Arctic and desert wastes. Only Canada, Australia, and the Mongolian Peoples Republic rival the states of Mato Grosso, Amazonas, and Pará in this respect.

The chief exceptions to a concentration of population in coastal areas are the jungles of western Maranhão, the low-lying swamplands that lie between the Serra do Mar and the coast in southern Bahia and the northern portion of Espírito Santo, the lower Ribeira Valley in São Paulo, and the sandy peninsulas which make up most of the coastline of Rio Grande do Sul.

The most significant penetration of dense settlement into the interior is that westward across the state of São Paulo. As will be observed in Figure 2, already the west central part of this state is one of the most densely populated portions of Brazil. This surge of people to the west continues. It is forming supplementary lines of penetration, imperfectly revealed by the map which has to use municípios as units, along the railroad which crosses southern Mato Grosso, southwest into northern Paraná, and north through the panhandle (Triangulo) of Minas Gerais, and on into central Goiás. One of the most significant features of Brazil's population changes is the rapidity with which the density of population in south central Goiás is increasing at the present time. The new capital, Goiânia, founded in 1937 on the crest of the high plains of the region, already has some 25,000 inhabitants. Rail connections between the lines of the Estrada do Ferro de Goiás and the railroads leading to Rio de Janeiro by way of Belo Horizonte were completed in 1942. A large federal colonization pro-



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directorate de Publicidade Agrícola

OLD COFFEE FAZENDA, PARAÍBA VALLEY, SÃO PAULO

ject is under way near Goiânia, and at the present time efforts are under way to develop overland communications between the south and Belém by way of Goiás.

The second more important penetration of thick settlement into Brazil's hinterland is that which has taken place in Rio Grande do Sul. This tide of migration which stemmed from the agricultural colonies north of Pôrto Alegre has already blanketed most of northwestern Rio Grande do Sul with small farms. It is now moving gradually to the south on a broad front.

Several other penetrations of dense settlement into the interior also are reflected on this map. That which has taken place in southeastern Minas Gerais is one of the more important. It is also recent, and as the River Doce Valley is further developed, this area of dense settlement may be expected to increase in size and intensity. In Santa Catarina settlement is pushing up the Tubarão and Itajaí valleys and spilling over onto the highlands. In the east and northeast, too, several rather densely populated sections have been developed at some distance from the coast. Thus the municípios which lie along the railroad from Bahia's capital to Joãozeiro on the Rio São Francisco constitute an important penetration of rather dense settlement. Another is found in southern Ceará and western Paraíba. And, finally, it is evident that the density of population already has become rather pronounced along both sides of the Paraíba River which separates Piauí from Maranhão.

But in Brazil there still remains ample space for millions of additional inhabitants. Most of the country continues to be merely occupied, and not settled. Between the Colombian border and that of Uruguay there are few sections in which thousands of new settlers could not find places for homes and natural resources awaiting their exploitation. To fill its vast empty space, spread a population over the land, and make its vast storehouse of natural resources effective in contributing to man's well being is the tremendous task confronting Brazil.

GROWTH

Before 1890 the counts of Brazil's population left a great deal to be desired. Even the census of 1872, made during the Imperial period, was a short count, especially with respect to the enumeration of young children. Such historical data as are available relative to the early growth of population have been carefully summarized by the nation's foremost population authority, F. J. Oliveira Vianna in "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução."²

² First published in "Introdução," *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920, I*, it has appeared in separate editions and has also been published in Spanish.

Table III presents some of the "bench marks" from this compilation, along with the results of the official censuses made in 1872, 1890, 1900, 1920,

TABLE III
The Growth of Population, 1808-1950*

Year	Population
1808	2,419,406
1823	3,960,866
1830	5,340,000
1854	7,677,800
1872	9,930,478
1890	14,333,915
1900	17,318,556
1920	30,635,605
1940	41,565,083
1950	52,645,479

* Source: *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, I, 403-21; and "Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1950*, p. 1.

1940, and 1950. These entries are sufficient to trace the principal lines of the numerical growth of population in Brazil.

During the last 50 years the growth of population in Brazil has been among the most rapid in the world, and at mid-century the rate of increase seemed to be becoming more rapid rather than diminishing in speed. As indicated above, there were in the republic according to the 1950 census 52,645,479 inhabitants. This is more than three times the number enumerated in the 1900 census, which counted only 17,318,566 persons throughout the entire extent of Brazil's vast territory. Thus the increase of population in the 50-year period was 35,326,923 on an absolute basis, or 204 per cent. In the decade from 1940 to 1950, the ten years which elapsed between the two recent and well-executed censuses, the gain in population was 11,409,164 persons, or 27.7 per cent. See Tables IV and V.

During the first half of the twentieth century Brazil's population grew at the rate of 2.2 per cent annually, whereas from 1940 to 1950 the growth was at the rate of 2.5 per cent per year. During comparable periods the rate of population growth in the United States averaged 1.4 annually during the half century, and the same for the last decade. (Between 1900 and 1910, however, it was 2.0, and from 1930 to 1940 it was only 0.7.) Recent censuses also have made it possible to determine the rates of population increase between 1940 and 1950 in a few other countries: Mexico, 2.5; Puerto Rico, 1.7; Honduras, 3.4; and Panama, 3.4. Else-

where in the world the only sizeable populations with current rates of increase approximating those in Brazil, as revealed by the exhaustive compilations given in the *Demographic Yearbook* of the United Nations, are these: Tunisia (1936-1946), 2.2; the Dominican Republic (1935-1950), 2.4; Argentina (1914-1947), 2.2; Venezuela (1941-1950), 2.9; Costa Rica (1927-1950), 2.3; Formosa (1940-1950), 2.7; Israel (1931-

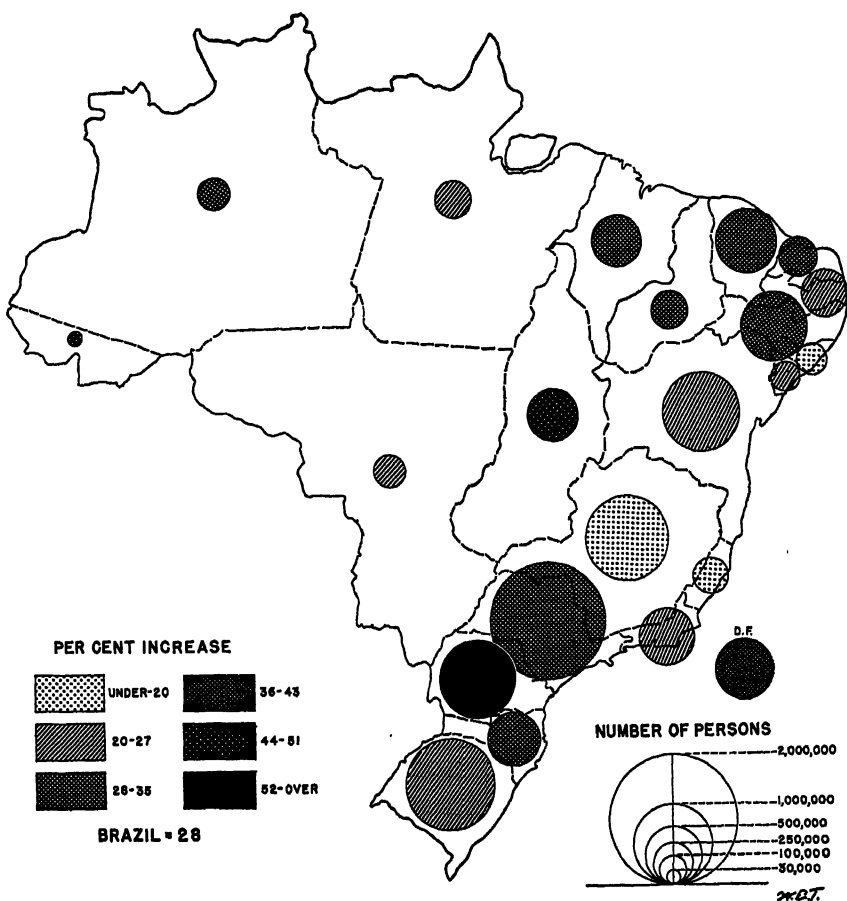


FIGURE 3. Absolute and Relative Changes in the Number of Inhabitants, 1940 to 1950, by States.

1948), 8.7; Korea (1940-1944), 2.0; the Philippines (1939-1948), 1.9; Turkey (1945-1950), 2.2; New Zealand (1945-1951), 2.4; and Japan (1948-1950), 1.7.

Currently the net increase in the Brazilian population is probably about 1,320,000 per year, and this number is likely to increase each year of the present decade. This increase, as is pointed out elsewhere in this volume,

PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS OF BRAZIL

TABLE IV

The Growth of Population in Brazil, 1900 to 1950
and 1940 to 1950, by Regions and States*

Regions and states	Increase of population, 1900-1950		Increase of population, 1940-1950	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Brazil	35,326,923	204	11,409,164	28
North	1,150,785	166	383,467	26
Acre†	23,745	26	36,356	46
Amazonas‡	298,787	119	110,535	25
Pará§	735,864	165	236,576	25
Northeast**	8,377,327	196	2,678,982	27
Maranhão	1,101,088	221	365,227	30
Piauí	730,110	218	246,837	30
Ceará	1,886,575	222	644,670	31
Rio Grande do Norte	709,255	259	215,554	28
Paraíba	1,240,000	253	308,502	22
Pernambuco	2,252,480	191	743,455	28
Alagoas	457,181	70	155,154	16
East	11,266,671	143	3,536,792	23
Sergipe	293,868	83	107,806	20
Bahia	2,782,463	131	982,307	25
Minas Gerais††	4,326,352	120	1,150,910	17
Espírito Santo††	742,235	354	168,414	21
Rio de Janeiro	1,400,166	151	478,344	26
Distrito Federal	1,721,587	249	649,011	37
South	13,104,820	321	4,267,973	33
São Paulo	6,960,331	305	2,062,294	29
Paraná	1,822,373	557	913,233	74
Santa Catarina	1,257,870	393	399,819	34
Rio Grande do Sul	3,064,246	267	892,627	27
West Central	1,427,320	382	541,950	40
Mato Grosso‡‡	447,864	379	133,624	31
Goiás	979,456	383	408,326	49

* Compiled and computed from data given in the "Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1950* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951).

† Data are for period 1920 to 1950.

‡ Data for 1950 include those for the territory of Rio Branco.

§ Data for 1950 include those for the territory of Amapá

** Regional total for 1950 includes the 648 inhabitants of the Island of Fernando de Noronha.

†† The population of the area of the Serra dos Aimorés, in litigation between the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo, is allocated 50 per cent to each state.

‡‡ Data for 1950 include those for the territory of Guaporé.

is explained by a sharply declining death rate and a birth rate which shows no tendency to decrease in proportion.

TABLE V

Number of Inhabitants in Brazil, 1900, 1920, 1940, and 1950
by Region and State, Territory, or District*

Region and state, territory, or district	1900	1920	1940	1950
Brazil	17,318,556	30,635,605	41,238,315	52,645,479
North	695,112	1,439,052	1,462,420	1,883,325
Guaporé †	—	—	—	37,438
Acre †	—	92,379	79,768	116,124
Amazonas	249,756	363,166	438,008	530,920
Rio Branco †	—	—	—	17,623
Pará	445,356	983,507	944,644	1,142,846
Amapá †	—	—	—	38,374
Northeast	4,275,287	7,434,392	9,973,642	12,652,624
Maranhão	499,308	874,337	1,235,169	1,600,396
Piauí	334,328	609,003	817,601	1,064,438
Ceará	849,127	1,319,228	2,091,032	2,735,702
Rio Grande do Norte	274,317	537,135	768,018	983,572
Paraíba	490,784	961,106	1,422,282	1,730,784
Pernambuco	1,178,150	2,154,835	2,688,240	3,430,630
Alagoas	649,273	978,748	951,300	1,106,454
Fernando de Noronha †	—	—	—	648
East	7,896,074	12,874,275	15,625,953	19,162,745
Sergipe	356,264	477,064	542,326	650,132
Bahia	2,117,956	3,334,465	3,918,112	4,900,419
Espírito Santo	209,783	457,328	783,604 ‡	952,018**
Minas Gerais	3,594,471	5,888,174	6,769,913 ‡	7,920,832**
Rio de Janeiro	926,035	1,559,371	1,847,857	2,326,201
Distrito Federal	691,565	1,157,873	1,764,141	2,413,152
South	4,078,774	8,129,355	12,915,621	17,183,594
São Paulo	2,282,279	4,592,188	7,180,316	9,242,610
Paraná	327,136	685,711	1,236,276	2,149,509
Santa Catarina	320,289	668,743	1,178,340	1,578,159
Rio Grande do Sul	1,149,070	2,182,713	3,320,689	4,213,316
West Central	373,309	758,531	1,258,679	1,763,191
Mato Grosso	118,025	246,612	432,265	528,451
Goiás	255,284	511,919	826,414	1,234,740

* Source "Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1950* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951), Table I.

† Territory.

‡ 1940 population (66,914) of the territory in litigation between Espírito Santo and Minas Gerais is allocated 50 per cent to each of these states.

** 1950 population (162,062) of territory in litigation between Espírito Santo and Minas Gerais is allocated 50 per cent to each of these states.

Because of considerable regional differences in the birth and death rates, and especially because of great currents of internal migration, the rate at which the population is increasing varies tremendously from one part of Brazil to another. See Table IV and Figure 3. Whereas the populations of Alagoas and Sergipe failed to double themselves during the first half of the twentieth century, the number of inhabitants of Paraná was more than six and one half times greater in 1950 than it had been in 1900. Both Santa Catarina and Goiás had almost five times as many people at the end of the 50-year period as at the beginning; in the other leading states, Espírito Santo and Mato Grosso, the corresponding ratio is approximately four and one half.

In 1900 Minas Gerais led all the states of Brazil in population, Bahia closely rivaled São Paulo for second position, and Pernambuco was fourth. The differential rates of increase during the half century made considerable changes in these relative positions and also in those of the less populous states. By 1950 São Paulo had by far the greatest number of inhabitants, and the former leader, Minas Gerais, had been relegated to a poor second. Bahia still held third position, although it was rivaled by Rio Grande do Sul, which had supplanted Pernambuco in fourth place.

The most spectacular rises in rank order were those of Paraná, which moved up from fifteenth position in 1900 to ninth in 1950, Goiás, which rose from eighteenth to thirteenth, and Santa Catarina which ascended from sixteenth to twelfth place. Espírito Santo, Paraíba, Ceará, and the Distrito Federal improved their standings among the states with respect to rank in number of inhabitants. Rio Grande do Norte and Mato Grosso ranked in the same positions, seventeenth and twenty-first, respectively, in both 1900 and 1950. In addition to Minas Gerais and Pernambuco, mentioned before, seven other states were overtaken in the half century and passed by one or more of their sisters in the confederation, and, as a result, occupied lower ranks in the population scale in 1950 than they did in 1900. Most drastic were the changes in the cases of Alagoas and Sergipe, which fell from ninth and fifteenth to thirteenth and nineteenth positions, respectively.

The State of São Paulo alone accounted for almost one fifth of the total increase in Brazil's population between 1900 and 1950, although her rate of increase for the period (305 per cent) was exceeded by those of five other states. Together the four southern states—São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul—included one third of the total increase in the number of inhabitants in the nation for the period under consideration, although they embrace less than 10 per cent of the nation's area. If the changes in the Distrito Federal and those in the states of Rio

de Janeiro and Espírito Santo are grouped with those for the four southern states, the combined area, less than 11 per cent of the national territory, accounted for almost one half (48 per cent) of the increase in the Brazilian population. Over the half century under consideration, several of the northeastern states also exhibited rates of population increase considerably above the national average. Those in Rio Grande do Norte and Paraíba were the highest, although the ones for Ceará, Maranhão, and Piauí also were high.

Since 1940 the regional differential in rates of population growth in Brazil contrast sharply with those prevailing between 1900 and 1950. See Table IV. It is true that Paraná led all the states in the decade that has just passed, as it did for the entire half century. Santa Catarina, too, continued to maintain a rate of increase that was far higher than that of the nation, but in recent years the speed with which her population has been growing has failed by a considerable margin to equal that in Goiás, which ranks second to Paraná for the decade ending in 1950. The extent to which the forces for urbanization are making evident their effects is reflected in the fact that the Distrito Federal ranks third in rate of population increase between 1940 and 1950. In the most recent period the states of Alagoas and Minas Gerais are the ones in which population increase has failed by the largest margin to keep pace with the nation; and those for Sergipe and Espírito Santo also have been considerably below the national average.

There is no reason to anticipate in the immediate future any radical change in the three factors directly influencing the growth of population in Brazil. The rate of reproduction may fall to some extent as larger proportions of the population abandon the rural districts for the towns and cities. Mortality, too, should continue to fall, and probably more than enough to offset the changes in the birth rate. Immigration is unlikely to be a considerable factor in the decade now under way. Therefore, the best guess as to the increase of population between now and 1960 estimates it at about the same rate as that recorded between 1940 and 1950, 2.5 per cent annually.

Based on a population of 52,645,000, as enumerated in the 1950 census, such a rate of increase would add about 1,316,000 persons to the population in the first year of the decade 1950 to 1960, and about 1,644,000 during the final year of the period. By July 1, 1960, Brazil will have a population of about 67,390,000 if the annual increase of 2.5 per cent in the population is maintained.

RACIAL COMPOSITION

A THOROUGH STUDY of the racial make-up of the Brazilian population and of the manner in which the various elements are distributed among the regions and classes of the country would in itself be a life's work. If the United States is described as a "melting pot," Brazil must be considered a caldron. No other country has had for four hundred years such large numbers of white, red, and black people thrown into so close physical and social contact with one another. To the already extremely heterogeneous population, composed of these three original strains, and of which the white Portuguese component was already a composite of many elements, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought millions of Europeans, mainly Italians, Germans, Poles, Portuguese, and Spaniards, and the twentieth century has added large contingents of Syrians and Japanese.

RACIAL ELEMENTS

Nearly all known ethnic stocks have contributed to the present-day racial elements of which Brazil's population is composed. However, until well along in the nineteenth century, Portugal's colonial policy was one of severe restriction of immigration, with the result that the bulk of the people in Brazil are descended from the three more important strains: (1) the Portuguese colonists, (2) the native Indians whom the colonists enslaved, and by-whose women they produced a mixed-blood offspring (the *mamelucos*), whose exploits as Indian hunters probably have never been equaled, and (3) millions of Negro slaves who were imported from Africa. To these only need be added the elements introduced by immigration of Europeans (especially Italians, Germans, and Poles) during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the importation of Japanese since 1908.

If one would know the reasons underlying Brazil's population history, he should first remember that the central theme of the nation's social and economic history is *falta de braços*, which can best be translated as "lack of hands." To secure a cheap supply of agricultural labor has been the dominating motive in Brazil's population policy from the earliest colonial

days to the present time. If during early centuries the need of workers on sugar plantations in Bahia, Pernambuco, the lower Paraíba, and other coastal areas dominated the national immigration policy and determined the elements that were added to the population, in later years São Paulo's coffee and cotton fazendas have played a similar role. Therefore, a brief consideration of Brazil's struggle to secure an abundant labor supply for its agriculture is a logical beginning in the analysis of the elements that have entered into its population make-up.

THE LONG-CONTINUED LABOR SHORTAGE

That the shortage of workers, *falta de braços*, is the central theme of Brazil's social and economic history is well known by all who are acquainted with the nation's history. Thousands of books, pamphlets, and articles have been written about this or that aspect of Brazil's social, economic, agricultural, and industrial problems. They are written in all degrees of quality and in many languages. However, in this immense literature, it would be difficult to find a single treatise which does not make reference to the nation's need for more workers. If one travels through Brazil he will hear the same refrain, *falta de braços*, from Amazonas to Rio Grande do Sul, from Rio Grande do Norte to Mato Grosso. This is not surprising if three important items are kept in mind: (1) that most of Brazil's vast territorial expanse is under populated, (2) that Brazil is more "occupied" than "settled," and (3) that the dominant position of the huge landed estate in Brazil has determined that the nation's immigration policy should be designed to secure laborers to work on the fazendas rather than independent proprietors to carve new farms out of the wilderness.

That most of Brazil is underpopulated is indicated by the huge distances which, except near the coast, separate the nuclei of population from one another. One sees little to distinguish the *vila* or *povoação* in Minas Gerais or Rio de Janeiro from the "town" or "village" in Mato Grosso or Amazonas. But in the former states these small population centers will be encountered every few miles, while in the latter frequently they are separated by hundreds of miles. The underpopulation of the country is also indicated by the fact that its territory, more extensive than the continental United States, contains only about one third as many inhabitants as our own country. Furthermore, although northeastern Brazil suffers severely from periodic droughts, the proportion of the country where low annual rainfall dictates a sparse population is extremely small in comparison with the huge expanses of our western plains and intermountain regions. If they were properly equipped with those portions of the man-made environ-



Photo by Arthur Eamon

THREE GIRLS FROM THE SAME STREET, FROM A PAINTING BY MARIA MARGARIDA

ment that would enable them to safeguard health and to magnify the strength of the human arm in its struggle with the jungle, millions of additional Brazilians could grow prosperous in areas which at present seldom or never feel the impress of a human foot.

The emphasis on the need for more workers also grows in part out of the fact that Brazil is still more occupied than settled. With minor exceptions, particularly in parts of São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, only a narrow stretch of the littoral is really settled. The remainder of the country is more correctly described as merely occupied. This is to say that the greater part of Brazil is cut up into huge estates on which a few cattle are grazed, or a scattered population is engaged in the collection of mate, rubber, rosewood, babassú, carnaúba, Brazil nuts, and hundreds of other forest products, searching for diamonds or other precious stones, or merely in hunting and fishing. The landowner and the handful of people whom he employs to work on his vast acreages, or who are permitted to live there, have occupied the territory but they have not settled it. When, as is now the situation in western São Paulo, northern Paraná, and northeastern Rio Grande do Sul, hundreds of new farms and thousands of new families are established on acreages that formerly merely provided a meager livelihood for a fazendeiro and a few of his agregados, the significance of this distinction between settlement and mere occupation becomes evident. But even in 1953 in all the vast expanse of territory between the Colombian frontier and the Uruguayan border, there were few sections in which thousands of settlers could not find land and natural resources awaiting exploitation by man. As one studies Brazil's land system, it becomes clear why in Brazilian terminology *latifundium* means not merely a large landed estate, but has the additional significant connotation of large acreages purposely withheld from productive uses.

Finally, it is important to note that in Brazil underpopulation and the demand for more people takes the form of a cry for more workers, and not, as a rule, for more families to carve homes for themselves out of the wilderness. Very early most of the land passed into the private possession of a limited number of people.¹ From the very first Brazil has been a

¹ As late as 1821 James Henderson wrote about São Paulo:

"It is a great misfortune to the Brazil, that extensive tracts of land have been granted to donatories, who do not possess the means of cultivating one-hundredth part of it, but hold it on under the expectation that the gradual improvement of the country will render it daily more valuable, and the residence of the court here induces them to adhere more strongly to this impression: if they dispose of any part of it, they generally subject it to a fine, and the consequences attending such a contract will present a decided obstacle to the agricultural improvement of this country, not at all proportioned to its extent or superabundant powers. Individuals who would devote their exertions and property to the culture of the soil, where this mode prevails, must be effectually deterred. The province of St. Paulo, which may be estimated to contain one hundred and twenty thou-

country of large landed estates in which the overwhelming proportion of the population was engaged in working the land of others, first as slaves and later as laborers. Therefore, most of the nation's recent efforts to stimulate immigration, and particularly the vigorous policy of São Paulo, have been especially designed and administered to attract a supply of agricultural laborers. It cannot be overemphasized that Brazilian immigration policy has been dominated by the shortage of workers on its fazendas and not by the immensity of the sparsely populated portions of the national territory. It is largely because of this dominance of the large landed estate that *falta de braços* has been the dominant note in Brazil's social and economic history.

Highlights in the four-hundred-year-old struggle to supply enough hands for Brazilian fazendas are (1) the hunting, capture, and enslavement of the native Indian populations, (2) the importation of millions of Negro slaves from Africa to work the sugar plantations of the littoral, and (3) São Paulo's long-continued and vigorous efforts to supply its coffee and cotton fazendas with cheap agricultural labor. Probably the most significant aspects of the latter have been the importation of more than a million Italians, an immigration which has contributed to a radical change in the ethnic composition of São Paulo's population, and the admission of a recorded immigration of some 200,000 Japanese between 1925 and 1940. Together with their descendants these members of the yellow race now number some 500,000 persons, or more than 5 per cent of the state's population.

Enslavement of Indians. Brazilian Indians were not pushed westward, or killed, like those of the United States, or gathered together into missions and taught the elements of Christianity like those in some parts of Spain's colonies.² They were hunted down and enslaved to provide a supply of laborers for the rapidly expanding sugar *engenhos*. These and other large-scale agricultural undertakings set the pattern and guided the policies in the peopling of Brazil from colonial times until the present time.

In Brazil the entire colonial period was one of the large sugar plantation—the *engenho*. According to Oliveira Vianna, Brazil did not know

sand square miles, has no land *devoluto*, or ungranted, although one-thirtieth part of it is not in a state of cultivation." *A History of the Brazil; Comprising its Geography, Commerce, Colonization, Aboriginal Inhabitants, &c.* (London, 1821), 86-87.

In other places the concentration of land ownership was probably even greater. In Bahia a large share of the land early came into the hands of two families, that of the *Senhor da Torre*, and of Antonio Guedes de Britto. The first possessed "260 leagues of land on the right hand side of the upper São Francisco River and running to the south," and "running on the said river towards the north . . . 80 leagues." The second had "160 leagues . . . from the Morro dos Chapéos to the headwaters of the Rio das Velhas." Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala* (3d ed.: Rio de Janeiro, 1938), 37.

² The exceptions are relatively rare instances under the Jesuits.

the small farm until the last century. From the first, Brazil was a land of latifundia. "All the long colonial period was a time of the splendor and glory of the large landed property."³ To clear and cultivate the land for these large sugar estates, to wait upon and serve the members of the land-owning aristocracy, and to perform the other multifarious tasks of the little world which was the *engenho* required a large number of workers. Oliveira Vianna cites authorities who place at 200 the average number of slaves per Brazilian sugar plantation.⁴ In the formative years these slaves were Indians.

Although the Portuguese possessed African slaves before they began the settlement of Brazil, comparatively few Negroes were introduced into the colony during the first two centuries of its existence. The wars with Holland were largely responsible for this and for forcing the Portuguese in Brazil to look elsewhere for a labor supply. The native Indian population was a logical source. The hunting down and the enslavement of the Indians, again to use the words of Oliveira Vianna, became "a true profession of warlike character, practiced by intrepid *sertanistas* [frontiersmen], who, in the north, as well as in the south, entered the interior at the front of their formidable bands of *mamelucos*, assaulted the villages of the poorly armed savages and carried to the latifundia of the coastal areas thousands of Indian slaves."⁵

Of all these early man hunters those of São Paulo gained the greatest notoriety. Paulista *bandeirantes* ranged far and wide throughout the entire length and breadth of what is present-day Brazil, from the *sertões* of Ceará on the north to the upper reaches of the Amazon on the west and the plains of Rio Grande do Sul on the south, in search of their human quarry.⁶ Not content to confine their enslaving activities to the Indians who remained in their native state, they fell upon and carried into captivity the thousands of red men whom the Jesuit fathers had collected into compact villages and educated far along in the religious and agricultural practices of the whites.⁷

³ Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, I, 282.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 290.

⁶ Cf. Alfred Ellis, Jr., *O Bandeirismo Paulista e o Recôdo do Meridiano* (3d ed.: São Paulo, 1938). This, along with the works of other Brazilian scholars, such as those of Afonso de E. Taunay, indicates how these "raids" of the *bandeirantes* secured for Brazil the vast areas of its territory which lie west of the line which the Pope established to divide the American possessions of Portugal and Spain.

⁷ For this phase of their activities consult Thomas J. Page, *La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay* (New York, 1859), 476-83. Page sets at 60,000 the number of Indian slaves sold in the public square in Rio de Janeiro in the years 1628 to 1630, the time of these depredations. See also Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, I, 289-90.

Details of the reduction of these Jesuit missions are given in the following extract from the writings of one of the Jesuit fathers. Even if allowance is made for a large

The exploits of these bandeirantes from São Paulo constitute as great a chapter in the history of Brazil as those of the Indian fighters and frontiersmen in the annals of the United States.

But the supply of Indians was not sufficient for all purposes, the red men were not tractable workers and were constantly fleeing the plantations, and the wars with Holland finally came to an end. The African slave replaced the Indian in agricultural work; and as Indian slavery was gradu-

margin of error in the figures, one may be certain that the number of Indians captured and carried to the slave marts for sale was very large. "These rapid progresses in the Christian cause have been miserably retarded by the Mamalukes from Brazil, a bordering country, and principally from St. Paulo. The Mamalukes are a set of people born of Portuguese, Dutch, French, Italians and Germans, and Brazilian women, celebrated for skill in shooting and robbing, ready for any daring enterprize, and thence distinguished by the foreign name of Mamalukes: for it was their constant custom to carry off the Indians, led by the Fathers into the freedom of the children of God, into the hardest slavery. By their incursions, repeated for a number of years, they overthrew the towns of Assumpcion in Yeyuy, of Todos Santos in Caarõ, of the holy Apostles in Caazapaguazù, of St. Christopher on the opposite side of the Ygay, of St. Joachim in the same place, of Santa Barbara, on the western bank of the Paraguay, and of St. Carlos in Caapi. The Guarany inhabitants of these colonies, with the exception of a few who escaped by flight, were led away to Brazil, chained and corded, in herds, like cattle, and there condemned to perpetual labour in the working of sugar, mandioc, cotton, mines, and tobacco. The sucking babes were torn from the bosoms of their mothers, and cruelly dashed upon the ground by the way. All whom disease or age had rendered imbecile were either cut down or shot, as being unequal to the daily march. Others, in sound health, were often thrown by night into trenches prepared for them, lest they should take advantage of the darkness, and flee. Many perished by the way, either from hunger or the hardships of a journey protracted for many leagues. In this hunting of the Indians, they sometimes employed open violence, sometimes craft, equally inhuman in both. They generally rushed into the town in a long file, when the people were assembled in the church at divine service, and, blocking up every street and corner, left the wretched inhabitants no way of escape. They frequently disguised themselves as Jesuits, wearing rosaries, crosses and a black gown, and collected companies of Indians in the woods. Many towns that were liable to the treacherous hostilities of the Mamalukes, such as Loretto, St. Ignatius, &c. were removed to safer places, by a journey of many months, and with incredible labour, both of the Fathers and the Indians. Nor did the Mamalukes spare our colonies of the Chiquitos and Moxos, nor others in the hands of the Spaniards, which were administered both by the secular and regular clergy. The Indian towns settled on the banks of the Yeyuy, in Curuquatí, and many others, were entirely destroyed by the Mamalukes. The same fate attended Xerez, Guayra, (Ciudad real,) Villarica, &c. cities of the Spaniards. Who can describe all the devastation committed in Paraguay? Hear what is said on this subject in the collection of *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*.—"It is asserted," they say, "that in the space of one hundred and thirty years, two millions of Indians were slain, or carried into captivity by the Mamalukes of Brazil; and that more than one hundred thousand leagues of country, as far as the river Amazon, was stripped of inhabitants. It appears from authentic letters, (sent by the Catholic King ——— in the year 1639, 16th Sept.) that in five years three hundred thousand Paraguayan Indians were carried away into Brazil." Pedro de Avila, Governour of Buenos-Ayres, declared that Indians were openly sold, in his sight, by the inhabitants of the town of St. Paulo, at Rio Janeiro; and that six hundred thousand Indians were sold, in this town alone, from the year 1628 to the year 1630." Martin Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones, An Equestrian People of Paraguay*, tr. (London, 1822), I, 159-62. Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (London, 1817), II, 309 ff., gives an account that is more charitable to the Paulistas.

ally abandoned, the red man was used mainly in pastoral areas to look after the corrals and the herds, and as a fighter.⁸

The Magnitude of the "Traffic." Just how many Negroes were imported into Brazil as slaves is a moot question that probably can never be adequately answered. The same applies to the kindred query as to how prolific were the members of the Negro race during the colonial epoch of Brazil. Certain it is that there was no exceedingly large emigration of Negroes from Brazil,⁹ but unless it is granted that they failed almost entirely to reproduce,¹⁰ or that they died like flies in the new country, one

⁸ The Indian's role of fighter was an important one. "During the 16th and 17th centuries each sugar engenho had to maintain on a war footing its hundreds or at least its tens of men ready to defend the house and the stores accumulated in the warehouses against savages and pirates: these men were almost exclusively Indians or caboclos armed with bows and arrows." Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 62.

⁹ But there was some. Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* (London, 1910), 98, states that some 4,000 to 6,000 Negroes from Brazil returned to Africa between 1850 and 1878. See also, Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil* (Chicago, 1942), 39, who calls attention to the fact that certain towns on the west coast of Africa may have been named by Negroes who once had lived in Brazil. See also Gilberto Freyre, *Nordeste* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937), 130 ff.

¹⁰ Despite the fact that slaves were probably well fed and housed and very well treated generally in Brazil, there seems to have been considerable effort to prevent their reproduction. Note the observations of H. M. Brackenridge, who served as secretary to the commission which the United States sent to South America in 1817 to report the situation in the provinces that were revolting from Spain. He stated that the annual importation of slaves into Brazil was about 30,000, of whom the larger share were males. He also added that it was considered cheaper to import slaves at the prevailing prices of \$200 or \$300 per head than to rear them. *Voyage to South America* (Baltimore, 1819), I, 167.

In São Paulo: "The black slaves have very few children, which is not entirely explained by the proportion of the female to the male slaves (16:22). One cause may be, that the male slaves, being almost always employed in the labours of agriculture, and tending the cattle, pass the greater part of the year alone in the remote *chacaras* and *fazendas de criar gado*, whereas the female slaves are employed in household services." Von Spix and von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, II, 11.

A few years later Commander Charles Wilkes of the U. S. Navy stated more positively:

"The slaves do not increase, as procreation is prevented as much as possible. The two sexes are generally locked up at night in separate apartments. The number of slaves imported into Rio and Bahia previous to the prohibition of the slave trade in 1830, was about forty thousand a year for the former, and ten thousand for the latter, as follows:

	Rio	Bahia
1828	41,913	8,860
1829	40,015	12,808
1830 half year	29,777	8,588

"About one-third of these were lost by death, leaving two-thirds as an accession to the labour of the country.

"The number annually imported since 1830, contrary to law, is estimated at seven to ten thousand." *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (New York, 1856), I, 86.

A British writer, Alexander Majorbanks, in the middle of the nineteenth century, also indicated that the Africans in Brazil did not reproduce sufficiently to maintain their numbers:

"... but who can tell how many slaves it will take to glut the market of Brazil? The half of the population of the continent of Africa would scarcely be sufficient to supply the demand that would spring up under such circumstances. Treated as her slaves are,

can hardly accept even the more conservative estimates as to the number of slaves that were transported from Africa to Brazil. The necessity of extreme caution in the evaluation of all estimates of the numbers involved in the "traffic" is indicated by the wide discrepancies that appear in the early estimates, those made by people "familiar with the scene," "on the ground," and "in a position to know." Thus the famous Padre José de Anchieta set the population of the Portuguese colony in Brazil as 57,000 in the year 1585. Of this number he said that some 14,000 were African slaves, of whom 10,000 were in Pernambuco, 3,000 in Bahia, and about 100 in Rio de Janeiro. But for the period 1584 to 1590, approximately the same date, Fernão Cardim placed the African slave population of Pernambuco at only 2,000 and that of Bahia at 4,000.¹¹

The Negroes brought to Brazil included not only representatives of all the various Bantu groups, which also supplied a large share of the slaves for the United States, but also many from the Sudanese groups, including the Minas, Yorbes, Gêges, Haussás, and others from the northern parts of Africa. These peoples in race and culture were considerably different from the Bantus. Many of them through contact with Arabs knew the Arabic language and were of the Mohammedan faith. Negroes of this type were especially important in Bahia,¹² although they could also be found in Rio de Janeiro.¹³

and as the Brazilians think it their interest to treat them, the time will never come when they will dispense with the necessity of fresh importations from the coast of Africa. But let her be forced to adopt a different line of policy in relation to the treatment of her slaves, and be made to rely upon the natural increase of those already in the country, and the time is not far distant when we may reasonably expect the Brazilians themselves to be utterly opposed to any further accessions to her slaves from the coast of Africa." *Travels in South and North America* (5th ed.: London, 1854), 60. H. H. Smith in the 'seventies referred to the practice of locking up Negro men and women in separate quarters at night. *Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast* (New York, 1879), 526.

More recently Calmon generalized: "The Negro, as a rule, did not survive the third generation. Until 1850 the pure blood Negroes were Africans or children of Africans. The number of mulattoes increased as a function of the slave's sociability; that of the Negroes oscillated with the traffic." *Espírito da Sociedade Colonial*, 157.

¹¹ Renato Mendonça, *A Influência Africana no Português do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935), 53.

¹² The last discussion of this subject by Brazil's most noted authority on the Negro is found in T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, Chap. 5. See also Arthur Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro* (2d ed.: São Paulo, 1940), 22-25; and especially Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos No Brasil*, ed. posthumously (São Paulo, 1935). Cf. Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil*, 1920, I, 319.

¹³ Of the Minas Negroes in Rio de Janeiro, Wilkes wrote in 1838: "The negroes of Brazil who have been brought from North and South Africa, are divided into two distinct and very dissimilar classes. The natives of that portion of the continent known under the general name of Upper Guinea, include the countries in the interior as far as Timbuctoo and Bornou, being the whole of that region lately explored by the English expeditions. The slaves from this quarter, though of various nations and languages, have



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt

*Upper. MIGRANTS FROM THE NORTHEAST AFTER THEIR ARRIVAL IN SÃO PAULO.
Lower. ONE OF THE COFFEE FAZENDAS ON WHICH THE MIGRANTS FIND WORK*

Portuguese Colonists. From the mother country, Portugal, came of course the original white colonists, mostly men. This movement of Portuguese to the New World colony, empire, and republic went on incessantly and continues today. This is the migration which furnished the basic white stock for Brazil's upper strata; and it continues to supplement the white blood which in smaller or greater proportion courses through the veins of large percentages of people in the middle and lower classes. It should not be forgotten, however, that in number the colonists were comparatively few and that the present-day importance of their descendants is out of all proportion to the numerical size of the original white population. This point will be developed further in the sections having to do with race mixture and the "bleaching of the population."

Small as was the contingent of Portuguese colonists who came to the New World to establish themselves, a significant percentage of them were of Semitic stock—the "new Christians" (*crisãos novos*). These former Jews came in relatively large numbers, settled in the small ports along the seacoast where they engaged in trade, skilled labor, and the professions,

yet a general likeness, which stamps them as one race. In Brazil they are known under the name of Minas.

"The Minas slaves are said to be distinguished from others by their bodily and mental qualities. They are generally above middle height, and well formed. The forehead is high, and the cheek-bones prominent; the nose sometimes straight and sometimes depressed; the lips not very thick; teeth small and perpendicularly set; the hair is woolly, and the colour an amber or reddish brown, approaching to black.

"The look and bearing of the Minas blacks are expressive of intelligence and dignity, and they betray little of the levity usually ascribed to the negro race.

"In Brazil they occupy the highest positions that slaves are allowed to attain, being employed as confidential servants, artisans, and small traders. They look down upon, and refuse to have any connexion with, or participation in the employment of the other negroes. Many of them write and read the Arabic, and all can repeat some sentences of it. The greatest number of slaves who purchase their freedom belong to this race."

.....

"The Minas are held in much fear in Brazil. They are extremely numerous at Bahia, and it is understood, that during a late insurrection, they had fully organized themselves, and were determined to institute a regular system of government. They had gone so far as to circulate writings in Arabic, exhorting their fellows in bondage to make the attempt to recover their liberty." *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, pp. 54-56.

Wilkes also described the southern, or Bantu, types: "The nations to the south of the equator, have the usual form of the negro, agreeably to our ideas. Those of the slaves at Rio de Janeiro, are, in general, short, badly formed, or clumsy, with narrow foreheads, flat noses, protruding jaws and teeth, and prominent cheek-bones, with the chin sloping backwards. They are indolent, thoughtless, and licentious. They may be seen in the streets at all hours, employed as carriers, earning the stipulated sum for their masters. And when this is gained, they are to be found stretched out on the sidewalk, under the porticoes, or on the steps of churches, enjoying themselves as mere animals, basking in the sun or sleeping in the shade. They are not deficient in intelligence: the defect is less in their intellectual powers than in their character, which appears to want energy." *Ibid.*, 57.

and became the money lenders who supplied the capital on loan to the *senhores de engenho*.¹⁴ From the accounts extant it would seem to be a rare case in which the sugar planter was not heavily indebted to one of these traders and moneylenders—persons engaged in professions the Portuguese disdained.¹⁵

Other Early White Colonists. In addition to the various elements of white racial stock, including Semites and Moors, who are included among the Portuguese colonists, small groups of French, Dutch, and English early made contributions to the white blood in Brazilian veins. Of most importance among these extraneous elements were the Dutch, whose seventeenth-century occupation of northeastern Brazil has left important racial traces. This is particularly true in Pernambuco. The French, too, attempted to seize various coastal points, notably the bay of Rio de Janeiro; but probably more important still was their long-continued trade in brazilwood. The touch-and-go contacts growing out of this forbidden traffic probably resulted in a considerable infusion of French blood among the Indian peoples inhabiting the coastal areas. Finally, at least a few Englishmen, Italians, and Germans were present among the colonists and contributing their share to the future population of Brazil.¹⁶

Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Immigration. As has been indicated, for the first three centuries of Brazil's existence, the peopling of its vast territory consisted of (1) a small trickle of Portuguese colonists, mostly adventurers seeking a fortune in sugar growing and, later, mining, (2) the numbers added by the hunting down and enslaving of the Indians and through crossbreeding the production of a large mixed white-Indian progeny, and (3) the importation of millions of African slaves, by whose

¹⁴ Cf. Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 6, 164. See also his *Sobrados e Mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), 40 ff.

¹⁵ See Freyre, "Some Aspects of the Social Development of Portuguese America," in Charles C. Griffin (ed.), *Concerning Latin American Culture* (New York, 1940), 86. Cf. Rodolfo Garcia, "Os Judeus no Brasil Colonial," in Afrânio Peixoto and others, *Os Judeus na História do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1936), 42-43, who shows that numerically, financially, and professionally the Jews also played a considerable part in the peopling of Brazil's sugar-growing coastal fringe. In spite of the fact that Brazil was by no means too distant for the long arm of the Inquisition, the new Portuguese colonies were for many years a refuge for Jews and "new Christians." Although late in the sixteenth century and early in the seventeenth century representatives of the Bishop and Inquisitor General of Portugal set up tables of the Holy Office in Bahia, Recife, and other population centers, the local ecclesiastics frequently were accused of assisting persons suspected of adhering to the practices of Judaism to evade detection and judgment. A century later, and especially in 1713, the work of the inquisitors sent from Portugal was much more effective. This year saw thirty-two men and forty women condemned in Rio de Janeiro alone. Those sent to Lisbon for judgment included a large number of *senhores de engenho*, and in part the persecutions may have arisen from the motives of jealousy and covetousness. See especially *Narrativa da Perseguição de Hippolyto Joseph da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça* (London, 1811).

¹⁶ Cf. Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 138-39.

women another large mixed-blood contingent was brought into existence. It is true that French and Dutch also established themselves on the coast and contributed to the racial elements of present-day Brazil. However, in comparison with the Portuguese, the Indian, and the African racial elements, they have been of very minor importance. The introduction of these Teutonic elements represented a departure from the general rule and the attempt to establish small-farming communities.

In the nineteenth century, following the establishment of the empire's capital at Rio de Janeiro and especially after independence, steps were taken to break down the barriers insulating Brazil from the non-Portuguese world. Some of the ports were opened to trade, printing was legalized, scientists and other explorers were admitted, and an attempt was made to induce immigrants other than Portuguese to come to Brazil. The emperor's Teutonic wife probably was largely responsible for the concessions made to German and Swiss immigrants and their introduction and planting in such colonies as Petrópolis, nestled in the high valleys of the Serra do Mar where the emperor's summer palace was located.

Following the abolition of slavery late in the nineteenth century, the population was swelled and greatly changed in composition by the immigration of over a million Italians, mostly to São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul; thousands of Polish who settled largely in Paraná; and more thousands of Germans, who concentrated in Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, and Espírito Santo. Large contingents of Portuguese, Spaniards, and Syrians also entered Brazil in the late years of the nineteenth century. The Portuguese continued to settle in the cities, especially Rio and São Paulo. The Spaniards went mostly to São Paulo, and many of them located in the newly opened agricultural areas. The Syrians settled in the city of São Paulo for the most part, although they also spread throughout the small interior trading centers from southern Mato Grosso to the Amazon.

During the twentieth century the immigration of these European elements has continued, although that of the Italians greatly diminished in volume. Otherwise, the introduction of some 200,000 Japanese immigrants, who have already multiplied to about 600,000 persons of the yellow race, is the most significant new factor in the racial composition of Brazil's population. The Europeans and Syrians who immigrated after 1900 have settled for the most part in the areas previously occupied by their compatriots. The Japanese have located for the most part in São Paulo and the neighboring areas of Paraná, Mato Grosso, and Minas Gerais, although two sizeable groups settled on the Amazon. The immigration of these peoples will be treated in detail elsewhere. Here it is sufficient to point out that the introduction of these Europeans and Asiatics,

especially in the years since Brazil gained her independence, has done much to change the racial stock of southern Brazil. Today Rio Grande do Sul is largely German and Italian; Santa Catarina, German; and Paraná, Polish, German and Italian. São Paulo, although it contains Brazil's greatest agglomeration of races, runs heavily to Italian. However, the German, Japanese, Syrian, and Spanish elements are of very considerable size and importance. Portuguese, of course, also are important in Brazil's leading state.

RACE MIXTURE

Not only have the various ethnic strains been present in Brazil, but conditions have been conducive to their mixing and blending. From the very first, the relative absence of white women,¹⁷ the inferior status of the woman in the family, and the superior status of the white master class gave men of the white race almost unhampered access to Indian female slaves. During the first century of Brazilian history there was much more intermixture between the white and the red races than there would have been had more European women been introduced into the colonies, had those that did come wielded a stronger influence over their husbands, had more of the native-born white women married, and had the social positions of the white and the Indian races been more nearly equal. As a result the genes of upper-class white men have not only been passed on to legitimate offspring who have remained at the top of the social pyramid, but they have contributed greatly to the "bleaching" of the darker populations of the lower social strata.

The rapidity with which this bleaching of the Brazilian population has progressed is startling. This applies equally to the lightening of color derived both from Indian and Negroid ethnic strains. For example, when the Portuguese first established settlements at Bahia they found living there as patriarch of his own village one Corrêa (Indian name Caramurú or "man who makes lightning"), a sailor, or possibly a noble, who may have been marooned there by Cabral. For the most part the entire village population consisted of the children and grandchildren of this white chief. Thus, before the Portuguese had a real foothold on the coast, there were already half-breeds and quarter-breeds who were descendants of this

¹⁷ This factor is very important. In the first place, relatively few Portuguese women were among the settlers. In the second place, of the white children born in Brazil, a very high percentage took religious orders. Said the Captain General of Minas in 1731, "I suppose every woman in Brazil will be a nun," and eight years later the Count of Galvêas complained that in Bahia, "the heads of families refuse to give their daughters in marriage, placing them in convents," with the result that in 1738 there were only two marriages in the entire city. Calmon, *Espirito da Sociedade Colonial*, 90-95.

prolific progenitor. Even the first priests are said to have followed Corrêa's example,¹⁸ and the flock that of their pastors, so that by 1550 the already marriageable half-breeds and quarter-breeds were being supplemented by numerous additional offspring of mixed racial stock. As was to be expected, many of the Portuguese colonists chose as wives the half-blood women and produced offspring who were three-quarters white; at the same time, the newcomers also contributed through extramarital relations to the rapidly increasing population of half bloods. The process of supplying representatives for all the possible gradations in the color scale went on very rapidly. By 1570 selective mating for color had already produced a native-born elite who were almost entirely white; whereas the matings between persons of various degrees of mixed blood, plus the numerous illegitimate progeny of the upper-class men, was rapidly diffusing white blood throughout the veins of all classes in the population.¹⁹ Later, with the importation of Negroes from Africa, an exactly comparable pattern of miscegenation took place between upper-class (white or near-white men) and Negro women. Throughout the centuries that have elapsed, selective mating of upper-class men with the whitest women has produced a Brazilian elite in whom the traces of Indian or Negro blood are infinitesimal, while their extramarital relations with lower-class women constantly are adding to the proportion of white blood in the veins of the middle-class and lower-class Brazilians.²⁰

¹⁸ Later, after Africans became an important element in the population, many priests left numerous mulatto offspring. This is especially important because the rich inheritances left by their ecclesiastical fathers were the means by which men of the mulatto class came into the possession of wide expanses of lands. Says one of the *Cartas Soteropolitanas* (letters from Bahia) quoted by Calmon: "There are ecclesiastics, and not a few, who in that ancient and bad manner without remembering their estate and character, live thusly in disorder with mulatresses and negresses, by whom they leave at death children as heirs to their property; and by this and similar means there have come into the hands of presumptuous, arrogant, and vagabond mulattoes many of the most valuable properties in Brazil, such as the sugar plantations of this area, which in a short time are destroyed." *Espirito da Sociedade Colonial*, 160. By 1774 mulattoes in Brazil came into the enjoyment of full privileges before the law. *Ibid.*, 162. See also Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 323.

¹⁹ Cf. introductory chapter in Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, tr. by Bernard Miall (London, 1911), 32-35.

²⁰ Some of the evidence indicates that upper-class men frequently preferred their dark mistresses to their white wives. Said the French traveler of the early eighteenth century, La Barbinnaï, as quoted by Calmon: "To the most beautiful women they prefer the negresses and mulatresses. I know one, a very charming woman from Lisbon, who is married to a Bahiano; however, disorder prevails in their home, because her husband disdains her for the love of a negress who does not merit the attentions of the ugliest negro in all of Guinea." There is also a little rhyme in the folklore of the state of Rio de Janeiro that runs, in a literal translation, as follows:

"If white women were for sale,
 Either for gold or for silver,
 I should buy one of them
 For a servant for my *mulata*."

This indicates that a comparatively few white men contributed far out of all proportion to the present-day ethnic composition of Brazil.²¹ In addition to their numerous progeny of legitimate descendants and of the white race, through the keeping of concubines (*mulheres da cama*) and other extramarital relations, their genes have been distributed far and wide throughout the masses of the population who have a darker hue. It should not be overlooked that the name caboclo, originally applied to the domesticated Indians and later to the white-Indian cross, has now with much reason become a generalized term to denote the Brazilian peasant or rural laborer. As indicated above, from the very first the mixture of the white and red-races went on rapidly; but family pride, an endogamous marriage system, and the inheritance of private property preserved a small elite of whites at the very top of the social pyramid. Later, and especially throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the same complex of factors operated in a similar way to make the racial heritage contributed by the comparatively few white people who came during the colonial period almost as important in the make-up of the present-day population as the contribution of great masses of Negro slaves imported from Africa.

Cf. Calmon, *Espirito da Sociedade Colonial*, 161. See also Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 9, who quotes the old Brazilian saying about "a white woman for marriage, a mulatress for a mistress, and a negress for work." Cf. Freyre, "Some Aspects of the Social Development of Portuguese America," in Griffin (ed.), *Concerning Latin American Culture*, 83-84.

²¹ Says Oliveira Vianna: "In reality during the Colonial epoch the latifundium was the breeding field par excellence. In it the whites—the owners, their relatives, their agregados—exercised a dominating role. They were the sires, the great impregnators of the Indian women, the fiery stallions of the Negro females. Some of them, even among the most noble, left only '*filhos naturaes e pardos*' [illegitimate children and mulattoes] according to the testimony of the Conde da Cunha." *Populações Meridionaes do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1938), 78-79. And again: "The half bloods, are, then, a historical product of the latifundia. To serve as a field for race crossing, a center for integrating the three distinct races, is the second social function of the rural dominion. This function is one of the most important in our history—because in it is the genesis and formation of our nationality." *Ibid.*, 79-80.

Similar is the analysis of Dr. João Pandiá Calogeras: "And the conditions of life on the old fazendas, in which the master possessed unrestricted control of the lives and goods of his slaves and retainers, like the past feudalism, facilitated greatly the production of half bloods, quadroons, and even of children with higher proportions of Aryan blood.

"Among the slaves, appeared a scale of all shades which varied from almost-white, with an almost imperceptible African tint, to the most characteristic Congo." *A Política Exterior do Império* (Rio de Janeiro, 1927), I, 293-94.

To this facility with which a few thousand Portuguese males (*machos*) produced offspring by women of color, Freyre attributes much of tiny Portugal's success as a colonizing nation. Cf. *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 7. Certainly this small country seized and maintained control of huge expanses of the earth's surface at a time when competition with larger countries was keen. Furthermore, the biological and cultural factors involved preserved the colonies for the Portuguese crown, even though it was long subordinated to Spain.

It was not long before the numbers of Negroes, Indians, and the crosses and recrosses of the two with the whites were sufficiently numerous that the contact between the various strains did not need the assistance of class differences to ensure a large amount of mingling. However, the fact that the most relentless adepts at the hunting of wild Indians were themselves of mixed Indian and white descent, the *mamelucos* or sons of white fathers and Indian women, was not a retarding factor in the blending of the races. Nevertheless, in all of the racial mixing it is probable that the crossing involved comparatively little mingling of Indian and Negro ethnic strains, at least until they had both been diluted with those of whites. It is certain that the *caboclos* or *mamelucos*, crosses of Indian and white, and the *mulattoes* or *pardos* greatly outnumbered *cafusos*, or the offspring of Indian and Negro parents.²² The factor responsible for the slight degree of Indian-Negro crossing seems to have been the culturally determined division of labor among the Indians which made agriculture a task for women. Because they viewed farming tasks as women's work, Indian men never made tractable slaves on Brazilian *engenhos*. Later on, the African's docile acceptance of work in agriculture caused the Indian to despise him, thus raising a great social barrier to the mixture of the red and black races.²³

Finally, following the abolition of slavery, and especially during the last quarter of a century, there has arisen in Brazil what amounts to a veritable cult of racial equality.²⁴ It numbers among its adherents most of

²² Oliveira Vianna, *Populações Meridionaes*, 79. Only rarely does one find in the literature descriptions of the *cafuso* groups. Thus while von Spix and von Martius, Mawe, Prince Maximilian, Koster, St. Hilaire, Burton, and other early travelers make frequent reference to communities of domesticated Indians and *caboclos* and of communities composed wholly of Negroes and *mulattoes*, rarely did they observe settlements of *cafusos*. When von Spix and von Martius did encounter a group of these people in Taruma in the province of São Paulo, it was the occasion for a detailed description of their features and characteristics. *Travels in Brazil*, I, 323-24.

²³ This interpretation was stressed by Brazil's outstanding historian, Dr. Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, in conversations with the author at Belém during December, 1942. However, when von Spix and von Martius visited the *Coroados* of the River Doce in Minas Gerais in 1818 they reported: "The Indian women, we were told, showed more attachment to the negroes than to their own Indian husbands. Runaway negroes, therefore, frequently appear in the woods as the *cicisbei* of the Indian women, and are passionately sought by them. The contrary is the case with the Indian men who consider the negroes as below their dignity and despise them." *Ibid.*, II, 229.

²⁴ Even this modern attitude has deep roots in the past. Thus long before slavery was abolished in Brazil, visitors were struck by the freedom with which persons of all colors mingled with lack of racial discrimination. For example, Wilkes wrote in 1838: "Every one, on his first landing at Rio, will be struck with the indiscriminate mingling of all classes, in every place, all appearing on terms of the utmost equality;—officers, soldiers, and priests, both black and white, mixing and performing their respective duties, without regard to colour or appearance. The only distinction seems to be that of freedom and slavery. There are many wealthy free blacks, highly respectable, who amalgamate with the white families, and are apparently received on a footing of perfect equality." *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (New York, 1856), II, 45.

the nation's leading scholars and many of its outstanding political figures. Although not formally organized and possessed of no written creed, two fundamental tenets, both designed to secure racial equality, seem to have general acceptance: (1) under no circumstances should it be admitted that racial discrimination exists in Brazil, and (2) always should be attacked as un-Brazilian any expression of racial discrimination that may appear. Undoubtedly this is effective, if not in securing complete racial equality, at least in preventing many of the grosser features of racial discrimination and in making for a freer legal blending of the races than otherwise could be possible. This, of course, has little effect upon the racial composition of the elite class at the top of the social scale, for that matter is cared for by the strong Brazilian institution of the family and its system of consciously selective mating.²⁵

Before concluding this discussion of race mixture, a word is necessary about the Japanese population. Although the second and third generations of Brazilian-born Japanese have made their appearance, as yet these Japa-

Testimony of others is similar. Codman, who sometimes was inclined to be severely critical, wrote: "Some years ago, when a census was to be taken, it was proposed to divide the classes of the community, and to enumerate separately the white, black, and mixed. The Brazilians themselves laughed at the imbecile who wasted his ink in the suggestion. 'Mixed!' There is black blood everywhere stirred in; compounded over and over again, like an apothecary's preparation. African blood runs freely through marble halls, as well as in the lowest gutters, and Indian blood swells the general current. There is no distinction between white and black, or any of the intermediate colors, which can act as a bar to social intercourse or political advancement.

"The whole population of Brazil, according to the last census, was 9,083,755, of whom 1,357,416 were slaves; of the remaining 7,726,339, called 'free,' it was wisely determined to make no further classification." *Ten Months in Brazil*, 153-54.

As an explanation of the reason for the Portuguese lack of discrimination against peoples of darker color one should keep in mind that Portugal was the last part of the Iberian Peninsula to be occupied by the Moors. For centuries in Portuguese society the darker ethnic elements occupied the higher social positions. Under the circumstances, marriage with a person of darker hue generally meant moving up the social scale. This economic factor undoubtedly had much to do with disassociating the combination black and bad or undesirable, which has generally prevailed in the Western world. Probably a great deal of the Brazilian's racial tolerance has stemmed from this factor. Cf. Roy Nash, *The Conquest of Brazil* (New York, 1926), 37; and Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 7. The popularity in Portugal of the legends about the "enchanted Moress" (*moura-encantada*), and especially their settings (*ibid.*, 7-8), also indicate that Portuguese men were by no means immune to the mystical sexual appeals of dark eyes and raven tresses. See also Freyre's contribution in Griffin (ed.), *Concerning Latin American Culture*, 83.

²⁵ Says Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), 20: "Indeed, not only has the genealogical tree of many families of distinction been jealously guarded from contact with all strains of inferior blood, but the whites of the colonies maintained and defended their titles and rights to certain posts and functions which had been reserved to them by the laws of their respective mother countries." See also Calmon, *Espirito da Sociedade Colonial*, 158-59. Girls were sent from Portugal, sometimes by the Queen herself, for the explicit purpose of preserving the "social rank and the aristocratic status of the planters." Freyre, "Some Aspects of the Social Development of Portuguese America," in Griffin (ed.), *Concerning Latin American Culture*, 83.

nese have mixed very little with other Brazilian racial stocks. There has been some crossing through the extramarital relations of Japanese males. Also, a handful of business and professional Japanese men, who set themselves up in business in São Paulo, have taken Brazilian wives. In this case the men found it more to their taste to cross racial lines in the selection of mates than to marry with their lower-class compatriots. However, this group is of little consequence numerically. The great mass of the Japanese in Brazil came to the country recently as agricultural laborers. For years they were carefully herded around by the various officials of the Imperial Company which introduced, installed, and worked them. Under these conditions they neither had the inclination nor the opportunity to mate with the Brazilians. Except for the insignificant number of offspring from matings between middle-class and upper-class Japanese men and Brazilian women, therefore, mixed-blood descendants of Japanese and Brazilian parents are neither numerous nor legitimate.²⁶ So little have the Japanese mixed and blended with the other racial groups in São Paulo, it is customary for the Japanese element to be referred to as a "cist" in the social body.²⁷

PRESENT RACIAL MAKE-UP

The task of evaluating the relative importance of the various racial elements in the Brazilian population was greatly facilitated by the 1940 and 1950 censuses of population. As soon as the definitive results from the latter are available the data will be abundant; even now they are fairly adequate. This is fortunate for few subjects have received as much attention from foreigners and Brazilians alike as the absolute and relative importance of the various ethnic and racial strains that have contributed to the population composition as it is today.

For some reason the impression has been widely diffused abroad that the Negroid elements are the principal ones in the Brazilian population.

²⁶ There are certain studies such as Alfred Ellis, Jr., *Populações Paulistas* (São Paulo, 1934), 178-96, which purport to show that Japanese are assimilating rapidly. As evidence is given the numbers and proportions of mixed Japanese-Brazilian marriages. However, since any child born in Brazil is counted as a Brazilian, all the data really show is that children born in Brazil of Japanese parents have reached a marriageable age. Since Japanese were first imported in 1908, this is not surprising. A much more significant and penetrating study is that by R. Paula Souza, "Contribuição á Etnologia Paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XXXI (1936), 95-105, which takes into account the racial characteristics of the parties contracting marriages. This piece of research revealed that even among Japanese families with children in the University, i. e., those least isolated socially from the Brazilians, no race mixture whatever had taken place. See also Oscar Egidio de Araujo, "Enquistamentos Étnicos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, LXV (1940), 227-46.

²⁷ Cf. Sud Mennucci, "A Subdivisão do Município de Blumenau," *Geografia*, Ano II, No. 4 (1936), 20.

Such a thesis is absolutely untenable. Certainly the Caucasian races have contributed much more heavily than the Negroes to the genes carried by the people of Brazil, and in all probability the members of the black race have contributed no more than have the American Indians.

According to the 1940 census the population of Brazil was constituted racially, or by color, in the following manner:

<i>Color</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
White	26,171,778	63.5
Black	6,035,869	14.6
Yellow	242,320	0.6
Brown (pardo)	8,744,365	21.2
Undeclared	41,983	0.1

These figures should be viewed with a considerable degree of caution. To begin with, the category designated as white should be thought of as designating those who are white or whitish. Not a few of them have a considerable admixture of Indian blood in their veins. In addition, Negroid ancestry in a limited degree, although not as prevalent as the Indian, is by no means lacking in many of those classified as whites. The number of those classed as black, or Negro, certainly is the absolute minimum. Any changes in the criteria used would inevitably have the effect of increasing their numbers. The use of the single category of pardos for all those of mixed ancestry, the crosses of whites and Indians as well as those of whites and Negroes, is to be regretted. It is probable that the white-Indian crosses and the white-Negro blends are present in about the same proportions, but, of course, that fact cannot be established with any degree of certainty.

Such data for the various states that are available from the 1950 census, along with those from the 1940 enumeration, are presented in Table VI. They call for little comment. Obviously, in Brazil as in the United States, census procedures do not secure accurate anthropological classifications of the population. The apparent changes between 1940 and 1950 must be attributed far more to variations in the criteria actually applied in classifying the population than to any changes in the racial composition of the population. Nevertheless, the fact that the black, or Negro, population decreased in relative importance in most of the states probably is in line with the true developments. On the other hand there was a much greater tendency in 1950 than in 1940 to place the whitish elements in the mixed or pardo category. Those who have been most closely connected with the two censuses report that in some states the 1940 officials in charge were far too zealous in classifying persons in the darkest possible class.



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directorate de Publicidade Agrícola

INTERIOR OF CAIPIRA'S HOME, MUNICÍPIO OF TAUBATÉ, SÃO PAULO

DISTRIBUTION OF THE RACIAL ELEMENTS

Although throughout Brazil white, black, and red racial strains may be found in nearly every conceivable combination,²⁸ the relative importance of each race varies considerably from one part of the country to another. The 1940 and 1950 census data also supply the facts necessary for an understanding of these variations. Those given in Table VI may be used for this purpose, but the analysis is furthered even more by a study of Figure 4 which gives the 1940 materials in a form facilitating visual study.

The white elements predominate to the greatest extent in Santa Catarina, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, and São Paulo (probably about in the order named) where the recent immigration from Italy, Poland, and Germany have contributed heavily to the populations of white racial stock. The city of Rio de Janeiro also contains large numbers of whites. Elsewhere throughout Brazil, the white elements are of less relative importance, although they seem to be concentrated in the coastal cities. Then, too, the whiteness of the population is largely dependent upon the social position of the group and to only a limited extent is related to the geographic space it occupies. However, in all parts of Brazil one will find some blond, flaxen-haired, blue-eyed persons, although they do not appear elsewhere with the frequency that they do in the south, particularly in Santa Catarina. In areas where new agricultural settlement is being superimposed upon the old cattle-raising culture, as in western São Paulo, it is interesting to see the intermarriage that occurs between the descendants of the German colonists from the south and the offspring of people of darker hue who have migrated to this promised land from the state of Bahia. This occurs where lower-class whites from the south meet their compatriots of a darker hue from the northeast. The meeting and blending of

²⁸ Even an upper-class Brazilian will make reference to his remote Indian ancestry, or feel complimented if another calls him a "caboclo." Similar reference to possible African ancestors is taboo. Says Freyre: "To call some one a 'caboclo' in Brazil almost always is a eulogy of his character or of his capacity for physical and moral resistance. This is in contrast to 'mulatto,' 'negro,' 'muleque,' 'creole,' 'pardo,' 'pardavasco' [brownish], 'sará,' which in general have a depreciative connotation with respect to the moral, social, or cultural situation of an individual. Many a Brazilian mulatto of high social or political position makes a practice of calling himself 'caboclo': 'we caboclos,' 'if I were not a caboclo.' And Julio Bello informs us that old Sebastião do Rosario, a well-known *senhor de engenho* in Pernambuco during the 19th Century, a pure Wanderley of means, of the Wanderleys of Serinhaem—a people almost all of ruddy European skin, of blue eyes, of flaxen hair—when in an expansive mood, highly contented, at one of his elaborate dinners, used to speak of himself, falsely, as being a 'caboclo.' Mulatto or touched with negro blood is what no one cares to be when he is in the *alturas* [higher social levels]. Extremely rare are the exceptions." *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 48. E. Franklin Frazier, after studying fifty families in Bahia, cautiously wrote: "There is reason to believe some of those claiming *caboclo* ancestors preferred the term to mulatto which implied Negro ancestry." "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," *American Sociological Review*, VII (August, 1942), 470.

TABLE VI

The Composition of the Brazilian Population by Color, 1940, and 1950, by States and Territories *

State or territory	White		Black		Yellow		Brown	
	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950
Brazil	63.5		14.6		0.6		21.2	
North								
Guaporé†	—	28.5	—	8.1	—	0.0	—	63.0
Acre†	54.3	30.0	14.2	5.2	0.2	0.0	31.1	64.6
Amazonas	31.3	36.9	7.2	3.4	0.2	0.1	61.1	59.4
Rio Branco†	—	41.6	—	5.0	—	0.0	—	53.3
Pará	44.6	29.0	9.5	5.3	0.1	0.1	45.6	65.4
Amapá	—	27.1	—	8.1	—	0.0	—	64.5
Northeast								
Maranhão	46.8	33.7	27.6	15.8	0.0	0.0	25.5	50.3
Piauí	45.2	28.0	31.9	12.9	0.0	0.0	22.6	59.0
Ceará	52.6	43.6	23.3	10.5	0.0	0.0	23.8	45.8
Rio Grande do Norte	43.5	48.8	13.4	9.5	0.0	0.0	43.1	41.6
Paraíba	53.8	67.1	13.7	13.0	0.0	0.0	32.4	19.7
Pernambuco	54.4	49.6	15.5	9.3	0.0	0.0	29.9	40.9
Alagoas	56.7	40.5	13.8	7.4	0.0	0.0	29.3	51.9
East								
Sergipe	46.7	49.7	18.7	14.2	0.0	0.0	34.4	36.0
Bahia	26.7	29.6	20.1	19.2	0.0	0.0	51.1	51.0
Minas Gerais	61.2	—	19.3	—	0.0	—	19.4	—
Espírito Santo	61.5	58.6	17.1	11.9	0.0	0.0	21.3	29.4
Rio de Janeiro	59.8	59.8	21.3	17.7	0.0	0.1	18.6	22.1
Distrito Federal	71.1	69.9	11.3	12.3	0.1	0.0	17.3	17.5
South								
São Paulo	84.9	—	7.3	—	3.0	—	4.7	—
Paraná	86.6	—	4.9	—	1.1	—	7.4	—
Santa Catarina	94.4	94.6	5.2	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.5
Rio Grande do Sul	88.7	89.1	6.6	5.2	0.0	0.0	4.6	5.4
West Central								
Mato Grosso	50.8	53.3	8.5	9.8	0.7	0.7	39.9	35.9
Goiás	72.1	57.9	16.9	10.1	0.0	0.1	10.8	31.6

*Assembled and computed from data in the "Sinopse do Censo Demográfico: Dados Gerais," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940* (Rio de Janeiro, 1947); and "Censo Demográfico," *VI Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1950*, for the various states (Rio de Janeiro, 1951 and 1952).

† Territory.

these two migratory currents is doing much to equalize the color content of Brazil's population, especially throughout the great newly settled areas of western São Paulo and northern Paraná.

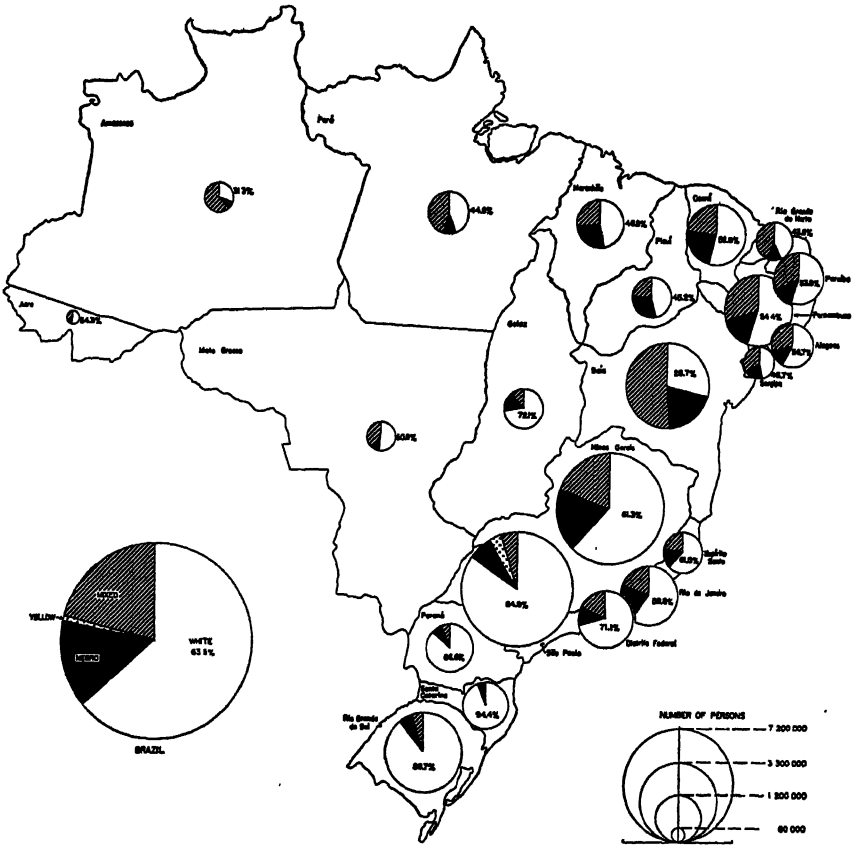


FIGURE 4. Racial Distribution of the Brazilian Population in 1940, by States, from Smith and Marchant, *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 151. Reproduced by permission of Dryden Press.

Indian elements in the Brazilian population are of greatest relative importance in the Amazon Basin. Here throughout the states of Pará and Amazonas, the territory of Acre, the northern part of Goiás, and the western portion of Maranhão, the Indian strain is predominant in a considerable portion of the population. Oftentimes in these areas people are encountered who show no evidences that either white or Negro blood flows in their veins. Other than in this immense region of sparse population and a collecting economy, Indian racial characteristics are most pronounced in the population of the great interior sertões. This is the heart of Brazil, away from the coast which has felt contact with the rest of the world, in the great open spaces where population is very sparse, where agriculture has hardly spread, and where cattle raising furnishes a meager livelihood for the scattered inhabitants. This area includes most of Mato Grosso, some of the more remote parts of western São Paulo, northern Minas Gerais, the western portions of Bahia, Pernambuco, Paraíba, and Rio

Grande do Norte, and the southern two thirds of the states of Ceará, Piauí, and Maranhão. The population of these parts, the sertanistas, shows evidences of long continued crossing and recrossing. No doubt all three of the principal racial stocks have left their imprint upon nearly every one of the inhabitants in this part of Brazil's vast interior. One great Brazilian scholar, Euclýdes da Cunha, has emphasized the importance of the Indian racial heritage, while others, Gilberto Freyre and E. Roquette-Pinto, stress the Negroid contributions to the biological make-up of this population.²⁹ To choose between the two positions probably is unnecessary. One who visits these portions of Brazil will see many persons with unmistakable Negroid characteristics engaged in the care of herds of cattle, but also he will encounter even more frequently the high cheekbones and especially the heavy straight black hair that is a certain indication of a prevalence of Indian rather than Negroid blood.

Negroid elements, too, are much more prevalent in some regions than in others. Bahia and Negroid characteristics in the population are very closely associated in the Brazilian mind and properly so since undoubtedly the Negro elements in the population of Bahia are more important than in any other state in the nation. Here too the survival of African cultural traits are easily observed. The dominance of black blood is greatest in the capital city, São Salvador, where it seems to have filtered to a limited degree into the veins of the very elite, but Negroid characteristics have penetrated even the remote sertões west of the São Francisco River. About one fifth of the great contingent of Bahianos who have moved to São Paulo during the last two decades, a very large share of whom came from the sertões of south central Bahia, were classified as pretos when they passed through the hostel in the city of São Paulo.

Next to Bahia the Negroid elements in the population probably are of greatest relative importance in the state of Rio de Janeiro, whose sugar engenhos were almost as effective in introducing and perpetuating a host of black workers as were those in the sugar-growing *recôncavo* which surrounds Bahia's capital city. From the state of Rio de Janeiro and from Minas Gerais the granting of freedom to the slaves and the ability to move resulted in a great exodus to the national capital, Rio de Janeiro, with the result that the Distrito Federal probably contains today about as high a proportion of Negroes, or people of mixed Negroid descent, as is to be found anywhere in Brazil outside of Bahia. In Brazil's capital city the people of darker hue are found to be concentrated in the poorer sections of the city, particularly in the *favelas* (slums) which overspread the numerous hills that contribute heavily to Rio's superb natural setting. On the other

²⁹ See Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 47-49.

hand, the prevalence of the dark skin and other Negroid characteristics is not as great in Minas Gerais as one might be led to expect from a knowledge of the thousands of slaves who were imported to work the rich mines of the province.

The capital of Maranhão, São Luís, and the coastal areas surrounding it, is probably the section which ranks next in importance of Negroid elements in the population. Sugar and especially cotton plantations were the factors that resulted in the introduction of a large slave contingent to this far northern or equatorial portion of Brazil. Here too, with the freeing of the slaves, there was a strong tendency for the darker racial elements to concentrate in the capital city, a trend similar to that which took place rather generally throughout Brazil. Today, as one witnesses a religious procession in São Luís, after the first few tiers of marchers have passed by, he sees for the most part a seething mass of black humanity. Among hundreds of faces, hardly one in which white features predominate will appear. On the outskirts of the city is the poorer type of dwelling, generally with wattle-and-daub walls, thatched roofs,⁸⁰ and dirt floors, from which these darker elements in the population have assembled.

Closely rivaling, or perhaps exceeding, São Luís and its hinterland in the relative importance of Negroid elements in the population are the sugar-growing, coastal sections of Pernambuco, Paraíba, and the neighboring states. Here, too, the *engenhos* and *usinas* of the sugar industry have counted on a mass of dark workers. In Recife, too, there is a large Negroid population.

⁸⁰ The darker and lower-class elements live in the suburbs of the city. Rather generally throughout northern Brazil, and even on the outskirts of large cities such as São Luís, the owner of the land permits "squatters" to build a house providing they use thatch for the roof. A more permanent construction with a tile roof, however, may not be built by the squatter.

A young mulatto from southern Piauí, whom I encountered in Teresina, the capital of that state, complained bitterly that the landowners in that section did not comply with this time-honored custom, but "kicked out" anyone who tried to build a house on the outskirts of that city. He personally longed for the day when he could go back to his own terra where the donos were more understanding. His statement, however, was probably not a complete description of the prevailing situation, because in the outskirts of Teresina, as in other northern cities, the wattle-and-daub walls, the thatched roofs, and the dirt floors of the huts, and especially the confused, patternless arrangements of the streets and houses seem to indicate an almost complete freedom to build whatever was wanted in the nature of a shelter wherever it was desired to locate a habitation.

In Teresina I made the following entry in my notes: "Cities and towns here (north Brazil) are all of a type and all exactly contrary to the Chicago ecological theories. The center of town is an area of paved streets, electric lights, water, and houses of masonry with tiled roofs. Farther out the facilities give out, but some plastered houses and aligned streets continue. On the edges of town there are no facilities, streets are winding and unaligned, houses are all of thatch or wattle and daub, with thatched roofs. Undoubtedly the center of town is much freer of mosquitoes, and consequently much less dangerous from the standpoints of malaria and yellow fever."

BLEACHING

There can be little doubt that the Brazilian population is steadily becoming whiter in color. As compared with that of 1872 the censuses of 1940 and 1950 show—and correctly so—that the colored strains in the population are of much less importance than they were prior to the freeing of the slaves. It requires no reliance upon mystical climatic influences, no belief in somatic changes induced by diet, nor acceptance of the idea that the genes of white people are more potent than those of their colored fellows to account for this tendency. A series of comparatively simple social and demographic factors seem sufficient to explain the change, and they should be given their proper weight before “open sesame” explanations of a highly questionable character are resorted to.

(1) Through immigration a net contribution of several million European (white) people have been added to the populations of the city of Rio de Janeiro, and of the four southermost states—São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. Of these, the Italian and Portuguese immigrants formed the largest contingents, although Polish, Spanish, and German elements were also numerous. Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo have also received considerable immigration (white) since the freeing of the slaves.

(2) But not all the bleaching of Brazil's population is due to immigration. This lightening of color also goes on in those parts of Brazil which have received few or no immigrants. In Brazil there is little or no tendency towards a differential fertility favorable to the lower, which are also the blacker and redder, classes. Counting only legitimate offspring, the members of the upper classes probably produce as many children on the average as do those of middle-class and lower-class status.

(3) Of the offspring produced, the children of the upper classes undoubtedly survive in larger proportions than the children of the lower and more untutored persons in society's lower strata. In other words, it seems also certain that the net reproduction rate increases as one moves up the Brazilian social ladder. This means that the whiter elements make a larger net contribution of legitimate children to the succeeding generation than do their darker fellows.

(4) Upper-class (white) men continue to have ready access to women of the lower (darker) class. Thus in addition to leaving more than their share of legitimate descendants, these men also contribute greatly to the increase, and consequently to the bleaching, of the lower classes. Neither the sex mores of Brazilian society nor the position of women in the upper-class family is sufficient to check the extramarital proclivities of the upper-

class men. Even were immigration prohibited entirely, it is likely that Brazil's population would continue to lighten with each succeeding generation.

CHAPTER VII

SOME OTHER POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

THE PRECEDING chapter has considered in some detail the racial make-up of the Brazilian population. Other of the most significant characteristics of the population, namely residence, nativity, age, sex, marital status, occupational status, and religious affiliations, are treated in the pages that follow. Unfortunately, these basic aspects of demography cannot be analyzed in as much detail as they deserve to be, because of the lack of recent data. The 1950 Brazilian census, when its tabulations are completed and published, will prove a mine of information on population matters, and will make possible a more thoroughgoing analysis.

RESIDENCE

Quantitatively and qualitatively, Brazil's population is one of the most rural in the entire world. Undoubtedly, the percentage of the nation's population living in communities that must be classed as strictly rural is hardly to be equaled elsewhere.¹ On the other hand, the immense extent of the thinly populated country, the great dispersion of its nodules of settlement, the use of scattered farmsteads in arranging the population on the land, the very high proportion of the population who engage directly in agricultural, stock raising, or hunting and fishing activities, and the undeveloped state of the means of communication and transportation are evidences that the degree of rurality is also a very high one. As yet urban influences reach large expanses of the Brazilian countryside only rarely and then in a weakened condition.

The overwhelming importance of the rural environment as a determinant of Brazilian culture and personality has been recognized by the nation's leading thinkers and writers. Says the outstanding Brazilian student of population and cultural history, Oliveira Vianna:

From the first days of our history we have been an agricultural and pastoral people. The commercial spirit of the Portuguese of the period of the Navigators, dominant in their expansion in the Indies, was obscured in the penetration of

¹ See some of the data in Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, 44-49.

Brazilian terrain, losing its energy in a short time, and disappearing altogether. The native type early contrasted with the foreigners by its essentially rural configuration, by its fundamental country temperament. Urbanism is a modern element in our social evolution. All of our history is that of an agricultural people, is the history of a society of farmers and herdsmen. In the country our race was formed and in it were molded the intimate forces of our civilization. The dynamism of our history in the colonial period came from the countryside. In the country was based the admirable stability of our society in the Imperial period.²

More recently José Augusto stated before the Brazilian Congress:

The Brazilian population is the most rural in the world; it is the one which, in relation to its total, presents the largest percentage of country people and furnishes the largest number of agriculturists in every thousand employed persons.³

All who visit even a small proportion of the 1,882 municípios that lie in the country back of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Recife, Pôrto Alegre, and Bahia, must be convinced of Brazil's high degree of rurality, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative aspects of the subject are made abundantly clear by the data gathered in the 1950 census. According to the criteria employed, only 19,197,686, or 36.5 per cent of the population, was classified as urban; whereas 33,457,973 persons were placed in the rural category. In 1940, however, only 31.2 per cent was urban. It should be remembered, though, that the Brazilian census classifies as urban the inhabitants of all the seats of the county-like municípios and those in the little clusters of homes which make up the seats of the districts as well. Also included in the above figure for the urban population is what was distinguished in 1940 as the suburban portion. A very large share of this urban population would fall in the rural group if criteria similar to those used by the United States Bureau of the Census were employed.

Because the criteria of urban and rural as used by the Brazilian Census Commission differ from those applied by the United States Census Bureau it is well to examine in some detail the basis that is used for classifying the Brazilian population according to residence. A 1938 decree of the national government, Number 311 of March 2, made each *prefeitura* (office of the prefect or governor of the município) responsible for preparing and depositing with the Regional Directory of Geography a map of its município prepared in accordance with instructions supplied by the Conselho Nacional de Geografia. This Council, in drawing up instructions

² Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, I, 281.

³ Cf. A. Carneiro Leão, *A Sociedade Rural* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), 107.

for the preparation of these county maps, included the provision that each should be accompanied by a plan of the seat of the município and one of each of the vilas, or district seats, in the município. On these town and village plans the urban and suburban zones of each cidade and vila were to be clearly indicated. The responsibility for making the delineations was placed upon the local governing bodies, but it was stipulated that "the urban and suburban areas of each vila, district seat, together shall include at least thirty dwellings; the urban area of the cidade, seat of the município, shall include a minimum of two hundred dwellings." It was provided, however, that existing cidades and vilas should be mapped even though they did not meet the minimum requirements specified. Additional instructions were as follows:

Article 8: The determination of the urban part of the seat, whether of a município or a distrito, shall consist in the clear and simple description of a line, easily identified on the ground, surrounding the center of the greatest concentration of houses, in which, as a general rule, are located the principal public edifices and where the commercial, financial, and social life of the seat is manifested most intensely, and where, in many cases, there is the imposition of special taxes, as for example the urban tenth.

Single Paragraph—The said line of delineation of the urban area shall describe, preferably, a polygon, made of straight lines, which follows closely the periphery of the above-mentioned center of concentration of the houses in the seat.

Article 9: The delineation of the suburban portion of the seats, of municípios or distritos, shall consist in the clear and simple description of a line, also easily recognized on the ground, embracing an area that surrounds, at a variable distance, the urban section, an area into which the expansion of the urban zone is already proceeding or to which, due to its favorable typographic conditions, this expansion is naturally destined. The boundary line of the suburban zone should circumscribe as rigorously as possible, the area that really corresponds to the present or future expansion of the urban center, it being prohibited to delimit under any pretext whatsoever that may be invoked, even that of regularizing the form, a suburban perimeter which is removed in distance and confrontation, from the area of expansion mentioned above.⁴

Most of these maps of Brazil's municípios have been completed and final copies prepared in Rio de Janeiro, where they form a part of the excellent map collection of the Conselho Nacional de Geografia. In effect, each map divides the territory of its município into one or more urban tracts, one or more suburban zones, and a rural area. In taking the 1940 and 1950 censuses the populations of the three were classified as urban, suburban, and rural, respectively. Therefore it should be emphasized that the urban population of a Brazilian município consists not only

⁴ Conselho Nacional de Geografia, *Resolução N. 3, de 29 de Março de 1938* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), 7-8.



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directorate de Pablicidade Agrícola

CABOCLOS BUILDING THEIR HOME, URATUBA, SÃO PAULO

of the people living in the built-up area of the population center which constitutes its seat, but includes those living in the cores of the vilas, or small centers which form the seats of the various districts included in the município. Data showing the sizes of the cidades and vilas in 1950 are given in Table VII.

This knowledge of the basis of Brazil's residential classification of population makes it evident that an exact comparison with the United States is impossible. It also suggests procedures that might be used as

TABLE VII
Seats of Municípios and Distritos in Brazil, 1950*

Number of inhabitants	Seats of municípios		Seats of distritos	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	1,887	100.0	3,482	100.0
Under 1,000	278	14.7	2,920	83.8
1,000—1,999	559	29.6	416	12.0
2,000—4,999	605	32.1	102	2.9
5,000—9,999	237	12.5	28	0.8
10,000—19,999	105	5.6	10	0.3
20,000—49,999	69	3.7	6	0.2
50,000—99,999	19	1.0	0	0.0
100,000—over	14	0.8	0	0.0

* Compiled and computed from data in "Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1950* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951).

points of departure in improving our own classification; it at least sets a precedent for the abandoning of corporation limits of a town or city as the line separating urban from rural populations. In this connection it should be added that it would hardly be possible to devise a more heterogeneous and thoroughly confusing catch-all than the rural-nonfarm category presently used in the United States tabulations.

By eliminating the populations of the 3,198 places of less than 2,000 inhabitants from the urban category the data are made much more comparable with those for a country such as the United States. This means subtracting 2,784,762 from the urban total, leaving a balance of 16,412,924, or 31.2 per cent of the Brazilian population in 1950. It is well to remember, however, that Rio de Janeiro with 2,335,931 inhabitants in 1950 and São Paulo with 2,041,719 both are included in the list of the sixteen largest cities in the world. In addition there are in Brazil twelve other centers with populations of more than 100,000, namely, Recife (522,466), Salvador or Bahia (395,993), Pôrto Alegre (381,964), Belo Horizonte (346,207), Belém (230,181), Fortaleza (213,604), San-

os (201,739), Niterói (174,535), Curitiba (141,349), Manaus (110,578), Maceió (102,301), and Campinas (101,746).

The growth and development of these highly urbanized segments of Brazilian society, without a corresponding change in the vast interior, has greatly accentuated rural-urban differences in Brazil. It also helps, by way of contrast, to emphasize the qualitatively high degree of rurality in the bulk of the Brazilian territory. With only about 53,000,000 people spread throughout its vast area, with relatively few centers ranking as cities, with a high percentage of the population directly engaged in agricultural pursuits and collecting activities, with systems of transportation and communication that remain in a very rudimentary stage, it is readily apparent that the degree of rurality in Brazil is very high. The inhabitant of the average Brazilian town or village is conditioned to a far greater extent by cultural influences originating in the surrounding rural environment, and much less by cultural forces emanating from the great urban centers, than the person living in a center of equal size in the United States, England, Germany, or the other countries of western Europe. It will be many years before good roads, automobiles, electricity, telephones, radios, television sets, newspapers, and many other things that have become necessities in the average rural community in the United States are to be found in any extent in most of the rural districts in Brazil. In the meanwhile, the footpath, trail, or stream; the canoe, pack mule, riding horse, and oxcart; the lamp made at home from an old tin can or candles made from locally produced materials; and communication by word of mouth will remain the basic elements in the Brazilian rural scheme of living. There is no reason to doubt that, although Brazil's cities have moved ahead in the stream of modern progress, her rural districts have continued year after year with little or no visible change. Whereas in the United States the trends during the second quarter of the twentieth century did much to eliminate the differences between the rural and urban patterns of living, in Brazil the same forces have tended to accentuate even more the tremendous differences between the two.

NATIONAL ORIGINS

In 1940, about one inhabitant of Brazil out of every thirty-seven (2.7 per cent) had been born in a foreign country, mostly in Europe. At that time the corresponding percentage of foreign-born population in the United States was 8.7, indicating that immigration to Brazil had been much less important, even when placed on a relative basis, than that to our country. The nationalities represented among the 1,425,552 foreigners living in Brazil at the time of the 1940 census, and the relative importance

of each are given in Table VIII; and a somewhat detailed discussion of the movement of foreigners into the country will be found in the chapter on immigration. Although the figures for 1940 are out of date, they are the most recent available until the 1950 data are tabulated and released. However, it is not likely that any pronounced change either in the number or distribution of the foreign-born population in 1950 as compared with

TABLE VIII
Nativity of the Foreign-born, 1940*

Country of origin	Number	Per cent
Total	1,425,552 †	100.0
Portugal	380,325	26.7
Italy	325,305	22.8
Spain	160,557	11.3
Japan	144,523	10.2
Germany	97,105	6.8
Syria	51,240	3.6
Poland	47,151	3.3
U.S.S.R.	30,413	2.1
Uruguay	24,980	1.8
Austria	22,671	1.6
Argentina	17,925	1.3
Lithuania	15,935	1.1
Romania	14,710	1.0
Paraguay	14,660	1.0
Hungary	13,519	1.0
Yugoslavia	9,945	0.7
France	8,093	0.6
England	5,844	0.4
United States	4,805	0.3
Bolivia	4,541	0.3
Switzerland	4,312	0.3
Esthonia-Latvia	4,280	0.3
Turkey	3,172	0.2
Peru	2,778	0.2
The Netherlands	2,068	0.1
Czechoslovakia	2,061	0.1
Belgium	1,639	0.1
Others and Unknown	10,995	0.8

* Compiled and computed from data in "Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940, II* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950).

† This figure is 18,984 larger than the total 1,408,568 secured by combining the number of foreigners and that of naturalized Brazilians reported in the census. However, 18,984 persons born in Austria seem to have been omitted from the summary tables, although included in some of the detailed tabulations.

1940 will be observed. In fact, the relative importance of foreigners in the population probably has declined during the decade.

Distribution. The most obvious fact regarding the distribution of foreigners in Brazil, as revealed by Table IX, is that more than one half of them were in São Paulo. The city of Rio de Janeiro, the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Minas Gerais, and Rio de Janeiro were the other divisions with significantly large foreign populations. However, the number of foreign-born gives a relatively poor index of the importance of foreign nationality, or at least of the foreign language groups. Viewed from this angle, Santa Catarina would probably stand out most strikingly because of the concentration there of people of German language and

TABLE IX
Distribution of the Foreign-born, 1940, by States*

States	Population in 1940	Foreign-born population		Per cent of the nation's foreign-born
		number	per cent	
Brazil	41,236,315	1,405,099	100.0	100.0
São Paulo	7,180,316	813,493	11.3	57.9
Distrito Federal	1,764,141	228,314	12.9	16.2
Rio Grande do Sul	3,320,689	109,432	3.4	7.8
Paraná	1,236,276	66,584	5.4	4.7
Minas Gerais	6,736,416	45,523	0.7	3.2
Rio de Janeiro	1,847,857	38,681	2.1	2.8
Santa Catarina	1,178,340	27,187	2.3	1.9
Mato Grosso	432,265	23,120	5.3	1.6
Pará	944,644	11,073	1.2	0.8
Espírito Santo	750,107	10,938	1.5	0.8
Bahia	3,918,112	8,000	0.2	0.6
Amazonas	438,008	7,372	1.7	0.5
Pernambuco	2,688,240	6,645	0.2	0.5
Goiás	826,414	2,507	0.3	0.2
Maranhão	1,235,169	1,286	0.1	0.1
Ceará	2,091,032	1,280	0.1	0.1
Acre	79,768	1,234	1.5	0.1
Paraíba	1,422,282	671	†	†
Alagoas	951,300	510	0.1	†
Rio Grande do Norte	768,018	451	0.1	†
Sergipe	542,326	289	0.1	†
Piauí	817,601	283	†	†

* Compiled and computed from data in "Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940, II* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950).

† Less than 0.1 per cent.

culture, followed by Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, São Paulo, the city of Rio de Janeiro, and Espírito Santo, about in the order named. On any basis, eastern and northeastern Brazil must be thought of as the regions in which the original Indian, Negro, and Portuguese strains, which formed the basic elements in the Brazilian racial complex, have been left most to themselves. Very few representatives of foreign nationalities have entered these areas.

Relative Importance. On the basis of immigration statistics, it seems safe to conclude that the foreign nationalities in Brazil now rank as follows in importance: Portuguese and Italians, first and second, followed by Spaniards, Japanese, Germans, Syrians, Poles, and Russians, in the order named. Except for the Japanese, who immigrated in large numbers only after 1925, the nationalities and the order are practically as they were in 1920.

Concentration in Cities. The tendency of the foreign elements to concentrate in cities is one of the most firmly established principles in the study of peoples and cultures. Therefore, it is of interest to examine the distribution of the foreign portion of the Brazilian population from this point of view. Unfortunately, the direct study of this subject is another investigation handicapped by the failure of the Brazilian census to tabulate separately the principal characteristics for the rural and the urban parts of the population. However, the high percentage of foreigners in Rio de Janeiro and some of the other principal cities is easily revealed. Thus in 1940 the proportion of foreign-born persons in the population of the Distrito Federal, which is almost the same as the nation's capital city, was 13.0 per cent, whereas in the country as a whole the corresponding percentage was only 2.7. In São Paulo, in the same year, the proportion of foreign-born in the state as a whole was 11.3 per cent, only slightly more than one half the percentage of 22.4 for the município of São Paulo. Similarly, in Minas Gerais, the proportion of foreigners in the state, 0.7 per cent, was much below that in the município of Belo Horizonte, 3.3 per cent; and in the state of Rio de Janeiro the population as a whole contained only 2.1 per cent foreign-born, whereas in the município of Niterói the corresponding percentage was 7.5.

AGE

Characteristics of the Age Profile. Few features of Brazil's population are of greater significance than the manner in which it is distributed according to age. As in other parts of the world in which both the birth rate and the death rate are very high, Brazil's population is highly

concentrated in the tender years of life, whereas the percentage of persons at the productive ages of life is somewhat low, and the proportions of those in the advanced ages are very low indeed. See Figure 5. Thus according to data from the 1940 census, the latest available at the time of writing, 42.5 per cent of the population was less than fifteen years of age, a figure much above the corresponding one of 25.0 for the United States the same year. On the other hand, the elderly portion of the population was much less important, relatively, than in countries such as the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, and Australia, where the rate of

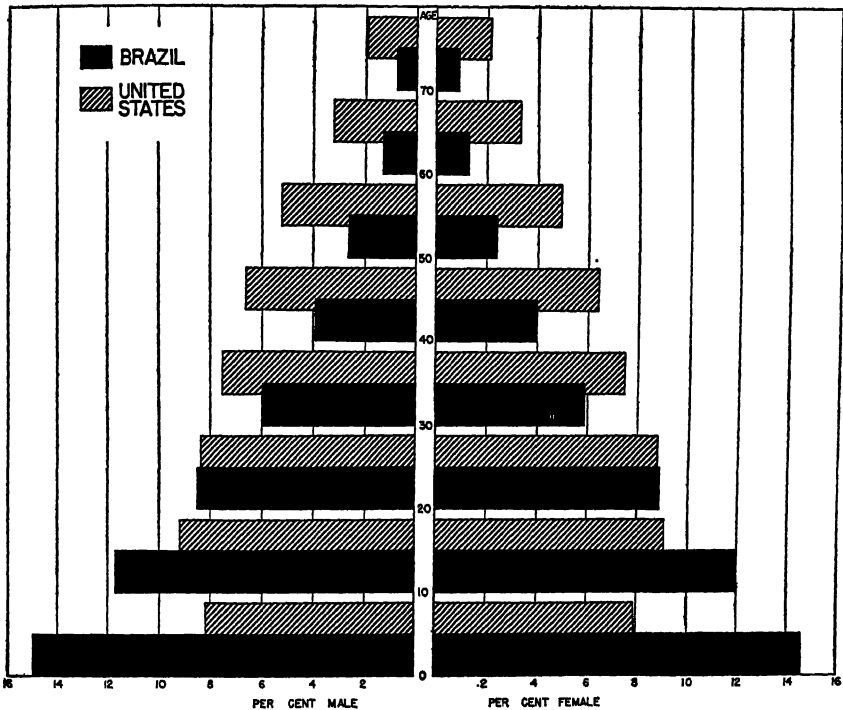


FIGURE 5. A Comparison of the Age and Sex Pyramids of Brazil and the United States, 1940, from Smith and Marchant, *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 155. Reproduced by permission of Dryden Press.

reproduction is lower and the length of life considerably longer. To cite the specific data, in 1940 only 2.4 per cent of the Brazilian population was aged 65 years or over, compared with 6.8 per cent in our own country. Since 1940 this percentage in the United States has risen to above 8; whereas it is very doubtful if any significant change has taken place in the proportion of the elderly in the Brazilian population.

Of particular significance is the ratio of persons in the biologically and economically productive years of life to those who are largely de-

pendent upon others for the goods and services they consume. In any population the ratio of persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five to those who are either under fifteen or over sixty-five is a highly significant indicator. On this basis there were in Brazil, in 1940, 82.4 dependents per 100 producers; in the United States the corresponding ratio was only 46.8. In other words, the average breadwinner in Brazil has almost twice as many mouths to feed as does his counterpart in the United States.

Rural-Urban Differences. A widely observed demographic tendency is the concentration of the young and the old in the rural parts of a country; whereas the productive ages are found in very high proportions in the cities. Brazil probably is fairly typical in this respect, although once more the lack of separate tabulations of age distributions for the rural and urban populations makes it difficult to obtain satisfactory comparisons. The tendency is illustrated, however, by the materials presented in Figure 6. It will be noted that the population of the Distrito Federal con-

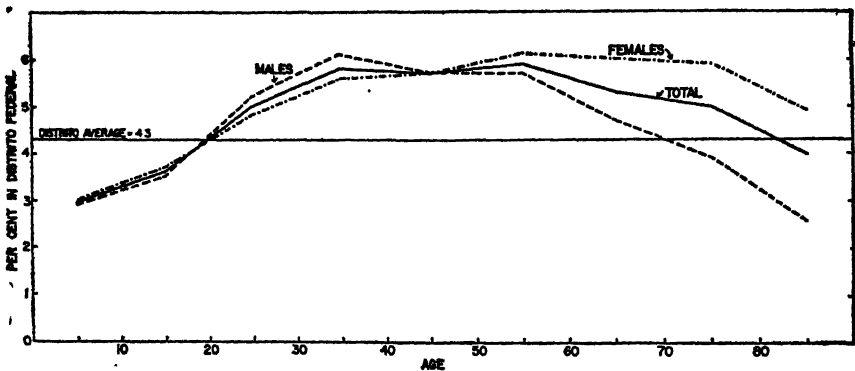


FIGURE 6. Percentage of Brazil's Population Residing in the Distrito Federal by Age and Sex, 1940, from Smith and Marchant, *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 156. Reproduced by permission of Dryden Press.

tains far less than its pro rata share of the Brazilians less than twenty years of age. On the other hand it has much more than its quota of those from the age of twenty to eighty. The city's fairly large percentage of those above sixty-five may be rather uniquely Brazilian, and the pronounced extent to which elderly women reside in the nation's capital probably is unequalled in most countries.

SEX

The population of Brazil is almost exactly equally divided between the sexes, there being in 1940, as reported by the census, 20,614,088

males and 20,622,227 females in the country. This gives a sex ratio of 100.0 males per 100 females. In 1920, however, the corresponding ratio was 101.7, and it is likely to be slightly less than 100, or about 99, when the results of the 1950 census become available. Were it not for the fact that Brazil's population has been considerably swollen by immigration from abroad, the sex ratio would be somewhat lower, for among the native-born population in 1940 there were only 99.1 males per 100 females, as compared with sex ratios of 123.4 and 218.5 among the persons born in other countries who were classified as foreigners and naturalized Brazilians, respectively. Elsewhere in the Americas some sex ratios revealed by the data of the 1950 censuses are as follows: Costa Rica, 99.7; the Dominican Republic, 100.6; El Salvador, 98.0; Guatemala, 102.3; Panama, 103.6; Ecuador, 99.7; Paraguay, 96.6; Puerto Rico, 99.5; and the United States, 98.8. In 1947, Argentina had 105.1 males for every 100 females in its population, and in 1940 the corresponding ratios in a few other countries were as follows: Mexico, 97.4; Chile, 98.3; and Peru, 97.7. Thus the sex ratio in Brazil runs slightly higher than that which is general in America. In part this is due to immigration, and in part, it may be due to the combined effect of high fertility and high mortality which tends to concentrate the population in the younger ages of life where the proportions of males are high.

The proportions of the sexes vary considerably from one part of Brazil to another. See Table X. In the first place there is the usual tendency for the males to concentrate in rural districts and the females in towns and cities. Thus in 1940 the sex ratio in the urban population was only 90.8, and that in the suburban population 94.4, compared with one of 103.9 in the rural population. Were it not for the fact that the foreign-born population, with its high proportions of males, is highly concentrated in the cities, these rural-urban differences would be even more pronounced.

The parts of Brazil which are receiving heavy currents of migration from other parts of the country also have had the relative importance of their male populations inflated by that fact; those which are losing heavily by migration are the ones in which females predominate to the greatest extent. For observing this tenency, the materials pertaining to the native population as given in Table X are especially significant. Acre, Mato Grosso, Amazonas, Paraná, São Paulo, Espírito Santo, and Goiás have received considerable influxes of population from some of the other states; the states in the Northeast, and particularly Sergipe, Alagoas, Bahia, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Ceará have sent forth these currents.

TABLE X

Number of Males Per 100 Females in Each State, 1940, by Nativity*

	Total population	Foreign population	Naturalized Brazilians	Native population
Brazil	100.0	123.4	218.5	99.1
North				
Acre	123.5	180.0	300.0	122.7
Amazonas	106.3	158.8	262.4	105.5
Pará	100.5	185.9	415.4	99.7
Northeast				
Maranhão	98.8	259.5	426.1	98.7
Piauí	98.2	170.7	446.7	97.0
Ceará	96.8	221.5	269.4	96.7
Rio Grande do Norte	97.9	206.7	473.3	97.9
Paraíba	96.3	140.6	227.3	96.3
Pernambuco	94.7	200.4	290.1	94.5
Alagoas	98.4	197.3	428.6	94.3
East				
Sergipe	91.2	151.3	191.2	91.2
Bahia	95.5	234.9	371.1	95.3
Minas Gerais	99.7	136.0	213.0	99.5
Espírito Santo	103.0	104.8	187.3	102.7
Rio de Janeiro	102.1	187.7	348.0	101.0
Distrito Federal	99.1	146.4	457.6	92.9
South				
São Paulo	104.6	114.2	209.8	102.9
Paraná	105.1	116.2	167.8	104.2
Santa Catarina	102.4	124.6	142.4	101.9
Rio Grande do Sul	100.4	117.8	186.2	99.6
West Central				
Mato Grosso	114.1	141.2	258.6	112.6
Goiás	102.7	178.0	241.9	102.5

* Compiled and computed from data in "Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940, II* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950).

The predominance of females reaches its maximum in the towns and cities of the zones that are giving large numbers of migrants to other sections of the republic; the proportions of males become greatest in the frontier areas into which there is a rush of population. Thus in 1940 the sex ratios in the urban parts of some of the northeastern states were as follows: Bahia, 74.2; Sergipe, 77.7; Rio Grande do Norte, 81.3; Pernambuco, 82.4; and Ceará, 82.8; and those in a few of the frontier municípios were 111.6 in Londrina, 113.7 in Sertanópolis, and 117.3 in Cornélio

Procópio—all in northern Paraná; 117.1 in Presidente Venceslau, 118.1 in Valparaíso, and 120.8 in Tupã—all in western São Paulo; 129.4 in Rio Branco, Acre; and 137.2 in Barcelos, Amazonas.

MARITAL STATUS

Brazilians do not shun formal marriage ties to the same extent as do Colombians, Peruvians, and the peoples of some of the other Latin-American countries; but, on the other hand, they appear much less likely to contract formal marriage ties than the inhabitants of many of the European countries, Canada, the United States, or Japan. At all ages the percentages of Brazilians, males and females alike, who are actually living in a marital state are small in comparison with those of the United States, although they are high in comparison with those of Peru. See Figures 7 and 8. Curves showing the proportions of the single population at various ages drop more precipitously in Brazil than in the United States, indicating that Brazilians are somewhat older at the time they leave the single category than are persons in the United States. Brazilian women seem almost twice as likely to live their entire lives without contracting matrimony as their sisters in our own country. The differences between the sexes may be due in considerable part to the fact that higher death rates in Brazil give previously unmarried men more opportunities for marrying widows than are offered to men in the United States; also immigration, which has been heavier in the United States than in Brazil may help explain the difference.

The curves representing the widowed rise more rapidly in Brazil than in the United States, a fact explained by the higher Brazilian death rates. By the time age sixty-one has been reached, the number of widows in Brazil is equal to the number of married women, whereas a comparable situation does not arise in the population of the United States until age sixty-eight is reached. If a Brazilian woman lives to the age of sixty-five the chances are equal that she will be a widow; in the United States the corresponding age is seventy. The points to stress are that Brazil contains high proportions of the single and the widowed and relatively low percentages of those who are married.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

The occupational statistics are the most unreliable, confusing, and misused portions of the modern census. One can seldom be sure whether

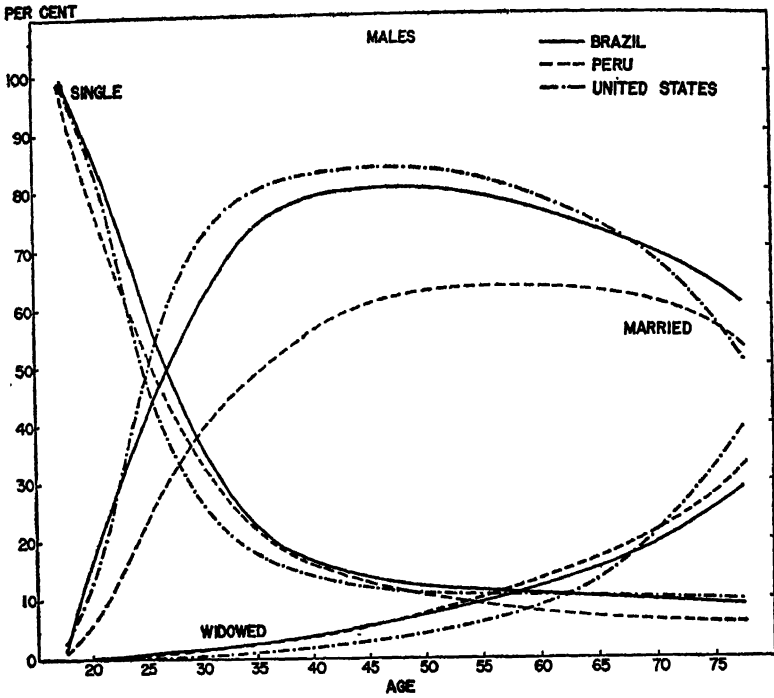


FIGURE 7. Marital Status of the Male Populations of Brazil, Peru, and the United States, by Age, 1940, from Smith and Marchant, *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 157. Reproduced by permission of Dryden Press.

an analysis of them has clarified the situation, or only added to the existing confusion. Consequently, no detailed discussion of Brazilian occupational statistics is attempted.

There are three points that must be evident to one who studies Brazil, even though he never makes any examination whatsoever of numerical data. These are that (1) the overwhelming proportion of the Brazilian people obtain their livelihood from agricultural and collecting enterprises, (2) the contingents employed in domestic and personal services are exceedingly large in proportion to the population of the nation, and (3) because of the role of the human being as a beast of burden and because such a large share of the things transported are carried on the heads of men and women, or packed on the backs of animals, or hauled in oxcarts, or loaded into small boats, the number of persons engaged in transportation activities is also very large in comparison with the volume transported and the population of the nation.

The latest occupational statistics are those for 1940. These are assembled in Table XI. There has been some change since that time, although the essential features of the occupational distribution probably

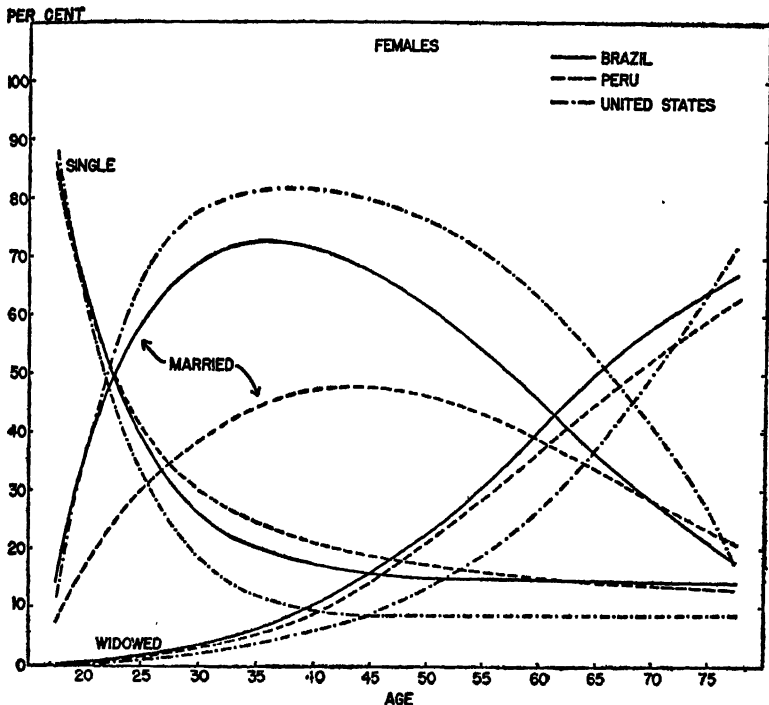


FIGURE 8. Marital Status of the Female Populations of Brazil, Peru, and the United States, by Age, 1940, from Smith and Marchant, *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 157. Reproduced by permission of Dryden Press.

have not been altered greatly. However, the census of 1940 was taken before the necessity of classifying the gainfully employed according to both industry and occupation was widely recognized. Consequently, the official statistics support only the first of the propositions given above, namely, the overwhelming importance of agriculture and the collecting activities. The data do not adequately reflect the importance of domestic service, nor do they correctly emphasize the extent to which the nation's man-labor hours are expended in transportation tasks.

In Brazil, as elsewhere, the occupational data for the male population are much more adequate than for females. However, for males as well as females there is a large residue of those who did not declare their occupation or were without occupation. Even so, almost 60 per cent of the males were reported as engaged in agricultural and extractive activities. There is little reason to doubt the reliability of this proportion, and still it is an amazingly high percentage. Few nations live so exclusively from activities in these fields of endeavor. Of these only 2,348 were classed as hunters and 88,049 as fishermen, although these occupations undoubtedly were among the chief means of support for several million people.

TABLE XI

Distribution of Brazilian Workers 10 Years of Age and Over by Industry, 1940, by Sex*

Industry	Total		Males		Females	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	29,037,849	100.0	14,434,611	100.0	14,603,238	100.0
Agriculture, stock-raising, and forestry	9,453,512	32.6	8,183,313	56.7	1,270,199	8.7
Extractive industries	390,560	1.3	345,202	2.4	45,358	0.3
Manufacturing and processing	1,400,056	4.8	1,107,371	7.7	292,685	2.0
Commerce	749,143	2.6	698,202	4.8	50,941	0.4
Real estate, banking, credit, and insurance	51,777	0.2	48,229	0.3	3,548	†
Transportation and communication	473,676	1.6	459,758	3.2	13,918	†
Public administration, justice, and public education	310,726	1.1	227,341	1.6	83,385	0.6
National defense and public security	172,212	0.6	170,827	1.2	1,385	†
Liberal professions, religion, private education, and private administration	118,687	0.4	78,731	0.5	39,956	0.3
Services and social activities	899,774	3.1	461,621	3.2	438,153	3.0
Domestic service and school activities	11,909,514	41.0	1,184,239	8.2	10,725,275	73.5
Unemployed, undeclared, ill defined, etc.	3,108,212	10.7	1,469,777	10.2	1,638,435	11.2

* Compiled and computed from data in "Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940, II* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950).

† Less than 0.1 per cent.

Some of the essential facts concerning occupational make-up are brought out more clearly by relating the numbers of persons engaged in certain professions to the total population. Thus it is interesting to note that in the Brazil of 1940 there was one person engaged in the religious professions for every 4,537 inhabitants; one lawyer or judge for every 2,626; one person engaged in police activities for every 2,444; one whose profession was connected with the sciences, letters, or arts for every 4,095; one teacher for each 419; one person engaged in the medical professions for every 1,206;⁵ and one engineer for every 9,844.⁶

⁵ On August 8, 1942, the *Correio da Manhã* of Rio de Janeiro quoted Dr. Barros Barreto, Director of the National Department of Health, to the effect that Brazil suffered from a shortage of nurses and that 404 of the nation's 1,575 municípios were without doctors.

⁶ These computations are based on data given in "Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação," *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1940, II* (Rio de Janeiro 1950), 40-41.



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directoria de Publicidade Agricola
Upper. MILK IS ASSEMBLED AT THIS POINT NEAR TAUBATÉ AND THEN TRUCKED TO SÃO PAULO. Lower. CHARCOAL IS TRANSPORTED ON PACK ANIMALS TO THIS POINT NEAR TAUBATÉ AND THEN TRUCKED TO SÃO PAULO

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

Roman Catholics. According to the 1940 census 95 per cent of the Brazilian people are members of the Roman Catholic Church. Most of the differentiation along religious lines has occurred within or been incorporated into the general framework of this universal body. Even the members of the African cults that survive in Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, and other states are nearly always nominal Catholics. In other sections where the religious syncretism has involved the blending of cultural elements derived from aboriginal Indian sources with Christianity the process also has gone on within the broad framework of the Catholic faith. However, none of this is revealed by a census of religious affiliations. Nominally, the bulk of the Brazilian population is Catholic. Only highly trained specialists can eventually arrive at an estimate of the relative importance of the groups affiliated with cults originating in Africa or with those of Indian origin.

Protestants. There are, however, several important religious groups in Brazil other than the Roman Catholics. Of these the members of the various Protestant churches are by far the most numerous, a total of 1,074,857, or 2.6 per cent of the population, being enumerated in the 1940 census. A total of 1,065,333 communicants (baptized members) was reported by the Evangelical Confederation of Brazil for May, 1953. The tabulation by the confederation also divides the materials according to denomination, and these are presented in Table XII.

TABLE XII

Number of Communicants in the Protestant Churches in Brazil,
by Denominations, May, 1953*

Denomination	Number of Communicants
Assembly of God (Pentecostal)	200,000
Baptist Convention	109,638
Episcopal Church	7,500
Evangelical Lutheran Church	82,000
Independent Presbyterian Church	17,000
Methodist Church	37,000
Presbyterian Church	67,695
Reformed Christian Church	5,000
Synodical Federation (Lutheran)	500,000
Union of Congregational Churches	13,000
Others	26,500
Total	1,065,333

* For these data the author is indebted to Sr. Rodolfo Anders, general secretary of the Confederação Evangélica do Brasil.

The 1940 census data indicates that Rio Grande do Sul is the state with the largest Protestant population, the exact figure reported being 338,250. Next in line were São Paulo and Santa Catarina, with 165,934 and 129,487, respectively. In addition the following sizeable numbers were reported from other parts of the Brazilian confederation: Minas Gerais, 73,903; Rio de Janeiro, 66,764; Espírito Santo, 46,460; Paraná, 43,858; Pernambuco, 36,555; and Bahia, 30,382.

Greek Orthodox Catholics. The 1940 census reported a total of 37,953 members of the Greek Orthodox Church in Brazil. Of these more than one half (19,816) were in the state of São Paulo, and most of the remainder were in Paraná (8,049), Rio Grande do Sul (2,778), and the Federal District (2,912).

Maronites. Although this group is affiliated with the Church of Rome, a married clergy and the use of the Arabic language are significant differentiating features. No recent statistical compilations provide information on the number of persons of this faith in Brazil, but a report published in 1921 supplies the following interesting facts:

The number of persons affiliated with the Maronite rite is calculated at approximately 400,000. Of this total, from 140,000 to 150,000 live in the New World and around 50,000, or one third, reside in Brazil. Their entrance into this country appears to go back to the year 1875, the Maronites having been the first Lebanese to immigrate here.⁷

Jews. Jews long have played an important role in the history of Brazil. As early as 1917 a total of 13 synagogues was listed, three in the city of Rio de Janeiro, two in Belém, and one each in Itacoatiara in Amazonas, Curitiba in Paraná, Passo Fundo, Pôrto Alegre, and Santa Maria in Rio Grande do Sul, and Campinas, Franca, and São Paulo in the state of São Paulo.⁸ As of 1912 the numbers of persons affiliated with some of these synagogues were as follows: two in Rio de Janeiro, 155; Belém, 650; Pôrto Alegre, 244; Campinas, 19; Franca, 25; and São Paulo, 100.⁹

The 1940 census supplied by far the most satisfactory data concerning the number and distribution of members. At that time the total number of persons of the Jewish faith reported was 55,666. Of these 20,379 were enumerated in São Paulo and almost as many, 19,734, in the Distrito Federal. But the members of this religious group were widely spread throughout Brazil, with the following states having the next

⁷ José Luiz S. de Bulhões Carvalho, *Relatorio* to the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce (Rio de Janeiro, 1921), 250. See also Tanus Jorge Bastini, *O Líbano e os Líbaneses no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1943), 49-52. According to Bastini the "great emigration" for Brazil occurred in the decade 1860 to 1870.

⁸ Bulhões Carvalho, *Relatorio*, 227.

⁹ *Anuario Estatístico do Brazil*, Anno I (1908-1912), III, 3.

largest numbers: Rio Grande do Sul, 6,619; Rio de Janeiro, 1,920; Minas Gerais, 1,431; Pernambuco, 1,115; Paraná, 1,033; Pará, 995; and Bahia, 955.

Buddhists. The introduction of some 200,000 Japanese into Brazil during the last few decades has also meant the establishment of numerous Buddhist congregations in the country. Some of the immigrants and their children have accepted Christianity, mostly as converts to Roman Catholicism. The great mass of the 600,000 or so Japanese immigrants and their descendants probably maintain their Buddhist faith and form of worship.¹⁰ However, the 1940 census enumerated only 123,363 persons of the Buddhist faith, of whom the lion's share (113,529) were in the state of São Paulo. In addition 2,458 Shintoists were counted.

Positivists. More significant in their influence than in their number are the members of the Igreja Positiva Brasileira. Each week the Rio de Janeiro papers carry announcements of the meetings of this society and résumés of the sessions. This offshot of Comtian philosophy counted in 1912 only 153 members, of whom 90 were men. Probably it does not have many more now, but the group has always included persons who were influential in public and intellectual affairs.

As early as the year 1850, a thesis upon statistics introduced Comte's ideas into Brazil. In 1876 the first Positivist society was formed, its principal objectives being the creation of a library and the establishment of courses in science. Prominent among the original members were Dr. Antonio Carlos de Oliveira Guimarães, who took the initiative in the establishment of the society, and Dr. Benjamin Constant. In 1878 the society became the Igreja Positiva do Brazil. The census of 1890 reported a total of 1,327 persons who were affiliated with this church. Of these, 377 were in the Federal District, 321 in São Paulo, 146 in Santa Catarina (mostly in Brusque), 144 in Rio Grande do Sul, and 105 in Minas Gerais.¹¹ Prior to the end of the year 1912, the group had presented and pushed vigorously 437 projects in connection with state and federal legislation. They fostered such measures as the improvement of relations between Brazil and Argentina, the freeing of the slaves, and the secularization of cemeteries. On the other hand, they opposed compulsory education, obligatory vaccination, anonymity in the press, and Chinese immigration.¹² The 1940 census enumerated only 1,299 Positivists in Brazil.

¹⁰ For a study of the acculturation process as it is operating among the Japanese, and photographs of the symbolism found in Japanese cemeteries, see Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems, "Casas e Túmulos de Japoneses no Vale da Ribeira de Iguape," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, LXXVII (1941), 121-36.

¹¹ *Sexo, Raça e Estado Civil, Nacionalidade, Filiação, Culto e Analfabetismo*, 1890, 297.

¹² Cf. *Annuaria Estatístico do Brazil*, Anno I (1908-1912), III, 230-35.



Courtesy of the Pan American Airways System

GARIMPEIROS AT WORK

Other Religious Groups. Negro slaves imported into Brazil included considerable numbers from the more northern parts of Africa who had been reared in the Moslem faith and knew how to read and write Arabic. This knowledge, incidentally, proved of great assistance to them in the organization of serious slave revolts, especially in Bahia. Undoubtedly, there are a few left who still should be counted as Moslems.¹³ The 1940 census reported 3,053 Moslems in Brazil, most of whom were in São Paulo (1,393), the Distrito Federal (777), and Mato Grosso (137). These, no doubt, are parts of the significant Arab colonies in those states.

There is also another much more numerous group to be mentioned—the Spiritualists. Naturally, the rites and ceremonies of this group are closely related culturally and in psychological effects to many of the practices which the Africans brought from the Dark Continent. Consequently Spiritualist centers seem to be particularly attractive to the Negroes. At any rate, as one passes through Brazil's towns and cities he finds a Spiritualist center in a surprisingly large number of them. The 1940 census, the first statistical compilation of this group that has come to the attention of the writer, reported 463,400 Spiritualists in Brazil. They were most numerous in São Paulo with 155,037 and the Distrito Federal with 75,149, but other large numbers were reported for the following states: Minas Gerais, 59,541; Rio Grande do Sul, 56,113; Rio de Janeiro, 42,277; and Mato Grosso, 17,182. In Bahia, however, a state whose name is closely associated with spiritist practices of the African variety, only 5,879 were enumerated.¹⁴

¹³ The census of 1890 reported 300, of whom 171 were in the Federal District, 48 in São Paulo, and 34 in Pará. None were reported in Bahia! *Sexo, Raça e Estado Civil. Nacionalidade, Filiação, Culto e Analfabetismo, 1890*, 297.

¹⁴ The 1940 census data on religious affiliations presented in this section were compiled and computed from materials in the "Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940*, II (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), 72-73.

CHAPTER VIII

FERTILITY

THE CHILD is the best immigrant," "Brazil is a vast hospital," "the march to the West," "to people is to rule," "our social sertão"—these and the cry that is as old as Brazil, *falta de braços*, have occupied considerable space in Brazilian publications lately and have been the concern of its thinkers. Facts about fertility and mortality in Brazil are among the most important items of national accounting; for only such information secured on a comprehensive and accurate basis can supply the necessary guidance for programs of immigration, public health, education, agriculture, and industry.

Nevertheless, one who attempts to determine the speed with which the Brazilian population is reproducing, the mortality rates of the population, and the rate of natural increase, or to estimate what the population will be five, ten, or twenty years from now is faced with no easy task. It is not surprising that the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística was off some three and one-half millions, or more than 8 per cent, in its estimates of the population of Brazil preceding the 1940 census. The available demographic material on Brazil must be used with the greatest skill and caution. Reasonable approximations carefully tested from all possible angles must be relied upon. As the materials improve in quality, many new discoveries can be expected.

In the demographic study the first task is, of course, to determine the speed with which the population is reproducing—the fertility rate. Then one should attempt to relate this to mortality and migration, to determine natural increase and growth of population; and he should seek to determine the nature and the importance of the factors that are responsible for variations in the rates of reproduction. This chapter is concerned with fertility.

TWO INDEXES OF FERTILITY

In the study of fertility or reproduction there are two principal types of indexes used as yardsticks. One of these is the *birth rate*. Most modern nations have established as one of their specific functions a public recording system which includes periodic reports on the number of

births. In Brazil this is called the *registro civil*. Formerly, church records were among the best sources of materials of this type concerning the reproduction of the population. However, church records are of little worth for this purpose where religious heterogeneity is great, or where the birth rites are not among the more important of the church ceremonies. Since Latin-American countries, including Brazil, are strongly Catholic, and since this church attaches so much importance to the baptism of the infant, its records are of great value in a study of the demography of these American nations.

A second type of approach to the study of fertility or reproduction makes use of data secured by *enumeration*, such data generally being more complete than those secured by the recording method. The enumerations used in this case are those of age and sex secured in a census of the population. By relating the number of young children to the number of women of childbearing ages, a rather highly refined measure of the fertility of population is automatically secured. Usually, children under five are related to the number of women 15 to 44, or 20 to 44, inclusive. During the last decade this method has been developed and widely applied in the United States, where it has been of material assistance in clearing up many of the more perplexing questions involved in population study.

Nevertheless, measures of the second type, called the *fertility ratio*, must also be used with care on Brazilian data, for several reasons. First, the age distributions used in the census tabulations group all females 40 to 50 in the same category. Therefore, unless one cares to make estimates of the age distribution within this class, which estimates also are time consuming, the females used in the formula must be those aged 15 to 39, or 15 to 49, inclusive. This means either leaving out a good many women who are still in the childbearing ages, or including some women who have already passed that state. However, this difficulty is a small one in comparison with the second. The terrific infant and child mortality rates characteristic of some areas and classes in Brazil greatly complicate the use of children under five in the formula. Where infant mortality rates of 300 or more are followed by other heavy decimations during the second, third, fourth, and fifth years of life, one cannot be sure of the relationship between children under five and the number of live births. As a result the fertility ratio loses in value as a measure of the speed of reproduction; especially is it invalidated for comparative purposes, such as a study of the reproduction rate in São Paulo, where the infant and child mortality rates are comparatively low, in relation to that of Piauí or Rio Grande do Norte, where they are excessively high. However, even in this case the fertility ratio is still valuable as a measure



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directorate de Publicidade Agrícola
THRESHING BEANS, REBENÇÃO, SÃO PAULO

of what might be called the "effective fertility," i. e., the reproduction that is not liquidated during the first few years of life.

RATE OF REPRODUCTION

Reported Birth Rates. The birth rates most recently published by official sources in Brazil are those for 1939. (See Table XIII.) Obviously, these data are useful only as an indication of the wide variations, as between the states, in complying with the registration law. They are valueless as an indication of the rate of reproduction in Brazil. Nevertheless, it is important to note that São Paulo, Santa Catarina, Espírito Santo, the Federal District, and Rio Grande do Sul already must be registering a significant percentage of the births occurring in those states. It has been thought unnecessary to recalculate this rate using the population enumerated in the 1940 census, but were this done, most of the rates would be increased slightly.

The table also shows that in most of the states, the município of the capital has a sufficiently high proportion of the births registered to make the rates for the capitals much higher than those for the states as a whole. Only in São Paulo is the reported rate less in the capital than in the state as a whole. In such states as Ceará, Goiás, Paraíba, and Rio Grande do Norte, where registration on the whole is very slight, there are enough births registered in the capitals to lead one to suppose that a considerable share of the total have been counted. However, the most pertinent information concerning the completeness of the data is given in the last column of Table XIII. In Brazil the recording unit is called the *cartório*. Cartórios may have complete information on births, incomplete information, or no information at all. Closing the books as of January 1, 1940, and analyzing the situation with respect to the data for 1938 has the following results: 43 per cent of the cartórios had complete records, 16 per cent had partial records, and 41 per cent had no information at all.¹ Thus it is evident that birth statistics are as yet unreliable in determining fertility levels in Brazil; however, methods for securing these data are being established and perfected. The author of the memorial *Alagôas em 1931* reveals clearly the difficulties encountered by those charged with the responsibility of registering the nation's vital statistics, particularly in some of the northeastern states.

The civil register, which might be an excellent source for determining births and deaths, only is kept, more or less regularly, in the capitals and one or two other seats of municípios. The bulk of the population, dispersed throughout the interior of the state and unaware of the necessity of civil registration, do not com-

¹ *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano V, 1939/1940, pp. 105-106.

ply with the requirements of the law which instituted this important public service, through ignorance and more frequently through material impossibility.

Relative to births the population of the interior, and even the more humble classes of the capital, content themselves with the religious formality of baptism. A measure that would impose on the priests the obligation of only performing the baptism upon the presentation of a birth certificate, and, at the same time

TABLE XIII
Reported Birth Rates in States and Capitals, 1938 *

State and capital	Birth Rate (live births per 1,000 population)		
	State	Capital	Per cent of cartórios with complete information
Brazil	12.0	—	43
Acre, Rio Branco	2.6	4.2	4
Alagoas, Maceió	2.1	7.6	40
Amazonas, Manaus	4.8	12.5	27
Bahia, São Salvador	3.4	15.6	17
Ceará, Fortaleza	6.2	36.3	18
Distrito Federal, Rio de Janeiro	18.5	18.5	—
Espírito Santo, Vitória	18.8	20.8	70
Goiás, Goiânia	8.9 †	26.2 †	49
Maranhão, São Luís	2.4	14.1	29
Mato Grosso, Cuiabá	6.5	10.1	16
Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte	10.6	26.1	54
Pará, Belém	4.8	12.1	28
Paraíba, João Pessoa	5.2	28.2	14
Paraná, Curitiba	16.9	24.8	56
Pernambuco, Recife	4.2	13.5	30
Piauí, Teresina	2.5	6.6	34
Rio de Janeiro, Niterói	10.3	16.8	39
Rio Grande do Norte, Natal	4.8	28.8	41
Rio Grande do Sul, Pôrto Alegre	16.1	14.0	53
Santa Catarina, Florianópolis	21.4	22.7	67
São Paulo, São Paulo	28.8	23.3	75
Sergipe, Aracaju	3.3	11.6	38

* Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano V, 1939/1940, pp. 105-106.

† Data for 1936.

that would lengthen to the maximum the period of registration, would be a remedy.

For the deaths, however, there is no possible measure better than penalties that might be established by law. Whoever dies on the small farms, in the rural properties, in the villages distant from the civil register is buried without the

appearance of the authorities, in the locality where the death occurs. The distances, the difficulties of communication, the pauperism that prevails in the midst of the rural population, make impossible any provision which imposes the obligation of registration.

In these conditions, the civil register cannot be relied upon as a substantial source for exact calculations of natality and mortality.²

Estimated Birth Rates. Despite the paucity of the data there have been some concerted efforts to determine the approximate level of the birth rate in Brazil. Working with materials on baptisms by the Catholic Church, the present writer some years ago concluded that in 1940 the birth rate must have been at least 40 per 1,000 population. More recently Giorgio Mortara, through a study of the 1940 census data and all of the birth records that had been assembled in the various cities and states, concluded that the true birth rate fell somewhere between the limits of 39.5 and 47.8 and that a reasonable figure was 42.3. His calculations indicated that the lowest birth rate was in the Distrito Federal (between 26.5 and 32.0), followed most closely by the state of São Paulo (between 37.8 and 45.7), and Alagoas (between 38.4 and 46.4). The highest rate, according to his computations, was in Santa Catarina (between 45.5 and 55.0), rivaled most closely by Ceará (between 45.4 and 54.8), and Espírito Santo (between 45.2 and 54.5). His minimum estimates were above 40 for all of the states except São Paulo and Alagoas, mentioned above, and Pará (38.6), Pernambuco (38.9), Sergipe (38.9), and Bahia (38.5).³ A birth rate of 42 or even 40 is a remarkable figure for a nation to maintain in the middle of the twentieth century. It is matched in very few places in the modern world outside of Latin America.⁴

Fertility Ratios. The conclusion stated above is strongly supported by the data on the rate of reproduction in Brazil as gauged by the fertility ratio, or the number of children under 5 per 100 women in the ages 15 to 44, inclusive. In 1940 this index for Brazil equalled 68.5, and comparable figures for a few other countries at approximately the same time are as follows: Colombia, 67.6; Chile, 52.3; Mexico, 63.0; Peru, 71.5; France, 34.9; Italy, 44.9; Puerto Rico, 65.3; and the United States, 32.9.⁵

Until more complete reports of the 1950 census are available, it will be impossible to determine the present level of the rate of reproduction in Brazil with any degree of accuracy, but there is little reason to suppose it has dropped very much in the decade that has just elapsed. For the states

² *Alagoas em 1931* (Maceió, 1932), 55.

³ *Estimativas da Taxa de Natalidade para o Brasil, as Unidades da Federação e as Capitais* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948), 11-12.

⁴ See the data in the various editions of the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook*.

⁵ Cf. T. Lynn Smith, "The People and Their Characteristics," Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 159.

for which the age and sex distributions of the 1950 population already are available, the ratios of children under 5 to women 15 to 49, inclusive, have been computed. They are as follows: Pará, 67; Maranhão, 65; Piauí, 76; Ceará, 77; Rio Grande do Norte, 73; Paraíba, 70; Sergipe, 69; Espírito Santo, 75; Rio de Janeiro, 67; the Distrito Federal, 37; Rio Grande do Sul, 66; and Mato Grosso, 77. Obviously, when the complete national data are available, they will indicate that the reproductive level of the Brazilian population remains very high, certainly above the rate of 40 births annually per 1,000 population.

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY

At best, only a few of the more elementary facts about differential fertility in Brazil may be established with the available data. The birth data, as has been seen, are totally inadequate for this and other purposes, and the 1940 population data were not tabulated in a way that permits many of the more significant indexes of fertility to be computed. For example, neither the age distributions of the various color categories nor those of the rural and urban populations were given separately. The 1950 materials, however, are much improved in these respects, and as soon as those for the larger states and the nation as a whole are available, several highly significant comparisons can be made. Even those already available make the study of differential fertility in Brazil more conclusive than has hitherto been the case.

Rural-Urban Differentials. The lower fertility of urban populations in comparison with rural seems to be universal in twentieth century society. One who merely visits Brazilian cities, observes the number of children, sees even the upper-class families with numerous offspring, and visits some of the large apartment houses that are inhabited solely by persons of near kinship, may perhaps doubt that Brazil's country people reproduce more rapidly than its city residents. He will have seen many evidences that the urban birth rate is high. Even in a city such as Rio de Janeiro the Catholic baptisms alone are sufficient to make for a birth rate of around 25 per 1,000 population, and Rio de Janeiro is a city of almost two and a half million people. Nevertheless, in the country districts the birth rate is still higher.

To demonstrate this rural-urban differential fertility, the ratios of children under 5 for each 100 women aged 15 to 49, inclusive, were calculated for all of the states and territories for which the 1950 data have been made available. See Table XIV. These are conclusive, and indicate that the tendency observed in other parts of the world is also true in Brazil: urban people multiply much less rapidly than their fellows in the rural

districts. When all of the data are in, it will be seen, no doubt, that the birth rate in the rural parts of Brazil is at least one third higher than that of its urban districts.

TABLE XIV

Number of Children Under 5 per 100 Women Aged 15-49 for the Urban, Suburban, and Rural Portions of Each State and Territory, 1950 *

Region and state or territory	Total	Urban	Suburban	Rural
Brazil				
North				
Guaporé †	73.0	60.8	77.1	76.5
Acre †	90.0	65.9	82.0	95.5
Amazonas	—	—	—	—
Rio Branco †	83.6	68.2	86.9	90.2
Pará	67.2	45.2	60.8	76.3
Amapá †	73.5	65.0	74.1	76.4
Northeast				
Maranhão	64.9	45.6	56.1	68.5
Piauí	75.6	47.7	62.7	80.7
Ceará	77.0	52.5	62.4	85.0
Rio Grande do Norte	73.1	52.4	63.9	81.0
Paraíba	70.0	50.2	60.0	77.7
Pernambuco	—	—	—	—
Alagoás	—	—	—	—
Fernando de Noronha †	65.2	65.2	—	—
East				
Sergipe	69.2	47.9	62.0	79.1
Bahia	—	—	—	—
Minas Gerais	—	—	—	—
Espírito Santo	74.5	49.9	63.7	81.9
Rio de Janeiro	66.9	52.9	70.7	80.0
Distrito Federal	36.8	31.2	55.4	68.9
South				
São Paulo	—	—	—	—
Paraná	—	—	—	—
Santa Catarina	—	—	—	—
Rio Grande do Sul	66.0	40.8	61.6	79.0
West Central				
Mato Grosso	76.7	55.2	75.4	86.6
Goiás	—	—	—	—

* Computations based on data from the *VI Recenseamento Geral do Brasil*.

† Territory.

Rates not given for a category in which there were less than 100 women aged 15-49.

Racial Differentials. On the important subject of racial differentials in the birth rate, it long has been practically impossible to secure any reliable information. Such few facts as have been available have led the writer and others to believe that the white population was reproducing at a rate considerably higher than the colored elements in the population. This is the equivalent of saying that there is in Brazil a positive correlation between social and economic status, on the one hand, and the rapidity of reproduction, on the other.

The 1950 materials already available make it possible to establish definitely the existence of a significant racial differential in the rate of reproduction in Brazil. See Table XV for fertility ratios calculated from 1950 census materials. In interpreting these ratios, the figures for the states are, of course, much more significant than those for the small populations of the territories. It is not strange that the pardo or brown (mixed), category frequently shows a higher ratio of children to women than either the white or the black—both whites and Negroes may contribute to its magnitude. Even so, however, in about one half of the states the ratio for the whites is even higher than that for the pardos. In comparing whites and Negroes, on the other hand, there is only one of the states and territories in which the index for the whites is not significantly higher than the Negroes, the state of Rio de Janeiro. Here the ratios are almost exactly equal. The situation in the area, however, is highly reminiscent of several in the United States in which the concentration of the Negro population in the more rural sections of a state or region has created the delusion that the Negro birth rates were higher than the white. However, when whites and Negroes of equal residential categories have been compared, the asserted racial differential has disappeared. In the state of Rio de Janeiro, likewise, it is likely that the concentration of Negroes in the highly rural sugar-producing section around Campos, and their relative scarcity in the more urban parts of the state, may make their birth rate seem higher in comparison with the white, than would be the case, if it were possible to compare rural whites with rural Negroes, and urban whites with urban Negroes. As matters stand, though, there is no reason for doubting that the white population of Brazil is multiplying much more rapidly than the colored.

This conclusion is directly in accord with generalizations based on much earlier materials, and indicates that the present trend is probably merely the continuation of a differential that has prevailed for many years. The German geologist Eschwege collected vital statistics for the province of Minas Gerais in 1821, long before the abolition of slavery, the destruction of the records, and popular sensitiveness about color or racial classifi-

TABLE XV

Number of Children Under 5 per 100 Women Aged 15-49 for Each State and Territory, by Color, 1950 *

Region and state or territory	Total	White	Negro	Yellow	Pardo (Mixed)
Brazil					
North					
Guaporé †	73.0	70.7	51.9	—	76.9
Acre †	90.0	90.1	58.7	—	92.1
Amazonas	—	—	—	—	—
Rio Branco †	83.6	82.1	62.0	—	86.0
Pará	67.2	67.0	47.2	91.5	69.0
Amapá †	73.5	77.9	43.2	—	75.7
Northeast					
Maranhão	64.9	69.4	52.2	—	65.7
Piauí	75.6	78.5	60.5	—	77.6
Ceará	77.0	78.2	68.3	—	80.9
Rio Grande do Norte	73.1	74.5	61.1	—	73.9
Paraíba	70.0	72.3	60.0	—	69.1
Pernambuco	—	—	—	—	—
Alagoás	—	—	—	—	—
Fernando de Noronha †	65.2	—	—	—	—
East					
Sergipe	69.2	75.0	55.6	—	66.7
Bahia	—	—	—	—	—
Minas Gerais	—	—	—	—	—
Espírito Santo	74.5	76.5	63.0	—	75.7
Rio de Janeiro	66.9	65.5	65.4	78.6	71.2
Distrito Federal	36.8	36.2	34.0	56.7	41.3
South					
São Paulo	—	—	—	—	—
Paraná	—	—	—	—	—
Santa Catarina	—	—	—	—	—
Rio Grande do Sul	66.0	66.6	57.9	52.3	64.0
West Central					
Mato Grosso	76.7	77.9	63.9	81.5	78.4
Goiás	—	—	—	—	—

* Computations based on data from the *VI Recenseamento Geral do Brasil*.

† Territory.

Rates not given for a category in which there were less than 100 women aged 15-49.

cations. Among the data he assembled are some which, expressed in terms of the conventional birth rates, show the following racial differences among the free population: whites, 40; Indians, 40; mulattoes (free), 37; mu-

lattoes (slave), 38; Negroes (free), 48; Negroes (slave), 29.⁶ These rates are all within reasonable expectations. If one makes allowance for the well-known tendency for colored women to secure their freedom in larger proportions than colored men and keeps in mind the fact that the free colored population was relatively small at this time, these data seem to show that the fertility rate increases as we pass from the Negro, to the mulatto, to the white racial categories.

Some of the data presented in the 1890 census of the city of Rio de Janeiro, when analyzed, also have a bearing on the question of differential racial fertility in Brazil. The official who was responsible for the tabulation of the census data for the city introduced a table, not included in the reports for the states; married couples were therein classified according to the racial affiliations of the man and his wife and this in turn related to the number of children borne and the number still living on the census date. These have been assembled and are presented, along with essential computations, in Table XVI.

Observation of these data indicates that, when there was no cross-mating involved, the caboclos were considerably the most fertile group in the population. Whites ranked second, with *mestiços* third. The Negroes ranked far below the others, having produced only three children per couple compared with four children per caboclo couple. Matings of whites, whether males or females, with persons belonging to the Negro or mulatto stocks produced fewer children than when whites married whites. However, fertility was higher when white men and women crossed with caboclos than when they mated with others of the white race.

Negroes, both men and women, produced fewer children when they mated with whites, and more children when they married caboclos, than when they selected mates in their own racial group. Negro men and mulatto women produced slightly more children, and Negro women and mulatto men fewer children, than the average for the Negro couple. When caboclos were involved in the cross-matings the average number of children borne fell below that for the caboclo couples, except when a caboclo man mated with a mulatto woman. Such marriages had produced an average of 4.28 children, by far the largest number of any combination. On the other hand, mulatto men and caboclo women proved to be among the least fertile of all possible crosses. Mulatto or mestiço men produced fewer children when mated with whites, Negroes, or caboclos than when united with their own kind. The same was true of mulatto women, except, as

⁶ Eschwege's data have been quoted by Oliveira Vianna, "Evolução do Povo Brasileiro," *Recenseamento do Brazil*, 1920, I, 339.

TABLE XVI

Fertility in Relation to Race, Rio de Janeiro, 1890 *

Race and sex of parents		Number of married pairs	Number of children	
			Total number born	Average number per couple
Males	Females			
White	White	31,103	109,784	3.53
Negro	Negro	2,399	7,167	2.99
Caboclo	Cabocla	694	2,747	3.96
Mestiço	Mestiça	4,448	14,703	3.31
White	Negro	334	932	2.79
White	Cabocla	191	719	3.76
White	Mestiça	1,799	5,575	3.10
Negro	White	20	59	2.95
Negro	Cabocla	59	217	3.68
Negro	Mestiça	273	828	3.03
Caboclo	White	96	361	3.76
Caboclo	Negro	54	168	3.11
Caboclo	Mestiça	87	372	4.28
Mestiço	White	368	1,171	3.18
Mestiço	Negro	313	900	2.88
Mestiço	Cabocla	71	211	2.97
Total		42,309	145,914	3.45

* Sources: *Recenseamento do Distrito Federal, 1890* (Rio de Janeiro, 1895), 258-59.

indicated above, when they mated with caboclo men, this combination being the most fertile of all.

By combining the data in a manner that assigns the spouses in the mixed marriages to their respective racial groups, along with 50 per cent of the children produced by these mixed marriages, it is possible to determine the net contribution of the reported racial groups to the total number of offspring. When this was done the average number of children to be attributed to the caboclo couple was 3.88, considerably above the 3.39 per white couple. Mestiços or mulattoes, however, averaged only 3.26; Negro couples fell far below, only 2.98. In no case was the average number of children per couple increased by the inclusion of the data for mixed marriages.

These data are for one city only, and are over 60 years old. As time has gone on the caboclo population has tended to lose its identity and fuse more completely with the white group. Mulattoes have continued to attribute their color to Indian ancestry. But prior to 1890 it seems fairly evident that the caboclo and white elements in the population were more fertile than the Negroes. The same differential exists today.

CHAPTER IX

MORTALITY

THE REGISTRATION of deaths in Brazil must be greatly improved before it will be possible to determine with any degree of accuracy the death rate, the expectation of life, the relative importance of the various causes of death, the infant mortality rate, and many other essential items of human-resource accounting. Only in the future will it be possible to compute standardized death rates for Brazil; or to construct a reliable life table for the entire country; or to know how mortality varies from state to state, region to region, race to race, or class to class. Computations now being made are more valuable as mental exercises than as data that may be used in the establishment of life insurance premiums. It will be some time before it is possible to secure the mortality data necessary for use in careful year-to-year estimates of the number, composition, and distribution of the labor force. Nevertheless, a start has been made, and Brazil is developing the registration system that may eventually result in adequate mortality statistics.

That the death rate is very high is evident from the fragmentary data for the country as a whole and the fairly complete materials available for some of the principal cities. The age-sex pyramid, too, has the configuration typical of a country in which a high mortality rate is found in conjunction with a high birth rate. Just how high the death rate is, however, and how it fluctuates from place to place or year to year it is not yet possible to determine; and the same is true of the extent to which the leading causes of death are being brought under control through the application of modern health and sanitary measures.

In all probability the actual death rate in Brazil is somewhere between 17 and 21, and the expectation of life at birth must fall between 35 and 40. This is to say that the number of deaths in the course of a year is between 17 and 21 per 1,000 population, and that the average (mean) age at death is between 35 and 40 years. The observations and inferences upon which these conclusions are based may be summarized briefly. Between 1940 and 1950 the rate of population increase, revealed by two excellent censuses, was 2.5 per cent annually. Since immigration was negligible during the decade, this figure is close to the rate of natural increase or to the birth

rate minus the death rate. If, as may be entirely possible, the 1950 census enumeration was somewhat more complete than the 1940 count of population, the true rate of natural increase was somewhat less than 2.5 per cent per year; but that factor alone could hardly reduce the figure to less than 2.3 per cent. As indicated in Chapter VIII, Giorgio Mortara has calculated the birth rate in Brazil to be at least 42 per 1,000 population, a conclusion which the present writer does not think unrealistic. If the birth rate is 42 and the rate of natural increase is 2.5, then the death rate is 17. If the true rate of natural increase is only 2.3, however, the death rate is 19. Everything considered, it is likely that these figures err in the direction of being too small, if they err at all, and it probably is reasonable to think of Brazil's death rate as being about 20 per 1,000 population.

This conclusion is strongly supported by fragmentary recent data on which the computations given in Table XVII were based. It is hardly possible that the actual death rates in such cities as Recife, Salvador, Fortaleza, and Vitória are much above that for Brazil as a whole. Those for the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, on the other hand, are much lower than they would be if those centers contained their prorata share of children in the earliest years of life.

Also of significance are materials about life expectation in some of Brazil's larger cities, where, undoubtedly, health and sanitary conditions are much superior to those prevailing generally throughout the immense country. These are calculations by Giorgio Mortara of the municípios or counties containing Brazil's seven largest cities for the years 1939-41.¹ A few of the most significant values from the computations are these:

EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH (YEARS)

<i>Município</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
São Paulo	46.7	51.8
Distrito Federal	39.8	45.2
Belo Horizonte	37.6	43.4
Pôrto Alegre	37.2	42.8
Belém	35.2	40.7
Salvador	32.5	37.4
Recife	28.1	32.5

There would be little point to a detailed discussion of these data. It should be indicated, however, that the figures for such cities as Recife,

¹ Giorgio Mortara, *Tábuas Brasileiras de Mortalidade e Sobrevivência*, Estudos Brasileiros de Demografia, No. 1 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946).

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TABLE XVII

Death Rates in the Municípios in Which the Capitals of Brazil's States and Territories Are Located, 1950 *

Capital and state or territory	Population in 1950	Deaths in 1950	Death Rate
North			
Porto Velho, Guaporé	27,545	196	7.1
Rio Branco, Acre	28,690	306	10.7
Manaus, Amazonas	142,372	2,080	14.6
Boa Vista, Rio Branco	16,456	88	5.3
Belém, Pará	260,608	3,755	14.4
Macapá, Amapá	21,103	209	9.9
Northeast			
São Luís, Maranhão	121,917	2,242	18.4
Teresina, Piauí	93,352	1,011	10.8
Fortaleza, Ceará	280,084	6,662	23.8
Natal, Rio Grande do Norte	106,254	2,778	26.1
João Pessoa, Paraíba	120,857	2,795	23.1
Recife, Pernambuco	534,468	12,358 †	23.1
Maceió, Alagoas	124,544	3,200	25.7
East			
Aracaju, Sergipe	79,566	1,551	19.5
Salvador, Bahia	424,142	6,445	15.3
Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais	360,313	5,090	14.1
Vitória, Espírito Santo	52,535	1,231	23.4
Niterói, Rio de Janeiro	190,147	2,679	14.1
Rio de Janeiro, Distrito Federal	2,413,152	30,893	12.8
South			
São Paulo, São Paulo	2,227,512	24,667	11.1
Curitiba, Paraná	183,863	2,352	12.8
Florianópolis, Santa Catarina	69,122	1,080	15.6
Pôrto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul	401,213	5,554	13.8
West Central			
Goiânia, Goiás	55,423	716	12.9
Cuiabá, Mato Grosso	56,867	473	8.3

* Compiled and computed from data in the following sources: "Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1950* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951); and *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, Ano XII, 1951* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952).

† Data are for 1949.

Salvador, and Belém probably are much nearer the average for Brazil as a whole than are the computations for Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, or even those for Belo Horizonte and Pôrto Alegre. The average length of life in Brazil can hardly be above 35 years for males or 38 years for females.

A death rate of 20 or even 17 is high, and an expectation of life at birth of 35 or even 40 is low. Together these indexes emphasize the fact that mortality in Brazil is about double that which would prevail if modern preventative medicine and sanitary measures were applied to the extent that they are in many countries. Germ diseases, killers that might be controlled, still take a frightful toll of life in Brazilian cities, and especially throughout her vast rural territory. Unfortunately, this generalization must rest for the most part upon general and casual observations rather than upon adequate statistical evidence, since comprehensive data on the causes of death in Brazil are conspicuously lacking.

DIFFERENTIAL MORTALITY

Unfortunately too, it is practically impossible to learn anything about how mortality in Brazil varies between city and country, from class to class, and among the races. From general observation one may be inclined to think that mortality in the cities is less than that in the country, especially in those areas where malaria, hookworm, typhoid, dysentery, and other transmissible diseases are most rampant. However, this is merely a hypothesis that cannot as yet be tested. One may also feel that the upper class must surely outlive the middle and especially the lower social strata. The mere matter of diet suggests this, but here again factual evidence is lacking. These significant demographic questions remain to be explored when the data are more adequate.

Because no general classification of deaths by race or color is available, it is of course impossible to determine the comparative mortality or longevity of the races in Brazil. Interestingly enough, however, there are available for the city of Rio de Janeiro and the state of São Paulo compilations of fertility and mortality data classified according to color. The categories used are white, brown (mulatto), black, and yellow. The data are summarized in Table XVIII.

The interesting thing about these data is that in both Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo much higher proportions of the deaths than of the births were included in the mulatto and the black categories. Similar differences prevailed in Rio de Janeiro in 1920 and 1921, years for which data are also available. Thus, in 1920 white was the classification of 78.7 per cent of the births and only 64.0 per cent of the deaths, brown or mulatto the category of 15.5 per cent of the births and 23.5 per cent of the deaths, and black the class of 4.6 per cent of the births and 12.5 per cent of the deaths. In 1921 white was the category for 80.7 per cent of the births and 63.9 per cent of the deaths, brown for 12.9 per cent of the former and 22.9 of the

TABLE XVIII

Births and Deaths in the Distrito Federal and the State of São Paulo Classified According to Color *

Color	São Paulo (1932-41, incl.)		Distrito Federal (1937)	
	Live births	Deaths	Live births	Deaths
Total Number	2,095,404	1,138,599	33,025	27,236
White:				
Number	1,844,600	920,398	25,552	16,242
Per cent	88.1	80.9	77.4	59.7
Brown:				
Number	102,860	106,977	6,006	6,842
Per cent	4.9	9.4	18.2	25.1
Black:				
Number	65,612	86,437	1,451	4,111
Per cent	3.1	7.6	4.4	15.1
Yellow:				
Number	82,332	23,564	16	10
Per cent	3.9	2.1	—	—
Unclassified:				
Number	—	205	—	31
Per cent	—	—	—	.1

* Sources: Data for São Paulo were supplied by the state Departamento de Saude; those for the Distrito Federal were taken from *Anuário Estatístico do Distrito Federal, 1938, Ano VI* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), 44, 52.

latter, and black for only 6.4 per cent of the births and 13.2 per cent of the deaths.²

How can such differences be explained? Not by a selectivity in rural-urban migration, because the data for São Paulo include the entire state, and the differences prevail to the same extent in the capital and the interior. Conceivably, there might be less reluctance in classifying the dead as colored, than to so classify newly born infants. But this is extremely hypothetical, and in any case Brazilians are much less sensitive on the score of color than most peoples. Therefore, the most likely hypothesis is that the discrepancies are due to racial differentials in the birth rate, in the death rate, or in both of these vital indexes. Only five of the possible combinations of differential racial birth rates and death rates could have produced the results observed. These are as follows: (1) no significant differential in the fertility of the white and colored population constituents,

² These percentages were derived from "Cidade do Rio de Janeiro," *Anuário de Estatística Demographo-Sanitaria, 1920-1921* (Rio de Janeiro, 1923), I, 68-69, 81-82, and 136-37.

combined with a much lower mortality among the whites; (2) a distinctly higher fertility and lower mortality among whites than among Negroes and mulattoes; (3) no differential of significance in the mortality of white and colored elements in these populations, combined with a great differential in fertility favorable to the whites; (4) a higher fertility among the colored elements, combined with a differential in mortality so much greater among the colored people than among the whites that it would offset the fertility differential and account for all of the observed difference; and (5) a higher mortality among the whites, combined with a such a great differential fertility in their favor that it would offset this mortality differential and still be sufficient to account for all the observed differences. Obviously, the last two are highly improbable. Good scientific procedure would preclude relying upon one of them as long as the facts were in agreement with the more simple hypotheses.

The materials in Chapter VIII seem to indicate definitely that Brazil's white population has a higher rate of reproduction than her colored. Therefore, the most reasonable hypothesis which fits all the available facts is that there exists in Brazil a differential mortality unfavorable to the Negroes and mulattoes. Mortality increases as social and economic status decreases.

Interestingly enough this hypothesis that the mortality rate tends to increase as the color of the population becomes darker is supported by some early materials. Eschwege assembled data for Minas Gerais, the state in which he was carrying on his geological studies, for the year 1821. This information was classified according to race; it seems to have revealed differences that have persisted until the present. Expressed in the form of the conventional death rates used today, his data for the year 1821 are as follows: whites, 28; Indians, 37; mulattoes (free), 28; mulattoes (slave), 60; Negroes (free), 54; Negroes (slave), 69.³

Keeping in mind the time and the place, these rates are all reasonable. If one remembers that in 1821 the free colored population was small in comparison with the slave, there can be little doubt about tendency of the mortality rates to increase as shades of color get darker. Then, as now, this was equivalent to saying that there was a negative relationship between social and economic status and the death rate.

There is also an interesting tabulation of data collected in connection with the census of the city of Rio de Janeiro for 1890 which may be brought to bear on this question of racial differentials in mortality. The ingenious official who was at that time in charge of compiling the statistics

³ Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brazil*, 1920, I, 339.

for the Federal District combined the data on the reported racial affiliations of husbands and wives with those indicating the number of children born to each married pair, and the number of offspring who were living the day the census was taken. Such data are, of course, far from being entirely satisfactory, but they do deserve some consideration. In Table XIX are presented some of the results from this census arranged to show the reported racial affiliations of the mates, the number of pairs, the total number of children reported, and the number and proportion of the children who had died before the date of the census.

In interpreting these data it should be noted that the number of cases in some of the categories is very small. Thus, although there were 31,103 pairs in which both mates were classed as white and 2,399 in which both were classed as Negroes, in only 334 instances was the husband placed in the white category and his wife in the Negro, and in only 20 cases was a man classed as Negro mated with a white woman. Therefore, too much reliance should not be placed on the proportions in the mixed categories, especially that in which the male parent was Negro and his mate was white. The same caution applies to several other categories, especially those in which the number of cases is less than 100. Also, one cannot be sure that the average length of time married is the same in one category as in another, but there is no known factor which might have brought about serious discrepancies in this respect.

Reading this table for differential mortality one observes that among pairs in which both mates belonged to the same racial category, the caboclos had lost the smallest proportion of the children they had borne; whites ranked second, although barely below the mestiços or mulattoes; and Negroes made by far the poorest showing.* This position of the caboclos is further supported by the fact that all of the cross-matings in which they were involved resulted in higher losses of children than when the members of the group had mated with one another. The cross-matings in which whites were involved, however, do not show such consistent variations. In all categories in which white men were mated with nonwhite women, the proportion of deceased among all children borne was lower than among children of white mates. When white men were mated with Negro women, the very lowest percentage of all, only 22.2, was recorded. But, on the other hand, when white women had nonwhite mates the mortality of the children considerably exceeded that recorded for white marriages. As a hypothesis to explain this difference, the proposition may be advanced

* It will be recalled that the caboclos also were the most fertile; they were followed by the whites; mulattoes ranked third; and the Negroes had by far the fewest children per couple of any of the racial groups.

TABLE XIX

Number of Children Born and Mortality of Offspring in Relation to Race of Parents, Rio de Janeiro, 1890 *

Race and sex of parents		Number of married pairs	Total children born	Deceased children	
Males	Females			Number	Per cent
White	White	31,103	109,784	31,211	28.4
Negro	Negro	2,399	7,167	2,378	33.2
Caboclo	Cabocla	694	2,747	708	25.8
Mestiço	Mestiça	4,448	14,703	4,255	28.9
White	Negro	334	932	207	22.2
White	Cabocla	191	719	201	28.0
White	Mestiça	1,799	5,575	1,538	27.6
Negro	White	20	59	19	32.2
Negro	Cabocla	59	134	83	38.2
Negro	Mestiça	273	828	245	29.6
Caboclo	White	96	361	113	31.3
Caboclo	Negro	54	168	44	26.2
Caboclo	Mestiça	87	372	132	35.5
Mestiço	White	368	1,171	401	34.2
Mestiço	Negro	313	900	276	30.7
Mestiço	Cabocla	71	211	80	37.9
Total		42,309	145,697	41,808	34.8

* Source: *Recenseamento do Distrito Federal, 1890, 258-59.*

that white men, being at the top of the social scale, were in a position to select the more perfect types from among the women of the colored races; whereas in many instances the cross marriages of white women took place on the inferior social levels and may have involved the less desirable elements in the population. When Negro women mated with men of another race, the mortality among the resulting offspring was always less than when Negro women had Negro husbands. As mentioned above, the matings of white men and Negro women produced the best record of all, but the mortality was also very low when the Negress was mated with a caboclo. No such favorable results came from crosses in which Negro men were involved, except that when they had mulatto wives the mortality was significantly below that of the Negro couples. On the other hand, Negro men mated with caboclo women produced the class of children among whom mortality was the highest of all, 38.2 per cent. Mestiço women who married white men saved more of their children than their sisters who married mestiços. But those who mated with Negroes and caboclos lost

a higher percentage of their children than the ones whose husbands also were mulattoes. This unfavorable result also occurred in all of the crosses in which mestiço men were involved, and when mestiço men were mated with caboclo women the proportion of deceased among the children borne equaled 37.9 per cent.

By combining the data so that the spouses in the mixed marriages are assigned to their respective racial groups, along with 50 per cent of the children borne and 50 per cent of the children who had died, it is possible to determine the net contribution of the racial groups as reported to the total number of children borne, and the proportions of those produced by each race who had died before the date of the census. For present purposes it is the proportion of deceased children among all children borne that is of interest. These percentages were 27.4 for caboclos, 29.0 for whites, 29.1 for mestiços, and 32.3 for Negroes. Thus, to the extent that these data are equally reliable for the various racial groups, it is evident that the caboclos of Rio de Janeiro had the most favorable mortality prior to 1890, closely followed by whites and mulattoes, and that the Negroes made by far the poorest showing in keeping their offspring alive. Furthermore, only Negroes seem to have benefited in this respect from the crossing with other races.

CAUSES OF DEATH

Although it is impossible to get more adequate statistics on mortality rates so that regional, racial, rural-urban, and other differentials might be explored, it is possible to gain additional facts about mortality in Brazil by examining some of the statistics having to do with causes of death. Some of the available data relative to the number of deaths and death rates from respiratory tuberculosis, malaria, syphilis, typhoid, and dysentery in Brazil's capitals have been assembled and are presented in Tables XX and XXI. The data in the latter are for 1940, a year chosen because the census was taken that year and because, as yet, comparable materials for 1950 are not available. These data serve to indicate the considerable extent to which some of the most serious ailments plague the populations of Brazilian cities. In interpreting them one may be sure that these are "minimum" figures and that the actual incidence may have been much higher. One may also be fairly certain that most, if not all of them, particularly malaria and typhoid and possibly syphilis, are even more prevalent in the smaller cities, towns, and rural districts than they are in the capitals.

A fairly recent comparative study by Dr. J. P. Fontenelle of the deaths from contagious diseases in the Federal District and in the United States,

TABLE XX

Deaths from Selected Causes in the Capitals, 1941 *

Capital and state	Population 1940	Number of deaths from:			
		Tubercu- losis (re- spiratory)	Malaria	Syphilis	Amoebic dysen- tery
Maceió, Alagoás	91,358	—	—	—	—
Manaus, Amazonas	109,302	275	375	26	5
Salvador, Bahia †	294,252	257	107	49	3
Fortaleza, Ceará	182,241	511	15	56	24
Distrito Federal	1,781,567	5,616	227	1,034	47
Vitória, Espírito Santo	46,057	241	21	15	0
Goiânia, Goiás	48,884	7	14	7	4
São Luis, Maranhão	86,546	157	63	42	5
Cuiabá, Mato Grosso	54,770	26	0	4	2
Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais	211,650	581	8	105	25
Belém, Pará	208,706	808	458	97	27
João Pessoa, Paraíba	95,386	236	150	29	59
Curitiba, Paraná	142,873	150	22	33	5
Recife, Pernambuco	352,727	1,592	102	383	32
Teresina, Piauí	68,520	105	33	17	6
Niterói, Rio de Janeiro	143,394	426	16	81	7
Natal, Rio Grande do Norte	55,242	107	25	55	60
Pôrto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul	275,678	1,041	1	206	3
Florianópolis, Santa Catarina	47,149	77	8	19	0
São Paulo, São Paulo	1,318,539	1,716	42	445	99
Aracaju, Sergipe ‡	59,460	60	23	24	6
Rio Branco, Acre	16,264	14	32	1	1

* Source: *Sinopse Preliminar dos Resultados Demográficos, 1942; Boletim Mensal do Serviço de Bio-Estatística*, Ano I, No. 1 (July 1941), No. 6 (December 1941), No. 8 (February 1942).

† Data are for January to March only.

‡ Data are for January to September only.

and of the trends in the death rates from specific causes in Rio de Janeiro, also assists greatly in understanding these aspects of the mortality situation in Brazil. Because of its completeness, the care taken, and the detail with which each aspect of the subject was explored, this study might well serve as a model for other investigations dealing with Brazil's vital statistics. This study may be used, on the one hand, as an aid to the interpretation of

TABLE XXI

Death Rates from Selected Causes in the Capitals, 1940 *

Capital and State	Deaths per 100,000 population from:			
	Tuberculosis	Malaria	Typhoid and paratyphoid	Dysenteries
Maceió, Alagoas	—	—	—	—
Manaus, Amazonas	242.5	334.9	28.0	80.2
Salvador, Bahia	479.5	151.2	10.0	23.0
Fortaleza, Ceará	291.9	27.6	9.8	52.3
Distrito Federal	324.1	13.4	8.8	11.4
Vitória, Espírito Santo	559.5	39.2	26.1	30.5
Goânia, Goiás	—	—	—	—
São Luís, Maranhão	209.7	68.4	19.7	15.1
Cuiabá, Mato Grosso	72.1	1.8	5.5	44.4
Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais	258.6	5.7	16.2	87.5
Belém, Pará	401.1	301.5	19.6	56.5
João Pessoa, Paraíba	227.3	114.7	22.1	131.5
Curitiba, Paraná	72.0	4.9	8.5	33.2
Recife, Pernambuco	417.8	27.3	6.9	40.3
Teresina, Piauí	152.0	54.1	8.8	7.3
Niterói, Rio de Janeiro	271.5	13.3	4.9	16.8
Natal, Rio Grande do Norte	194.8	67.4	7.3	216.7
Pôrto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul	356.4	0.4	25.5	17.5
Florianópolis, Santa Catarina	193.2	23.4	17.0	10.6
São Paulo, São Paulo	134.3	1.9	5.6	29.1
Aracaju, Sergipe	178.8	60.7	6.7	28.7

* Source: *Boletim Mensal do Serviço Federal de Bio-Estatística*, Ano I, No. 10 (April, 1942), 8-27, and No. 12 (June, 1942), 7-26.

the death rates recorded elsewhere in Brazil, and on the other hand, to assist in judging the relative situation in Brazil and the United States. Fontenelle sought to compare the health of the two populations; he recognized both the desirability of adequate morbidity data and the impossibility of securing them. He, therefore, chose to do what he could with those portions of the mortality statistics that have to do with communicable diseases. By supplementing the mortality materials with such data as were available regarding the incidence of the specific diseases, he has been able to throw considerable light upon the general health situation. His analysis of this

phase of mortality is extremely well done. Table XXII, taken from his study, presents the death rates (per 100,000 population) from various communicable diseases in the United States (1940) and the city of Rio de Janeiro (1941); and Table XXIII, built up from other tabulations found in the same study, gives the data necessary to establish the ratio of deaths attributed to a given disease, in Rio de Janeiro, to all cases of that disease known to the authorities, the ratios themselves for each of the diseases considered in Fontenelle's study, and the corresponding ratios of cases known to deaths for the United States.

The data which are given in these two tables have been made as comparable as possible. Of course, they pertain to communicable diseases, which are generally more prevalent in urban than in rural areas. But with proper reservations for the fact that the Brazilian data are only for Rio de Janeiro, they may be used as the basis of some pertinent observations. In the first place, it should be noted (Table XXIII) that the communicable diseases taken collectively extort an annual toll of carioca life seven times as high as in a population of the same size in the United States. One could discount this figure liberally to allow for the known rural-urban differences in our own country, and the possible one in Brazil, and the ratio would be only slightly reduced. Of the 19 specific diseases included in the study, only two, poliomyelitis and lethargic encephalitis, seem to be less deadly in Rio de Janeiro than in the United States. When considered on a relative basis, mumps, epidemic meningitis, chicken pox, and grippe are the other diseases characterized by rates in Rio de Janeiro most comparable to those in the United States. For none of these causes of death is the rate in Rio de Janeiro more than four times that in the United States. However, each year tuberculosis, syphilis, typhoid fever, erysipelas, and whooping cough take from six to seven times as many lives in Rio de Janeiro as they do in a population of comparable size in the United States. And the ravages of other diseases, such as diphtheria, dysentery, meningitis, malaria, hydrophobia, measles, and smallpox show even greater differentials. All in all, these data do much to establish the extent to which the contagious diseases annually claim a toll of Brazilian life.

The chief value of the data given in Table XXII is the aid they give in evaluating the significance of the death rate as a gauge of health levels. Here are found data that relate the annual number of deaths attributed to a given cause to the number of cases of that particular contagious disease known to the authorities during the year. For all contagious diseases taken together, there were reported to the health authorities in Rio de Janeiro, during the year 1941, less than two cases of sickness for each death attributed to one or another of these diseases. In the United States the

TABLE XXII

Ratio of Deaths from Selected Communicable Diseases to All Cases Reported, Rio de Janeiro and the United States *

Disease	Rio de Janeiro, 1941		United States, 1940	
	Number of cases reported	Number of deaths from this cause reported	Ratio of cases reported to deaths	Ratio of cases reported to deaths
Mumps	31	3	10.3	1,267.4
Whooping cough	3,886	283	13.7	63.9
Diphtheria	2,423	192	12.6	10.6
Dysentery	351	355	1.0	23.6
Lethargic encephalitis	2	10	0.2	2.5
Scarlet fever	10	—	—	238.4
Typhoid fever	590	130	4.5	6.8
Grippe	92	1,100	0.1	24.6
Leprosy	260	58	4.5	—
Malaria	362	227	1.6	56.1
Epidemic meningitis	42	20	2.1	2.7
Poliomyelitis	27	1	27.0	9.8
Hydrophobia	—	5	—	1.0
Measles	1,120	217	5.2	427.5
Syphilis	1,800	1,034	1.7	43.4
Tuberculosis	7,220	5,759	1.3	1.9
Chicken pox	572	5	114.4	3,172.1
Smallpox	126	4	31.5	186.3
Erysipelas	—	63	—	—
Others	37	720	0.05	—
Total	18,951	10,086	1.9	20.5

* Source: J. P. Fontenelle, *As Doenças Transmissíveis no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), 10, 12.

corresponding ratio in 1940 was 20.5. Furthermore, in Rio de Janeiro, as in our own country, this total figure includes those diseases such as chicken pox, where the ratio of cases to deaths is comparatively high. The data show, of course, the utter impossibility of securing reliable Brazilian morbidity statistics at the present time, and they also suggest that the annual toll exacted by many of these contagious diseases might be greatly reduced if they were known to the authorities so that additional measures might be taken in their treatment and prevention.

Finally, Fontenelle's study supplies us with some information for Rio de Janeiro concerning the trends in the death rate from the various con-

tagious diseases. In many cases he has given comparable data for the United States. According to his computations, the death rate in Rio de Janeiro fell from 25.0, for the five-year period 1902 to 1906, to 17.6 for the period 1937 to 1941. During the same interval the death rate in the United States fell from 16.5 to 10.6. In both cases this represents a 30 per cent decrease in the level of the general death rate. Over the same period the death rate from communicable diseases in Rio de Janeiro fell from 9.5 to 5.4, and that in the United States from 4.3 to 0.8. In other words, between 1902-1906 and 1937-1941 the reported mortality from such diseases was reduced by 43 per cent in Rio de Janeiro and 81 per cent in the United States. Expressed in still another way, which is significant for comparative purposes, deaths from transmissible diseases in Rio de Janeiro were reduced from 38 per cent of all deaths occurring during

TABLE XXIII

Deaths per 100,000 Population from Transmissible Diseases, Rio de Janeiro and the United States *

Disease	Rio de Janeiro	United States	Ratio $\frac{A}{B}$
	1941 A	1940 B	
Mumps	0.2	0.1	2.0
Whooping cough	15.6	2.2	7.1
Diphtheria	10.6	1.1	9.6
Dysentery	14.1	0.9	15.7
Lethargic encephalitis	0.5	0.6	0.8
Erysipelas	3.5	0.5	7.0
Typhoid fever	7.2	1.1	6.5
Grippe	60.6	15.4	3.9
Leprosy	3.2	—	—
Malaria	12.5	1.1	11.4
Epidemic meningitis	1.1	0.5	2.2
Poliomyelitis	0.1	0.8	0.1
Hydrophobia	0.3	0.03	10.0
Measles	11.9	0.5	23.8
Syphilis	57.1	8.0	7.1
Tuberculosis	317.5	45.8	6.9
Chicken pox	0.3	0.1	3.0
Smallpox	0.2	0.01	20.0
Others	39.6	0.9	44.0
Total	556.1	79.6	7.0

* Source: Fontenelle, *As Doenças Transmissíveis no Rio de Janeiro*, 8.

the five-year period 1902–1906 to 31 per cent of all in the last five years; in the meanwhile, the corresponding change in the United States was from 26 per cent to 8 per cent.

Some of the data relative to changes in the annual toll of life exacted in Rio de Janeiro by specific diseases are also of considerable importance. Typhoid fever, for example, which each year killed 13.9 out of every 100,000 people in Rio de Janeiro and 31.0 out of every 100,000 in the United States at the opening of the century, by 1937–1941 was reduced to a corresponding rate of 7.1 in Rio de Janeiro and only 1.3 in the United States. In the United States the ravages of diphtheria were also practically eliminated during this forty-year period, the death rate from this cause per 100,000 population falling from 34.8 to 1.5 during the interval under consideration; but in Rio de Janeiro, the corresponding rate increased from 6.3 in 1902–1906 to 8.4 for 1937–1941. A great accomplishment in bettering the health of Brazil's capital city was the elimination by 1932 of yellow fever, which in 1902–1906 was reported as killing 52.5 persons each year out of each 100,000 in the population. Bubonic plague, which took an annual toll of 29.2 persons out of each 100,000 at the beginning of the century, had also been eliminated as a reported cause of death by 1932. Smallpox, which at the turn of the century claimed an annual toll of more than 160 lives per 100,000 population, by 1937–1941 had been practically eliminated, the death rate from this cause being only 0.16 in Rio de Janeiro. Likewise, a great improvement was made in the control of malaria; the annual death rate from this cause dropped from 114.4 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1902–1906 to an average of 12.5 during the five years 1937–1941.

Whooping cough, on the other hand, for a time became more deadly, the rate increasing from 6.5 at the beginning of the period to a high of 28.0 per 100,000 in the years 1922–1926, and then falling to 15.4 per year for the period 1937–1941. In Rio de Janeiro's death rate from diphtheria, there was a slight increase over the forty-year period, from 6.3 at the beginning to 8.4 at the close. The death rate from dysentery also rose from 9.4 in 1902–1906 to 14.4 in 1937–1941. The toll taken by typhoid fever in the city was reduced from 13.9 to 7.1 over the period under consideration, and the mortality from grippe from 63.9 to 55.3. Leprosy, reported as taking 3.1 lives out of each 100,000 inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro in the years 1902–1906, continued to be listed as the cause of 3.6 deaths annually per 100,000 population in the last five years. Measles cannot be ignored as a cause of death in Rio de Janeiro, being reported as killing each year 12.7 persons per 100,000 population at the beginning of the century, 30.6 in the years 1922–1926, and 14.6 in the



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directorate de Publicidade Agrícola

MULE TRAIN TRANSPORTING CORN AND BEANS

period 1937-1941. The reported death rate from syphilis has increased greatly from 9.9 per 100,000, at the beginning of the period under consideration, to 45.9 at its close. But there has been some reduction in the annual toll taken by tuberculosis, the rate falling from 415.5 in 1902 to 322.7 in 1937-1941.⁵

There is evidence in these data that Brazil is making considerable progress in its war against death and disease. Of this, one sees other evidences as he visits the various regions of the country. But at all times one should keep in mind the tremendous task the country is facing, not alone because of climate and poor dietary habits, but also because there is little in the way of tradition with which to buttress health and sanitary measures. Even in Rio de Janeiro health and sanitary precautions are a relatively late introduction. In 1838, years after independence and when the city was the seat of the empire and the residence of the 13-year-old Emperor, Wilkes wrote concerning certain sanitary facilities:

Very few of the houses have yards, cellars, or gardens; consequently the dwellers are still greatly incommoded from the want of water-closets, detrimental both to health and comfort, and not only an annoyance and inconvenience to the inhabitants themselves, but is shared by the stranger passing through the streets.⁶

By 1865 the situation in the Federal Capital was on the mend, a North American named Smith had a contract for the construction of sewers, and, according to a qualified observer, Dr. Gaston, even more drastic measures were contemplated, so that a privy would be constructed on every man's premises "whether he may desire it or not."⁷ The good doctor asserted that "At present it is a common practice for men of all classes to urinate upon the sidewalks in the most fashionable streets of the city, and the stench in passing some of the recesses that are most frequently resorted to is such, that it is a matter of surprise to learn that there is no public ordinance forbidding this offensive nuisance."⁸ Were the doctor living today he might find the desired city ordinance on the books, but he would not have to go far from the Avenida Rio Branco to discover that the practice he complained of has not been entirely abandoned.

INFANT MORTALITY

The infant mortality rate is another index that may be used in exploring the subject of mortality in Brazil. It is computed by relating the

⁵ All of these data have been taken from Fontenelle, *As Doenças Transmissíveis no Rio de Janeiro*, 17-46.

⁶ Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, I, 46-47.

⁷ Gaston, *Hunting a Home in Brazil*, 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

number of infants who die in the course of their first year to the number of live births during the year.

No age distribution of the general population, a set of population data that is rarely available, is required. This index also is highly significant because the proportion of newly born infants who die is little affected by many of the contagious diseases, not influenced at all by the degenerative ailments, and therefore seems to reflect rather accurately the quality of the general care and feeding that is given to babies by their parents. One may be sure that people who lack the knowledge or the will to care for their infants will, as a rule, not care for themselves. For this reason the infant mortality rate is highly significant as an index for gauging the general health and welfare of a population. In fact, it is probably the best single index that may be had of the general welfare of the people.

But this index must be used with care in Brazil, for the reason that the registry of births is far from complete, probably even more incomplete than the registry of deaths. This was pointed out in the study of fertility. It also is indicated by the data for many interior towns and cities which in 1941 reported more infant deaths than live births. Here are a few of the data: Maria Pereira, Ceará, 82 live births and 111 infant deaths; Areia, Paraíba, 237 live births and 331 infant deaths; Patos, Paraíba, 237 live births and 543 infant deaths; Caruarú, Pernambuco, 561 live births and 597 infant deaths; Porto Calvo, Alagoas (in this state 13 out of 31 towns reporting give more infant deaths than live births), 76 live births and 170 infant deaths; and Feira de Santana, Bahia, 70 live births and 159 infant deaths. However, in other states, Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, the registries of vital statistics show evidences of much more careful keeping. But, for all of Brazil, only a small part of the interior reports births and infant deaths, and in many places for which reports are available, these reports are far from complete.⁹

Although it is well known that they are deficient in many respects, the most recent comprehensive data on infant mortality have been assembled in Tables XXIV and XXV.¹⁰ The data in the former pertain only to the state and federal capitals for the years 1940 and 1941. The latter is a compilation of such information as is available relative to infant mortality in all the interior portions of the states that have begun reporting infant mortality statistics. The data are for the single year 1941.

⁹ For the data cited above see *Boletim Mensal do Serviço Federal de Bio-Estatística*, Ano I, No. 9 (March 1942).

¹⁰ Data on births for recent years have not been included in the various editions of the *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*.

TABLE XXIV

Reported Infant Mortality Rates in the Capitals, 1940 and 1941 *

State and Capital	Number of deaths among infants of less than one year-of age per 1,000 live births	
	1940	1941
Alagoás, Maceió	—	—
Amazonas, Manaus	158	303
Bahia, Salvador	225	250
Ceará, Fortaleza	243	209
Distrito Federal	174	183
Espírito Santo, Vitória	103	211
Goiás, Goiânia	279	279
Maranhão, São Luís	240	231
Mato Grosso, Cuiabá	121	229
Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte	156	156
Pará, Belém	202	189
Paraíba, João Pessoa	190	295
Paraná, Curitiba	110	125
Pernambuco, Recife	269	292
Piauí, Teresina	148	502
Rio de Janeiro, Niterói	180	187
Rio Grande do Norte, Natal	353	335
Rio Grande do Sul, Pôrto Alegre	220	230
Santa Catarina, Florianópolis	268	303
São Paulo, São Paulo	124	135
Sergipe, Aracaju	286	243

* Source: *Boletim Mensal do Serviço Federal de Bio-Estatística*, Ano I, Nos. 10, 12.

It is at once observed that the infant mortality rates are very high, and remain so even when these rates be discounted liberally to allow for the incomplete coverage of the birth registration.¹¹ They, too, reflect a general health level that leaves a great deal to be desired, and which indicates that the human resources of the country are being dissipated by disease, malnutrition, and lack of medical attention and care. Unfortunately, one cannot place enough reliance upon the materials to justify regional comparisons, but the fact that the northern and northeastern states generally have high rates is in agreement with popular opinion among the intellectual classes of Brazil.

Mortara, by methods too conservative, has estimated the numbers of live births for the years 1939 to 1941, inclusive, for seven of the largest

¹¹ As birth registration becomes more complete, we may be sure that the infant mortality rate in Brazil will appear to fall.

TABLE XXV

Reported Infant Mortality Rates in Interior Towns, 1941 *

State	Number of towns	Infant mortality rate
Total Reported	806	—
Alagoas	32	898
Bahia	17	536
Ceará	9	171
Espírito Santo	31	122
Goiás	44	174
Mato Grosso	7	180
Minas Gerais	230	201
Pará	8	304
Paraíba	17	550
Paraná	35	204
Pernambuco	10	453
Rio Grande do Norte	3	584
Rio Grande do Sul	55	109
Santa Catarina	37	127
São Paulo	270	184
Acre	1	89

* Source: *Boletim Mensal do Serviço Federal de Bio-Estatística*, Ano I, No. 9.

cities in Brazil, and has also computed the number of infant deaths in those cities for the corresponding years. Utilizing these corrected data for the computation of infant mortality rates gives the following results for the three-year period: Rio de Janeiro (Distrito Federal), 171; São Paulo, 135; Recife, 267; Salvador, 201; Pôrto Alegre, 187; Belo Horizonte, 158; and Belém, 160.¹² As is to be expected, most of these rates are lower than those for the corresponding cities given in Table XXIV.

In his corrected tabulations of live births and infant deaths for the city of São Paulo and the Distrito Federal, Mortara also classified the data according to the color categories used in the Brazilian census. This makes it possible to examine how the infant mortality rate in Brazil's two great metropolitan centers varies as one passes from the lighter to the darker shades in the population, which is approximately the same as moving from the higher to the lower social and economic strata. Thus in the município of São Paulo the infant mortality rate among the white population for the years 1939-1941 was only 119, and among the Negroes and pardos, or mixed bloods, the rate was 257. Among the Japanese population, how-

¹² Cf. Giorgio Mortara, *Estimativas da Taxa de Natalidade Para o Brasil, as Unidades da Federação, e as Principais Capitais* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948), 39, 43.

ever, it was only 61. For the same years in the city of Rio de Janeiro and the other parts of the Federal District the infant mortality rate among white children was only 129, whereas that among the Negroes was 224. However, in the national capital, the pardos showed a rate of 272, far above that of the Negroes.¹³

¹³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER X

IMMIGRATION

IMMIGRATION TO Brazil has been confined largely to the period 1887 to 1934. During those years she received a recorded immigration of more than four million persons from other countries. Prior to 1887 the movement into Brazil was a mere trickle, and since 1934 immigration has been restricted by a quota system. The importation of a few thousand colonists prior to and during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century will receive a detailed consideration in Chapter XVII.

MOTIVATIONS FOR SEEKING IMMIGRANTS

Before considering the numerical data on the movement of foreigners into Brazil, it is well to consider briefly what Brazilian statesmen have had in mind in promoting the immigration of other peoples to their country. It is also worth while to reflect a few moments on the reasons for Brazil's tardiness in becoming an attraction for the millions of Europeans who, throughout the nineteenth century, were leaving their old homes for new ones overseas. The chief motivating forces in Brazil's promotion of immigration, first as an empire and later as a republic, seem to have been two. The first of these was the creation of a small-farming class in the population, a group of farmers engaged in diversified agriculture, to help balance the large scale monoculture carried on in its tremendous agricultural and cattle-growing estates. Quite naturally this motive was strongest during the empire, when slavery still supplied the backbone of the nation's labor force and when diversified agriculture was almost unknown. It also enjoyed a brief reign of popularity in the early years of the republic, when each of the states came into possession of and was confronted with the task of administering the unpatented lands within its borders. This motivation has always been the chief factor in the immigration to Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, and Espírito Santo. It has also been important in the immigration to Minas Gerais. With the granting of freedom to the children of slave mothers in 1871 and the freeing of the slaves themselves in 1888, another motive for promoting immigration came to the fore, the ensuring of what Brazil's upper classes considered an adequate and cheap labor supply to perform the manual work on the

coffee, cotton, and sugar plantations of the nation. São Paulo was always the champion in promoting immigration for this purpose. It led the fight to have the Imperial Government subsidize immigration of farm hands, and in anticipation of what was to come, it established the machinery for recruiting a labor supply even before the abolition of the institution of slavery. To the systematic recruiting of agricultural workers by São Paulo, and the subsidization of their movement across the ocean, Brazil owes the lion's share of her immigration. As will be seen, considerably more than half of all the immigrants to Brazil have gone to São Paulo. The promotion and subsidization of immigrants to become farm operators in the colonization projects of federal, state, and private agencies has been important, but it has not brought in a volume of immigrants that compares with those introduced as agricultural laborers.

WHY IMMIGRATION LAGGED

Since Brazil was so late in becoming an important area of absorption for Europe's overcrowded population, although she had long been adopting policies, spreading publicity, and even offering financial subsidies in an attempt to attract immigrants, it is well to pause and ask the reason for this. Why was it that prior to 1887 Brazil, with tremendous spaces to fill, a soil generally reported as being of unequaled fertility, and an active recruitment program, secured only a handful of immigrants? Others may advance various explanations, but the writer believes that to the defects in her land system Brazil must attribute her failure to become a mecca for the millions who fled from overcrowded nineteenth-century Europe. It matters little that freedom to enter was greatly limited during the first two decades of the century and that more years had to pass before adherence to the Catholic religion was waived as a prerequisite to entrance. During the opening decades of the nineteenth century, immigration to the United States also was a mere trickle, while congestion and desire to emigrate were probably almost as great in the Catholic parts of Europe as in the Protestant communities. Had Brazil been as liberal in granting land, had she safeguarded surveys and boundaries, and had she carefully protected property rights to land, she probably would have run a close race with the United States in the volume of immigration. In turn, many of the defects in her land system, and the consequent failure to attract immigrants, must be attributed to the system of large estates and slave labor which prevailed universally throughout the entire empire. Those familiar with the history of immigration to the United States will recall that the same combination of factors effectively deterred the establishment of immigrants in the Southern states, even though hundreds of thousands

of them landed there and passed through the region on their way to sections where farming was a family enterprise and where they might reasonably expect to become owners of farms.

Those particular aspects of the Brazilian land system that were deterrents, brakes upon the numerous official and private attempts to attract the surplus population of Europe, may be listed as follows: (1) lack of systematic surveys to establish definitely where property lines lay, (2) faulty or "clouded" land titles that made ownership uncertain and made the settler run the risk of losing all the capital and results of years work that he had put into the land, (3) the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few, many of whom withheld it from productive uses, as *latifundia*, to pass on to their heirs, (4) because a few people held the land and also the political power, the maintenance of slavery, and the smuggling of slaves from Africa,¹ and (5) perhaps most important of all, the failure to provide grants of land to settlers, and to abandon the rigid practice made a law in 1850 that land could be secured once by purchase, or, in brief, the failure to develop a Brazilian equivalent of the "homestead law." In the United States "squatting" or the illegal settling on lands quickly gave rise to a legalization and regularization of the process, the moving force in the granting of lands free to actual settlers which became such a lure for immigrants. In Brazil squatting for the most part has merely resulted in clouded land titles and lawsuits, many of which persist to the present day.

NUMBERS

In order to have a relatively firm basis for beginning the analysis of the data on immigration in Brazil, the year 1874 is selected as a starting point, or more than a decade before the large movement of immigrants into Brazil got under way in 1887. Only a few comments are necessary about the immigration prior to 1874. It was extremely sporadic. It was confined largely to the Portuguese, who had always gravitated to Brazil, settlers introduced in connection with the various colonization projects which are described in another chapter, and workers imported by certain planters who were experimenting with the substitution of free labor for

¹ The importation of slaves was prohibited very early. "In reality, however, the traffic was only extinguished on paper, in spite of the treaties of January 22, 1815, of July 28, 1817, and of November 23, 1826, with England, and notwithstanding the vigilance of the British cruisers.

"Useless was the law of November 7, 1831 that declared to be free all slaves coming from outside who should enter national territory. It was a dead letter during half a century, only coming to be applied by some judges, among them the great Antonio Joaquim de Macedo Soares a little before the extinction of slavery in 1888." Vieira Ferreira, *Azambuja e Urussanga*, Niterói: Diário Oficial, 1939, p. 36.

slave. Any data pertaining to the period before 1874 are extremely fragmentary, and there are serious discrepancies between the information provided by various official sources. For example, a publication of the São Paulo Department of Labor states that in the decade 1847 to 1857, "individual initiative alone created in São Paulo more than 60 colonies, in which were located more than 60,000 immigrants, almost all Portuguese."² However, on another page, when giving the data on immigration to the state, the same publication shows only 6,303 immigrants to São Paulo during the decade referred to, and of these only 2,515 were classed as Portuguese. (In making these additions both 1847 and 1857 were included to make up for one year omitted in the series.) Still using this long decade, and the data from another official source, the total immigration to Brazil was only 71,820, of whom 53,911 were Portuguese.³

In the period 1874 to 1949, inclusive, a total of 4,546,560 immigrants is reported as entering Brazil.⁴ See Table XXVI and Figure 9. This number is equal to about 8.6 per cent of Brazil's population as revealed by the 1950 census. During the same period the records for the United States show an entry of 30,637,746 immigrants, or approximately 20 per cent of the 1950 population.

It is interesting to observe the fluctuations in the movement of the immigrants, to identify the years of the peaks and the depressions, to note how the movement into São Paulo compares with that in the nation

² Departamento Estadual do Trabalho, *Dados para a Historia da Imigração e da Colonização em São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1916), 7.

³ *Boletim Commemorativo da Exposição Nacional de 1908* (Rio de Janeiro, 1908), 83.

⁴ This figure is based on the data for the years 1884 to 1939, as given by the national Conselho de Imigração e Colonização and published in the *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XI, 1950 (Rio de Janeiro, 1951), 55; *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano I, No. 4 (October 1940); and upon data for the years 1874 to 1883, inclusive, compiled by Henrique Doria de Vasconcellos, "Alguns Aspectos da Imigração no Brasil," *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 3 (March 1941). The Conselho has compiled the data by single years, according to the nationality of the immigrants. Doria de Vasconcellos, formerly director of São Paulo's excellent immigration and colonization service, gives a series for the years 1850 to 1937, showing the total immigration to Brazil and how this stream of immigration divided between São Paulo and the other states in the confederation. There are many differences in the figures from the two sources, possibly because the Conselho's figures are corrected to eliminate 130,435 returning Brazilian citizens who had been included in the earlier compilations of immigration statistics, although the general outlines of the movement are the same. In the pages that follow, the data published by the Conselho are relied upon for material relating to the composition of the immigration, while those supplied by Doria de Vasconcellos are utilized for showing the relative importance of the movement into the state of São Paulo. The materials presented on nationality of the immigrants during the decade 1874 to 1883 were secured from the *Boletim Commemorativo da Exposição Nacional de 1908*, 82-84.

PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS OF BRAZIL

TABLE XXVI

Annual Immigration to Brazil and to São Paulo, 1874-1939 *

Year	Immigration		
	To Brazil	To São Paulo	
	Number	Number	Per cent of total
1874	19,942	120	.6
1875	11,001	3,289	29.9
1876	30,567	1,303	4.3
1877	29,029	2,832	9.8
1878	22,432	1,678	7.5
1879	22,189	953	4.3
1880	29,729	613	2.1
1881	11,054	2,705	24.5
1882	27,197	2,743	10.1
1883	28,662	4,912	17.1
1884	24,890	4,868	20.0
1885	35,440	6,500	18.3
1886	33,486	9,534	28.5
1887	55,963	32,110	57.4
1888	133,253	91,826	68.1
1889	65,946	27,694	42.0
1890	107,474	38,291	35.6
1891	216,760	108,688	50.1
1892	86,203	42,061	48.8
1893	134,805	81,745	60.6
1894	60,984	48,947	80.3
1895	167,618	139,998	83.5
1896	158,132	99,010	62.6
1897	146,362	98,134	67.0
1898	78,109	46,939	60.1
1899	54,629	31,172	57.1
1900	40,300	22,802	56.6
1901	85,306	70,348	82.5
1902	52,204	37,831	72.5
1903	34,062	16,553	48.6
1904	46,164	23,761	51.5
1905	70,295	45,839	65.2
1906	73,672	46,214	62.7
1907	58,552	28,900	49.4
1908	94,695	37,278	39.4
1909	85,410	38,308	44.9
1910	88,564	39,486	44.6
1911	135,967	61,508	45.2
1912	180,182	98,640	54.7

IMMIGRATION

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TABLE XXVI *Continued*

Annual Immigration to Brazil and to São Paulo, 1874-1939 *

Year	Immigration		
	To Brazil	To São Paulo	
	Number	Number	Per cent of total
1913	192,683	116,640	60.5
1914	82,572	46,624	56.5
1915	32,206	15,614	48.5
1916	34,003	17,011	50.0
1917	31,192	23,407	75.0
1918	20,501	11,447	55.8
1919	37,898	16,205	42.8
1920	71,027	32,028	45.1
1921	60,844	32,678	53.7
1922	66,967	31,281	46.7
1923	86,679	45,240	52.2
1924	98,125	56,085	57.2
1925	84,883	57,429	67.7
1926	121,569	76,796	63.2
1927	101,568	61,607	60.7
1928	82,061	40,847	49.8
1929	100,424	53,262	53.0
1930	74,420	30,924	41.6
1931	24,056	16,216	67.4
1932	34,683	17,420	50.2
1933	48,812	33,680	69.0
1934	50,368	30,757	61.1
1935	35,913	21,131	58.8
1936	?	14,854	?
1937	34,677	12,384	35.7
1938	22,668	?	?
1939	22,668	?	?
1940	18,449	?	?
1941	9,938	?	?
1942	2,425	?	?
1943	1,308	?	?
1944	1,593	?	?
1945	3,168	?	?
1946	13,039	?	?
1947	18,753	?	?
1948	21,568	?	?
1949	23,844	?	?

* Sources: Doria de Vasconcellos, "Alguns Aspectos da Imigração no Brasil," *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 3, pp. 29-30, 35-36; and, for the years 1938 to 1949, *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XI, 1950, p. 55.

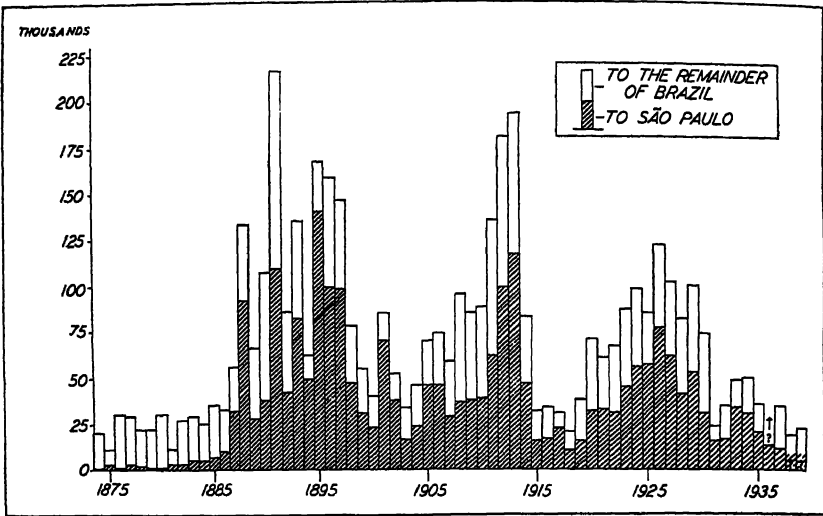


FIGURE 9. Annual Immigration to Brazil and to São Paulo, 1874-1939.

as a whole. The graphic presentation of the data in Figure 9 facilitates such observations. Until 1886 immigration to Brazil remained at a comparatively low level, attaining the mark of 30,000 per year only in 1876. However, the yearly level was usually above 20,000. In 1887 the incoming tide began to flow much more rapidly and immigration increased to more than 133,000 in 1888, the year the slaves were freed and the year before the declaration of the republic. These events seem to have brought about a temporary check, but in 1890 the current again began to swell and the immigrant tide reached its all-time high in 1891 when 215,239 (216,760 according to Doria de Vasconcellos) immigrants entered Brazil. After a brief period of recession in 1895 the number of immigrants again reached high levels in 1895, 1896, and 1897, the figure of 164,831 for 1895 being the third highest recorded in Brazil's immigration history. Then a decided slump set in, the number of immigrants dropping to less than 40,000 in 1900, and, following a brief flurry, to 33,000 in 1903. Following this, a gradual recovery got under way, which by 1913 brought the recorded immigration to above 190,000, the second highest total ever recorded for a single year.

The onslaught of World War I naturally brought a decided slump in the number of immigrants disembarking at Brazilian ports, the figure descending to the 30,000 level in 1915 and below 20,000 in 1918. Following the war a considerable recovery was started, but the movement never regained its firmer vigor. The year 1926 represents the peak for this period; 118,686 immigrants were recorded, the only year after 1913 when

immigration to Brazil exceeded 100,000. However, the incoming stream remained near this annual figure until 1929, when it again fell sharply to another low of 37,465 in 1931. A slight recovery, the introduction of the quota system in 1934, and the resumption of immigration levels that approximated those of the 1870's are other features of the 1930's. In 1939 only 22,668 immigrants entered Brazil, a number still further reduced by World War II. In 1946, however, immigration again got under way in considerable volume, and by 1949 the stream was back to 1939 levels.

COMPOSITION OF THE STREAM

The compilation made by the Conselho de Imigração e Colonização for the years 1884 to 1949 provides the details on the nationalities of immigrants to Brazil, and the data necessary for judging their relative importance. These materials have been assembled in Table XXVII, and percentages have been calculated to show the relative importance of each of the elements. In interpreting these data it should be kept in mind that changes in political units and boundaries between 1884 and 1949 have affected the numbers reported in several important national groups. For example, numerous Polish immigrants who came before World War I must have been classed as Russians, Austrians, or Germans. Also, it can be proved beyond all doubt that very large numbers of Paraguayans and considerable numbers of Uruguayans, Argentines, Bolivians, Peruvians, Ecuadorians, Colombians, and Venezuelans are not included in the statistics.

These data show Italy and Portugal supplied Brazil with the largest numbers of immigrants, the former leading slightly because of great masses of agricultural laborers who abandoned Italy for Brazil during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. These two countries alone account for nearly two thirds of the recorded immigration to Brazil during the entire 65-year period. It will come as a surprise to many that Spain ranks third and has contributed more than half a million immigrants to Brazil or 14 per cent of the total. Japan, which entered the lists only in 1908, and did not begin her penetration in earnest until about 1925, ranks fourth. Next comes Germany, which lagged during the early decades of the period but greatly stepped up the dispatch of her nationals to Brazil following World War I. No other country except Russia, which ranks sixth, has contributed as many as 100,000, or 2.5 per cent. This high figure needs some explanation, for although there are many thousands of Russians in Brazil, a large part of the immigration classed as Russian is that of the Russian Poles who migrated before World War I. Were it possible to segregate the Poles from the Austrian, German, and Russian

TABLE XXVII

Immigration to Brazil, 1884-1949, Classified According to Country of Origin *

Country of origin	Immigrants	
	Number	Percentage of total
Italy	1,428,700	33.3
Portugal	1,251,375	29.2
Spain	586,880	13.7
Japan	188,830	4.4
Germany	178,250	4.2
Russia	110,988	2.6
Austria	86,764	2.0
Turkey	78,455	1.8
Poland	53,006	1.2
Romania	40,058	0.9
France	35,363	0.8
Lithuania	28,665	0.7
England	26,458	0.6
Argentina	24,419	0.6
United States	23,734	0.6
Yugoslavia	23,727	0.6
Syria	21,343	0.5
Switzerland	11,393	0.3
Uruguay	10,463	0.2
Hungary	10,313	0.2
The Netherlands	9,724	0.2
Libya	7,693	0.2
Belgium	6,947	0.2
Czechoslovakia	6,061	0.1
Sweden	5,081	0.1
Greece	4,792	0.1
Denmark	3,270	0.1
Esthonia	2,704	0.1
Chile	2,241	0.1
Latvia	2,209	0.1
China	1,689	†
Peru	1,325	†
Other countries	14,551	0.3
Total	4,287,471	100.0

* Sources: *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano I, No. 4 (October 1940), 641-42; *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano VII (1946), Ano IX (1948), Ano X (1949), Ano XI (1950).

† Less than one tenth of one per cent.

contingents and to add the total thus derived to the recorded immigration from Poland, undoubtedly this group would rank sixth.

It is interesting to observe how the countries making the greatest contributions have varied as time has passed. See Figure 10. In the decade 1874 to 1883, for which a total of 247,888 immigrants was reported, the five leading nationalities were as follows, given in the order of their importance: Italians, Portuguese, Germans, Spaniards, and Russians. Together they accounted for 84.4 per cent of all immigration during the period. Italians constituted slightly more than one fourth and Portuguese slightly less than one quarter of all. The other nationalities were far below.

During the following decade immigration was almost four times the previous volume, the total for the ten years equaling 883,668. Of this number Italians alone made up 510,553, far ahead of the 170,621 Portuguese, 103,116 Spaniards, 40,589 Russians, and 22,778 Germans reported for the period. Together, these five nationalities made up 95.9 per cent of all immigrants. The very significant gain in the number of Spanish immigrants should not be obscured by the phenomenal increase of Italian immigration.

During the next decade, 1894 to 1903, the total number of immigrants fell slightly to 862,110; but this was the period in which Italian immigration reached its maximum, the total for the ten years being 537,784. The number of Portuguese immigrants fell slightly, to 157,542, but the group remained in second place. Spaniards were still third, and their number, 102,142, was approximately the same as it was during the preceding decade. Russians now disappeared from a place among the leaders, and Austrians were in fourth place, their total being 32,456. German immigration fell precipitously to only 6,698, but so few were the representatives of other nations that the nationality remained in fifth position. Together the five leaders accounted for 97 per cent of all immigration to Brazil during the decade. This indicates that the current of immigration was highly homogeneous from the standpoint of nationality. This high concentration in the five leading groups was never equaled previously or since.

During the decade immediately preceding World War I, 1904 to 1913, immigration into Brazil totaled 1,006,617, an all-time high. It also underwent radical changes in composition in comparison with the earlier make-up. The effectiveness of the Italian government's prohibition of migration to São Paulo is indicated by the fact that Italians fell to third place among the immigrants, their total, 196,521, being far below the levels for the preceding decades. Portuguese immigration almost doubled, reaching 384,672, and moved into first place. The Spaniards occupied second position, totaling 224,672, more than double the figure for the preceding decade. Russians, of whom we may be sure a considerable

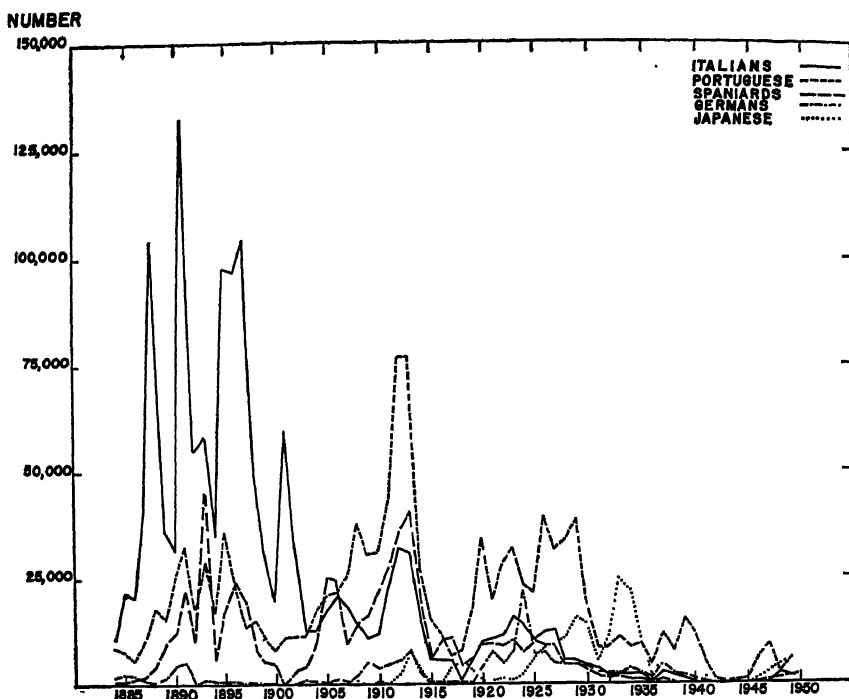


FIGURE 10. Annual Variations in the Immigration to Brazil of the Portuguese, Italians, Spaniards, Japanese, and Germans, 1884-1949.

number were Poles, again appeared among the leaders, their total of 48,100 being a little above that of 42,177 for the Turks, who made their debut among the five leading nationalities. The leaders together accounted for 89 per cent of all immigration during the decade.

World War I resulted in a reduction of about 50 per cent in the number of immigrants entering Brazil between 1914 and 1923, in comparison with the preceding ten years, the figure for the decade being only 503,981. Of these, 82.9 per cent was supplied by the five leading nationalities, indicating a continued increase in heterogeneity of the immigrant tide. The Portuguese continued to lead in number, totaling 201,252 and accounting for two fifths of all the immigrants. The Spanish again occupied second position, and Italians third, 94,779 being the total for the former and 86,320 for the latter. Germans flocked to Brazil in considerable numbers immediately after the war so that their total for the decade rose to 29,339, placing them in fourth position. Austrians, only 6,285 in number, ranked fifth.

In the decade 1924 to 1933, that closed during the depth of the great economic depression, the number of immigrants to Brazil totaled 737,223, about a third higher than during the preceding ten years. The

immigrant stream was more heterogeneous in make-up, also; only 71.6 per cent belonged to the five leading nationalities. Portuguese continued to be the most numerous of all nationalities, their number being 233,650. Japanese suddenly jumped into second place, the first time this Asiatic group appeared among the leaders. There were 110,191 entries of these members of the yellow race recorded during the decade. Italians continued in third position, although their numbers dropped down to only 70,177. German immigrants came in greatly increased numbers, totaling 61,728, and this nationality occupied fourth position. On the other hand the number of Spanish immigrants was almost halved, to only 52,405, and they dropped from their second place position of the previous two decades to fifth place.

In 1934 Brazil began limiting immigration through a system of quotas. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that immigration was considerably reduced from 1934 to 1939, inclusive, in comparison with previous levels, the total for the six years being only 165,118. It also increased slightly in homogeneity. The leading five nationalities included 82.7 per cent of all the immigrants. Portuguese continued to hold the lead, as they had since first they outnumbered the Italians at the close of the nineteenth century. However, their total was only 56,657, not much greater than that, 43,342, of the Japanese, who again were in second place. Germans moved up to third place with a total of 16,243 immigrants, exchanging places with the Italians who numbered 10,928 and now occupied fourth place. For the first time the Spaniards relinquished their place among the leaders. Poles, 9,315 in number, took over fifth position. In the years following World War II the Portuguese, Italians, Spaniards, Germans, and Poles, in the order named, have constituted the bulk of the immigration to Brazil.

The most prominent features in the composition of Brazilian immigration are these. Italians swarmed into Brazil during the closing decades of the nineteenth century and continued coming in large numbers thereafter. Immigrants from the mother country, Portugal, have always been the most numerous group except during the three decades preceding 1904, when Italian immigration was so high. Immigrants from Spain were very numerous until 1924. Drove of Japanese suddenly began immigrating to Brazil following 1925. So much interest is attached to the immigration of the various nationality groups that it is well to give a few of the details concerning the coming of each of the principal groups.

Italians. Italians were entering Brazil in fairly good numbers even before São Paulo got under way with her labor recruitment program. These early comers were placed as colonists in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo. However, when São

Paulo began seeking in earnest for hands to replace her slaves, the immigration of Italians jumped sharply, the figure rising to 104,353 in 1888. After a recession during the troubled years of 1889 and 1890, and as soon as the republic got under way, the figure shot up to 132,326 for the year 1891. This is the high-water mark in Italian immigration, although after falling to 34,872 in 1894, the number was again up to 104,510 in 1897. After 1902, when the Italian government prohibited the recruiting of immigrants by São Paulo, the annual immigration of Italians to Brazil never again exceeded 20,000 per year except during 1911, 1912, and 1913 when the figures were 22,914, 31,785, and 30,886, respectively.

Portuguese. Year in and year out, members of the Portuguese nationality, immigrants from the mother country, are the ones on whom Brazil may count.⁵ Never did the annual tide of Portuguese equal the high marks set by the Italians. The immigration of 76,530 in 1912 and 76,701 in 1913 are the highest figures ever recorded for the entrance of members of this nationality. But from 1908 until 1929, with rare exceptions other than the war years, 30,000 or more Portuguese immigrants have entered Brazil annually. From 1904, when the Portuguese came to outnumber the Italians, until 1939, there were only seven years when they were not the most numerous of all nationality groups included among the immigrants. In 1905, 1906, and 1917 the Portuguese ranked second to the Spaniards; from 1932 to 1935, inclusive, each year the Portuguese ranked second to the Japanese.

Spaniards. Next to Portugal, Spain has been the most regular contributor of immigrants to Brazil. Never has the immigration for any one

⁵ Portuguese immigrants, who were the only Europeans admitted during the colonial period, also kept coming after Brazil had established her independence in the period of the empire. According to one writer, immigration of the Portuguese from the Azores and other islands to Brazil in the middle of the nineteenth century was a form of indentured servitude. Says Codman: "There is something very like a white slave trade going on with the Western Islands, but generally there is nothing objectionable in it. Now and then a Portuguese ship arrives with a company of these islanders. Notice is given in the papers that she is anchored off the Isle of Cobras. The intimation is sufficient. Immediately she is surrounded by boatloads of eager purchasers. The cargo, mostly of young men and girls, is taken on board by the captain, with the understanding that on arrival they shall be temporarily sold for the price of their passages. It is just to these poor people to say that they are generally faithful to their engagements, seldom leaving the masters to whom they are bound until they have earned their freedom. They then commence work upon their own account, and labor with the greatest energy and perseverance to accumulate their little fortunes.

"As might be expected, there occasionally is some immorality in these transactions. But many of the females come over for the express purpose of thus disposing of themselves, having very correct ideas of the morality of the country that gives them so good a chance of success. Many of the more respectable class marry and settle here, but the men generally expect to return. When there are enough of them who are satisfied with the results of their labor, they frequently charter a small brig to take them home. There is something very pleasant in the scenes of these departures." *Ten Months in Brazil*, 135-36.

year been spectacular, like the pouring in of the Italians, 41,064 in 1913 being the highest figure attained. However, it was above 10,000 each year from 1890 to 1917 with very few exceptions, and most of these were at the time of the Spanish-American War, 1898 and the years that immediately followed.

Japanese. Approximately 200,000 Japanese immigrants have been legally admitted to Brazil since the first contingent of about 800 arrived in 1908. Those who should know believe that many more have entered the country illegally. Even though no allowance is made for this possibility, to many it will come as a shock to see that Japan ranks fourth, ahead of Germany, as a contributor of immigrants. Reflecting on the fact that in the fifteen years preceding Pearl Harbor Japan sent as many immigrants to Brazil as did Germany in her whole history will still further stress the significance of this development. Because the movement has been so great, because the Asiatics have proved so resistant to the processes of assimilation and acculturation, and because these Japanese are so different racially and culturally from other immigrants, a short examination of the history of this immigration is advisable.

The provision of hands for São Paulo's agriculture was the motive leading to the introduction of Japanese into Brazil, and it continued to be the motivating force in the admission of Japanese immigrants until 1941. As indicated above, following the abolition of slavery, Paulista fazendas came to depend largely upon an Italian labor supply, the state importing between 1887 and 1902 some 800,000 Italian workers,⁶ a large share of whom were subsidized either by the state or by the federal government. But many complaints reached Italy regarding the treatment of Italian workers on São Paulo's fazendas, with the result that in 1902 the Italian Government prohibited recruiting and granting of free passage to Italian workers destined for São Paulo. Since this was the only Brazilian state subsidizing the immigration of Italian workers, the prohibition greatly reduced the total immigration into Brazil.⁷ São Paulo had to seek agricultural workers elsewhere. Japan was one of the sources to which it turned.

After some preliminary negotiations the government of the state of São Paulo in 1907 signed an agreement with the Imperial Japanese Immi-

⁶ Cf. Astrogildo Rodrigues de Mello, "Imigração e Colonização," *Geografia*, Ano I, No. 4 (1935), 29; *Boletim da Directoria de Terras, Colonização e Imigração*, Ano I, No. 1 (October 1937), 26. The name of the latter publication was changed to the *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, and data were again given in No. 2 (October 1940), 145. During this same period São Paulo received some 80,000 Portuguese, 90,000 Spanish, and 18,000 Austrian agricultural laborers, in addition to 25,000 of various other nationalities.

⁷ Rodrigues de Mello, "Imigração e Colonização," *Geografia*, Ano I, No. 4, pp. 29-30; cf. Alfredo Ellis, Jr., *Populações Paulistas* (São Paulo, 1934), 179, and Antonio Franceschini, *L'Emigrazione Italiana Nell' America del Sud* (Rome, 1908), 471-73.



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THE OLD-FASHIONED SUGAR MILL

gration Company for the introduction of 3,000 Japanese immigrants, the state agreeing to pay the expenses of transporting the immigrants from Japan to São Paulo. Under the terms of this contract the first contingent of Japanese immigrants arrived at the port of Santos on June 18, 1908. They were some 800 in number and were destined principally for work in rice farming.⁸ A total of 830 Japanese arrived the first year and were sent mostly to locations around Rio Preto in northwestern São Paulo and to the Ribeira Valley near the coast in the southern part of the state.⁹ Under the terms of its contract, the company introduced another small number of immigrants in 1909, nearly 1,000 in 1910, and a few more in 1911 to bring the total number up to 1,837. Then in March of 1912 the state government signed a new contract for the importation of Japanese agricultural workers, this time with Ikutaro Acyagui, representative of the Tokyo Syndicate. In the new contract the concessions made by the state were much greater. It granted outright 50,000 hectares of unsettled land lying between the river Ribeira and Cananéia, exempting this land from taxation for five years, and agreed to pay a subsidy of 10 *contos de reis*¹⁰ for each fifty families located on the concession. The syndicate, on the other hand, agreed to introduce and establish on the concession, during a four-year period, a total of 2,000 Japanese families, divide the land into 25-hectare lots, and construct a system that would supply each of the farmsteads with running water.¹¹ Under this new agreement immigration was rapid, and by the close of 1917 a total of 17,835 Japanese had been transported to Brazil.

Late in 1917 Japanese immigration to Brazil received another great impetus with the organization of the Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha (International Development Company) or K.K.K.K. This company agreed to establish the immigrants either as small holders or as farm laborers on the fazendas of the state. Japanese immigration to Brazil which amounted to only 165 in 1916 increased to 3,899 in 1917 and to 5,599 in 1918. Thus, at the close of the decade the movement of Japanese into Brazil was assuming considerable proportions. For the thirteen years 1908 to 1920, inclusive, it totaled 28,661.

⁸ Rodrigues de Mello, "Imigração e Colonização," *Geografia*, Ano I, No. 4, pp. 30-31.

⁹ Aristoteles de Lima Camara and Arthur Hehl Neiva, "Colonização Nipônica e Germânica no Sul do Brasil," *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano II, No. 1 (January 1941), 58. Interestingly enough, the annual report, *Relatório (Serviço de Povoamento em 1908)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1909), contains 208 pages, but makes no mention of the Japanese immigration other than to include Japanese in the list of nationalities entering. According to this source, 813 of those arriving in 1908 disembarked at Santos and 17 at Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁰ In 1912 the conto was worth \$320.00.

¹¹ Rodrigues de Mello, "Imigração e Colonização," *Geografia*, Ano I, No. 4, p. 31.

An official census taken September 1, 1920, enumerated a total of 27,976 natives of Japan living in Brazil. Taking into account mortality, the presence of diplomatic and consular representatives, and the fact that a few of the immigrants undoubtedly had returned to Japan, these two totals seem to be fairly consistent. But it is to be emphasized that the census of 1920, as well as the subsequent ones, enumerated as Brazilians the children born in Brazil of Japanese parentage.

That the bulk of the Japanese immigrants had located in São Paulo is denoted by the fact that 24,435 of the 27,976, or 87.3 per cent of all, were residing in the state of São Paulo. The adjacent states of Minas Gerais and Paraná contained 1,923 and 701, respectively; in Mato Grosso 514 Japanese were enumerated, in the Federal District 244, and in no other state as many as 100. Furthermore, of the São Paulo Japanese, only 966 lived in the capital and 606 in Santos. Most of them were residents of the agricultural sections,¹² such as municípios lying along the coast below Santos—Iguape with 2,953 and Itahaem with 689 residents born in Japan; Penápolis, Lins, and Pirajuí, lying across the railroad to Mato Grosso in the western portion of the state, and containing 2,614, 1,284, and 1,131 natives of Japan, respectively; Ribeirão Preto with 1,232 Japanese and its neighbor Araraquara with 908, both situated in north central São Paulo on the main route to Goiás; and Rio Preto, in the northwest, containing 725 natives of Japan.

Following 1920 the immigration of Japanese continued at a fairly low level until 1926. Only 11,963 entered during these five years, and more than one half (6,330) arrived in 1925. Then, as may be seen from the data presented in Table XXVIII, the tide of heavy immigration set in, reaching a first peak of 16,648 persons in 1929, and after a brief recession, an all-time high of 24,494 in 1933. For the entire period 1929 to 1940 the official data record 157,964 Japanese immigrants to Brazil. If to this total are added the arrivals before 1921 and the 1,548 reported for 1941, the grand total is 188,173 for the period since immigration began in 1908. Such are the official data on Japanese immigration to Brazil.

Some supplementary data for the state of São Paulo, also given in Table XXVIII, serve to show the overwhelming extent to which immigration of Japanese to Brazil has been confined to that state, and also to give some indication as to the net number remaining after departures have been subtracted from arrivals. These data are available only for the years 1926 through 1940, but they are probably fairly representative of the whole period since they cover the years of heavy immigration and a large portion

¹² The data for the 1920 census are found in *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, IV, Pt. 1, pp. 550-877.

of the immigrants. The obvious discrepancy in the numbers for some years, with São Paulo alone reporting more immigrants than the whole of Brazil, is probably due to the difference in the nature of the two series, the one applying to those classed officially as immigrants, and the other to the arrivals and departures at the port of Santos. As they stand, the data would seem to indicate that São Paulo has received nearly all the Japanese immigration to Brazil and that some 90 per cent of all Japanese arriving in São Paulo have remained there. Were it possible to exclude officials of the Japanese government, businessmen, and travelers, the proportion remaining undoubtedly would be higher.

It is also possible to indicate the relative importance of the role played by the International Settlement Company in the introduction of the

TABLE XXVIII

Japanese Immigration to Brazil and to the State of São Paulo, 1926-1940 *

Year	Brazil	São Paulo	
		Total	Net
1926	8,407	7,900	7,393
1927	9,084	9,152	8,516
1928	11,169	11,284	10,303
1929	16,648	16,119	15,335
1930	14,076	13,701	12,880
1931	5,632	5,528	4,692
1932	11,678	11,405	10,941
1933	24,494	24,247	23,384
1934	21,930	22,036	20,660
1935	9,611	10,137	9,052
1936	3,306	5,748	4,490
1937	4,557	4,981	3,630
1938	2,524	2,863	1,752
1939	1,414	1,761	79
1940	1,471	1,300	281
Total	146,001	148,162	133,388

* Sources: Data for Brazil are those of the Departamento Nacional de Imigração published in the *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano I, No. 4, pp. 629-34; Ano II, Nos. 2 and 3 (April-June 1941), 931. Data for São Paulo refer to Japanese passengers arriving and departing at the port of Santos, and are published by the Secretaria da Agricultura, Indústria e Comércio of the state in its *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 3, p. 62, and No. 4 (December 1941), 11, 28. Another figure of interest, as a check upon these data, is that given by Nobutane Egoshi, Chief Engineer of the Agricultural Section of the Japanese Consulate in São Paulo. He gives the Japanese immigration to São Paulo through the port of Santos as totaling 115,069 in the years 1908 to 1932, inclusive. Of these, 92 per cent remained. The Brazilian data give a total of only 118,163 Japanese immigrants to Brazil during the corresponding period. Nobutane Egoshi, "O Trabalho e a Produção Agrícola do Japonez em São Paulo," *Brasil e Japão, duas Civilizações que se Completam* (São Paulo, 1934), 59-61.

Japanese into São Paulo. Data from official sources supplied to Brazil's foremost protagonist of Japanese immigration, Professor Bruno Lobo,¹³ indicate that the company transported 100,517 Japanese to Brazil in the years 1908 to 1931. This is sufficient to account for over 99 per cent of all Japanese immigration during the period.

Germans. The significant feature about German immigration is not the numbers of persons who left Germany for Brazil, but the extent to which they failed to assimilate with the Brazilian population. By maintaining their native language and other cultural characteristics, an attachment for the mother country, and a feeling of racial superiority and by reproducing at a very rapid rate, a small number of immigrants have proved sufficient to blanket much of south Brazil with people of Teutonic stock and German culture. In fact, it might be said that Brazil did not need to import large numbers of Germans; home production of this "commodity" early came to be conducted on an extensive scale; and the communities of second, third, or fourth generations constituted cultural islands fully as distinctive as those of the immigrants themselves. As a matter of fact, as one passes through parts of Santa Catarina it is the occasional settlement of caboclos that seems to be a cultural island.

Consider the following description of the early German settlements. When it was written, only a few thousand Germans had entered Rio Grande do Sul, some of those who came had emigrated to Argentina, and others had suffered from all the effects of being arranged on opposite sides in a civil war. Nevertheless, in 1871 Michael G. Mulhall, English editor of the Buenos Aires *Standard*, wrote:

Imagine to yourself, reader, a country nearly as large as Belgium or Holland cut out of these Brazilian forests, where the inhabitants are exclusively German, and speak no other language; where chapels and schools meet you at every opening in the wood; where the mountainsides have been in many cases cleared to make room for corn-fields; where women travel alone through the forests in perfect security; where agricultural and manufacturing industry flourish undisturbed; where crime is unknown and public instruction almost on a level with that of Prussia.¹⁴

About the same time a governmental inspector who was sent to look over the situation in Santa Catarina reported the tendency of the Germans there to preserve their language. Since in 1942 German remained the only language intelligible to a large share of the inhabitants of this community, native and foreign, white and colored, this report deserves quotation.

¹³ Bruno Lobo, *De Japonês a Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1932), 179.

¹⁴ Michael G. Mulhall, *Rio Grande do Sul and Its German Colonies* (London, 1873), 105-106.

Among the colonies that I visited, the colony of Blumenau is the one in which the records are organized with most clarity, order and system, of such a type, that they may be given as a model to be followed by the others. . . .

I noted, however, and called it to the attention of the director, as a practice that could not be continued, that the account book is written in German in place of being in Portuguese.

Relative to this Dr. Blumenau gave me unsatisfactory explanations like these: There are entered in this book certain affairs that do not pertain entirely to governmental accounts, this being an account of the mode by which the treasury makes its payments to the directorate, part of the amounts being paid in money and part in drafts in the national treasury; that these drafts are received by their attorney in the capital, Sr. Fernando Hackradt, who, as it is not always possible to cash such drafts promptly without taking a discount so that he could make the remittances to the directorate on time, is under the necessity of receiving from the businessmen of the colony and of the *Vila* of Itajahy the amounts they require, and in exchange giving orders upon the said attorney, who makes the payment due in the capital of the province or in Rio de Janeiro, in accordance with the transaction.

It is true that the system of making payments to the treasury in drafts authorizes indirectly these transactions, that may result in prejudices to the national treasury; it is not less certain, however, that the treasury sometimes proceeds in that manner because it does not always have a cash balance, having only credit. However, I do not see in this a reason that justifies the account books being written in German.¹⁵

In the years immediately preceding the establishment of the republic, German immigration to Brazil was only about 2,000 per year. It rose sharply to the 5,000 level in 1890 and 1891, but then fell off and was seldom as high as 1,000 until after 1907. In the years before the first World War it again was around 5,000 per year, and even reached 8,004 in 1913. Naturally it was very low during the World War period, but rose sharply at the close of the war to 7,915 in 1921 and to 28,168 in 1924. This is the only time German immigrants ever numbered more than 10,000 per year. In 1925 the figure fell back to 7,175, and it never exceeded 5,000 after 1926. However, as indicated above, the reproduction in the New World and not the magnitude of the current of immigration from Germany is the significant contribution.

Poles. The bulk of the immigrants contributing to Russia's standing as the sixth most important nationality group probably were Poles. These Russians came in large numbers in 1890, when the 27,125 immigrants of this nationality were second only to Italians in number, and also in 1891, when the entrance of 11,817 was recorded. Few more came until 1908, when 5,781 new entrants were counted. In 1911 the figure was

¹⁵ Luiz Manoel de Albuquerque Galvão, *Relatorio Sobre as Colonias Blumenau, Itajahy, Príncipe D. Pedro e D. Francisca* (Rio de Janeiro, 1871), 17-18.

14,013. Following the war there was a fairly constant stream of Polish immigrants entering Brazil, the peak year being 1929, when they numbered 9,095. (See also *Colonization and Settlement*, Chapter XVII.)

Turks and Syrians. There are present in Brazil, especially in the cities of São Paulo and the towns and cities of Mato Grosso and the Amazon Valley, a considerable number of people from Asia Minor. In Brazil they are known as *Turcos*.¹⁶ For the most part they are found engaging in the trading and merchandising enterprises. According to Bastini the "great" immigration of the Lebanese took place between 1860 and 1870,¹⁷ but the statistical data show that the first Turks, three in number, immigrated to Brazil in 1891. A year later the immigration of 93 Syrians was recorded. After 1895 a considerable flow of Turks began to enter Brazil, a total of 1,823 immigrating in 1899. However, the decade of 1904-1913 was the one in which Brazil received the bulk of her immigrants of this nationality, the peak year being 1913 when the immigration equaled 10,866. The following decade only 19,255 entered, and the next one still fewer (10,277); but some Turks continued to immigrate even after the quota was established in 1934. Nearly all of the Syrians came in the decade 1924-1933, when 14,264 were registered out of a total of 20,507 who have immigrated to Brazil.

FIXATION OF THE IMMIGRANTS

More important than the number of immigrants who arrive is the number of those who stay. Oftentimes there is a large influx of seasonal workers who stay for a few months and then leave. Large numbers of such temporary workers are of less importance in peopling a country than a few who establish themselves permanently. Therefore, it is important to have some index of what the Brazilians call "fixation."

Such an index may be secured by relating the immigration statistics to the census data which classify the foreign-born population according to country of birth. For Brazil such a procedure is most significant for the year 1920, the date of the census most immediately following the heavy immigration. An arbitrary decision must be made as to the years preceding the census for which immigration data will be used in the analysis of the relationship between immigration and the foreign-born populations.

¹⁶ Says Tanus Jorge Bastini of the Lebanese immigrants: "In spite of the declaration in the passports of the true nationality of their holders, they were called 'Turcos,' since it was Turkey that gave them official permission to travel, and it was the only near eastern nation known in Brazil during the colonial and imperial periods. As a 'Turco' also was known any other person originating in that part of the Orient, be he Egyptian, Persian, Syrian, Palestinian, or Lebanese." *O Libano e os Libanes no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1943), 123

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 124.

A period of 30 years seems to be a reasonable one; Table XXIX was prepared on this basis. This compilation shows the foreign-born population of Brazil in 1920, classified according to national origins, along with

TABLE XXIX

National Origins of the Foreign-born Population, 1920, in Relation to Immigration, 1890-1919 *

Country of origin	Number of foreign-born persons enumerated in the census	Recorded immigration 1890 to 1919	Number of immigrants per 100 foreign-born population
Total	1,565,961	2,636,187	168
Italy	558,405	1,049,927	188
Portugal	433,577	733,420	169
Spain	219,142	467,548	213
Germany	52,870	56,834	107
Turkey	50,251	54,131	108
Uruguay	33,621	4,223	13
Poland	32,299	1,790	5
Russia	28,941	95,610	330
Japan	27,976	28,293	101
Austria	26,354	67,015	254
Argentina	22,117	8,781	40
Paraguay	17,329	526	3
France	11,894	19,632	165
England	9,637	9,470	98
Peru	7,019	601	9
United States	3,439	6,691	195
Bolivia	2,694	317	12
The Netherlands	1,953	5,061	259
Belgium	1,937	2,672	138
Other Countries	24,506	23,645	96

* Source of basic data: *Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920*, IV, Pt. 1, pp. 312-17; *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano I, No. 4, pp. 617-22.

the recorded number of immigrants of each nationality entering Brazil from 1890 to 1919, inclusive. For convenience in making comparisons the relationship between the two also is expressed by ratios which show for each nationality the number of immigrants per 100 persons of that nationality enumerated in the census.

There were reported by the 1920 census a total of 1,565,961 foreigners residing in Brazil, and for the preceding thirty-year period a total immigration of 2,636,187 persons was recorded. In other words, 168 immigrants

entered the country, in the stated years, for every 100 foreigners residing there in 1920. This might be regarded as an index of "fixation."

Although such a ratio is an extremely crude measure, some of the differences are worthy of discussion, and several unmistakable deficiencies in the immigration statistics are revealed by its use. Italy, Portugal, and Spain were the sources of such a large proportion of Brazil's immigrants that they deserve special attention. That the index is 213 for Spain, 188 for Italy, and only 169 for Portugal may be due to the fact that a larger percentage of the Spanish and Italian immigrants later made their way to Argentina, or returned to Europe, than did newcomers from the mother country. The low indexes among Germans and Turks indicate two things, that the immigration was recent and that the immigrants remained in Brazil.

Particularly significant are the low indexes for the nationality groups from Brazil's neighbors. The census of 1920 found large contingents of people from Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Argentina living in Brazil, whereas the immigration statistics account for the entrance of only a few persons from those countries. This indicates beyond all possibility of doubt that there has been a large unrecorded immigration from the neighboring countries into Brazil.

The indexes for Poland, Russia, and Austria indicate clearly that many Poles who entered Brazil were entered in the immigration records as Russians or Austrians.

DESTINATION OF THE IMMIGRANTS

That approximately 55 per cent of all persons immigrating to Brazil after 1878 located in the single state of São Paulo is indicated by the data presented by Doria de Vasconcellos. See Table XXVI and Figure 9. His figures show a total of 4,369,675 immigrants to Brazil during the years 1878 to 1937, inclusive, of whom 2,400,156 went to São Paulo and only 1,969,519 to all other states in the confederation. Furthermore, since 1887, when immigration to São Paulo suddenly shot up to 32,110 in a single year from comparatively low levels, the years have been very few in which that state did not take at least 50 per cent of all Brazil's immigrants, and not rare in which she took more than 65 per cent of the total. The explanation, of course, is the fact that São Paulo early established an excellent immigration service and annually appropriated a considerable sum of money to be used in subsidizing immigration. The state began this subsidization in 1881, and first expended a large sum for this purpose in 1886, when immigration to the state began to mount. The following year it tripled the fund, and immigration to the state increased from 9,534 in

1886 to 32,110 in 1887. From 1897 to 1908 São Paulo's expenses in connection with its immigration program nearly always exceeded those of the federal government for a similar purpose. After expending relatively large amounts on immigrants in 1908 and 1909, the national government abandoned such a policy altogether, but São Paulo continued the practice until 1928, and after a brief lapse, resumed it again in 1935. For the entire period, 1881 to 1928, the state's expenditures per year on immigration were above 5 per cent of its total budget almost as many times as they were below that proportion. The highest percentages of the state's budget used for subsidization of immigrants were 14.5 in 1895, 10.0 in 1897, 10.8 in 1901, 9.0 in 1905, 8.5 in 1912, 8.2 in 1913, and 7.4 in 1924.¹⁸

How effective was this subsidization in securing immigrants? Doria de Vasconcellos, with all the records at his disposal, was able to classify the immigrants to São Paulo during the years 1890 to 1913, inclusive, according to whether they were subsidized or spontaneous. His data count 893,659 subsidized immigrants to the state during that period, or about 62 per cent of all (1,451,047) immigration during the period. There was also a considerable tendency for the volume of immigration to fluctuate in direct proportion to the amounts expended for immigration purposes.¹⁹ The effectiveness of the program is further indicated by data from the census of 1920 showing the distribution of foreigners in the various states. These have been brought together in Table XXX. Observation of this table will indicate that, just as São Paulo received more than half of the immigrants, she also contained in 1920 more than 50 per cent of the foreign-born population of Brazil. Only the population of the capital city of the nation contained a higher percentage of foreigners. Other large contingents of the foreign-born were present in Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, Paraná, Rio de Janeiro, and Santa Catarina. There were practically no foreigners in the northeastern sections of Brazil.

By 1940 the foreign-born population of Brazil was even more concentrated in São Paulo, the Distrito Federal, and a few other sections of the country. At that time São Paulo alone contained 814,102 persons of foreign birth, 58.9 per cent of the Brazilian total; and there was another 228,633, or 16.3 per cent, in the Distrito Federal. Rio Grande do Sul (109,470), Paraná (66,633), and Minas Gerais (45,546), with 7.8, 4.7, and 3.2 per cent, respectively, were the other leaders.²⁰

¹⁸ See Doria de Vasconcellos, "Alguns Aspectos da Imigração no Brasil," *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 3, pp. 6-7, 28-29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

²⁰ Cf. Smith, "The People and Their Characteristics," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 153.

By using data from the census it is possible to determine where the majority of the immigrants of various nationalities entering prior to 1920 had established themselves. Since such a large proportion of all immigrants to Brazil entered the country before 1920, these data are more adequate than might appear at first thought. In any case it is important to know where the earlier immigrants settled.

Of the 558,405 Italians enumerated in the 1920 census, the lion's share, 71.4 per cent of all, were in São Paulo. Although the important Italian agricultural colonies in Rio Grande do Sul could not have failed to impress one who might have visited the colonial sections of that state

TABLE XXX

Numbers and Percentages of Foreign-born Persons in Brazil, 1920, by States *

States	Popula- tion in 1920	Number of foreign- born	Per cent foreign- born were of state population	Per cent of nation's foreign-born population
Brazil	30,635,605	1,590,378	5.2	100.0
São Paulo	4,592,188	833,709	18.2	52.4
Distrito Federal	1,157,873	240,392	20.8	15.1
Rio Grande do Sul	2,182,713	154,623	7.1	9.7
Minas Gerais	5,888,174	88,013	1.5	5.5
Paraná	685,711	63,110	9.2	4.0
Rio de Janeiro	1,559,371	53,770	3.5	3.4
Santa Catarina	668,743	32,138	4.8	2.0
Mato Grosso	246,612	25,664	10.4	1.6
Pará	983,507	22,648	2.3	1.4
Espírito Santo	457,328	20,109	4.4	1.3
Amazonas	363,166	17,075	4.7	1.1
Bahia	3,334,465	13,451	0.4	0.9
Pernambuco	2,154,835	12,568	0.6	0.8
Territorio do Acre	92,379	3,571	3.9	0.2
Maranhão	874,337	2,163	0.3	0.1
Goiás	511,919	2,079	0.4	0.1
Ceará	1,319,228	1,534	0.1	0.1
Alagoas	978,748	1,030	0.1	0.1
Paraíba	961,106	850	†	0.1
Rio Grande do Norte	537,135	743	†	0.1
Piauí	609,003	631	†	†
Sergipe	477,064	507	†	†

* Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano V, 1939/1940, p. 1302.

† Less than .1 per cent.

following World War I, fewer than 50,000, 8.8 per cent of all, Italian immigrants were enumerated there. Santa Catarina had 7.7 per cent of the total, or 42,943 Italians. The Distrito Federal and Espírito Santo were the units with the other large contingents, 21,929 and 12,553, or 3.9 and 2.3 per cent of all, respectively. However, at this time the *delegado* who had charge of the census in the latter, reported:

The existence of so many farms is explained by the fact that the interior of Espírito Santo has been, in a large part, peopled almost exclusively by Italian and German immigration. These elements are so important in certain municípios that the predominant idiom in them is the German or the Italian, there existing thousands of Brazilians who do not understand a single word of the vernacular language.²¹

The Portuguese who have migrated to Brazil have always tended to settle in the cities. There they have become small shopkeepers, taxi drivers, domestic servants, or have engaged in a great many of the other lower-paid jobs. Perhaps this is the reason for their being made the butt of so many Brazilian jokes. In any case, it is strictly in line with this observation to note that of the 433,577 Portuguese living in Brazil in 1920, a total of 172,338 (39.8 per cent) were in the city of Rio de Janeiro. São Paulo had the second largest contingent, numbering 167,198 or 38.6 per cent of the total. Of these, 64,687 were in the capital of the state, and we may be sure a large share of the others were in Santos, Campinas, Ribeirão Preto, and the other smaller cities dotted about the map of São Paulo. The state of Rio de Janeiro had taken the third largest contingent, a total of 28,661, or 6.6 per cent of all. Minas Gerais contained 18,228, or 4.2 per cent of the Portuguese immigrants. Interestingly enough, Pará, in the Amazon Valley, had received 14,211 of the immigrants, 3.3 per cent of all, and ranked fifth. This immigration of Portuguese to the Amazon region was a continuation of a movement that gained considerable importance when Pombal was in power in Portugal. Nearly all of these Portuguese immigrants to Pará lived in the city of Belém.

The Spaniards, like the Italians, had gone to São Paulo. In fact, of the 219,142 Spaniards in Brazil at the time of the 1920 census, 171,289, or 78.2 per cent, were in São Paulo. Thus that state got an even larger share of the immigrants from Spain than it did of those from Italy. The city of Rio de Janeiro had received the second largest group, 18,221 in number, or 8.3 per cent of all. Minas Gerais with 6,809 (3.1 per cent) ranked third. The relatively small numbers of 5,359 (2.5 per cent) and 4,900 (2.2 per cent) were sufficient to place Rio Grande do Sul and Bahia in fourth and fifth places, respectively. Bahia's rank is particularly interest-

²¹ *Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920, I, 513.*

ing because rarely do the eastern and northeastern states show at all when immigration data are under consideration.

A class of merchants and traders from Asia Minor, Turks and Syrians for the most part, play a very important role in the commercial life of São Paulo, Mato Grosso, and the Amazon Valley. The Turks only show up in the 1920 census statistics, but they alone numbered 50,251. Nearly two fifths of these (19,290) were located in São Paulo, 8,684 were enumerated in Minas Gerais, the city of Rio de Janeiro contained 6,121, the state of Rio de Janeiro 3,200, and Rio Grande do Sul 2,565.

As suggested in another place, chief significance about the Germans in Brazil should be attached to the home-produced variety, for German immigration has never attained any even moderately sensational numbers. There was, of course, a considerably larger migration of these people shortly after 1920 than before. However, in 1920 the immigrant Germans recorded by the census totaled only 42,870. There are now and were then numerous municípios or counties in Brazil with larger German-speaking populations than this. Of the total, however, Rio Grande do Sul contained about one third (16,692), São Paulo (11,060) and Santa Catarina (10,758) each approximately one fifth, and Paraná (4,738) and the city of Rio de Janeiro (2,885) the next largest contingents. However, then, as now, it would have been difficult to penetrate the interior deep enough to find a place where there was not a German keeping an inn, engaged in running a small mercantile establishment, or carrying on some other activity that placed him in intimate contact with the people.

It is interesting to observe that the census of 1920 enumerated 32,229 Poles in Brazil. In the immigration statistics this group had been numbered with the Russians, the Austrians, or the Germans. Paraná contained 16,444, or 50.9 per cent of the total; and Rio Grande do Sul, 10,451, or approximately a third of all. Santa Catarina with 3,065 and São Paulo with 1,840 were the only other states with significant numbers. Only 132 were listed in Pernambuco, but even that small number was sufficient to give that state fifth rank.

Finally, it should be mentioned that there were reported in the census of 1920 a total of 27,976 Japanese. (Only 28,293 immigrants of this nationality had been recorded up to that time.) Nearly all (87.3 per cent) of these were located in São Paulo, the state which had imported them with the hope that they would make good laborers for its coffee fazendas. Minas Gerais already contained 1,923; Paraná, 701; Mato Grosso and the city of Rio de Janeiro, 244. In the next two decades some 160,000 more of these people were destined to swarm into São Paulo.

IMMIGRATION POLICY

Prior to 1808, when Dom João III arrived in Brazil, made Rio de Janeiro his capital, and opened some of the ports of world commerce, the immigration policy for Portugal's Brazilian possessions was one of strict exclusion. The only extraneous additions to the population of the colony were a few adventurers, and, of course, the importation of millions of Negroes from Africa. Immigration, as such, was almost entirely lacking.

The entire period of the empire (1822 to 1889) was marked by sporadic attempts to attract colonists, either by concessions directly to the settlers, or by favors granted to private individuals, or companies, as an inducement for bringing in immigrants. This phase of the subject is treated in Chapter XVII. The policy seems to have been one aimed at attracting immigrants at all costs, with very little discrimination as to who would be permitted to enter the country.

The next far-reaching step in Brazilian immigration policy came with the establishment of the republic in 1889. Shortly thereafter the control over immigration and colonization, or better, the responsibility for promoting them, was turned over to the states. This was only one of many ways in which republican Brazil proceeded to decentralize governmental authority. Some of the states set up highly efficient immigration and colonization services. São Paulo in particular developed a service which brought in hundreds of thousands of agricultural laborers to work on its coffee fazendas. Later, many of these proceeded to the cities and had a hand in the rapid industrialization of the state. Rio Grande do Sul and the other southern states concentrated their efforts upon the attraction of more families of farmers for placement in the agricultural colonies they were establishing. The northern states did almost nothing, although the movement of Portuguese immigrants into the Amazon Valley was encouraged by Pará and Amazonas. The most spectacular developments in Brazilian immigration history took place early in this period when São Paulo sought far and wide for hands to replenish the labor supply on her coffee and cotton fazendas. The Italians imported during the closing years of the nineteenth century greatly changed the ethnic composition of that great state. Of considerable concern to the entire nation are the results of the contracts which São Paulo signed in 1908 and again in 1925 with agencies of the Imperial Japanese Government, agreements by which she admitted and paid a considerable share of the cost of transporting some 200,000 Japanese immigrants to the state.

The next fundamental developments in Brazilian immigration policy did not come until after Getúlio Vargas came into power. Earlier, there had been passed in 1921 and 1924, at dates corresponding with im-

portant immigration legislation in the United States, two laws designed to establish criteria for the admission of aliens.²² The most lasting effects of these laws seem to have come from the definition of immigrants as third-class passengers disembarking at Brazilian ports. Out of this came a body of statistics of some interest and debatable value, and the identification in the Brazilian mind of "immigrant" and low social and economic status, an association that still prevails. But in 1934 came a much more important development. Then the federal government again assumed a share in the control over immigration policies and procedures and handed down a decree to regulate the conditions under which foreigners might be admitted to Brazil and permitted to remain in the country. Most important of all, a quota system for limiting immigration was placed in effect. The number of foreigners of any one nationality who might enter the nation during any one year was placed at 2 per cent of the immigration from that country during the years 1884 to 1933.²³ This law set the total immigration permitted during any single year at 77,020. As originally drawn, the Portuguese were also given a quota, but a later resolution²⁴ rescinded this provision. A few years later decree No. 3,010 of August 20, 1938, provided that 80 per cent of the quota of each nationality must be filled by agriculturists or the members of their families. These are the basic items in the policy under which Brazil is now operating.²⁵

²² See Péricles de Mello Carvalho, "A Legislação Imigratoria do Brasil e sua Evolução," *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano I, No. 4, p. 721.

²³ The decree, No. 406 of May 4, 1938, is published in the *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano I, No. 1.

²⁴ The resolution was adopted April 22, 1939, by the Conselho Nacional de Imigração e Colonização.

²⁵ For a discussion of some of the legal restrictions upon immigrants in Brazil, see J. Fernando Carneiro, *Imigração e Colonização no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), 34-36.

CHAPTER XI

INTERNAL MIGRATION

THE RURAL Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of the total population, so constantly on the move. So migratory are the inhabitants of the Amazon that the members of a North American commission became convinced that the rubber gatherers, and especially those from Ceará, are possessed of a "migratory instinct."¹ Unable to find geographical, economic, or religious factors that would account for the residential instability of the workers on the sugar plantations of Pernambuco, Gileno dé Carlí concluded that they, too, were "undoubtedly possessed of migratory instinct. . . . They have regressed to the situation that existed before slavery." However, in this case better housing and schools are said to be modifying the *instincto migratorio*.²

The very nature of the processes used in fire agriculture means that millions of Brazilian families must move each year. The same is true of the riverbank agriculture in the Amazon Valley. From north to south, east to west, from extractive industries such as rubber, babassú, and mate, to the highly commercialized agriculture of the coffee and sugar districts, in the immense pastoral sections and in the areas where the *garimpeiros* camp for a while to search for precious stones, the population is unstable and shifting. As yet, free institutions have not been as successful as slavery and serfdom in attaching the lower-class Brazilian population to the land. It is significant that one of the major objectives of the colonization program is the "fixation" of the rural people.

The residential stability of a considerable share of rural Brazilians is greatly affected by the great *sêcas*, droughts, which periodically scourge the vast northeastern section of the country. As is indicated in other chapters, this area is rather densely populated by a prolific set of inhabitants. But throughout this vast *sertão* every ten or fifteen years the rains do not come, the streams and water holes dry up, the vegetation fails,

¹Schurz, Hargis, Marbut, and Manifold, *Rubber Production in the Amazon Valley*, Trade Promotion Series, No. 23, pp. 163, 202, 219-21, 271, 273, *passim*.

²Gileno dé Carlí, *Aspectos Açucareiros de Pernambuco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940), 28-29.

the roças cannot bring forth their corn and mandioca, the livestock die, and the population is forced to flee the stricken area. These sêcas sent forth large contingents of population into the Amazon Valley during the closing decades of the last century; in the last few years they have been a strong force motivating thousands of persons to seek homes in far-off São Paulo; and nearly every decade they propel hundreds of thousands of persons to flee to the coastal cities in search of food and water. The migrations induced by these periodic droughts are among the most significant in Brazil. It is as though the flight from our own "dust bowl" in a much more acute form were staged at ten- or twelve-year intervals.

The study of internal migration in Brazil is still in its formative stages. Therefore, a great deal more investigation and data are needed before definite classifications of the various types of migration will be possible. For present purposes, however, various kinds of internal migration may be discussed under the following headings: (1) rural-urban migration, (2) pushing forward the agricultural frontier, (3) seasonal migration, and (4) flight from the sêcas. Growing out of the drought-propelled migrations, São Paulo's need for additional hands, and the restriction of immigration, is a significant flow of population from Minas Gerais, Bahia, and the northeast to São Paulo. This movement, which is given separate treatment in some detail, has resulted in acute depopulation in some areas, especially in parts of Bahia. Finally, a brief statement on selectivity in migration is appended.

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Data on rural-urban migration are very few, but the materials at hand suggest that the migration from Brazil's rural areas to its towns and cities goes on in about the same manner as it does in other countries. The rapid growth of towns and cities, notably in São Paulo and other southern states, in recent decades is ample evidence that migration from the farms has been of considerable size. According to Brazilians best informed on the subject, the flight to the cities was especially pronounced when the slaves received their freedom during the closing years of the nineteenth century. But many of the elite also took up residence in the cities at that time.⁸

The age and sex distributions in Brazil's cities have a profile and composition that could only result from a migration which is selective of young adults, especially those of the female sex. Therefore, since such selectivity is generally true elsewhere, there is little reason for doubting that it also prevails in Brazil. However, these age and sex distributions

⁸ Cf. Carneiro Leão, *A Sociedade Rural*, 118-20; and Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil*, 1920, I, 305-306.

also seem to indicate that relatively few elderly persons abandon the city to spend their declining years in the country districts. Therefore, the hypothesis may be advanced that the current of city-to-farm migration is relatively weak and that there is less tendency in Brazil than in the United States and Europe for persons from the country to spend their productive years in the city and their retirement in the rural districts.

Also it is evident that rural-urban migration is of less relative importance in Brazil than in most countries. Cities are few in relation to population. Even though there are thousands of towns scattered about the immense territory, still four fifths of the entire population is strictly rural. In the United States approximately one out of every two children born on the farm later migrates to an urban area. In Brazil the proportion is very much lower, probably not more than one in ten or fifteen.

There are available in the various censuses certain data relative to the origins of the population of Rio de Janeiro that contribute to our knowledge of rural-urban migration in Brazil. Thus in 1890 Rio de Janeiro contained 415,559 inhabitants, of whom 29.7 per cent were foreign-born, 44.2 per cent were natives of the Federal District, and 26.1 were migrants from the various Brazilian states. The data on the number of natives of each state who were living in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1890, along with the sex classification and sex ratio for the migrants from each state, are presented in Table XXXI.

Observation of these data indicates that one half of all the migrants to the federal capital had come from the adjoining state of Rio de Janeiro. The second largest number, however, was from Bahia. Nearby Minas Gerais was in the third place, but Pernambuco, even more distant than Bahia, ranked fourth, and Ceará was fifth. This indicates that large contingents of migrants from the east and northeast were flocking to the federal capital during the decades which preceded the abolition of slavery and the establishment of the republic.

The sex composition of the migrant population indicates that the well-known tendency of females to outnumber males among migrants from the rural districts to nearby cities also holds true in Brazil. There were only 88 males per 100 females among the mass of the migrants who moved in from the adjacent areas in the state of Rio de Janeiro. In general, as the distance increased the predominance of males in the migratory current also became progressively larger. However, the male predominance reached its maximum not in those areas most remote from the capital, but in the areas at a considerable distance which contributed relatively few persons to the migrant total. Before the railroads were constructed, the migration from

TABLE XXXI

Migrants from Various States Who Were Living in the Federal District, December 1, 1890
Classified According to Sex *

States	Total Number	Per cent	Males	Females	Sex ratio
Total	133,765	100.0	68,546	65,220	105
Rio de Janeiro	67,312	50.3	31,559	35,753	88
Bahia	10,300	7.7	5,358	4,942	108
Minas Gerais	9,421	7.0	5,056	4,365	116
Pernambuco	7,023	5.2	4,081	2,942	139
Ceará	6,735	5.0	3,800	2,935	129
São Paulo	6,570	4.9	3,286	3,284	100
Rio Grande do Sul	5,310	4.0	2,827	2,483	114
Maranhão	3,304	2.5	1,884	1,421	133
Paraíba	2,700	2.0	1,825	875	209
Santa Catarina	2,656	2.0	1,265	1,391	91
Alagoas	2,333	1.7	1,471	862	171
Sergipe	2,142	1.6	1,373	769	179
Rio Grande do Norte	2,104	1.6	1,410	694	203
Espírito Santo	1,838	1.4	956	882	108
Pará	1,066	0.8	666	400	167
Paraná	1,021	0.8	539	482	112
Piauí	899	0.7	584	315	185
Mato Grosso	596	0.4	315	281	112
Amazonas	231	0.2	140	91	154
Goiás	204	0.2	151	53	285

* Source: *Recenseamento do Distrito Federal, 1890*, xxi.

Goiás to Rio de Janeiro was a more arduous undertaking than that from a more distant state lying on the coast.

Comparable data for the year 1950 also are available. By this time the population of the metropolis had increased to 2,377,451 inhabitants. The proportion of foreign-born had fallen to 8.9 per cent, the percentage of those native to the city had risen to 51.4, and 39.7 per cent were migrants from elsewhere in Brazil. The data for those born elsewhere in Brazil have been assembled in Table XXXII.

When compared with 1890 several significant changes may be observed. The state of Rio de Janeiro continued to supply the largest quotas, but the proportion of migrants from this state has been reduced significantly. By 1950 Minas Gerais had sent a very large contingent of its natives to the federal capital, and ranked second in this respect. Another nearby state, Espírito Santo, was in third position. Migrants from Pernam-

TABLE XXXII

Migrants from Various States and Territories Who Were Living in the Federal District, July 1, 1950, Classified According to Sex *

State	Total number	Per cent	Males	Females	Sex ratio
Brazil	942,812	100.0	442,912	499,900	89
Rio de Janeiro	360,324	38.2	159,948	200,376	80
Minas Gerais	191,917	20.4	83,461	108,456	77
Espírito Santo	55,746	5.9	25,999	29,747	87
São Paulo	46,990	5.0	22,662	24,328	93
Pernambuco	45,157	4.8	24,458	20,699	118
Bahia	44,936	4.8	23,029	21,907	105
Alagoas	27,267	2.9	14,156	13,111	108
Paraíba	23,209	2.5	15,840	7,369	215
Rio Grande do Sul	21,788	2.3	10,413	11,375	92
Sergipe	20,089	2.1	10,283	9,806	105
Ceará	18,061	1.9	10,436	7,625	137
Pará	16,579	1.7	7,849	8,730	90
Rio Grande do Norte	13,468	1.4	7,431	6,037	123
Santa Catarina	9,819	1.0	4,553	5,266	86
Maranhão	8,475	0.9	4,090	4,385	93
Amazonas	6,669	0.7	2,980	3,689	81
Mato Grosso	6,659	0.7	3,019	3,640	83
Paraná	6,258	0.7	2,994	3,264	92
Piauí	3,581	0.4	1,931	1,650	117
Goiás	1,715	0.2	898	817	110
The Territories	1,139	0.1	515	624	83
Unspecified	12,966	1.4	5,967	6,999	85

* Compiled and computed from data in "Distrito Federal: Seleção dos Principais Dados," *VI Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, Censo Demográfico* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951), 10-11.

buco, Bahia, and other eastern and northeastern states were of much less relative importance in the population of the national capital than had been the case thirty years earlier.

The heavy tide of migration from such nearby states as Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo was much more predominantly female than formerly had been the case. Females also outnumbered males among the migrants from Rio Grande do Sul and even among those from far-off Pará, Amazonas, and Maranhão. As a result, the sex ratio among the persons Rio de Janeiro had received from elsewhere in Brazil fell from 105 in 1890 to only 89. The migrants from the states along the northeastern coast, Paraíba, Alagoas, Pernambuco, and Sergipe continued to include the highest percentages of males.

Now and then one finds a bit of information supplied by a Brazilian observer who has not been unconscious of the importance of migration from the farms to the towns and the cities. Thus in the survey of the município of Santa Luzia do Rio das Velhas in Minas Gerais made in 1921 by the Ministerio da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio, one reads:

The lack of assiduity of the agricultural worker, in this município as in the entire state, constitutes one of the most serious and irremediable difficulties of farming. The workers, in order to get away from the discipline of the fazendas, move in large numbers to the towns and villages where they live in dungeons, but work only when they wish, that is, two or three days per week. This is one of the greatest factors in the disorganization of the agricultural life of the fazendas of Minas Gerais.⁴

Another study made by the same agency in the same year of the município of Belmonte in Bahia reports: "There has occurred for some years in these parts a considerable exodus of population, not only rural, but also urban, for other municípios, principally for that of the capital."⁵ Finally, the significance of migration from the farms to the cities has been stressed by Schmidt in his interesting sketch of social and economic conditions in the state of São Paulo, where "the phenomenon of the rural exodus, of the depopulation of the glebes, not un rarely here and there, assumes aspects of a certain gravity."⁶

More recently, from data secured from children enrolled in the schools of the city of São Paulo, an attempt was made to determine the number of migrants to the city and their origins for the period 1934 to 1948. Although the methodology of the study leaves much to be desired, the data gathered show that the movement to the city crested in 1946. It also supplied interesting information about the racial make-up of the migratory currents, specifically, that the mixed bloods, Japanese, whites, and Negroes tended to move in that order to the state capital. Almost one half, 49 per cent, of the migrants moved directly from the open country, and the others from small towns and cities.⁷

Also of significance in the study of rural-urban migration in Brazil are the rates at which the capital cities have been growing in comparison with the changes in their respective states. Although the movement of population from the rural areas to the urban districts is not the only factor involved in bringing about the observed differentials, beyond all doubt it is

⁴ *Estudo dos Factores da Produção nos Municípios Brasileiros: Santa Luzia do Rio das Velhas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1921), 16.

⁵ *Estudo dos Factores da Produção nos Municípios Brasileiros: Belmonte* (Rio de Janeiro, 1921), 20.

⁶ Schmidt, *O Meio Rural*, 40.

⁷ See Vicente Unzer de Almeida and Octavio Teixeira Mendes Sobrinho, *Migração Rural-Urbana* (São Paulo, 1951), 63-64, *passim*.

he principal one. In making the comparisons it is well to keep in mind that, almost without exception, in Brazil the capital city is the largest population center in the state in which it is located.

In beginning the analysis it is well to start with the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo whose phenomenal growth has been widely heralded in Brazil and abroad. In the ten years between the 1940 and the 1950 censuses the population of the city of Rio de Janeiro increased from 1,519,010 to 2,335,931; the number of inhabitants in the city of São Paulo jumped from 1,258,482 to 2,041,716. On an absolute basis the gain of 816,921 in Rio de Janeiro outstripped that of 783,234 in São Paulo, but on the relative basis the former grew by only 54 per cent and the latter by 62 per cent. At the same time Brazil as a whole gained in population by only 28 per cent, approximately one half the rate of its capital city, and the state of São Paulo by 29 per cent, or considerably less than one half as rapidly as its metropolis.

Elsewhere in Brazil there was no absolute increase in urban population on a scale to compare with that in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, although the number of inhabitants in Recife was 199,289 greater in 1950 than it had been in 1940, and comparable figures for Belo Horizonte, Pôrto Alegre, and Salvador were 169,203, 122,448, and 105,550, respectively. However, in every state, with the exception of Paraná, the percentage increase of population in the capital exceeded that of the state as a whole; and in Curitiba, Paraná, even an increase of 42 per cent in population was insufficient to enable the city to keep pace with developments in the rural sections of Brazil's most rapidly growing state. Not a little of this change is to be attributed to the rapid expansion of the new coffee districts in northwestern Paraná.

On a relative basis, the growth of population in five of the state capitals exceeded that of the city of São Paulo, with an increase of 178 per cent in Goiânia, the new capital of Goiás, heading the list, followed by a 96 per cent gain in Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais) and Florianópolis (Santa Catarina), a 90 per cent increase in Natal (Rio Grande do Norte), and a growth of 66 per cent in Manaus (Amazonas). Recife (Pernambuco) grew by the same proportion, 62 per cent, as did São Paulo. In the various states the percentage increases in the period 1940 to 1950 were listed as follows, with the figure for the state preceeding that for the capital: Pará (Belém), 25 and 40; Maranhão (São Luís), 30 and 39; Piauí (Teresina), 30 and 54; Ceará (Fortaleza), 31 and 52; Rio Grande do Norte (Natal), 28 and 90; Paraíba (João Pessoa), 22 and 28; Pernambuco (Recife), 28 and 62; Alagôas (Maceió), 16 and 22; Sergipe (Aracaju), 20 and 36; Bahia (Salvador), 25 and 36; Minas Gerais (Belo

Horizonte), 17 and 96; Espírito Santo (Vitória), 21 and 22; Rio de Janeiro (Niterói), 26 and 40; São Paulo (São Paulo), 29 and 62; Paraná (Curitiba), 74 and 42; Santa Catarina (Florianópolis), 34 and 96; Rio Grande do Sul (Porto Alegre), 27 and 47; Mato Grosso (Cuiabá), 26 and 30; and Goiás (Goiânia), 49 and 178.

PUSHING FORWARD THE AGRICULTURAL FRONTIER

Periodically Brazilians thrust forward with feverish activity at this or that point on the frontier which separates the agricultural sections of the country from the thinly populated districts in which a rudimentary pastoral economy or a primitive collecting mode of existence has undisputed sway. In the 1930's the point of onslaught was the forests of western São Paulo. Rich coffee fazendas came into being in these areas that only a few years previously had been absolutely desolate. A little later the north central part of Maranhão and the Rio Doce Valley in Minas Gerais felt the swing of the woodman's axe as he opened new clearings in the dense forests. Today the struggle goes on at many places. The agricultural occupation of the most westerly parts of São Paulo, the rapid expansion of a rich coffee district in northern Paraná, the extension of coffee and cotton culture into the southern portion of Mato Grosso, and a great influx of population into central Goiás are the most important recent activities.

Accurate statistics concerning the migrations into these frontier areas are, of course, entirely lacking. One can only make rough estimates by noting the changes in population, counting the numbers who arrive by trains, checking to some extent on the trucks which enter heavily laden with migrants and their household possessions, observing the numerous oxcarts bringing in families from afar, and conversing personally with a few of the newcomers.

In 1945 when the author traveled by train from Araguari in Minas Gerais to the end of the line at Anápolis, all of the cars of all classes were packed with second-class passengers migrating to Goiás. There is only one train per day, but it seldom carries less than 300 persons. As a result it is very difficult to find lodging in Anápolis, people are sleeping everywhere, and the benches at the station are always full. On the roads and trails there is a constant stream of pedestrians, oxcarts, and not a few trucks. The night I spent at the Colonia Agricola de Goiás one truck arrived from the Sorocaba district of São Paulo carrying six families and their possessions. They had been on the way six days, stopping to rest only two nights and driving the other four. It is not unusual to see a family making its way to central Goiás with all its worldly possessions, including the old-fashioned spinning wheel, packed into a miniature oxcart drawn

by ten or twelve sheep. Carts pulled by from six to sixteen oxen are much more common. Well-informed persons have estimated that the migration into central Goiás alone totals 75,000 per year, but 50,000 may be nearer the correct figure. In several of the years following the close of the second World War the movement into northern Paraná must have been fully as large or even larger.

Among the migrants to Goiás a few are of the small fazendeiro class, men who themselves participate actively in the management of the agricultural operations. Most of them, however, are laborers, persons who either work a few years as peons or who obtain the use of land for a period of three years in return for clearing it. Nearly all have the dream of eventually getting a small tract of their own.

Most of the migrants into Goiás come from the south. From Minas Gerais there is a heavy tide from the areas around Uberaba and Uberlândia in the far western part of that state. At Goiandira, in southern Goiás, these are immersed in a much larger current coming from the older coffee growing sections, the once heavily forested sections in the eastern part. From northern Minas Gerais, Bahia, and the states of the northeast, a considerable number of migrants, mostly of the lower class, make their way overland to enter Goiás at Formosa. Even the old residents of the area are impressed by the fortitude and endurance of the migrants from Bahia and the northeast. It is said to be the rule that a woman migrant who gives birth to a child on the journey stops only one day to rest before continuing the long, wearisome trek on foot.

A few of the migrants come from the north by ascending the Tocantins River. Even some of the rubber workers who were transported to the Amazon from the northeast during the second World War eventually made their way up the river to Goiás.

The migration is one of families, involving persons of both sexes and all ages. Three generations are included in a very large share of the families entering Goiás. A new fazenda will be opened by a father with the assistance of several of his married sons. The laborers they bring along or send for later also move in family groups. Others of the lower class who hear the good news and set out for Goiás also migrate in families, from babes in arms to grandfathers and grandmothers. Thus far there has been little tendency for the migrants to return to their old homes.

SEASONAL MIGRATION

The procedure of felling and burning a piece of virgin forest or second growth annually in order to produce a handful of beans, a little mandioca or maize, perhaps a few pecks of rice, and some vegetables



Drawn by Percy Law and Reproduced through the Courtesy of the Instituto Nacional de Geografia e Estatística

SUGAR PLANTATION IN NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL

does not absolutely necessitate a change of residence each year. In actual practice, however, it results in frequent if not annual moves. The haphazard system of production which is described as "fire agriculture" ⁷ makes a very unstable and migratory lot of millions of Brazilians. This phenomenon prevails generally throughout Brazil, except in the southern rice-producing areas, the "colonial" regions of the southern states, and the coffee- and sugar-producing areas. Shortly after the close of the rainy season, the site for next year's roça must be selected. This may be at a considerable distance from the location of the old one. The move must be made early enough that the felled forest will have ample time in which to dry before the first rains come. The months included in the rainy season vary greatly from one of Brazil's regions to another, but in all of them the succession of the wet and dry periods makes for periodic migrations on the part of the millions of "intruders" and *moradores* who live in the back country. Most of this movement is without definite direction, does not represent any stage in the movement from country to town, and probably is for short distances in most cases. It can best be described as local milling-around.

Considerable attention has been given to the instability of residence among the members of Brazil's lower rural classes in the chapters on fire agriculture and land tenure. To this it is only necessary to add the comments of Oliveira Vianna:

among us the land is still, in the greater part, deserted. On the latifundia the part disposable and to be given out is a vast one. The rural worker who abandons his lot is certain to find another on a neighboring estate. From this comes the facility with which he moves, every time that there comes from the mansion of the fazendeiro a stronger pressure and a closer discipline over his indolence or his arrogance. Such great facility of the lower rural classes to move, to migrate, has led to the amazement of all the foreign observers that have passed through our rural interior. Ferdinand Denis, Eschwege, Saint Hilaré, everyone, in unanimity attest to the fact and confess to their surprise and their inquietude before the extraordinary mobility of our plebs.

This facility of migration is one of the greatest factors of disorganization of our society. . . .⁸

The migrations of the rubber gatherers, which were analyzed at some length in Chapter IV, are similar in many respects, but probably greater distances are involved. Essentially the same periodic pattern of moves is made by the families who live by collecting babassú nuts, Brazil nuts, and so forth, except in this case the movement is to the place where nature has been most lavish with her gifts.

⁷ See Chapter III.

⁸ Oliveira Vianna, *Populações Meridionaes do Brasil*, 163-64.

The seasonal movement of workers from the semiarid, cotton-producing areas of the northeast to the better-watered sugar-cane growing band along the coast also is an important item in the internal migration in Brazil. This is not to be confused with the flight from the *sêcas* which periodically scourge the area. Every year during the dry months, in the months between cotton-picking seasons, thousands of men from the *sertões* and the *catanga* areas migrate to the coast to work in the cane harvest. Then the sugar section

receives thousands of refugees. The *braço* is cheapened by the excess of workers. They live in thatched sheds, provisional constructions for the accommodation of these men of transitory activity in the littoral. They remain three or four months, until the evening in which, crazy with happiness, they see in the direction of the *sertão* the distant reflections of the lightning cutting the skies of the *sertão*. In an instant the *sertanejo* disappears. He has returned to the land which is so ungrateful to him and so harsh.⁹

To those who may wonder why, once employed in the rich, green, coastal area, the refugees so eagerly return to their "native land" in the bleak *sertão*, the analysis of Limeira Tejo is enlightening. This authority speaks from long residence in the region.

The *retirantes* arrive in the cane fields but their thinking is not detached from their scorched lands. In the lowland they are always restless, always sensing the lack of something, always prepared to begin at any moment the return journey. A notice of rainfall in the thorn bushes is sufficient for them to abandon all and return. They are strongly bound to their world and not even successive climatic calamities have the force to liberate them from it. They are like a scoundrel's women—the more nature castigates them, the more they are dominated by the mysterious attraction of their glebe. Why do they return to the semiarid desert, to a barbaric life, to the wasted heroics? Why do they abandon the green shelter of the lands where they take refuge? Why do they leave behind streams that always flow, fertile soil, paradise, to return and suffer the punishment of the sun, the misery of the *sêca*? . . .

The causes are more profound; they are social causes. In the dry country, man is castigated by climatic inclemency, but he has the compensation of immense individual liberty, giving rise to a proud race, to an almost savage independence, undisciplined, without submission to work, without a systematized life. Each man is "master of his nostrils," and, accustomed to broad horizons, for him the world is grand and God is greater. And God is adventure. It is possible to make of his sandals seven league boots, which may be used in the desert, starting from the side on which the sun rises, without ever arriving at the mountains behind which it sets. In this direction the *sertanejo* may vagabond on a genuine way to the infinite, fleeing from the coercion which comes to him with the police or organized work.

⁹ Dé Carlí, *Aspectos Açucareiros de Pernambuco*, 27. Similar is the movement from the interior to the coast and back in the neighboring states. For Paraíba, see Celso Mariz, *Evolução Econômica da Paraíba* (João Pessoa, 1939). 137.

In the lowlands, on the contrary, there develops a repressed type of humanity. Its soul does not expand in that tie which the man of the *catinga* has with his land. The lowlander never can appreciate a sunrise from the back of a horse, reins loosened, breathing deeply of the free air, arms free in the largeness of all the distant landscape of the setting. The man of the cane fields asserts his personality by turning inward, creating new emotional worlds, transcendentalized, where he can regain his lost liberty.

For this reason the lowland is an intolerable world. . . . To return to the *catinga* signifies the return to his liberty of movement, signifies the flight from oppression.

For the people of the *catinga*, therefore, the stay in the cane fields is a succession of vexations and humiliations. It [the lowland] is not to be thanked, as by one who receives hospitality. It is to be cursed, as by one who suffers a disaster. It is never to be forgotten for its odiousness. . . .¹⁰

In the *mate* forests of southern Mato Grosso, Paraná, and Santa Catarina, the ebb and flow of workers correlates closely with the seasons. In this case many of the workers are from Paraguay, and they return to their own country at the close of the harvest season. In 1942 it was said that a single *mate* company in Mato Grosso employed 40,000 Paraguayans. Of these migrants who fail to become "fixed or assimilated," Nelson Werneck Sodré says:

They do not establish fixed residences because they engage in the collection of *erva mate*, with short months of harvest and long months of unremunerated inactivity, which necessitates a new dislodgement. This shift usually is back to the Paraguayan interior, where the money they have acquired has a high value. They return for the new harvest. Thus it continues, permanently "coming and going." A part enters pastoral endeavors where they constitute the majority of peons on the cattle *fazendas* and *sítios*. But this regime does not permit fixed residences.¹¹

The seasons also influence the movements of the seminomads who care for the cattle in Mato Grosso and other areas of pastoral economy. The author of the most adequate treatment of this society says that nomadism results from the poverty of the pastoral regime.

The *agregados* of the *fazendas* live in place after place on the horizon, now in the plateaus east of the Serra da Amanabai, now on the plains parallel to Paraguay, now in the mountains, now on the way north, driving cattle, rounding up cattle, branding or selling cattle, without habitual residence. They are a transitory population, primitive, obscure, abandoned.¹²

¹⁰ Limeira Tejo, *Brejos e Carrascaes do Nordeste* (São Paulo, 1937), 154-56.

¹¹ Nelson Werneck Sodré, *Oeste* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), 105-106; see also Antonietta de Paula Souza, "Impressões de Viagem ao Longo do Rio Paraná," *Geografia*, Anno II, No. 4 (1936), 40-41.

¹² Werneck Sodré, *Oeste*, 85.

Residential instability also is very pronounced among the laborers who perform the manual work on Brazil's great sugar plantations. Gileno dé Carlí of the National Institute of Alcohol and Sugar, who knows the situation well, and whose studies are among the most objective and comprehensive that have been made in Brazil, has generalized as follows:

The other type of migration is more serious and of greater consequences. Not sufficiently explained is the true cause of this tendency of the rural worker in the forested zone, the sugar section of Pernambuco, to live with a small pack on his back, oftentimes carrying children, moving constantly from *engenho* to *engenho*, from one property to another. The observation of Kunhenn that "prosperous or poor, the nomads are the slaves of the landscape" cannot be applied. Much less do the impulses which dictate this dislocation resemble the causes among other peoples, as for example, those of the steppes, of Uganda, of Algeria. Motivations of a geographical, commercial, or religious order are not in operation. There is, it cannot be doubted, among the laborers of the sugar zone, a migratory instinct, a congenital habit. The father and the grandfather have sought, from one land to another, a better opportunity to feed themselves. Perhaps, however, that liberty which came to him on the 13th of May has stirred in the bosom of the *mestiço* all of the atavism which slavery repressed . . . this wandering worker, who markets his services to the *usinas* of Pernambuco, flees from the ruined houses, the difficulties of securing food, pursuing an ideal—perhaps a hallucination—of a Canaan, where, without work, the food will be good and plentiful.¹⁸

Perhaps if dé Carlí were better acquainted with studies of migration in the southern part of the United States, he would have seen more clearly the influence of certain cultural factors and would have been more cautious in the use of zoological interpretations.

Farther down the coast, in southern Bahia, large numbers of workers come to participate in the harvest of the *cacau* or cocoa. The section about Ilhéus is the part of Brazil most exclusively given over to the production of this crop. It is grown in plots scattered about in the woods, largely cared for by employed administrative overlords called *empreiteiros* or "contractors." The lower the costs per kilo of dried cocoa beans, the larger the profits. A few workers suffice to care for the plantations except during harvest, when large numbers are needed to pick, shell, dry, and process the beans. As is usually the case in crops where the labor requirements are concentrated in a few months of the year, this precipitates a large volume of movement into and out of the area. A very succinct description of this movement is given in one of the reports of the Instituto de Cacáo of Bahia.

The greater part of the workers in the South Cocoa zone are nomads, staying in the zone during the harvest season and returning to the *sertão* at the end of

¹⁸ Gileno dé Carlí, *Aspectos Açucareiros de Pernambuco*, 28.

December or January. There are few fazendas which prefer the permanent, married worker. The workers do not share in the losses or the profits of the fazenda, as is the case in coffee farming, where the "colono" has an interest in the production.¹⁴

Most of the workers who "rent" themselves to the contractors for the cocoa harvest are from the cotton-growing sections of Sergipe. Formerly, the majority of the workers came from Ceará. But they still come from the sertão.

Cocoa production, like that of sugar, does little to fix the migratory population in the coastal area. More details are given by Pierre Monbeig.

The cocoa, however, does not succeed in fixing the nomads of the high plains; the money earned during the harvest is spent on the return trip to the birthplace and on the celebrations at the year's end, for the journey is made in this season. Afterwards the sertanejo takes again the road to the cocoa roças, but he never returns to the one where he worked the preceding year. Later on even he may disappear in the course of the year, attracted to another fazenda by promises of a better salary and still more by the women encountered in the town cabaret on Sundays.¹⁵

Additional enlightenment concerning internal migration in Brazil may be gained from the following summary statements of the men who reported to the Ministry of Labor concerning the situation of the rural workers.

It is proved that a great mass of rural workers in Brazil move annually, crossing hundreds and thousands of kilometers, using the most varied means of transportation, although there predominates the most natural way of traveling: on foot, over trails that seem incredible because of the distance involved and the nature of the zones through which they pass.

These dispersed masses of workers move across one or more states of the country in search of better wages, of work, of fortune, or of a refuge from the natural scourge, drought. This is what occurs in the Northeast. In this region of the country, a vast zone harassed by maldistribution of the rains, we should localize the principal—if not the only center of dispersion of Brazilian farm hands. It is justified. The drought, devouring everything, even the last leaf, the last drop of water, impels man instinctively to seek better lands where the struggle for life will be more easy and where he will not lack water and the green displayed by forests.¹⁶

FLIGHT FROM THE SÊCAS

Just when the terrific droughts that periodically scourge the great

¹⁴ Instituto de Cação da Bahia, *Relatorio e Anuario de 1932* (Bahia, 1933), 140.

¹⁵ Pierre Monbeig, *Ensaio de Geografia Humana Brasileira* (São Paulo, 1940), 172. See also the novel, *Cacáu*, by Jorge Amado (Rio de Janeiro, 1934).

¹⁶ Evaristo Leitão, Romolo Cavina, and João Soares Palmeira, *O Trabalhador Rural Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937), 16-17.

northeastern section of Brazil first began to drive the sertanejos to the coast in search of water and food is not on record. Probably it began very soon after the Bahianos arrived from the south with their herds of cattle. But there are definite accounts of the great drought in 1710–1711.¹⁷

Twelve years later, in 1723, began one of the longest on record. It was not over until 1727 after nearly all the cattle had perished and many of the Indians along with them. Lesser droughts occurred in 1736–1737 and again in 1744–1745. In 1777–1778 there was another period of intense suffering, and after the lapse of another twelve years, a drought of between three and four years' duration almost depopulated the province of Ceará and the adjacent portions of the sertão. At this time eyewitness accounts spoke of "habitations where, by the side of putrefying bodies, lay wretches still alive, and covered with blood-sucking bats, which the victims had no strength to drive away."¹⁸ Other less severe sêcas prevailed in 1808–1809 and 1816–1817. Then in 1824–1825 another terrific drought occurred, and 1844–1845 were dry years. Next came the famous sêca of 1877–1879. This was the one that propelled the first large body of northeasterners into the Amazon region.

Smith, who visited the section while the distress was at its height, has left a succinct account of what took place. According to him the winters of 1875 and 1876 both were marked by very heavy rains, wet seasons that did much damage to crops and cattle. But by February of 1877 rumors of drought began to circulate in the coastal cities. By the first of March the situation was worse and the bishop ordered prayers in all the churches. Still there were hopes of rains in March and April, but when these passed, and May also, with no moisture falling in much of the area, it was officially recognized that a drought was on again. There was such want and hunger throughout the sertão that large numbers of the sertanejos flocked into the local towns and cities. Those who possessed livestock slaughtered them in order to secure the hides and tallow. While this lasted there were few deaths from hunger, for the poor were able to beg bits of meat. "But when the herds were gone, the peasants began to starve. From the villages there went up a great cry for food; two hundred thousand people were begging from door to door."¹⁹ When all other resources failed, the country people resorted to the use of all kinds of wild seeds and roots. The most serious difficulties arose from eating the unwholesome seeds of the *mucuman*, which brought on dropsy and death, and the roots of a shrub

¹⁷ The fullest account is Rodolpho Theophilo, *Historia da Sêcca do Ceará, 1877–1880* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922).

¹⁸ See the summary of testimony in Herbert H. Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast* (New York, 1879), 408 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 411.

called *páo de mocó*, whose poisons caused loss of sight. In ordinary times the *páo de mocó* had other uses. "In the sertoes, for the destruction of ants, they say it is sufficient to cover the ant hills with *páo de mocó*." ²⁰ But "the refugees, desperate from hunger on the long trails of the unfortunate, and not knowing the noxious properties of the tuber, cooked and ate it. A few hours after the ingestion of so toxic a root they were completely blind." ²¹ Some food was shipped in from the unaffected areas; but as the only way to get it into the interior was on the backs of men, for there were no horses, it was so costly that only the rich could buy. Under these circumstances hunger became so pronounced that many cases of cannibalism were reported. To add to the uncertainty of life, wild robber bands ravaged the countryside, stealing and slaying. Smith, who visited Ceará in 1879, has described in detail the situation at that time. Particularly significant is his relation of the events leading up to the flight of the masses to the coast, from which many of them eventually were dispatched to the Amazon region.

Long, long was the summer of 1877. Drought blazed in the sertão; the birds fell dead from leafless trees; foxes and armadillos died in their holes; insects disappeared. Drought withered the sea-coast woods, dried up the streams, brought thousands of refugees to Fortaleza and the interior towns.²²

Living in hastily constructed huts and begging daily for food, the refugees were decimated by the thousands. Many starved to death, and lack of food made others a ready prey for epidemics. Fevers came first, then beriberi and smallpox. Probably 50,000 people died the first year of the famine. The only hope was for rains in January.

At the beginning of 1878 the condition of the province was this: the open country was generally abandoned; nearly the whole population was gathered about the villages, and the plains were left, black and desolate. A large proportion of the cattle had perished; the plantations were withered except on a few fertile hill-sides, as at Baturité, where running water still came down from the springs. Between the interior towns and the coast there was a band of almost impassable wilderness, where the ground was utterly dry, where not so much as a blade of green grass appeared, where the river-beds were strips of heated sand and clay, yielding no water, even by the usual method of digging holes to the subsoil. At Icó and Telha, the death-rate, from starvation alone, was more than a score each day. These desolate plains and famishing people were ruled by a weak government; the provincial treasury was almost empty; provisions sent from Rio were locked up in the public store-houses, held back, no one knew why, when the need was most urgent.

²⁰ Theophilo, *Historia da Sêcca do Ceará, 1877-1880*, 120.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 412.

January came and crept on, day after day, with clear skies. After awhile there were a few little showers, just moistening the surface, and bringing up stray blades of grass; but the first planting failed utterly.²³

February, too, passed and still the rains did not come. March also was clear and dry. Government aid nearly ceased, and no food was left for the hopeless sufferers in the villages.

Then, as by one impulse, a wild panic caught them. Four hundred thousand, they deserted the *sertão* and rushed down to the coast. Oh! it was terrible, that mad flight. Over all the roads there came streams of fugitives, men and women and little children, naked, lean, famine-weak, dragging wearily across the plains, staining the rocky mountain-paths with their bleeding feet, begging, praying, at every house for a morsel of food. They were famished when they started. Two, three, four days at a time, they held their way; then the children lagged behind in weakness, calling vainly to their panic-wild fathers; then men and women sank and died on the stones. I have talked with men who came from the interior with the great exodus; they tell stories of suffering to wring one's heart; they tell of skeleton corpses unburied by the road-side, for a hundred thousand dead [some say a hundred and fifty thousand] were left by the way. If you ride today through the *sertão* you will see, in many places a wooden cross by the road-side, marking the spot where some poor wretch expired. So let them rest. Poor peasants they were, ignorant and coarse and filthy; but they are canonized now, with the glory of great suffering.²⁴

By April the interior of Ceará was almost deserted. The problem was transported to the coast.

At Fortaleza, nearly a hundred and fifty thousand people were gathered; at Aracaty there were eighty thousand; at Granja and Baturité, lesser armies; all crying for food, crying with the eloquence of starvation, showing their emaciated bodies, weeping, and cursing before the doors of the aid commissioners. Even if supplies had been never so abundant, the commissioners might well have quailed before such a demand. So great was the flood, so sudden in its panic-burst, that all the available supplies were too little. Men who had waited all day to receive a scanty ration, had to turn away, empty-handed. Long processions of mendicants passed through the streets, begging at every door; many were utterly naked; many fell in the streets from weakness. Some who had food given them could not swallow it, so great was their exhaustion, they died even in sight of plenty. More than one body was picked up in the very streets of Fortaleza.

.....
 The merest scraps of food were accepted with tears of gratitude; garbage-piles were searched for melon-rinds and banana-skins. A trader at Baturité told me a refugee asked permission to kill rats in his store, that he might eat them. Dead horses and dogs were devoured; there are dark stories of cannibalism

²³ *Ibid.*, 413-14.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 415-16.

which may be true. God only knows, for little heed was taken to horrors in this time of dismay.

The entire mortality in Ceará, during 1877 and 1878, was probably not far from 500,000, or more than half the population. Of these, 50,000 died of starvation and disease during the first year; 50,000 during the months of January and February, 1878; during March and April, which included the great exodus, at least 150,000 perished, the most from starvation. Fever and *beri-beri* carried off 100,000, and small-pox 80,000 more; the remaining deaths were from various diseases, the majority more or less directly traceable to starvation and weakness, and unwholesome food.²⁵

It was during the height of the terrific *sêca* of 1877-1879 that the flow of migrants from the northeast to the Amazon began.²⁶ Crowded as they were into the most cramped, unsanitary, and unprotected refugee camps, dying by the hundreds from starvation and swept off by the thousands from scourges of smallpox and other plagues, it is not surprising that the *flagelados* began thinking of seeking new homes in other sections. Migration as a relief measure also had its appeal to the governing authorities. In June of 1877 "the idea of leaving the province for the fertile and unhealthy lands of Pará and Amazonas commenced to appear among the refugees, principally among the migrants from Uruburetama. Animated by the hope of better fortune, the first refugees, 39 in number, left Ceará on the twentieth of June; they departed for Pará aboard the English steamer, Augustine."²⁷ The month following, another English vessel carried away 169 more destined for the same port. In the course of the year a total of 4,610 persons sailed from Fortaleza for Belém, many of them having their passage paid by the government of the province of Ceará. From the other smaller points of embarkation went others. However, to the south were shipped the Negro slaves of the province. These were purchased by traveling Italian peddlers at their own price and sent south for resale to the planters of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and other states.²⁸ For the year 1878 it is estimated that the number of refugees who left Ceará by sea amounted to 54,875, the larger share of them going to the Amazon. The records of Fortaleza alone account for the shipment of 15,300 indigents from that port to Belém.²⁹

Fortunately, the great *sêca* of 1877-1879 has not been repeated, but there have been numerous serious droughts since this greatest of them all.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 416-21.

²⁶ Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brazil*, 1920, I, 306.

²⁷ Theophilo, *Historia da Sêcca do Ceará, 1877-1880*, 99-100.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 109, 148, 250, and 361. In 1877 a total of 1,725 slaves left the port of Fortaleza for the south and the next year the figure increased to 2,909.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 256.

The latest are those of 1931–1932 and 1938–1942, and one which began in 1952 and had reached a critical stage in 1953. A president of the republic estimated that 2,000,000 Brazilians perished as a direct result of the droughts between 1877 and 1919.³⁰ More recently the number of fatalities has been less, but still the distress due to the periodic failure of the rains has been sufficient to send large numbers of people to the Amazon, prior to the collapse of the rubber industry, and to São Paulo, in recent years. By the close of the nineteenth century the pattern of migration to the Amazon as a drought-relief measure was well established in Ceará and the neighboring states. Encouraged and subsidized, at first by Ceará, from which many of them came, and later by the governments of Pará, Amazonas, and also by federal agencies, this movement of northeasterners continued well into the twentieth century.

Accurate statistics as to the total movement are, of course, not available. However, data relative to embarkations on the coastwise steamers plying north and south give an indication that the movement was always large, and that in times of drought it swelled to great proportions. That there was also an unrecorded overland movement also seems likely. A people who by 1820 were making the overland journey from São Luís to Belém in fourteen days carrying mails³¹ and whose descendants in 1941–1942 walked thousands of miles on the overland journey to São Paulo, surely filtered by land into the Amazon. Nevertheless, in December, 1942, when four persons completed a forty-day overland hike from Maranhão to Belém it was a news item of considerable interest to Brazilian papers.

The magnitude of the migratory current that formerly moved into the Amazon is indicated by some of the available data. A writer who visited Fortaleza in 1902 sets at 150,000 the number of refugees fleeing Ceará during the droughts of 1877–1879 and 1888–1889. For the years 1892 to 1897, inclusive, he cites statistics of the Lloyd Brasileiro Steamship Company showing that 51,506 persons sailed north and 9,054 south during the six-year period. In 1900 a new dry season began and single boats carried away to the north more than 1,000 refugees. During this year 32,062 persons were recorded as sailing from Fortaleza for Amazonas or Pará either on their own account or with fares paid by one of these state governments. The same year the migrations of 15,773 persons were subsidized by the federal government, making a total sea-borne migration to the Amazon Valley of 47,835 during the year.³² Large contingents from Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, and Pernambuco also made their way

³⁰ Cf. Cincinato Braga, *Sêccas do Nordeste e Reorganização Económica* (Rio de Janeiro, 1919), 4.

³¹ Cf. von Spix and von Martius, *Viagem Pelo Brasil*, III, 72–73.

³² Arthur Dias, *The Brazil of Today* (Nivelles, Belgium, 1903?), 249–50.

o the Amazon. They played a very considerable part in the settlement and development of Acre territory.⁸³

To summarize briefly: Prior to the collapse of the Brazilian rubber production in the second decade of the twentieth century, a heavy migratory current of population from the northeastern states of Brazil, and especially from Ceará, went into the Amazon Valley. It was these Cearenses who formed a large share of the laborers in the *seringais* of Pará, Amazonas, and Acre. To the Amazon the people of the sertões also looked for a place of refuge from the droughts which devastated their herds and plantings in their areas of permanent residence. In short, prior to the collapse of rubber production in Brazil, the Amazon was the receiving area for much of the surplus population of the northeast and also the temporary refuge for thousands of families who had to flee from the periodic *sêcas* which afflict Brazil's great "dust bowl."

The events of the 1920's changed all of this. Economic opportunities in the Amazon for laborers from Ceará and neighboring states dwindled to the vanishing point. Stories drifted back home and were rapidly spread from mouth to mouth of the virtual slavery under which some of the workers were held in the rubber-producing areas. Forced labor, detention at the point of a gun, beatings, falsification of accounts, class struggle, and a host of other injustices came to be associated in the mind of the humble inhabitant of the northeastern sertões with rubber and the Amazon. Naturally, the Amazon Valley lost its attraction for him, even as a place of temporary refuge. Population of Amazonas, Acre, and Pará, which had doubled between 1900 and 1920, was stationary during the next twenty years. During the severe droughts of the 1920 to 1940 period, the people from the interior flocked to the coast. Here public and private assistance, plus the use of land on which they could produce food, helped to tide them over the critical years. When lightning flashes signalized the beginning of rains in the interior, many of them flocked back to the sertões.⁸⁴ But some found their way into central Maranhão and began devastating the great forests of the area with their system of fire agriculture. Others continued making their way to settle among their friends and relatives in the Bragança district of Pará.

Meanwhile, a small trickle of migration to the south, to São Paulo, also got under way. As favorable notices came back, this current gradually

⁸³ Cf. Mariz, *Evolução Econômica da Paraíba*, 65-66.

⁸⁴ Says a survey of Ceará made in 1922 by the Ministério da Agricultura, Indústria e Commercio: "The exodus of the rural population takes place in times of drought and is directed especially for the State Capital; few remain in the city.

"As soon as the first rains fall the refugees return to their old homes and recommence their work in the fields." *Estudo dos Factores da Produção nos Municípios Brasileiros: Quixada* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922), 16.

swelled until it became strong enough to replace the immigration which formerly had supplied Brazil's greatest agricultural and industrial state with the hands to carry on its extensive economic activities. Thus, in recent years the migratory stream which formerly fed the extractive enterprises of the Amazon has been routed to São Paulo where it does much to maintain the supply of coffee and to augment the production of cotton. Because of the importance of this stream of internal migration, it is analyzed in some detail in the following pages.³⁵

MIGRATION TO SÃO PAULO

As indicated in Chapter X, a very large share of the encouragement for and stimulation of immigration into Brazil has been to augment the supply of agricultural laborers on the fazendas of the state of São Paulo. The need of farm hands for the production of São Paulo's coffee, cotton, and sugar also has been of prime importance in what is now the nation's largest current of internal migration, the movement of people from the states of Bahia, Minas Gerais,³⁶ Alagoas, Pernambuco, Ceará, and other

³⁵At this point a few words about recent attempts to secure rubber workers from the northeast are in order. After December 7, 1941, considerable efforts were made to reopen these old migratory routes in order to obtain a more ample labor force for the rubber program being carried on by the Brazilian and the American governments. All of the old means of transportation, plus the motor vehicle and the airplane, played a part. But it is a tremendous undertaking to secure a labor force large enough to collect, say, an additional 30,000 tons of rubber, even granting that each worker can collect one-half ton per year. First, there is the job of convincing the northeasterners to move to the Amazon instead of going to the promised land, São Paulo, as they have been doing in recent years. Second, there are a great many "sieves" between the northeast and the seringais of the Amazon, so many that the securing of an additional 60,000 rubber workers probably means the transportation of at least 750,000 persons. If recent experience can be relied upon, the "leakage" between the northeast and the rubber-collecting areas is about as follows: from 30 to 40 per cent of the migrants stopped with the friends and relatives who preceded them to the central portions of Maranhão and the Bragança district of Pará; another 25 or 30 per cent secured employment in Belém, Manaus, and other towns and cities where there was an acute shortage of almost every type of worker; and probably not more than 40 per cent of the original contingent ever got to the seringais. The family of each man included an average of 4 or 5 persons besides himself, very few if any of whom could aid in collecting rubber. In other words, to secure the necessary labor supply for an additional production of 30,000 tons of rubber annually probably means increasing the population of Amazonas, Pará, and Acre by at least 50 per cent.

³⁶Naturally, Minas Gerais has been less content to see its labor supply drawn off to São Paulo than have the states so gravely afflicted by the *sêcas*. While I was visiting the interior of this great state, I heard numerous complaints about the subsidization of migration to São Paulo. That the complaints were not new is indicated by the following quotation from the results of a survey of the município of Conquista made in 1922 by the *Ministerio da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio*: "In spite of all there is, however, *falta de braços*, felt principally at harvest time; mechanical farming, sufficiently diffused, as yet has not solved the problem. Furthermore, there have been *incursions of seducers from the state of São Paulo seeking to round up rural workers*. The State Government, as a helpful measure, to restrain the abuse, imposed penalties upon those who sought

northeastern states into Brazil's most populous state. Largely because of the importance of these economic motives, and because of the extent to which the migration has been subsidized, guided, and directed, there is available a considerable amount of statistical data on the sources and composition of the migratory streams, and also on the destination of the newcomers and their pursuits after arrival. The data come from three principal sources: (1) records of third-class disembarkations in the port of Santos, (2) registries of immigrants and internal migrants lodged in the Hospedaria dos Imigrantes in the city of São Paulo, and (3) data relative to the persons placed as workers on the state's farms and fazendas by the São Paulo Serviço de Imigração e Colonização. Although it is not always possible to separate the internal migrants from the immigrants, an examination of these data is very informing.⁸⁷

Volume of the Movement. One of the more significant bodies of available data is that which gives the number of persons who entered São Paulo and were dispatched to work on the fazendas of the state. This includes, of course, both immigrants and persons from elsewhere in Brazil. But since it covers the period 1900 to 1939, inclusive, it is a good starting place. For these four decades, the records of the state Secretaria de Agricultura, Indústria e Comércio, account for a total of 1,307,149 persons, immigrants⁸⁸ and migrants from other Brazilian states, who entered São Paulo and were sent for the first time to work on the state's agricultural lands. This agricultural contingent represents 59 per cent of all recorded migration to São Paulo in these years, the total being given as 2,215,639. These data do not, of course, include any who may have migrated to São Paulo's fazendas or sítios without establishing contact with the state's official agencies or passing through the hospedaria maintained by the state Serviço de Imigração e Colonização in the city of São Paulo. This unrecorded movement is believed to be rather large. Also, the data for the year 1934 are entirely lacking; when a reasonable estimate is made to offset this deficiency, the total for the 40-year period is raised to 1,338,349. On the other hand, conversations with persons who have entered Brazil on agricultural visas reveal that a rather careful check is made to reduce to a minimum the number of persons who enter the country as agri-

to obtain workers for another State." *Estudo dos Factores da Produção nos Municípios Brasileiros: Conquista, Minas Gerais* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922), 24.

⁸⁷ The data are available in the *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*. Four issues of the *Boletim* have appeared, No. 1 in October, 1937; No. 2 in October, 1940; No. 3 in March, 1941; and No. 4 in December, 1941. The first of these appeared when the Serviço was called the Diretoria de Terras, Colonização e Imigração.

⁸⁸ Immigrants are by definition third-class passengers, other than Brazilian citizens, disembarking at Santos.

culturists only to transfer later into other occupations.³⁹ The basic data relative to migration in general and the flow of agriculturists into São Paulo during the period 1900 to 1939 are given in Table XXXIII.

From these data one observes three fairly equal periods of rapidly mounting migration to São Paulo's agricultural areas, followed in the first two cases by abrupt interruptions, and with the ultimate outcome of the third cycle still to be determined. A heavy flow of agricultural workers to São Paulo's fazendas got under way in the early years of the century and then mounted steadily, with only one slight reverse in 1907, to a peak in 1913. During this year, which immediately preceded the first World War, more than 70,000 persons were dispatched to work on the farms and plantations of the state. (This total does not include those persons placed during the year who had a previous record of placement by official

TABLE XXXIII

Migration to São Paulo and the Placement of Migrants in Agriculture, 1900-1939 *

Year	Number of migrants	Sent to work in agriculture	
		Number	Per cent
1900	22,802	12,051	53
1901	71,782	14,939	21
1902	40,386	21,409	53
1903	18,161	3,390	19
1904	27,751	11,576	42
1905	47,817	29,185	61
1906	48,429	29,415	61
1907	31,681	20,730	65
1908	40,225	29,095	72
1909	39,674	29,371	74
1910	40,478	32,287	80
1911	64,990	42,527	65
1912	101,947	55,868	55
1913	119,758	70,187	59
1914	48,413	26,505	55
1915	20,937	9,966	48
1916	20,357	11,882	58
1917	26,776	19,908	74
1918†	15,041	18,251	†
1919	21,812	18,264	84

³⁹ According to *Decreto-Lei*, No. 406, of May 4, 1938, the quota of immigrants admitted into Brazil from each country must contain 80 per cent agriculturists, and those admitted in this category are prohibited from transferring to another occupation within four years from date of entry. Cf. Doria de Vasconcellos, "Alguns Aspectos da Imigração no Brasil," *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 3, pp. 24, 27.

TABLE XXXIII *Continued*

Migration to São Paulo and the Placement of Migrants in Agriculture, 1900-1939 *

Year	Number of migrants	Sent to work in agriculture	
		Number	Per cent
1920	44,553	29,493	66
1921	39,601	31,513	80
1922	38,635	26,921	70
1923	59,818	37,687	46
1924	68,161	42,068	63
1925	73,335	43,966	60
1926	96,162	40,775	42
1927	92,413	48,166	52
1928	96,278	62,346	65
1929	103,480	66,961	65
1930	39,644	14,954	38
1931	26,390	5,093	19
1932	35,765	13,403	37
1933	64,010	24,295	38
1934	68,581	31,200 †	45
1935	71,980	47,127	65
1936	72,497	57,738	80
1937	86,469	69,287	80
1938	56,304	45,033	80
1939	112,346	93,517	83
Total	2,215,639	1,338,349	60

* Source: *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 2, p. 138, and No. 4, p. 130.

† It is not possible to discover the reason for the discrepancy indicated here; it may be due to inclusion of Paulistas among those dispatched to work on farms, or there may be some other type of error in the data.

‡ In the records from which these figures were taken the data for 1934 are missing. However, the data do indicate that the *hospedaria* in São Paulo lodged 30,222 Brazilian workers during 1934. *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 133. For the years 1935 to 1939 inclusive the numbers of Brazilian workers lodged in the *hospedaria* equaled 97 per cent of the number of workers placed in agriculture. Applying this ratio, it was estimated that 31,200 persons were sent to work in agriculture in 1934.

agencies.) This mounting tide of migration to the state was halted abruptly by the first World War, the figure for the year 1915 falling to less than 10,000, hardly one seventh of the volume attained only two years previously. Following the war, another rather steady and consistent rise got under way which crested in the peak years of 1928 and 1929 when the recorded inward movement was 62,346 and 66,961, respectively. But the following years of world-wide economic depression, coupled with internal political strife in Brazil, brought about another sharp curtailment

in the flow of farm laborers to São Paulo's rich coffee lands. In 1931 the total of both internal migrants and immigrants entering agricultural employment in the state of São Paulo equaled only 5,093. But following this brief interlude the opening of vast new cotton lands and the developments of new general farming settlements in the western part of the state were accompanied by another rapid upsurge in the curve describing the migration of agricultural workers into São Paulo. By 1937 the recorded number of arrivals who were sent to work on agricultural lands had attained 69,287, and after a slight recession in 1938, it moved to a high of 93,517 in 1939. Supplementary data indicate another sharp break in 1940 with the number dropping to 42,733.⁴⁰ Since nearly all migrants who entered the state passed through the Hospedaria de Imigrantes in the capital city, the data of this agency may be used to bring the figures up to date. During the year 1941, the inward movement was again cut almost in half, the total number of persons passing through the hospedaria falling to 23,913. The current remained at a fairly low level during the years of the second World War. The numbers of migrants entering São Paulo are recorded as follows: 18,330 in 1942; 23,671 in 1943; 53,186 in 1944; and 24,963 in 1945. Then the figure began to rise rapidly, 42,247 in 1946, 67,131 in 1947, and 72,615 in 1948. With the completion of a road connecting São Paulo and Fortaleza, the number of migrants suddenly shot up to 102,243 in 1949, 100,123 in 1950, and 208,515 in 1951.⁴¹ The onset of severe drought again in 1952 probably pushed the figure for that year well above 200,000. In addition, tens of thousands of refugees from the northeast have been crowding into the city of Rio de Janeiro in the last five years.

Origins of Migrants. Fully as important as the data concerning the volume of migration into the state are those having to do with the origins, make-up, and composition of the population entering the agricultural communities of São Paulo. Fortunately, data are available for those migrating between 1935 and 1940 in sufficient detail to enable us to observe the more important facts concerning the sources of the incoming migratory tide.

As given by the official records, a total of 356,147 migrants to the state were sent to work on São Paulo's farms and fazendas during the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 4, p. 39. This sudden decline is due to the slowing up of the movement of people from Bahia and the northeastern states to São Paulo, a movement which involved a total of 100,139 persons in 1939, and only 45,886 in 1940. The drying up of this migration current was in turn due to two factors: (1) rains in the areas from which people were forced to flee by the drought, and (2) suspension by the state government of São Paulo of the practice of providing the migrants with free rail passage from Montes Claros or Pirapora to the city of São Paulo. *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴¹ These data are from *Conjuntura Economica*, Ano VI, No. 6 (June, 1952), 41.

six years 1935 to 1940, inclusive. Of this total, 326,109, or 92 per cent, were from the other states of Brazil. This leaves only 30,038 as the total contingent supplied to São Paulo's agricultural population by the immigration of this six-year period. (See Table XXXIV.) In comparison with the movement from elsewhere in Brazil, this immigration is relatively unimportant.

TABLE XXXIV

National Origins of 30,038 Immigrants Entering São Paulo and Sent to Work in Agriculture, 1935-1940 *

Country of Origin	Number	Per cent
Total	30,038	100.0
Japan	23,554	78.4
Portugal	3,567	11.9
Poland	519	1.7
Lithuania	373	1.2
Germany	348	1.2
Spain	348	1.2
Italy	282	0.9
Argentina	188	0.6
Switzerland	184	0.6
Libya	169	0.6
Romania	151	0.5
All Others	355	1.2

* Source: *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 4, pp. 50-51.

Another comparison serves to enhance the significance of these data. As indicated above, in less than a decade more than 325,000 persons, known to official agencies, moved into the fazendas and sítios of the state. The volume of unrecorded migration also may be considerable. But in any case, it is significant to compare the volume of this migration with the magnitude of the foreign population living in the rural portion of the state as given by the census of 1934. (See Table XXXV.) According to these figures the foreign portion of São Paulo's 4,069,170 rural inhabitants totaled 468,723, or 11.5 per cent. Thus, in the space of six years the movement into São Paulo's agriculture from other Brazilian states was 70 per cent as large as the entire number of foreigners in the state's rural population at the beginning of the period. It is also nearly eleven times the number of immigrants entering Paulista agriculture in the corresponding period.

The second most striking fact about the data on recent migration to São Paulo's agricultural districts is the comparatively small numbers of Europeans involved. This is in sharp contrast to the situation during the earlier decades of the century when huge annual contingents were recruited for work on São Paulo's fazendas. The only significant contribution in 1935-1940 came from Portugal, the mother country, which year in and year out supplies a liberal quota of immigrants for Brazil. The very small number of Italians, less than one per cent of the 30,000, is striking. During earlier years, immigration of Italians was in the forefront; and in 1934, one third of all foreigners in São Paulo's rural districts were natives of Italy. (See Table XXXV.)

TABLE XXXV

Foreign-born Rural Population of São Paulo, 1934, Classified According to National Origin *

Country of Origin	Number	Per cent
Total	468,723	100.0
Italy	156,708	33.4
Japan	120,811	25.8
Spain	93,343	19.9
Portugal	52,178	11.1
Germany	9,734	2.1
Syria	4,749	1.0
Others	31,200	6.7

* Source: *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 4, pp. 132-49.

Data are available for the years 1935 to 1940, classifying the Brazilians lodged in the *hospedaria* at São Paulo, according to the states from which they came. Since the *hospedaria* lodges most of the persons being sent to work in the state's agriculture, and since practically all those lodged at the *hospedaria* are sent to the estates and farms, these data give a fairly accurate representation of the origin of the workers who are entering the state's agricultural occupations. For the years 1935 to 1940, the available data have been assembled and are presented in Table XXXVI and Figure 11.

These data indicate that almost one third of a million persons from other Brazilian states were lodged in the *hospedaria* in São Paulo during the six-year period 1935 to 1940. This total is to be compared with the one which gives 326,109 as the number of migrants from elsewhere in Brazil who were sent to work on Paulista fazendas and farms during the same period. The two series are closely comparable, although not identical,

TABLE XXXVI

States of Origin of Brazilian Migrants Lodged in the Hospedaria in São Paulo, 1935-1940 *

State	Number	Per cent
Alagôas	26,675	8.0
Amazonas	14	†
Bahia	163,810	49.2
Ceará	5,274	1.6
Distrito Federal	862	0.3
Espírito Santo	3,592	1.1
Goiás	53	†
Maranhão	145	†
Mato Grosso	16	†
Minas Gerais	86,582	26.0
Pará	34	†
Paraíba	611	0.2
Paraná	1,217	0.4
Pernambuco	22,224	6.7
Piauí	2,614	0.8
Rio de Janeiro	8,650	2.6
Rio Grande do Norte	1,281	0.4
Rio Grande do Sul	1,203	0.4
Santa Catarina	1,992	0.6
Sergipe	5,610	1.7
Total	332,459	100.0

* Source: *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 2, p. 32, and No. 4, p. 133.

† Less than one tenth of one per cent.

since there were some persons dispatched to work in agriculture without being lodged in the hospedaria, and also a very small number of persons lodged at the hospedaria who were not subsequently dispatched for agricultural labor. But for all practical purposes, these data may be utilized to determine essential characteristics of the population migrating from other states for work in agriculture.

The most striking fact about the data is the very large proportion, almost one half of all the migrants, who came from the state of Bahia. In only six years this one state gave up some 164,000 persons to swell the agricultural population of São Paulo. From Minas Gerais there was also a very heavy movement, the total coming close to 90,000 and comprising more than one fourth of all. Sizeable contingents also came from the more distant states of Alagôas and Pernambuco; tiny Sergipe and far-distant

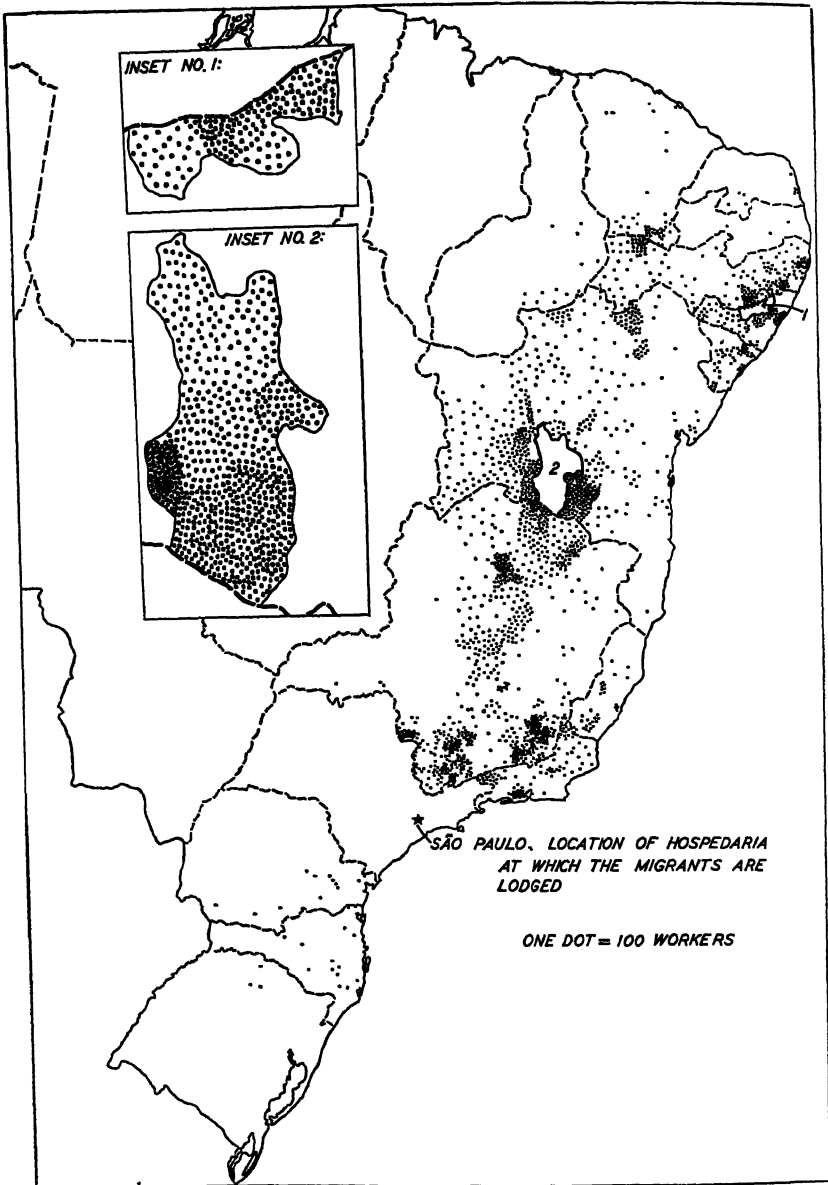


FIGURE 11. Origins of Migrants Lodged at the Hospedaria in São Paulo, 1935-1940.

Ceará also made significant contributions. From the other states of Brazil, only small contingents of migrants were attracted to São Paulo.

Composition of the Migratory Population. It is somewhat difficult to determine the significant characteristics of the Brazilian migrants to São Paulo since most of the tabular material relating to age, sex, family composition, religion, color, and other characteristics does not differentiate

zilians from immigrants. An exception is the tabulation referring to migrants lodged in the *hospedaria* in São Paulo during the year 1940. Unfortunately, such a large proportion of all migrants lodged in the *hospedaria* during the years 1935 to 1939, inclusive, were Brazilians that the data for the whole give a rather accurate description of the Brazilian contingent. With these points in mind, an attempt may be made to indicate some of the principal characteristics of the migrants who are moving to the rural districts of São Paulo from elsewhere in Brazil.

(1) *Age*. The available data make only one subdivision of the migrants according to age, merely separating those aged 12 and over from those under 12 years of age. Even this is not available for 1935. But the four years, 1936 to 1939, inclusive, 63,051 (24 per cent) out of a total of 8,750 persons lodged at the *hospedaria* were children of less than 12 years of age.⁴² In 1940, when the data apply solely to the Brazilians lodged at the *hospedaria*, children under 12 made up 10,649, or 26 per cent, of all internal migrants lodged at the establishment.⁴³ Thus, it appears that about one out of four of the persons moving from elsewhere in Brazil to the agricultural districts of São Paulo is a child under twelve years of age. In this respect, the internal migration to São Paulo differs sharply from most internal movements of population in the United States where children seldom figure to any significant extent in the migratory tides.

(2) *Sex*. As should be expected, there is considerable sex selectivity in the migration of persons from Bahia, Minas Gerais, and the northeastern portions of Brazil to the agricultural districts of São Paulo. This migration is long-distant, and towards agricultural occupations, both of which are selective of males. This sex selectivity is present to a high degree in the stream of internal migration flowing to São Paulo in spite of two important mitigating circumstances, the great importance of family groups and of children under twelve among the migrants. Among all persons lodged at the *hospedaria* from 1935 to 1939, inclusive, the sex ratio equaled 198 males per 100 females; among the Brazilians lodged in the establishments in 1940 the sex ratio was 182. Undoubtedly, the presence of immigrants among the persons for 1935 to 1939 is responsible for the difference in these ratios; but even so, the sex ratio among the internal migrants must be at least 180, and is indicative of a high degree of selectivity according to sex.⁴⁴

(3) *Family and Other Groupings*. The extent to which the migratory current of agricultural workers moving from Bahia, Gerais, and northeastern Brazil to São Paulo is composed of family groups is one of the

⁴² *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 2, p. 134.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, No. 4, p. 31.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 134, and No. 4, p. 31.

most distinctive features of the movement. In part, this may be owing to the extreme severity of the natural factors propelling the migrants from their homes, but it also is certainly a striking evidence of the strength, unity, and solidarity of the rural Brazilian family, even among the lower classes of society. Observe some of the available data on this point.

In the five-year period 1935 to 1939, inclusive, a total of 305,595 persons were lodged at the *hospedaria* in São Paulo.⁴⁵ Almost all of these, 292,262, or 96 per cent, were Brazilians. Thus, as indicated above, the data for the whole are relatively applicable to the Brazilian contingent. Of all those lodged at the *hospedaria*, only 73,940 were persons traveling by themselves, while 231,063, or over 75 per cent, were journeying as members of family groups. During the years under consideration, the number of families registered at the *hospedaria* totaled 42,933, giving an average size family among the migrants of 5.4 persons. Among the families passing through the *hospedaria*, one may observe persons of all ages, from babes in arms to ancients. In this respect, the current migrations to São Paulo are more reminiscent of the flight from the "dust bowl" towards the West, or the expulsion of the Mormons from the Middle West, than to any other chapters in the history of migration in the United States. The data for 1940, which separate the Brazilians from the immigrants, indicate that the importance of the family is even greater when it is possible to secure data solely pertaining to Brazilian migrants.⁴⁶ In 1940, there were 40,246 Brazilians lodged at the *hospedaria* out of a total of 40,781, giving a percentage of about 99. The Brazilian migrants were further classified into 7,123 persons traveling alone, and 6,183 families containing 33,123 members. Thus, of all these internal migrants, those traveling in family groups made up 82 per cent; and the average size of family again equaled 5.4 persons.

The migration in family groups is merely one expression of the social solidarity and cohesion among the migrants. Other larger groupings also play an important role during the weeks or months of travel, and even after the migrants reach São Paulo. Statistics on their larger associations are, of course, not to be had, but Humberto Dantas, who has carefully observed all phases of the exodus from Bahia and the northeast, has written as follows:

Whoever travels in the districts through which the migrating streams pass, will encounter large groups of people from the same locality moving southward together.

This traveling in groups gives the migrants a strong feeling of solidarity which contributes to soften the individualist sentiment of the Brazilian country

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 134.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 4, p. 31.



Courtesy of Carlos R. Schmidt and the São Paulo Director of Publicidade Agrícola

A SÍTIO BELONGING TO DESCENDANTS OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS, REDEENÇÃO, SÃO PAULO

people. They make an interchange of work and help the others when needed; in addition, there is always one who, because of his age or moral influence, assumes leadership and gives orders, his advice being taken with good will.

The feeling of mutual responsibility makes each one throw in his lot with that of the group. They travel like this, united until São Paulo. At the *Hospedaria de Imigrantes*, it frequently happens that for the advantage of the workers it would be better to send them to different farms, but they prefer to face the incertitude and the risks of not finding work, to separating and breaking the solidarity established by days and days spent together in combating hardships.⁴⁷

(4) *Color*. Data are also recorded giving the color of the guests lodged in the *hospedaria* in São Paulo.⁴⁸ As in the United States, so in Brazil, there is considerable tendency to identify white with good and black with evil; for this reason official hints that some of the migrants might have been registered in a class lighter than the one to which they actually belonged probably have some basis. Be that as it may, the data actually recorded are of considerable significance. Subtracting from the total number of persons lodged at the *hospedaria* in the years 1935 through 1939 the 12,771 foreigners (which may be assumed to include 7,565 persons classed as "yellow," i. e., Japanese) leaves a total of 292,232 Brazilians of whom 182,061 were classed as white, 53,388 as *pardo*, and 56,783 as black. These data surely do not underestimate the percentage of Negroes and mulattoes among the migrants to São Paulo, but even at this, the proportions (nearly 20 per cent of each) are probably considerably higher than the percentages of these darker strains in the population of Brazil. Certainly, they are far in excess of the corresponding percentages in the population of São Paulo. Since the migrants are largely from Bahia and Minas Gerais, where the colored elements in the population are relatively much more significant than they are in São Paulo, this high proportion of Negroes and mulattoes is not strange. But it is important to indicate that this migration is bringing about a more equitable distribution of the various ethnic elements in the population of Brazil among the various states and regions of the federation.

For 1940 the data show an even larger proportion of colored elements in the migratory stream. Thus, of the 40,246 Brazilians lodged at the *hospedaria*, 17,379 were classed as white, 15,585 as brown or mulatto, 7,281 as black, and one as yellow. The percentages corresponding to these numbers are as follows: white, 43; mulatto, 39; and black or Negro, 18. A changed policy with respect to the immigration of Japanese is responsible for the complete absence of the yellow category in 1940, except for the single Brazilian-born representative of the yellow races.

⁴⁷ Humerto Dantas, "Movimentos de Migrações Interna em Direção do Planalto Paulista," *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração*, No. 3, p. 85.

⁴⁸ *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 2, p. 134, and No. 4, p. 31.

(5) *Literacy*. For the years 1937, 1939, and 1940 some data are available classifying the Brazilians lodged at the *hospedaria* in São Paulo according to whether or not they were able to read and write. The data are partially invalidated by the inclusion of young children in the tabulations, but by making allowance for this fact, it is possible to gain some idea of the literacy of migrating groups. The percentages of illiteracy given are as follows: 1937, 76 per cent; 1939, 81 per cent; and 1940, 83 per cent. If all children under twelve were eliminated and the numbers able to read and write taken, a computation that may be made for 1940 in relation to the persons 12 and over, the percentage of illiteracy would be 77. It seems safe to conclude that from seven to eight out of ten of the internal migrants, other than the children under ten, are unable to read or write.⁴⁹

SELECTIVE MIGRATION

Any hypotheses of selective migration that may be advanced for Brazil must be only tentative. Of course, the usual selectivity for age and sex prevails, the migrants being concentrated in the ages of young adulthood, females predominating among the currents moving only short distances and males constituting the bulk of those traveling long distances. Perhaps there was a great selectivity for other qualities when slavery was abolished and thousands of persons flocked into the cities. However, this seems to have included both the members of the former elite rural classes and also the ex-slaves.

The data on illiteracy (see Chapter XX) give some indication that migration into the Amazon Valley, as well as that to the city of Rio de Janeiro, has been selective of the literate. If so, it is probable that other qualities which were closely associated with education, including a fair skin and straight hair, were also possessed by the migrants in larger proportions than by those who remained at home. In other words, the hypothesis of migration being selective for race is suggested by the data. This was more definitely borne out by the study cited above of migration from the rural sections of São Paulo to its metropolis. Further than this it does not seem advisable to go for the country as a whole, until more and better studies of the subject have been made.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 2, pp. 67, 110, and No. 4, p. 31.

PART FOUR

LEVELS AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

Most inquiry and speculation concerning the qualitative aspects of population revolves around questions of levels and standards of living. There are some data showing the amounts of goods and services consumed by parts of the Brazilian population. It is possible, also, to learn something about the standards to which the people aspire. These two inseparable topics are treated in the single chapter which makes up Part Four.

CHAPTER XII

LEVELS AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

BEFORE ATTEMPTING to analyze levels of living in Brazil and the factors responsible for them, it is well to consider briefly the factors most greatly responsible for variations in living levels generally. In the last analysis the level of living of a given people resolves itself into a consideration of three factors: (1) the quantity and quality of the natural resources available for exploitation by man, (2) the output per worker, and (3) the manner of distributing the results of man's efforts among those who share in the productive process. Even the shares the economist attributes to capital, management, and land ultimately find their way to the person or persons performing the managerial function, advancing the capital, or owning the land. The above generalization should not be interpreted as meaning that natural resources by themselves are of any import; for unless man's culture is developed to the stage that society possesses a rich storehouse of knowledge of the ways in which the gifts of nature may be utilized, and unless it contains values and patterns that propel man to labor to satisfy felt needs or to engage in activities that are deemed commendable by the society in which he lives, the presence of certain physical substances may be of no significance.¹ The output per worker of course must also take into account the ratio of workers to dependents in the population, or the number of mouths that must be fed by the average person's share of the product. Furthermore, even though a nation may have unlimited natural resources and a sizeable output per worker, the standard of living may remain very low if the rewards to capital or to management are far out of line with the proportion going to labor. This is most pronounced in a slave society, where labor is at the same time capital and where the share of the products that goes to labor depends upon the enlightenment and kindness of the members of the master class.

¹ Iron resources, for example, were of no importance to the aboriginal American Indian whose cultural environment did not include a knowledge of iron and how to get it, although he had many uses for it, such as the making of arrow points. The use of iron for this purpose was one of the first European culture traits borrowed by Brazilian Indians.

In countries like Argentina, the United States, and Brazil, where the pressure of population upon resources is much less than in many other parts of the world, the productivity per worker is largely determined by the extent to which labor is expended in the productive process. Where labor is used lavishly, which is to say combined with relatively small inputs of capital and management, the output per man is much less than is the case where workers make considerable use of tools, machinery, and power. In other words, in the countries mentioned above, production per worker, and particularly per capita agricultural production, becomes chiefly a function of the extent to which the hand of man is strengthened for his struggle with nature. Where, as in huge expanses of Brazilian territory, man's only aid against the jungle is the axe and fire, the output per worker may be so small as to permit only a low level of living. On the other hand, if each worker has an abundance of land, tools, equipment, and power, capital is not being husbanded. Under these circumstances the increased production per person creates a greater product to be divided, and permits a higher level of living. When this is the case the prevailing level of living comes to depend largely upon the system of distribution; and the whole axis of human thinking must shift if unemployment, "overproduction," and misery are to be avoided.

The quality of the population has much to do with the relative importance of management in the productive process. If each human being is himself the thinking, deciding, acting agent performing the managerial functions (as is the case in the "colonial" parts of south Brazil and on the typical midwestern farm in the United States), this important factor of production is not relegated to the secondary position it occupies on many large plantations, fazendas, *haciendas*, and *estâncias*. Where the worker himself also receives a return for the performance of managerial activities, as well as for his labor, much has been done to ensure a relatively high general level of living. On the other hand, in the types of large-scale agricultural operations mentioned above the managerial activities of the major domo frequently are merely nominal with the result that the managerial function in the productive process might be said to be carefully husbanded. Under these circumstances both the poor combination of productive factors and the failure of the mass of the workers to receive a return for managerial activities dictate a comparatively low level of living.

As was indicated above, where resources are abundant and where the correct combination of productive factors makes the output per worker large, the level of living becomes almost entirely a function of the system of distribution which is employed. However, as was also suggested above, in the agriculture of the Western Hemisphere, under present forms of

social and economic organization, the system that makes for the greatest production per capita also does much to ensure that the distribution of income among the agricultural population does not have a depressing effect upon the average level of living. (The distribution of incomes between agriculture and other industries is quite another thing.) In the present stage of technical knowledge and its application to agricultural enterprises, the greatest production per farm worker takes place only in the areas where the worth of the human hand is very great. It comes from precisely those areas in which home and formal education train each worker to become his own manager; where in addition to doing the essential labor on the farm, he also is a capitalist, owning the land as well as the tools, machinery, and livestock. It should be repeated for emphasis that other things being equal, the greatest production per worker probably comes in the family farm system, under those circumstances in which the farmer has sufficient land to fully occupy himself and the members of his family and where he also complements the strength of his arm with tools, equipment, power, and an understanding of the processes of agriculture. Under such a family farm system, where from birth the child is molded in the direction of becoming a self-reliant person capable of exercising the functions of manager and capitalist, and also taught the dignity of manual labor, the worth of the average human being is very great—to use a Brazilian word that is too rich in meaning to be restricted to coffee, man has been “valorized.” In a society organized on these lines the level of living may come to be very high.

LEVEL OF LIVING

The general level of living of the masses in Brazil is comparatively low. It also seems fairly certain that this low level is closely associated with a low standard of living, or that the masses of lower-class Brazilians see very little discrepancy between the amount of goods and services which they actually are privileged to consume and that to which they feel rightfully entitled. This is not to say that *all* Brazilians have a low level and low standard of life. On the contrary, in Brazil there are significant elements in both the city and the country that have as high levels and standards of living as will be encountered elsewhere in the Western world. The upper classes of Brazilian society certainly consume as much in the way of material goods and services as their fellows in other countries; they are less specialized, perhaps less competitive, and better equipped educationally, emotionally, and temperamentally for the maximum enjoyment of a luxurious mode of living. Indeed the capacity of Brazil's elite classes to appreciate luxurious living is perhaps far beyond that of upper-class

members in most other societies. Furthermore, it apparently never occurs to a member of this class to question for one moment his inherent right to the enjoyment of these superior elements of living, a certain indication that the standard of living is high.

However, because of the concentration of property and wealth, the relative absence of middle-class groups in many regions, the concentration of the population, both rural and urban, in the unskilled labor categories, the lavish use of labor in the production process, the ease with which a vegetative existence can be carried on, and the lack of social, economic, and climatic propulsions to continuous work activities, the classes which constitute the bulk of Brazil's population live in poverty. In diet, housing, clothing, and all the educational and cultural aspects the level of consumption must be classed as very low. Rather general contentment with their lot or at least a resignation to it, the relative absence of class struggle, little evidence of mental anguish and conflict, a rigid adherence to long-established cultural practices, all are indicative of the fact that the standard of living also is low. For example, the aspiration to landownership is probably a rare phenomenon among Brazil's millions of rural workers. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands of Brazilian caboclos, matutos, and sertanejos would feel deprived of their rights if interfered with in building a hut of wattle and daub, pau-a-pique, or thatch with a thatched roof, on the spot of their choosing. They do have standards.

Unfortunately, detailed budgetary studies of levels of living and inquiries designed to determine the standards to which Brazilians aspire are merely in their beginning stages. Chief dependence for data about the level of living, its variation from class to class and region to region and the factors responsible for the observed differences, must be secured either from studies tangential to the subject or from mere observation. At best, these make possible merely tentative propositions descriptive of the general pattern, and not established facts concerning the detailed framework of the level of living.

Perhaps of most assistance in this connection are certain studies of income, expenditures, and diet. These have been carefully examined. Because the diet is so significant in relation to the level of living from the standpoint of cause as well as effect, its nature and adequacy is one of the most important aspects of the study of living levels.

Probably the best studies of family budgets in Brazil are those made some time ago by Josué de Castro, professor of anthropology and human geography and head of the nation's nutritional program, the Serviço Nacional de Alimentação. Certainly his investigations provide some of the detailed facts which are necessary before there can be a real understanding



MONJOLO AND OLD WATTLE-AND-DAUB OUTBUILDINGS ON A RECENT ARRIVAL'S FARM IN THE COLONIA AGRÍCOLA DE GOIÁS
Photo by the Author

of consumption practices in Brazil. Highly informing are the results of his study,² made in 1934, of 500 laboring-class families, distributed in three districts of Recife, capital of the state of Pernambuco. These 500 families contained a total of 2,585 members, or an average of 5.2 persons per family. Daily earnings of all gainfully employed averaged 3\$700 per family, and daily expenditures 3\$866.³ Of the expenditures 71.6 per cent went for food and 18.9 per cent for housing, light, and water. This very high percentage of the income going for food is sufficient to indicate that the level of living was very near the margin of subsistence. An examination of the components of the diet and the number and percentage of the families consuming each of them are given in Table XXXVII. These data, supported by firsthand observation and accounts of others who have studied the level of living in the area, indicate that in the northeast the working classes, even in the cities, spend the lion's share of their earnings on food. Even so, they live almost exclusively on beans, mandioca flour or corn meal, dried meat, coffee which is sweetened with sugar, and in most cases bread. In the rural districts, bread is rarely eaten, but, of course, the rural folk are enabled to supplement their diet with berries, roots, and game. Nevertheless, any increase in their earnings would surely result in a larger expenditure for food.⁴

² The study is summarized in Josué de Castro, *A Alimentação Brasileira á Luz da Geografia Humana* (Pôrto Alegre, 1937), 134-39.

³ At this time in Recife a kilo of *charque* (jerked or dried beef) cost 2\$400, a liter of beans \$600, a liter of mandioca flour \$400, a kilo of sugar 1\$200, and a small roll of bread \$200. Josué de Castro, *As Condições de Vida das Classes Operarias no Recife* (Rio de Janeiro, 1935), 11. In 1934 the *milreis* (written 1\$000) was worth about seven cents.

⁴ Certain of my firsthand observations tend to confirm, and even generalize, these findings of Josué de Castro. My first opportunity of knowing the diet in Brazil's sertões was during a visit to the Hospedaria dos Imigrantes maintained by the state government in São Paulo. This was during March, 1942. The day of the visit more than one hundred migrants had arrived from the northeast, although this number was much less than daily arrivals a few months previous. Among the migrants was one family whose members had walked all the way from Ceará to Monte Claros in Minas Gerais; they lacked even the slender resources necessary to pay a second-class fare on the river boats running between Juazeiro and Pirapora. I was at the lodging house at supper time, mingled and talked with the new arrivals, was shown through the kitchen and dining hall, and permitted to sample the food. All the guests were served liberal helpings of charque, mandioca flour, rice, and beans. There was a large tin cup full of milk for each child. The service was cafeteria style, but the rolls of bread were placed at each plate. Little of this was eaten, but the rest of the food was consumed with much gusto. Officials at the lodge explained that they were serving the foods to which the people were accustomed and that the migrants would not enjoy a different diet.

At that time I had certain mental reservations concerning the adequacy of this last statement. These were dispelled in the course of some ten months spent in actual travel throughout Brazil during which all modes of conveyance were used and stops for meals and lodging were made under a wide variety of circumstances. Even ignoring the cases in which only rice, or mandioca, beans, and coffee were available, meals have been taken at dozens of small pensions and hotels. At these, frequently one could eat liberally of meats, including chicken, and, if in the south, of potatoes and even lettuce, tomatoes,

TABLE XXXVII

Foods Consumed by 500 Families of the Laboring Class in Recife, Pernambuco, 1934 *

Foods	Families eating each food	
	Number	Per cent
Beans	498	100
Flour (corn or mandioca)	500	100
Charque (dried beef)	497	100
Coffee	500	100
Sugar	500	100
Bread	422	84
Fresh meat	163	32
Corn (maize)	124	25
Rice	103	20
Milk	97	19
Milk products	76	15
Green vegetables	91	18
Fruits	78	15
Lard	60	12
Dried fish	20	4
Other foods	84	16

* Source: Josué de Castro, *A Alimentação Brasileira à Luz da Geografia Humana*, 137.

On the basis of the data obtained in this investigation, Josué de Castro estimated that the daily consumption per person was 62 grams of proteins, 310 grams of carbohydrates, and 13 grams of fats, quantities which would yield a total of only 1,646 calories. Of mineral salts this average daily consumption of food would include only .4 grams of calcium and .0055 grams of iron.⁵ The author concludes that such a diet is deficient in calories, proteins, calcium, and iron and that it is also lacking in vitamins.⁶

These data are for only one class, in one city, in only one of the nation's regions. Josué de Castro also summarizes data from studies made in São

and water cress, in addition to the beans. Never did it cease to be an element of surprise to see Brazilian fellow travelers pass by the meat and vegetables, while helping themselves liberally two and even three times to the rice and beans. Still valid seems to be Burton's generalization, "I will observe at once that neither gourmand or gourmet should visit the South American interior, especially the Highlands of the Brazil." *The Highlands of the Brazil*, I, 63.

⁵ De Castro, *A Alimentação Brasileira à Luz da Geografia Humana*, 139. The author gives the amounts of these elements that the average diet should contain: 100 grams of proteins, 500 grams of carbohydrates, 36 grams of fats, 1 gram of calcium, 1 gram of phosphorus, and .015 grams of iron. In this standard, the total calories would amount to 2,800. *Ibid.*, 147.

⁶ Josué de Castro sets forth in some detail the foods of each region that might be utilized to attain the desired goal. *Ibid.*, 146-65.

Paulo which indicate that the dietary practices there, while better than in Recife, also result in unsatisfactory nutrition.⁷ This is true even among the classes who are in relatively good economic situations. "It is not possible, from a knowledge of these two regions," he generalizes, "to deduce what are the defects of the diet in the whole of Brazil, but without abuse of logic it is possible to affirm that in all Brazil it is defective."⁸

After two years had elapsed, Dr. Josué de Castro was ready with additional data, and in 1939 he resumed his attack upon the nation's fundamental problems of diet and levels of living with a third and enlarged edition of his earlier work, *O Problema da Alimentação no Brasil*.⁹ As an appendix to this, he published preliminary results of some researches undertaken in 1936 by the Departamento Nacional de Saúde (National Department of Health). Here he summarized the data contained in 12,106 budgetary schedules taken from families in the Federal District. Of the families included in the study, 15 per cent lived in Zone A, the better residential area in Rio de Janeiro; 21 per cent in Zone B, the more commercial part of the city; 16.5 per cent in Zone C, composed of the more industrial sections; and 47.5 per cent in Zone D, the residential areas of the less well-to-do inhabitants. This study has the merit of including all classes in the population, not merely laboring-class families as the one of Recife. Urban, suburban, and a few rural families were all included in the project, although, of course, the data are all for the area in and about Brazil's great federal capital. The 12,106 families included a total of 60,149 members. Classified according to economic status, 23 per cent of the cases fell in the group in which the total earnings of the family were less than 300\$ (milreis) per month; 47 per cent in the group earning between 300\$ and 500\$ monthly; 25 per cent in the class whose members' earnings totaled between 500\$ and 1,000\$ or more.¹⁰ For the entire group of families taken together, 54 per cent of the income was spent on food, and 25 per cent on housing. The proportion of the family income going for food amounted to 47 per cent in the better residential Zone A, 50 per cent in the industrial Zone C, and 57 per cent in the commercial Zone B and the poorer residential districts constituting Zone D.

It is evident that the satisfaction of mere creature needs does not pre-empt such a large share of the family's income in Rio de Janeiro as it does in Recife and that the level of living is higher in the nation's capital than in Pernambuco's metropolis. Nevertheless, by the time food and shelter are provided, even the Carioca family has but a meager sum left to

⁷ *Ibid.*, 139 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁹ This edition was published in São Paulo, 1939.

¹⁰ In 1939 the milreis was worth about five cents.

spend on clothing, advancement, and the numerous material and non-material attractions offered by Rio's glittering shops and showplaces.

Josué de Castro's analysis of the dietary situation in these Rio de Janeiro families showed an average consumption of 2,770 calories per person, composed of foods that would yield 116 grams of proteins, 425 grams of carbohydrates, and 88 grams of fat per person. He found that 84 per cent of all families spent part of their earnings for milk, 60 per cent bought eggs, 88 per cent fresh meat, 94 per cent vegetables or greens, and 86 per cent fruits. On the basis of these data, it was concluded that there was on the average no deficiency in the total amount of food consumed in Rio de Janeiro, but that proteins and fats might well be reduced in favor of more carbohydrates, minerals, and vitamins. The study concludes with the significant statement that "the dietary regime in Rio de Janeiro may be considered then, incomplete and unbalanced, having a deficiency of essential minerals and vitamins and presenting inadequate proportions of its organic compounds."¹¹

These researches reported upon in the books of Josué de Castro give some objective basis for evaluating the level of living and the adequacy of the diet in the larger cities of Brazil. Anything comparable for the rural areas, in which live the overwhelming proportion of the members of Brazil's population, is a thing of the future. This does not mean that informed Brazilians do not think of the average rural worker as living on a very low level, underfed, and malnourished. On the contrary, one cannot read far in Brazil's social and economic literature without encountering such statements as the following:

The prosperous, healthy and happy Brazilians who live in the large cities, enjoying the comforts of civilization, should constantly remember the millions of human beings, sons of the same land, their brothers by blood, religion and language, who in the interior of Brazil are dragging out a painful life in sickness, misery and want. And to the ears of those in governmental positions these truths should be cried out insistently, shouted loudly, repeated time and again, to the end that the custodians of public money should be convinced once and for all that in our country it is an unpardonable crime to build palaces, purchase luxurious automobiles, maintain expensive embassies abroad, and expend public funds on voluptuous and superfluous things, while millions of Brazilians in all our interior zones are imploring instruction, shoes, bread, and medicines.¹²

Another representative writer says:

. . . the Brazilian whom almost all the agents of these colonizing peoples [i. e., the Germans, Italians, and Poles of southern Brazil] vilify in hundreds of documents which they have prepared and we have seized—designating him

¹¹ De Castro, *O Problema da Alimentação no Brasil*, 244.

¹² João Pinheiro Filho, *Problemas Brasileiros* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), 208-209.

as a mediocre, useless, lazy, Negro or mulatto—this hero of 400 years, *although generally suffering from worms, undernourishment, lack of productive work*, still carries on the ceaseless struggle and at least has the sacred qualities of perseverance, tenacity, moral resistance, resignation, and an intellectual constitution that is superior, lively and understanding and which [when] well used throws other peoples off their course.¹³

And Josué de Castro, himself, in one of his later works in which he sought to generalize his conclusions for Brazil as a whole, has written:

Insufficient production, deficient distribution, bad dietary habits growing out of a routinized deformation of the healthy nutritive instinct, tabus and dietary restrictions of all types, and, finally, the limited purchasing power of the masses which makes the cost of protective foods prohibitive for their family budgets—all of these economic and social causes, working together in a manner that is most unfavorable to the dietary needs of the collectivity, makes the prevailing type of diet in Brazil one of the most precarious in the world.¹⁴

In the absence of systematic studies of rural areas, generalizations based upon experience must be relied upon. A release from the Information Service of the Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture, February 17, 1942, said:

Strange to say it is the privileged rural man, to whom the soil gives everything, who is the worst nourished.

In the extreme north of Brazil, fish represents the main item in the diet, followed by turtle meat and mandioca. In the northeastern states the diet of the rural man consists mainly of dried meat, mandioca flour or corn meal, goat meat, bananas, coconuts, and other tropical fruits. Droughts reduce the food still more [to certain roots and fruits in the region].

In São Paulo and Minas Gerais, corn meal, beans, beef, pork, rice, and certain vegetables constitute the bulk of the diet.

In the south, the diet consists largely of beef, dried meat, beans, and mandioca. Coffee and mate are almost always used by the rural man.

Thus, we observe the deficiencies of the diets in all of the regions mentioned, in spite of the fact that the rural Brazilian has other foods at hand, which, because he lacks the knowledge of their virtues, he does not use.

There are certain fragmentary data which help to give form and substance to such general statements. For example, Gileno de Carli, who in 1940 studied the wages paid by eight sugar usinas in Pernambuco, furnishes a detailed list of the purchases made by a field worker who received 2\$500 per day. (The wages of field workers varied from 2\$000 to 3\$500.) This laborer's family consisted of a wife and four children. The 14\$900 (roughly 75 cents) earned in a week they spent as follows: for beans, \$900; mandioca flour or corn meal, 4\$800; charque, 6\$000; soap,

¹³ Hugo Bethlem, *Vale do Itajaí* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), 15–16. The italics are not in the original.

¹⁴ Josué de Castro, *Geografia da Fome: A Fome no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), 296–97. Cf. de Castro, *The Geography of Hunger* (Boston, 1952), Chap. III.

\$500; sugar, 1\$200; coffee, \$500; tobacco, \$400; and rum, \$600. After pointing out that the field worker supplemented these purchases made with home-produced foods, the investigator adds: "In spite of all, earning little as he does and prolific as he is, there is always misery in the house of the rural worker."¹⁵ Elsewhere Dé Carli states his conclusion that the amount of food consumed by the worker's family is strictly dependent upon the wages he is paid.

One of the Schmidt studies of São Paulo is informing concerning the more significant elements in the level of living in that state, where in all probability the average is about the highest in Brazil. The introduction to this study by Mario de Sampaio Ferraz, director of the state's Department of Agricultural Publicity, says: "That which is valuable, that which makes for progress, is not the opulence of a dozen or two men, but the average level of the general well-being. . . . That which interests the human community is not the stupendous figures of the potentates, but the good 'average standing' of every one, a significant average per capita production, including in it all sectors of activity."¹⁶ Schmidt, on the basis of intimate acquaintance with the statistical data gathered by the São Paulo Agricultural Service, by far the best in Brazil, and with his insight sharpened and judgment tempered by long excursions through the interior, set himself to analyzing the diet, hygiene, dress, and habitation—the most significant components in the level of living—of the rural inhabitant.

The diet he says is responsible for a large share of the misery that exists. "Man feeds himself badly because he gains little. Reduced earnings are the result of weak productive capacity, and this comes from lowered organic resistance. Thus is created a vicious circle, a way out of which needs to be determined, either by the raising of wages, by educating the worker, or by any means whatsoever."

Hygiene also "leaves a great deal to be desired and is another precarious situation in which the rural population lives." The caboclo's close contact with nature gives him great organic resistance, and his ailments are not of alarming gravity. "That which is alarming is the form and the perpetuity of them. Worms, easily eradicated, is the most common of the ailments, and yet they accompany the individual from the early days of infancy to old age."

Poor clothing results in moral and mental depression. It gives one a feeling of inferiority even among his equals. "In the regions where the climate is cold," and there are many of them in São Paulo, "much energy

¹⁵ Dé Carli, *Aspectos Açucareiros de Pernambuco*, 19-20.

¹⁶ Schmidt, *O Meio Rural*, 3.

is consumed, and stolen from work, in passing the interminable winter nights, awake, huddled about a brazier."

"The house of our rural inhabitant always leaves something to desire in every respect." Commonly, it is poorer than necessitated by the resources of its inhabitants. Schmidt summarizes: "Poorly fed, sick, ragged, and almost without shelter, it is not possible to demand from our country man more than he produces."¹⁷

Finally, there is the comprehensive material gathered and analyzed in 1938-1939, on which the nation's minimum wage scales were based. Although these data do not give the foods for which expenditures were made, they do include the total per capita monthly expenditures for food and the proportion of all expenses for food. These are the two most significant items in all the long list of data gathered in standard-of-living studies. Fortunately, every state was included in the investigation, and the materials for the state capital were kept separate from those for the other, the "interior" portions of each commonwealth. The scope of the study is indicated by the total of 251,060 persons in the families which resided in the capitals, and 333,278 persons in households of the interior areas. Unfortunately, the data as published have not been accompanied with the essential explanatory material, or tabulated in a manner that would enable them to be of most use. However, it is possible to extract from them some figures which show the average per capita expenditures for food and the percentages of all money spent that went for food. These data are presented in Table XXXVIII. The totals showing the numbers of persons included in the families studied are also included. Although it is not specifically stated, we may be fairly certain that the families included are those of the laboring class.

Several pertinent observations may be made based on the facts brought out by the table. Among the capitals the average per capita monthly cost of food is highest in São Paulo, where it amounts to about \$2.50, and lowest in the capital of Ceará, where it is about \$1.00. In Recife, Pernambuco, the site of one of Josué de Castro's studies, the comparable figure is approximately \$1.35, and in Rio de Janeiro, federal capital and site of the other more detailed investigation, it is around \$2.20. In general, the average amounts spent each month for food, when reduced to a per capita basis, were larger in the capitals than in the interior districts, but there are many exceptions to this rule. In states like Alagoas and Sergipe, the expenditures in the capitals are almost double those in the interior; in Santa Catarina, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, and Rio Grande do Norte

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

TABLE XXXVIII

Per Capita Monthly Expenditures for Food and Food Costs as a Percentage of Total Family Expenditures in Capitals and Interior Districts, 1940 *

State	Monthly expenditures per person for food		Food costs as a percentage of total expenditures		Number of persons in families studied	
	Capital	Interior	Capital	Interior	Capital	Interior
Alagoas	33\$900	21\$300	70.9	87.3	5,694	21,405
Amazonas	35\$700	32\$300	56.5	84.6	3,409	708
Bahia	24\$900	22\$600	69.4	73.7	18,296	14,803
Ceará	20\$800	17\$300	58.9	68.7	7,389	5,642
Espírito Santo	41\$000	21\$600	68.3	63.2	3,406	16,541
Goiás	34\$600	28\$400	59.0	55.3	1,257	2,473
Maranhão	25\$400	23\$800	63.4	77.0	4,011	3,866
Mato Grosso	28\$500	29\$700	48.7	49.6	391	888
Minas Gerais	28\$100	28\$300	49.4	58.4	8,968	40,144
Pará	27\$300	26\$200	67.5	74.7	11,750	1,516
Paraíba	30\$200	22\$100	80.5	83.8	4,638	18,302
Paraná	43\$900	32\$300	58.6	61.6	3,354	11,482
Pernambuco	27\$100	21\$800	68.7	79.3	25,936	24,399
Piauí	31\$600	28\$200	67.2	69.0	454	1,671
Rio de Janeiro	37\$300	29\$000	54.8	60.0	6,474	44,906
Rio Grande do Norte	24\$600	25\$800	52.0	72.2	2,222	12,342
Rio Grande do Sul	47\$900	44\$600	61.7	69.5	13,280	39,015
Santa Catarina	30\$700	32\$600	61.8	65.1	2,940	12,203
São Paulo	51\$100	41\$900	54.9	61.4	65,532	49,648
Sergipe	29\$600	18\$400	75.8	74.2	2,554	11,325
Distrito Federal	43\$500	—	46.5	—	59,285	—

Note: In 1940 1\$ (one milreis) was worth about five cents.

* Source: *Salário Mínimo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940), I, 125-253.

the average expenditures recorded in the capital are less than those in the other parts of the state.

Probably of more significance, however, are the proportions of the family budget which were used for food. As is well known, this percentage is one of the very best indexes relative to the level of living of a family or a population—the higher the percentage of the budget spent for food the lower the standard of living. On this basis, the fact that these families of the laboring class in the capitals of Alagoas, Paraíba, and Sergipe, and in the interior portions of Alagoas, Amazonas, Bahia, Maranhão, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Norte, and Sergipe show recorded expenditures of more than 70 per cent of the entire family budget for food alone must be interpreted to mean that they live very near the level

of mere subsistence. In view of what is already known concerning the dietary situations in Rio de Janeiro and Recife, a comparison of the indexes for these two with those for other cities and for the interior sections of the various states leads inevitably to the conclusion that a very large proportion of the Brazilian working class must be seriously undernourished and that the level of living is extremely low. In turn, deficient and poorly balanced diet is certainly reflected in decreased ability and desire to engage in sustained productive activities, a fatalistic acceptance of their lot in life, or a low standard of living. This is a vicious cycle, similar to that observed in parts of the United States, which only the wisest and most strenuous efforts can break. However, the failure of the data to reveal regional differences, which seem to thrust themselves at the visitor who travels throughout Brazil, probably means that the groups sampled in one part of the country are not strictly comparable with those in another. One cannot go throughout the interior of Brazil without being convinced that the levels and standards of living in the north and northeast are lower than those in other sections of the country. Also repeated visits to Brazil's greatest cities since 1939, including a stay in 1946 when serious food riots broke out in Rio de Janeiro, has left the writer with the impression that the situation of the masses is becoming progressively worse. Today actual hunger is a factor of prime importance in Brazil's great population centers.

FACTORS CAUSING VARIATIONS

As suggested above, the study of standards and levels of living in Brazil is still in its infancy. But, although all of the details of the complex of factors that have contributed to the present low level on which the bulk of the Brazilian population is living are not known, still it is possible to indicate in a general way the manner in which some of the more important determinants have worked, and continue to operate. Probably the more important factors may be reduced to the three following categories: (1) a very high ratio of dependents to contributors or producers, (2) the very low production per worker, and (3) the lavish use of labor in the production process which results in labor's being entitled to a comparatively small proportion of the product and in the necessity of dividing this reduced share among many workers. These will be considered in order.

High Ratio of Dependents to Contributors. There can be no doubt that Brazil's standard of living is adversely affected by the high ratio of dependents to contributors that prevails in the population. In a large measure this is purely demographic, the inevitable result in a country where the birth rate and the death rate are both very high. This can result only

in a situation wherein the number of children is exceedingly high in proportion to the persons of working or productive age. This is certain to occur in a country having both a very high birth rate and a high death rate, unless strong immigration is constantly replenishing the people of active working age. The detailed data from which this generalization arises have already been presented in the chapters dealing with composition and the vital processes of the population. Here they are merely summarized in order that some of the more essential facts shall be clearly kept in mind.

The extent to which Brazil's population is constituted of dependent children may easily be observed by comparing the age distribution of the Brazilian and the United States populations. This is done in Figure 5. The data are quoted for 1940 since this is the latest year for which Brazilian data are as yet available.

By counting persons under 15 and those 65 or over as dependents and those between 15 and 64 as contributors or producers, one may secure a useful yardstick for evaluating the economic significance of differences in age distributions. On this basis, in 1940 there were 83 dependents for every 100 producers in Brazil, while in the United States the comparable figure was only 47. These data serve to indicate that the age distribution of the population of Brazil limits very definitely the size of its potential labor force, making the percentage of population that might be utilized as workers very much smaller than in the United States. This is one very important determinant of the prevailing level of living.

Social Stratification. Another factor that serves to increase the number of consumers in relation to the proportion of workers is the high degree of social stratification that prevails in the Brazilian population. The aristocratic tradition by no means came to an end with the abdication of the emperor. It is true that many of the members of the distinguished families who are descended from the barons and counts of the 1880's now perform essential economic functions in Brazilian society; but it is also true that the inheritance of wealth and social position have permitted many members of Brazil's elite class to live a life of ostentation while making no substantial contribution to the national wealth and income. The presence of such "drones" also tends to swell the number of dependents to contributors. Furthermore, because of the generous size of the "helpings" which they receive out of the relatively small national income, the presence of these nonproductive elements in the population has a depressing effect upon the general level of living far out of proportion to their numbers.

Low Production per Worker. Another series of factors that determines the relatively low level or standard of living prevailing in Brazil includes

all the numerous social, economic, and cultural determinants that make for a low productivity per worker.

(1) *Concentration of Landownership*. Because such a large proportion of Brazil's population is rural and therefore dependent upon agricultural and collecting enterprises for a livelihood it seems logical to begin the enumeration of these by mentioning the concentration of landownership and control. As has been indicated in another place, Brazil is the land of large fazendas, a country in which the great bulk of all the people fall in the category of agricultural laborers. In Brazil, as elsewhere, the status of agricultural labor is perhaps the least desirable one in the entire social scale. Probably it is impossible for any system of large agricultural estates to result in a high standard of living for the workers. Certainly it seems beyond all possibility of dispute that the very unsatisfactory standard of Brazil's working masses is directly due to the concentration of landownership and control that has prevailed from the first settlement of the country until the present time. Even though the slave might flee the fazenda and join with others in a quilombo (community of fugitive slaves) he still lacked the knowledge and skills essential for independent existence as a farmer. The miserable lot of the swarms of squatters (posseiros) throughout Brazil's vast interior is mute testimony to the validity of this statement.

The reasons for the unfavorable economic and social status of the farm laborer are, in turn, not difficult to discover. Agricultural labor cannot be done in a factory building where the watchful eye of a supervisor can take account of the activities of many workers, or on huge assembly lines where the failure to perform specialized tasks in the manner prescribed and time allowed immediately directs the supervisor's attention to the derelict employee. In most agricultural operations a good combination of labor and management is possible only where the two functions are both performed by the same individual. For the most part this is done on the family-operated and family-worked farm. Despite the presence of overseers, major domos, and other bosses of one kind or another, the plantation system is almost sure to result in the sparing use of management and the lavish use of labor in the productive process. This point will receive further attention below.

As has already been indicated, the agricultural laborer loses in two respects when large-scale agricultural operations dictate that he shall specialize and shall perform only the functions of laborer and not those of manager. Under these circumstances the head of a rural family is entitled to and receives only the share of the product that belongs to labor. Unlike the operator of a small farm, be he owner or renter, such a worker

is not entitled to receive any remuneration for the managerial ability in this line which he might possibly develop. His potentialities as a manager go to waste, and in the deadening process of routine work, experience demonstrates that they also waste away.

There are also many other reasons for the low production per worker. When, as in Brazil, there is concentration of landownership and control and when the bulk of the rural people are found in the farm labor category, there are few stimuli propelling the individual to attempt to climb the social ladder. Social pressures urge resignation to or acceptance of one's lot, rather than continued effort to better one's condition. Social ostracism is likely to result from trying to be better than one's fellows, rather than from failing to "keep up with the Joneses." Of such an innovator his Brazilian fellows are likely to say, "He would like to encircle the world with legs that have never encompassed a horse." Since the operation of the agricultural ladder would destroy the Brazilian fazenda system in a single generation, its persistence throughout the centuries is in itself sufficient evidence that the opportunities and propulsions to advance have not been sufficient to stimulate the Brazilian lower classes. The extra effort called forth by such social-climbing has not contributed to increase the goods and services that are consumed by the Brazilian population.

Probably the most tragic effect of the high degree of landownership and control prevailing in Brazil is the fact that it perpetuates a rural population that is incapable of exercising economic functions other than those of the laborer. In other countries where the estates are built up through the process of dispossessing small owner-operators and consolidating their former holdings into large plantations, as occurred throughout parts of our own Southland, the process has first produced and then perpetuated such a class. Brazil skipped the first of these stages almost entirely: she obtained the laboring class for her agriculture by enslaving the Indians and importing Negro slaves from Africa. Both of these peoples lacked most of the skills involved in the management of agricultural enterprises, so that the present-day rural Brazilian population could have received very little in management skills from them had the system of slavery never confined them to the sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas. Nor did they receive, as a cultural heritage from those of their white ancestors who mingled their blood with that of the darker slaves, any substantial contributions to help overcome the deficiency. Very few traits of Europe's peasant agriculture were able to sift through Brazil's coastal sugar plantations into the vast interior regions. In summary it should be stated that the net effect of the concentration of landownership and control in Brazil is to lower the level of living of the population. By relegating the bulk

of the people to the status of farm labor, the system results in a poor combination of labor, capital, and management; it gives to most breadwinners only a share in the product that might go to labor; it fails to use the desire to better one's self as a propulsion to steady, efficient labor and thrift; and it produces generation after generation of people who are lacking in a knowledge of managerial skills and thrifty capitalistic attitudes.

(2) *Deficiencies in the Diet.* Poor diet, one of the leading factors in the poor health situation which is discussed elsewhere in this volume, also renders much of the population incapable of sustained work activities. Loss of efficiency and initiative may be induced by a deficient diet, even though the workers are not reduced to complete disability.

That the Brazilian diet is deficient in essential nutritive elements, often lacking in quantity, and almost always in quality, seems to have been established by Brazilian scholars and scientists. Much of their data has been presented above. Here it is important to consider these materials as they relate to the productive capacities of the population. This means a consideration of the adequacy of the diet. Spurred on by the widespread acceptance of the belief that tropical countries, including Brazil, were backward because of climatic influences and because of race mixture, a number of Brazil's leading scientists and scholars have advanced the thesis that in reality the responsible factors are those of diet and disease, especially malaria and hookworm. Says E. Roquette-Pinto: "I continue, however, to preach the same sermon as ever: the evils of race mixture are the evils of hunger and misery."¹⁸ If he, Josué de Castro, and other scholars have not definitely disproved the cases for climatic determinism and physical deterioration of the ethnic stock being brought about by interracial crossing, they have at least thrown a great deal of light upon the dietary problems of Brazil.

One of the best summaries of the situation, and one that makes the necessary allowances for differences between the social classes, is that by Ruy Coutinho. After indicating that hygiene, sanitation, economic situation, and diet (not the lack of Nordic blood) are the basis of the unsatisfactory showing of tropical peoples, he summarizes the dietary situation in Brazil.

If in countries with a high economic and cultural level, such as the United States, England and Canada, there is a large proportion of malnourished people, in countries such as Brazil the proportion must be excessive. In reality, observation reveals how inferior is the nutritional level of the Brazilian. The dietary and hygienic conditions of our poorer classes are miserable, a result of their insufficient wages. They are undernourished—their diet is lacking in quantity and quality.

¹⁸ Josué de Castro, *Alimentação e Raça* (Rio de Janeiro, 1936), preface.

Their diet is insufficient in calories, with a low percentage of proteins, notably those of class one; deficient in vitamins and mineral salts. These lower classes have as nourishment mandioca flour, dried meat or fish, three poor foods; they are, however, the only ones obtainable with their incomes, although sometimes they are supplemented by beans, already a luxury, and bacon.¹⁹

The same author also summarizes the dietary position of the middle classes. "Even the Brazilian of the middle class is badly nourished. He uses cereals and sweets in excess, to the exclusion of other dietary elements of greater nutritional value. We do not have the habit of eating salads, and sweets take preference over fruits. . . ." ²⁰

Finally, according to this authority, not even Brazil's well-to-do classes eat wisely of a well-balanced diet.

In Brazil the wealthy class, although it eats much, does not eat well. Its members do not understand how to nourish themselves. If they do not live on dried meat, dried fish, corn meal or mandioca flour and *feijoada* [a favorite Brazilian dish which includes beans, numerous kinds of meats, rice, and mandioca flour], pungent gravies, fatty dishes, conserved meats and vegetables, fine "foie gras" and "leberwurst". . . . In this way the wealthy use an excess of fats and proteins to the neglect of vitamins and mineral salts. These latter elements are furnished almost exclusively by eggs, milk, and fresh fruits and vegetables—foods which enter in relatively small proportions into the diet of the wealthy, who prefer preserves, sweets, and pastries.²¹

Like others who know the situation, Josué de Castro concludes that Brazil's dietary problem is a large one and that malnutrition paralyzes the nation's productive efforts.

What we wish to emphasize is that this diet has a painful weight in the economy of the nation, paralyzing, even stealing, the larger part of its human capital, provoking unobtrusively the major portion of the obstacles which appear to be the work of the climate. The climate would permit, through the richness of the crops that can be grown, by the rational utilization of our natural reserves of nutrition, a diet that is greater and better balanced.²²

Finally, it is not amiss to ask why the food habits and diets in such a productive land as Brazil are so poor in comparison with those of the less favored mother country of Portugal. Climate, of course, may be invoked, or race, but Josué de Castro and his fellow Brazilian anthropologists are not content with such "lazy man's" explanations. They indicate that the Portuguese colonists who settled Brazil failed to retain the food habits and diet which the Portuguese had acquired in their contacts with warm

¹⁹ Ruy Coutinho, *Valor Social da Alimentação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937), 26–27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 30–31.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 35–36. For a discussion of the importance of sugar and preserves in the diet of the northeast, see Freyre, *Nordeste*, 123 ff.

²² De Castro, *A Alimentação Brasileira à Luz da Geografia Humana*, 133.

climates and Mohammedan peoples. In Brazil wheat flour was replaced by that made of mandioca,²³ and the cultivation of sugar cane was practiced to the exclusion of all the various fruits and vegetables that formerly occupied such an important part of the diet.

Furthermore, preoccupied with the ambition of gaining quick riches, of making himself master of the land, its gold and its treasures, the colonist, in place of continuing in the new country the routine of customary crops which gave him the materials for a complete diet, threw himself body and soul either into the exclusive cultivation of sugar cane, which made him the rich and respected master of an *engenho*, or into the search for the hidden veins filled with gold. And master of sugar plantation or miner, the colonist neglected completely his diet, resulting in a great lowering of the dietary level in Brazil.²⁴

An interesting detail which helps to illustrate the poverty of agricultural skills and practices resulting from the break with tradition and from the fact that all agricultural knowledge reaching interior Brazil was sifted through the system of monoculture practiced in the coastal areas is given in the following quotation from Mawe:

We left this peaceful abode; and, advancing for six miles through thickets and forests, and over some plain land, we reached a farm called St. Antonio, belonging to a widow named Dona Ana, who is noted throughout the country, for making excellent butter and cheese. The dwelling is of two stories, and neat, but very inconvenient. This good lady gave me a hearty repast, of milk, and we entered into some conversation respecting her dairy, in which I learned

²³ Technically, it was only in the north of Brazil that mandioca became the staff of life, for corn meal gained this position in the south. This prevalence of corn meal in the diet of southern Brazil, and of mandioca in northern Brazil is of long standing. "The inhabitants of this province [São Paulo] conceive the mandioca flour to be unwholesome, as those of the northern capitánias do maize flour." Von Spix and von Martius, *Travels in Brazil, 1817-1820*, II, 16.

²⁴ De Castro, *A Alimentação Brasileira á Luz da Geografia Humana*, 127. Read in conjunction with these summary statements of Josué de Castro, the description of diets in Minas Gerais at the opening of the nineteenth century as given by Mawe are interesting.

"The general diet of the country-people in this land of Canaan is somewhat similar to that of the miners in the vicinity of St. Paul's, already described. The master, his steward, and the overseers, sit down to a breakfast of kidney beans of a black colour, boiled, which they mix with the flour of Indian corn, and eat with a little dry pork, fried or boiled. The dinner generally consists, also, of a bit of pork or bacon boiled, the water from which is poured upon a dish of the flour above-mentioned, thus forming a stiff pudding. A large quantity (above half a peck) of this food is poured in a heap on the table, and a great dish of boiled beans is set upon it. Each person helps himself in the readiest way, there being only one knife, which is often dispensed with. A plate or two of colewort on cabbage leaves completes the repast. The food is commonly served up in the earthen vessels used for cooking it; sometimes on pewter dishes. The general beverage is water. At supper nothing is seen but large quantities of boiled greens, with a bit of poor bacon to flavour them. On any festive occasion, or when strangers appear, the dinner or supper is improved by the addition of a stewed fowl. The food prepared for the negroes is Indian corn-flour, mixed with hot water, in which a bit of pork has been boiled. This dish serves both for breakfast and supper. Their dinner consists of beans boiled in the same way." *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 203-204; see also 29, 120-21, and 130.

that she knew of no other mode of making butter, than that of agitating the cream in a jar or bottle; and her knowledge of cheese-making was equally defective.²⁵

Even late in the nineteenth century the traveler who came upon a place where he could obtain milk and butter found it worthy of comment. Thus the Southerners McMullen and Bowen, who submitted a report on the Cananéia area of São Paulo to the Brazilian Minister of Agriculture in 1866, commented as follows:

Following up the valley some two and a half miles, we reached the comfortable dwelling of Mr. Van der Hoff, where we stopped for the night. Mr. Van der Hoff is a Dutchman, and lives in the good old "milk and butter" style, *his* being the only place in Brazil where we found those excellent (not to say luxurious) articles of food, notwithstanding the peculiar adaptation of the country for them in plenty and to spare at all seasons.²⁶

That changes have taken place in the last eighty years, and that the agricultural practices and diet are better now than they were, offers encouragement, for once established, such deficient habits and paucity of agricultural skills are transmitted from one generation to another, as are other parts of the cultural heritage. Frequently, in these parts of man's social environment years may pass with very little change. This is particularly true in an environment that is overwhelmingly rural, as in Brazil. The result is that the Brazilian population of the present day is much more poorly nourished than is necessitated by the agricultural resources and possibilities of the country; but it can only be better nourished if the *wants* and the *agricultural practices* of the people can both be changed.

(3) *Poor Health*. Poor health is another factor which greatly reduces the production per Brazilian worker and contributes to the very low levels of living that prevail throughout most rural sections of the country. Although exaggerated to attract attention, there is at least a grain of truth in the assertion often made by Brazil's leading thinkers that large segments of the rural population are more suitable as clinical materials than as workers.²⁷ Keeping in mind the relation of poor health to loss of time and efficiency, a review of the materials on health and mortality of the Brazilian population, discussed in Chapter IX, will help to emphasize this important cause of Brazil's low standard of living. Were the health better, undoubtedly productivity per worker would be much higher. On the other hand, since the bulk of the income is required to maintain the present inadequate diet, poor health follows as a result of present levels of living.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 136-37. Later, Mawe had a churn built and gave the lady instructions as to its use. *Ibid.*, 192, 196-97. For comments concerning the lack of, and backward condition of, other agricultural skills, see *ibid.*, 142, 188, 197, and 205.

²⁶ Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners*, 155.

²⁷ Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 34.

Although one who travels through rural Brazil cannot always be sure of the reasons for many of the conditions encountered, he will pass through areas where the ravages of malaria and hookworm sap the strength of the population and take a heavy toll of life. For example, according to reliable informants in Minas Gerais, malaria is rampant along almost all the streams that flow through the southwestern and northern parts of the state. In addition to the inroads it makes upon the poverty-stricken ribeirinhos, who live along the riverbanks in crude shelters and on a diet of fish and mandioca, it plays havoc among the laboring families on many of the fazendas. This is especially true in the northern sections of the state. But even in such municípios as Lagôa da Prata, which lies to the west of Belo Horizonte, it is reported that malaria is so bad that even the camaradas must live away from the fazenda, merely going there during the daytime in order to care for the cattle. On the Rio Grande, which flows westward through the south central portion of the state, and then forms the boundary between São Paulo and Minas Gerais until it empties into the Paraná, it is said that malaria has become so bad during recent years that fazendas along its banks now may be used only for cattle grazing. Farther south and west, the entire portion of Mato Grosso that drains into the Paraná is known to be infested with malaria-bearing mosquitoes. South, in portions of Santa Catarina, one may drive through neighborhoods, such as those in the município of Palhoça, of which it is reported that

in the interior of the município, in Cova Funda, Furadinho, Praia de Fora, Albardão, Varzea do Braco, Caldo, and the interior of Teresopolis, malaria reigns. In these localities it again has become necessary for the authorities to carry out sanitary projects, thus making available to agriculture the hands that are removed from it—victims of the terrible scourge.²⁸

The settlements referred to are mostly those that lie along the coast and are inhabited by a fisherfolk, known locally as praianos. Wherever one passes among their settlements, which are to be found from Rio Grande do Sul on the south to Rio de Janeiro on the north, one will find a people living among miserable conditions, badly nourished on a diet of fish and mandioca, wretchedly housed, and poorly clothed. For example, as one drives the coastal road leading to the capital of Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, from Itajaí, one passes through the município of Biguassú and through dozens of the small settlements of these fisherfolk. On a Sunday afternoon one will find them assembled in the small churchyards, or about the small stores, in a manner greatly reminiscent of the gatherings of the fisherfolk who inhabit the bayous of southern Louisiana. The fact that their modest little lumber houses are elevated several feet above

²⁸ José Lupércio Lopes, *Palhoça* (Florianópolis, 1939), 113-14.

the ground on small piles, and that every few miles one will observe a small "pocket" of people of a darker strain and detect the all-pervading odor of fish, makes the similarities even more striking.

It is, of course, impossible for one to make a reliable estimate of the health situation merely by passing through an area, but, of this part of the município of Biguassú, José M. Born, a native of the município and formerly the state director of the Department of Geography and Lands, has written as follows:

The first part of the município, the smaller, is the malaria zone, composed of the settlements of S. Miguel, Tijuquinhas, Caieras, Cachoeira, Estiva Cadeado, Sorocaba, and Saudade, all of which are situated about S. Miguel Mountain. It is too bad that the sanitary authorities have done nothing to combat malaria at the base of São Miguel. It is in this area that malaria predominates.²⁹

The rural people of central and northern Brazil appear to suffer from the ravages of disabling sickness and disease even more than those in the south. Throughout the entire Amazon areas malaria has raged almost unchecked. But to the traveler, it is the northeastern states in which the health problems seem to be among the most acute in the nation. As one goes by truck or train through Maranhão, Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, and Paraíba, at every stop there will be a numerous crowd of blind, maimed, and otherwise disabled persons begging alms. Under these circumstances one is likely to remember the phrase of Brazil's famous Dr. Miguel Pereira, "Brazil is a vast hospital"; and to reflect: Yes, Brazil would be a vast hospital if all these people were receiving treatment in established institutions.

The generality of the conditions observed in certain localities seems to be borne out by a recent publication of the Ministry of Agriculture. This official organ first comments upon the sad hygienic state of affairs prevailing in rural Brazil, and then states that it is the worst in the nation. It criticizes the rural Brazilian for his utilitarian ways and asserts that he constructs his house near the water—"carries the house to the water and not the water to the house"—without first seeking to determine the healthfulness of the location. It also censures him for either building a pigpen beside the house, or using the space under the house to serve the purpose. Heaps of fermenting bagasse left near the house are said to become the breeding places for flies, as do the heaps of coffee husks. The *bicho de pé* (a kind of "chigger") and tetanus bacillus are said to be inseparable companions on many fazendas. And, finally, it is reported that the lack of sanitary facilities and of a safe water supply result in the sad picture of almost 100 per cent of the rural population's suffering from hookworm

²⁹ Born, *Biguassú*, 46.

or similar parasitic ailments.⁸⁰ The latter observation is supported by a report published by the Secretaria da Agricultura of São Paulo, which is surely Brazil's most advanced state. To quote the words of the agricultural inspector who had prepared it: "In reality, *verminose* [hookworm] predisposes 90 per cent of our rural population to the most diverse illnesses. . . . We need a service to examine drinking waters that are used by the rural population. Water that passes by stagnant pools, pigpens and stables, is used for drinking purposes."⁸¹

As a conclusion to this section relating to the present unsatisfactory dietary and health situations in Brazil, it is fitting to make reference to the excellent analysis made by Gilberto Freyre. This outstanding student of Brazil's cultural evolution speaks with an authority—one based on long years devoted to observation and a careful study of the documentary evidence—that cannot be lightly set aside. In his explanation, dietary, health, and sanitary factors loom large. He, too, has little patience with those who attribute the ills of the Brazilian population to racial and climatic factors. Freyre credits the latifundium and slavery with making possible the economic development and the relative political stability of Brazil, which he contrasts with the turbulent situation in neighboring countries.⁸² But, at the same time, he maintains that the large estate with its monoculture and slave system "perverted and poisoned the country's springs of nutrition and life." In colonial society the social extremes were better fed than the intermediate strata. "Better fed, we repeat, were the extremes of slave society: the whites of the *casas grandes* and the Negroes of the *senzalas*." For this reason he holds it as natural that the slaves became the progenitors of many of the strongest and healthiest elements in the population, the athletes, the sailors, and some of the agile fighting classes who live outside the law, such as capoeiras and *cabras*. And he also considers diet as the major factor for explaining why the intermediate classes were the ancestors of some of the weakest and most incapable groups in present-day society. Because of their undernourished condition, these "free but miserable" persons were much more susceptible to the ravages of malaria, beriberi, syphilis, and *bouba* (tumor) than either the better-fed slaves or the aristocratic elements in the population. Today he holds that their descendants, "this almost useless population of caboclos and light mulattoes" are "more valuable as clinical material than as an economic force."⁸³

⁸⁰ *Boletim do Ministério da Agricultura*, Ano XXX, No. 2 (February 1941), 71.

⁸¹ José Osorio de Sousa, Jr., *A Nossa Organização Agrícola em Face da Evolução Econômica Brasileira* (São Paulo, 1941), 7-8.

⁸² Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 34.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

When present-day investigators, such as Miguel Pereira and Belisario Penna, visit and describe the "state of physical misery and unproductive inertia" of these people, lamentations arise because "we are not of a pure race and that Brazil is not a temperate climate. . . ." Freyre has but little sympathy with those who would attribute the inertia or the indolence to racial factors, or to race mixture, and who would eternally damn the Brazilian because he is not of pure racial stock, or Brazil because it lies very largely in the torrid zone. Sarcastically he condemns those sociologists who are "more alarmed with the taint of race mixture than with syphilis," or who are "more preoccupied with the effects of the climate than with the social causes that are susceptible to control or rectification. . . ." He himself emphasizes the all-important influence of the scarcity of food products brought about by the devotion to monoculture and slavery, the poor chemical composition of the foods that were grown, and, above all, that Brazilians, with only a couple of regional exceptions, have been subjected to this diet for three hundred years. Today, even more than in colonial times, there are undernourished groups in the population. He quotes the work of Araujo Lima to support the contention that the large proportion of the caboclos of the north, "poetically considered by the artless to be the great reserve of Brazilian vitality," have been reduced to a "state of organic inferiority. . . ." Freyre also quotes Araujo Lima to the effect that "the caboclo erases his economic and social value in a deficient diet which, seconded by alcoholism and by the doubly debilitating action of malaria and hookworm, has to be recognized as one of the factors of his physical and intellectual inferiority," and then adds in a footnote that "this observation, relative to the caboclo of the extreme north may be generalized, with one or another regional restriction, to the poor Brazilian in all the other rural zones."³⁴

(4) *Incentives to Work, Attitudes Towards Labor, and Alternative Opportunities.* Another factor making for the low productivity per worker, and accordingly for the low levels of living prevailing throughout Brazil, is the general weakness of propulsions to regular work activities. In the states from São Paulo north, and to a certain extent in the southern region, the Brazilian caboclo, or rural worker, lacks a great many of the propulsions to work that are the heritage of his fellows in many other lands. Most obvious of these are the ones associated with the climate, but probably the most significant are those that lie embedded in the social environment the caboclo has inherited.

a) *The Climate.* The extremely mild climate and the rich gifts nature offers merely for the collecting make it possible for many Brazilians in

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

the interior of the country to lead a vegetative existence, to put forth a very minimum of effort. So readily collected or produced are the simple food requirements (except in parts of the northeast), so slight the minimum requirements for clothing, so easily constructed some kind of shelter, so readily furnished with a rough table and a few hammocks, it is possible for life to be maintained in most of Brazil with an output of effort far below that required in more rigorous climes.

Says Burton of the incentives to activity and the type of vegetative life carried on in some of the interior villages:

The life of these country places has a barbarous uniformity. The people say of the country "é muito atrasado," and they show in their proper persons all the reason of the atraso. It is every man's object to do as little as he can, and he limits his utmost industry to the labours of the smallest Fazenda. These idlers rise late and breakfast early, perhaps with a sweet potato and a cup of the inevitable coffee; sometimes there is a table, often a mat is spread upon the floor, but there is always a cloth. It is then time "ku amkía," as the Sawahilis say, to "drop in" upon neighbours, and to slay time with the smallest of small talk. The hot hours are spent in the hammock, swinging, dozing, smoking, and eating melons. Dinner is at 2 p.m., a more substantial matter of fish, or meat, and manioc with vegetables at times, and everywhere, save at Sento Sé, with peppersauce. Coffee and tobacco serve to shorten the long tedious hours, and the evening is devoted to a gentle stroll, or to "tomar a fresca," that is, sitting in a shady spot to windward of the house and receiving visits. Supper ushers in the night-fall, and on every possible occasion the song and drum, the dance and dram are prolonged till near daybreak. Thus they lose energy, they lose memory, they cannot persuade themselves to undertake anything, and all exertion seems absolutely impossible to them. At Sento Sé the citizens languidly talk of a canal which is to be brought from the Rio de São Francisco at the expense of £ 1680. But no one dreams of doing anything beyond talking. "Government" must do everything for them, they will do nothing for themselves. After a day or two's halt in these hot-beds of indolence, I begin to feel like one of those who are raised here.⁸⁵

Similar statements about one place or another are encountered in most accounts written by those who have traveled through interior Brazil, particularly in the reports of those who passed through the northern portions of the country. Gardner commented about the people living in Alagôas:

The chief productions of the country around Alagôas are sugar, cotton, and a little mandioca. At the time of my visit great complaints were made of the scarcity of the provisions, but it is impossible to feel much commiseration for the starving condition of the poor people, when it is known that it is entirely owing to their own want of industry that sufficient crops of mandioca are not raised, not only for their own consumption, but for exportation to other parts of the country. There is abundance of ground around the city lying waste, which is well adapted for the growth of this plant, and but little labour suffices for its

⁸⁵ Burton, *The Highlands of the Brazil*, II, 357.

cultivation, but the indolent disposition of the people is such, that, with all the advantages which the country offers, they are contented to obtain just sufficient for immediate use and seldom look forward to the future.³⁶

Without overemphasizing the importance of the geographic factors as social determinants, it may safely be said that the climate and the natural productions of Brazil are such as to permit man to lead a very unindustrious life. Certainly climate is not the strong force compelling man to sustained labor that it is in many lands.³⁷

b) *Cultural Factors.* But probably climate is not the most significant influence of Brazilian work habits. In many regions the rural Brazilian of the working class has also inherited a social environment that serves as a brake upon the amount of effort expended. The caboclo's house of wattle and daub, pau-a-pique, or thatch, with its rough tile or thatch roof and dirt floor, humble as it is, comes up to standard. To be housed as well as his fellows, he needs but a minimum of household equipment, frequently little more than a few chairs, a rough table, and some hammocks. To provide a house and furnishings that are socially acceptable in the caboclo's environment does not require the years of sustained effort that it does in the family farm sections of São Paulo, Santa Catarina, Paraná, or Rio Grande do Sul.³⁸

³⁶ Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 109-10. Similar references are made to the inhabitants of other places along his line of travel through Ceará, Piauí, Goiás, Bahia, and Minas Gerais. Of Riochão in Goiás he wrote: "The inhabitants of this district are so desperately lazy that they scarcely plant sufficient of anything for their own use notwithstanding the unlimited extent of ground that each family possesses. *Ibid.*, 295.

³⁷ On this point a noted English authority on cotton commented:

"Babassú is not planted or cultivated; the natives steal the fruit from nature. Babassú is a plague in so far as it tends to make people more lazy."

"The wealth of nature has made the Maranhense people idle, and it is to be feared that the recent babassú development will make them almost forget field cultivation."

"The 'babassú' positively makes the people lazy, and were it not for the wealth it brings to the country it should be considered a pest." Arno S. Pearse, *Cotton in North Brazil* (Manchester, 1923), 83, 84, and 121.

When I visited Maranhão in 1942, I learned the significance of the couplet:

Si não fosse babassú

Todo mundo andava nú.

[If it were not for babassú

Everyone would go naked.]

³⁸ Says Pearse of the people of Ceará's sertões: "It almost seems as though the frugality of the people has been so excessive that they have developed few demands for the luxuries of life and consequently they often lack the impetus to work uninterruptedly." *Ibid.*, 28.

Nearly eighty years ago Dunn wrote in a similar vein. It was while he was making the observation that led him to select the area near Cananéia in southeastern São Paulo as the site for his "Lizzieland," that he included the following reflections in one of his reports to the Brazilian Minister of Agriculture: ". . . I have found, by observation, in South America, as in North America, that vicious Europeans, are not improved morally, intellectually, nor industrially by emigration. On the contrary, they easily fall into the indolent habits of the more virtuous and ingenuous natives of the lower classes. The fruitfulness of Brazil is such, that they can subsist almost without exertion; therefore

Probably even more significant than this lack of motivation from material culture is that embedded in the nonmaterial culture of the lower-class rural Brazilians. Particularly pernicious is the socially acquired mindset, or system of attitudes, towards manual work prevalent in the country. In Brazil almost the entire nation has inherited all of the vicious attitudes towards human toil that are the inevitable aftermath of a system of slavery. To work with the hands is considered degrading, is the indelible mark of inferior social position, is a stigma to be avoided as one would shun the plague.³⁹ Thus, there is a popular saying in Brazil that *trabalho é para cachorro e negro* (manual labor is for the dog and the Negro).⁴⁰ The colonist, who may have been a servant in Portugal, upon setting foot in Brazil considered it beneath his dignity, beneath the position of a white man, to labor with his hands. Even the skilled labor of the artisan was thought of as degrading to the white man, i. e., the free man;⁴¹ and labor in farming, which has always been and remains the basis of Brazil's economy, is said to have been considered the most disreputable of all, even more so than the tasks of mining.⁴²

It is well known that a comparable attitude towards manual labor still plagues those parts of the United States which knew the slave system and the extreme social stratification that went with it. In Brazil, however, slavery was almost universally practiced, the use of slavery being prohibited only on the lands given by the empire to the states to be used in establishing colonies of small farmers on the land. In effect this restricted slavery to any considerable extent only in the southern part of the country. Furthermore, in Brazil slavery was not abolished until 1888. Finally, the concentration of land and power, and the resulting social stratification, was even more pronounced than in the southern part of the United States,

they cease to perform that labor, which necessity, in their native land, rendered compulsory." Other of the data included in Dunn's reports indicate that the lack of natural and cultural propulsions to steady work habits have helped prevent a high standard of living: "Leaving this point early on the morning of the 27th, we reached the mouth of the river in time to ascend the Ribeira one league, where we got lodgings for the night with a colored man, who owns several thousand acres of valuable land, but subsists chiefly upon fish, taken from the Ribeira, and rice raised upon a small field not yet enclosed." *Brazil, the Home for Southerners*, 131-32, 138.

³⁹ "As the manual labour of gold-washing is performed entirely by slaves, the perverseness of the whites disdains, as dishonourable, every similar employment, even those of agriculture and tending cattle; in consequence there are so many idlers that they are usually distinguished as a separate class, under the name *Vadios*. The traveller, therefore, sees here with the splendour of the greatest opulence, all the images of human misery, poverty, and degradation." Von Spix and von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, II, 127. Cf. João Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1875), 175 *passim*.

⁴⁰ Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, 69.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, 69.

⁴² Cf. Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 78.

with the result that the members of the elite class were numerically less important and the laboring classes proportionately more important than in our own country. This quantitative difference also increased the social chasm separating the two layers of society, and at that time Brazil contained almost no small-farming classes, comparable to those of the southern uplands, to fill the gaps between the master and slave classes and to form the nucleus of a middle class. In view of all this, it is not difficult to understand why "the dignity of human labor" should be a concept foreign to most Brazilian thinking.

The hope of improving his economic position, of climbing the agricultural ladder and becoming the operator of his own farm, is a social propulsion that does much to stimulate agricultural laborers in some countries to regular work activities. Such social climbing is evident in western São Paulo and in portions of the other southern states. However, most Brazilian caboclos, matutos, sertanejos, seringueiros, or other rural workers have no comparable stimulations. Except in restricted areas, particularly in the south, the large estate still reigns supreme throughout Brazil. Its prevalence, as in our own South, is irrefutable proof that the agricultural ladder is not working. Outside the four southernmost states, such division of land as has occurred has been due either to a limited number of governmentally sponsored colonization projects, or to the equal inheritance of property among the numerous progeny of the fazendeiros. The average caboclo probably has never entertained for one moment the thought that some day he might operate a small farm of his own. He is mainly concerned with the kind of treatment received from the owner of the land on which he squats and builds his rude shelter and makes his roça, or on whose fazenda he labors as a colono, agregado, or camarada.

c) *The Rudimentary Condition of Popular Education.* Finally, as indicative of the weakness of the motivations to sustained productive effort must be mentioned the rudimentary nature of the school system and the resulting widespread illiteracy among the population. In the last analysis, man rises above the level of creature needs only through the acquisition of new wants and the ensuing struggle to obtain the means for satisfying them. If these are not inculcated by the family institution, which itself must possess them before it can hand them down, only the school and other educational institutions, such as the church, can do much to create the new wants and to inculcate the skills which will assist in obtaining their satisfaction. Where two thirds of the population never enter a school and where only a very small minority of the population ever acquire more education than an elementary knowledge of the three R's, the motivations to work are correspondingly weakened.

Abundance of Alternative Opportunities. Brazil's abundance of unexhausted resources and the wide variety of opportunities for obtaining the necessities of life, themselves, serve as factors to prevent the stable life and persistent work that is conducive to thrift and saving. The effect of these factors may be vividly emphasized by specific cases. Gold and diamonds are to be found in the stream beds in large portions of Brazil, many of which have been only partially prospected or worked. The finds are sufficient and the lure attractive enough to keep a considerable number of persons always engaged in the search for the precious mineral and stones. The situation reminds one of the "grubstaked" prospectors in the United States' West. Although these garimpeiros ordinarily lead a life of considerable hardship, which year in and year out yields but a meager return, there always exists the chance of quick riches through a lucky find. News of a strike spreads rapidly and results in a rush to the new "diggings." In Goiás and Mato Grosso both diamonds and gold are found in the sands of the rivers which flow through the *seringais* or tracts on which the rubber trees grow. Thus the entrepreneurs engaged in the extraction of raw rubber throughout this area constantly live under the threat that their laborers will suddenly leave in search for gold or diamonds in the vicinity of a new find. Especially persons from Bahia and the northeast, whence the workers must come, are said to be susceptible to such temptations, since they are said to have a "nose" for diamonds. In any case, the richness of opportunity is a factor which presently endangers the labor supply of this particular enterprise, and in the end operates against regular work activities and a high production per worker.

In other parts of Brazil there is a similar situation between the relative opportunities in agriculture and in some of the collective enterprises. For example, the state of Maranhão is largely dependent upon locally produced food supplies. It is far from the surplus-food-producing states of the south, and the system of transports is none too adequate, especially to the interior sections of the state which must depend for transportation upon small river boats. Although the system of agriculture is that which has been designated "fire agriculture," local farmers ordinarily produce the food for their own use and some to supply the towns and cities as well. But during the second World War with a sudden demand for babassú and other nuts that are rich in vegetable oils, the population was confronted with an opportunity to benefit by the high prices paid for such products. Since the nuts grow wild in the forests and may be had merely for the collection, there was a sudden rush into this form of activity. Many families did not continue producing food even for their own uses. Certainly they did not fell new trees to make new clearings. The result was a run on existing stocks of



Photos by Herbert K. Ferguson

THE COLONIA AGRÍCOLA DE GOIÁS. *Upper.* THE HOSPITAL
Lower. A TYPICAL SCHOOL

food, the soaring of the cost of living, and increased strain on the transportation facilities. In a few months, however, a change in the demand may force the laborer back to agriculture, perhaps after the onslaught of the rainy season has made it too late to fell and burn the forest for this year's roça.

Lavish Use of Labor. All the factors enumerated so far have an important bearing upon productivity per worker. But perhaps the most important of all is the manner in which the essential elements of production—land, labor, capital, and management—are combined in the Brazilian productive process. Analysis, study, and reflection will make it more and more apparent that, to a very great extent, the comparatively low standard of living in Brazil is a function of the extremely lavish use of labor in the productive process. The factors previously analyzed all have an important bearing on existing standards of living, but even with these handicaps the average level of living might be greatly improved if labor were used less lavishly in combination with capital and management. This aspect of the subject is so important that it deserves examination in some detail.

Even the most superficial observer must discern that the Brazilian productive process is one in which the labor element is used lavishly, whereas capital and management play relatively minor roles in most of the various phases of production. This generalization applies in every enterprise from agriculture and the extractive industries, to transportation and domestic and personal services. In all of these the input of human labor is great, and investment of capital in the form of machinery and equipment, or even in the training of labor, is comparatively small. To a certain extent it may also be said that management, too, is carefully husbanded. At least, this is true to the extent that in agriculture, for example, many large-scale undertakings which employ hundreds of families of workers are operated by an entrepreneur who lives away from the land. Because of this and since he makes only infrequent trips to the fazenda to oversee the operations, his managerial activities are conducted on a reduced scale, in many cases being merely nominal. Also of dubious quality are the managerial activities of the major domos on many of the estates left in their care. Usually these "bosses" are from the ranks, although in some cases they are trained agronomists, or relatives of the owners. Also, the relative lack of a small-farming class contributes to the same reduced use of management in the process of production. On the Brazilian fazenda or usina, the camarada, agregado, colono, or other agricultural worker performs only the labor function. This contrasts sharply with the situation in a family-farm system, such as prevails in parts of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do

Sul, where the worker himself performs as manager and capitalist. Thus, it may fairly be said that the family-farm type or organization contributes to a greater expenditure of management than does the large fazenda that overspreads much of Brazil and is responsible for most of its commercial agricultural production.

Undoubtedly, the relatively low wages that prevail, plus the high cost of tools, implements, machines, and other labor-saving devices, have much to do with the persistence of productive processes in which human labor plays the dominant role. This economic interpretation is probably the most obvious explanation; and were the wages higher, undoubtedly labor would be used less lavishly. Nevertheless, the long continued labor shortage which has followed the abolition of slavery in Brazil has not resulted in the elevation of wages to a degree sufficient to bring about the sparing use of the labor element in production. Therefore, it is at least reasonable to suppose that social patterning and resistance to change have had much to do with the prevailing manner of combining the elements of production in the various enterprises. As a matter of fact, many of the agricultural operations used have been borrowed intact from the Indians. The fire agriculture complex, described in another chapter, was taken over with little change. Even the recent immigrants from Portugal, Italy, and Spain have been habituated mostly to hoe farming and not to machine cultivation. But whatever may be responsible, the fact remains that in the Brazilian productive process large shares of labor are combined with relatively little capital (in form of tools, machines, implements, work stock, and vehicles), and, at least in agriculture, where the bulk of Brazil's workers are engaged, with relatively small doses of management.

Because of its overwhelming importance the situation in agriculture deserves analysis in detail. Most of Brazil's commercial crops—coffee, sugar, cotton, rice, and citrus fruits—are the particular ones which call for intensive cultivation. The production of cocoa and mate also demands large inputs of labor. Throughout the entire world, these crops, with the possible exception of rice whose production is sometimes highly mechanized, always demand a relatively large amount of human labor. In Brazil, this emphasis on handwork is particularly pronounced.

Consider, for example, the production of Brazilian coffee. A great deal of manpower enters into almost every stage of the process of producing this great crop. To begin with, there is the tremendous task of felling and burning the thick tropical forest that covers the land; this is accomplished by the employment of a hand-swung axe, followed by firing the entire lot and then piling and burning the charred tree trunks. Our forefathers had a no more difficult task in carving farms from North

American hardwood forests than that facing the Paulista or Paranaense who would open a new coffee fazenda in the dense forests of São Paulo or Paraná. But, with the clearing of the ground, the handwork has merely commenced. Next, for each of the small seedlings, which so far have been propagated and cared for in a covered nursery, a small pit must be dug. Each of these holes must be carefully lined and spaced with relation to every other one, because a coffee fazenda loses much of its value if the trees or bushes are not accurately spaced so that they run in absolutely straight lines when viewed from either direction. Then the small plants must be placed in the holes, the dirt carefully replaced about them, water applied to pack the soil and nurture the roots, and the newly set-out seedlings surrounded with a small fence-like protection of rails two feet square and one foot high. All of these processes require much labor and still more handwork in the years to come. Good coffee culture requires the construction of a small dam or terrace about each plant to help prevent erosion, and this handmade ridge must constantly be renewed. Repeated hoeings are necessary to keep down grass and weeds. The periodic covering of the ground for fertilization and protection of the soil from the tropical sun is essential. Sometimes this is done with straw and grass on which cattle have been bedded; but if the fazendeiro does not keep the cattle necessary to provide the fertilizer, the covering is done with leaves and grass. When the coffee trees come into bearing, all this terracing, hoeing, fertilizing, and covering still must be continued, and, in addition, there is much more handwork in harvesting, curing, cleaning, and, if consumed locally, parching the crop. The first of these consists of stripping the berries from the branches and gathering up those that have fallen on the ground. Then the coffee beans are transported to the seat of the fazenda, sometimes washed, and spread on the drying floor to dry. Here they must be given the most careful attention. In order to get the right amount of sun, and to avoid exposure to the rain, the valuable beans must alternately be spread out, heaped, and covered many times before they are ready to be passed through machines which remove the hulls and sort the beans according to size. This heaping, covering, respreading, turning, reheaping (all repeated many times) are great consumers of manual work. In fact, in every one of these processes the employment of human labor bulks large, the use of machinery and equipment relatively small. Where coffee is produced under shade, as in the state of Espírito Santo, the amount of labor required is still further increased. And in the interior of Brazil in the states of Minas Gerais, Goiás, and Bahia, the present-day traveler may still see coffee being parched over a charcoal burner in an old-fashioned, long-

handled utensil that resembles somewhat the one our parents used for popping corn.

Consider also the role of labor in the production of sugar. With the possible exception of rice, as it is grown in Rio Grande do Sul, sugar cane is probably the Brazilian crop whose production is most mechanized, that is to say, in which the role of labor is of least importance. But at best the planting of the crop, the repeated hoeings which are necessary in the early stages in order to keep down grass and weeds, and the cutting and loading of the stalks, all are possible only through the expenditures of comparatively large amounts of manual labor. On many Brazilian plantations, especially in the north, all of this is done without the help of animal-drawn implements such as the plow. Where, as in the north, the cane stalks are tied in small bundles and then loaded on pack animals for transportation to the mill, the amount of human labor required reaches astounding proportions.

In cotton, another intensively tilled crop, the situation is similar. Although the agricultural processes used in São Paulo's cotton production are far advanced in comparison with those generally used in growing Brazil's food crops, only a few tools, little mechanized equipment, small amounts of mule or horse (or perhaps ox) power, and relatively large proportions of labor are combined in the productive process. Elsewhere in Brazil, cotton farming is almost exclusively handwork. It is well known that in the Cotton Belt of the United States labor is used lavishly in comparison with the other elements of production, but in Brazil the growing of cotton involves far greater expenditures of manual labor. In the northeast it consumes appalling amounts of human effort.

Even rice, a crop that is highly susceptible to mechanized production, throughout most of Brazil is produced by traditional methods. The large rice plantations in Rio Grande do Sul are an exception to this generalization, some of them utilizing tractors for plowing and harvesting, and generally, machines for threshing. But even here one may see in process plowing in which two or four oxen are combined with three or four men and one plow. Throughout most of Brazil, the rice which is an important half of the daily diet of rice and beans is planted in small plots (or even dispersed here and there among other crops such as cotton), cut by hand with a knife or sickle, and threshed with the flail or a small hand thresher.

Mention should also be made of the lavish use of labor in Brazil's dairy industry, particularly in Minas Gerais, whose eight million inhabitants produce the great bulk of the cheese and butter that is consumed in Brazil. For the most part, in this state, dairying is to be classed as an extensive rather than an intensive enterprise. Many of the cattle which are

milked are of the zebu or Brahma types, or a cross of native stock with these breeds, although some Holsteins are also to be found. Most of the cows give but a few pints of milk per day. But it should be stressed that the labor required in caring for the cattle and in milking is about as great as if the production per cow were much larger. In Minas Gerais, as is also true in the neighboring states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, the practice of mowing the pastures is followed. However, this mowing is done by workers swinging by hand a long-handled cutting knife, a process requiring large amounts of manual labor. The transportation of milk or cheese from the fazendas to the market, creamery, or cheese factory, also calls for utilization of much labor since ordinarily it must be placed in cans and loaded on pack animals. These are then driven to the railroad station or to the village or town trading center. As one travels through Minas Gerais, one cannot fail to be impressed by the troops of pack animals threading along the trails on their way to or from the station or hitched near the depot, always with milk cans swung on either side of the animal. Even the saddle horse is likely to be carrying at least one small milk can in addition to the rider.

One might proceed through the rest of the long list of Brazilian products indicating the lavish manner in which labor is used in the production and marketing processes. This has already been done for many of the crops grown for local consumption in connection with the description of fire agriculture. But one might follow through with a description of cocoa production; the gathering and curing of mate; the collection and coagulation of rubber; the gathering, cracking, and transportation of babassú nuts and Brazil nuts; the processing of the fronds of the carnaúba palm to secure the wax; the culture of bananas, pineapples, and citrus fruits. The same lavish use of the human element would be found in all. The significance of all this lies in the fact that the squandering of labor results in low productivity per worker. Enough is not produced to permit a high average level of consumption. Widespread poverty and misery must continue to prevail until the human being is "valorized" and labor is used more conservatively in the productive process. In part this can only come if the people's standard of living can be increased.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ A story is told of a Maranhão caboclo family accustomed to bringing in weekly two 60-kilo sacks of babassú kernels. With the increased demands for vegetable oils due to our war effort, dealers raised the purchase price to 10 cents per kilo. Now the caboclo began bringing in only one sack. Expostulated the dealer, "You're crazy! Now the price has gone up and you collect less babassú than you did before!" "No," replied the caboclo. "It's you that's crazy! Now you pay me as much for one sack as you used to for two!" For other discussions of the level of living in Brazil and how it is related to the nature of the productive process, see, T. Lynn Smith, "Sistemas Agrícolas," *Revista Brasileira de Geografia*, IX (1947), 159-84; and T. Lynn Smith, "Agricultural Systems and Standards of Living," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, III (1949), 15-28.

PART FIVE

RELATIONS OF THE PEOPLE
TO THE LAND

This is the portion of sociology that interests me the most. I never tire of matters pertaining to the arrangement of the people on the land, the systems of land division, questions of land tenure, the effects of holdings of various sizes, the strengthening of the farmer class, or the nature of locality groups. These are the six subjects to which the chapters of this part are devoted.

CHAPTER XIII

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

THE AGRICULTURAL population may be arranged on the land in any one of three principal types or patterns of settlement, namely, the village, the line village, scattered farmsteads. Village settlements are those in which the homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster, apart from the land which they work. The distinguishing feature of such an arrangement is that the farmers do not live on the land, but must commute daily from the village center to the fields in order to perform the necessary agricultural work. The line village resembles the true village pattern in that the homes of the cultivators are built in rather close proximity to one another. But in the line village each farmer lives on his land, and not apart from the fields under his care, as in the true village. In the line-village pattern of settlement, farm plots must be longer than they are wide, and laid off side by side, all fronting on a common line of departure such as a road, a stream, or a coast, and all dwellings must be constructed at the same end of the holdings. Finally, when farmers live on the land amid the fields, and the farmsteads have not been laid out so as to permit homes to be close to one another, the scattered or isolated farmstead pattern of settlement prevails. Brazil's population has utilized all three of these forms of settlement.

THE VILLAGE

Brazil is almost entirely lacking in village settlements of the small freeholder variety. This species, which was the dominant pattern of settlement in the mother country of Portugal, was not transplanted in the Portuguese settlements in the New World; nor were later attempts to remold established settlements into village patterns successful.¹ Italian, Polish, and German colonists who came during the nineteenth century did not introduce it, their traditional form of settlement, for use in the colonial portions of Brazil. Nor, unless it be in exceptional cases, did the Japanese colonists who have entered Brazil in the twentieth century make use of the village,

¹ Cf. Carlos Borges Schmidt, "Rural Life in Brazil," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 169-71.

also their traditional settlement pattern, in arranging themselves on the land.²

Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilize this nucleated form of settlement in their "quarters" or "colonies" for the workers who till the crops. This is especially true of the arrangement of homes on the coffee and sugar estates, less true on cotton plantations and on cattle fazendas.

Most coffee fazendas utilize a village arrangement for the homes of the workers and the essential establishments maintained on the fazenda. The point of orientation is the *casa grande*, or home of the fazendeiro and his family. Usually, such a home is well constructed and comfortable, if not elaborate. It is surrounded by well-kept lawns and gardens, which nearly always include a tiled swimming pool. Close by are the washing troughs and drying floors for the coffee, the mill for cleaning and grading the beans, and the barns for the livestock, which usually include some blooded riding and driving horses. Conveniently situated with respect to the "big house" also is the *armazém* (or commissary), the business offices, and the *matadouro* (or slaughterhouse where animals for fresh meat are killed). Often a school and a chapel are found in the nucleus of the fazenda; and not infrequently a station on the railroad is also located nearby. But the larger number of houses in the village-like nucleus consists of the colony, cottages of the colonos who perform the manual labor on the fazendas. These cottages may be arranged around a square or oblong, or they may be strung along one side or both sides of a valley, but in any case they do much to give the seat of the fazenda the appearance of a village. If the fazenda is a very large one there may be more than one of these colonies, together with barns for the livestock. But in any case, the form of settlement is clearly of the village type.

Both the old style sugar plantation and mill, the *engenho*, and the modern central or *usina*, also utilize the village settlement pattern for arranging the homes of the workers. Freyre's use of *Casa Grande & Senzala* as the title for his classic work on the evolution of the Brazilian family gives this variety of the village form of settlement the place it deserves in the Brazilian social scene. It has performed and continues to perform a

² "In Japan the compact nucleus prevails, here dispersed colonization. It is true that the population centers of Jipujura and Registro represent agglomerations—the latter semi-urban—but they are to be considered only as the economic complements of an extensive zone that is purely rural." Baldus and Willems, "Casa e Túmulos de Japoneses no Vale da Ribeira de Iguape," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, LXXVII (1941), 122.

most significant role in Brazil's rural life. The large sugar estate was for centuries a dominating factor in Brazilian agriculture. Until coffee became of such great importance in the nineteenth century, it held almost undisputed sway in national affairs. As has been indicated, before the process of sugar manufacture advanced to the stage where large modern factories were developed, the cane was ground and the sugar granulated in small mills called *engenhos*. By extension this term was applied to the entire estate including the lands, the slave quarters, and the homes of the owner and his retainers. As manufacturing processes improved, the mills were replaced by large factories, or *usinas*, and the lands were concentrated in the hands of a few large operators. But the entire estate carried the name *usina*, or factory. It continued the practice of grouping workers' homes in one or more village nuclei. Today in Brazil's sugar areas the large estate is called a *usina*; in other types of agriculture the corresponding unit is called a *fazenda*. And as is the case generally throughout the cane-producing areas of the world, including those of the United States, the village form of settlement is used in the arrangement of the population on sugar lands. So large and self-sufficient are the village seats of many Brazilian sugar plantations that they deserve to be classified as genuine communities.

The arrangement of the village center of a Brazilian *usina* follows no set pattern. In a central location is sure to be the factory proper, closely surrounded by various sheds, machine shops, and other small structures. The *casa grande* of the owner or manager, usually spacious and often luxurious, is located near the mill, but is set amid landscaped grounds and gardens. Nearby there is usually at least one guesthouse. The numerous cottages in which the laborers reside are also in close proximity, giving form and substance to the village center. Usually, the nucleus includes a school and a chapel and sometimes a small hospital. In the north the chapel is likely to be attached to the manor house as one of its most prominent wings. There are one or more commissaries, possibly a small grist-mill, and small buildings for the preparation of *mandioca* and other food stuffs. Stables for the livestock and sheds for farm machinery and equipment are relegated to the outskirts, as is the customary football field and grounds for other sports. As a rule, cattle enterprises are important on each *usina*, so other stables and sheds may be conveniently spaced here and there on the extensive lands belonging to the *usina*, near small clusters of workers' cottages. But the seat of the *usina*, including the sugar factory, the *casa grande*, the supply depots and commissaries, and the homes of most of the laborers, constitutes a genuine village, from which the bulk of the farming activities are carried on.

Various writers have described the village nature of the old style *engenhos* which once dominated the rural scene throughout all the coastal areas of Brazil. For example, Southey wrote: "An *Engenho* could not well be conducted unless artificers in every trade necessary for its concerns were attached to the establishment. Every *Engenho* therefore was a community or village in itself, more populous at this time than many of the towns which have been enumerated. About eight square miles were required for the service of an *Engenho*, half in pasture, half in thicket or woodland."³

More detailed is the description of the *engenho* Koster operated at Jaguaribe near Recife:

I had now taken up my abode at the house usually inhabited by the owner or tenant; this was a low, but long mud cottage, covered with tiles, and white-washed within and without; it had bricked floors, but no ceiling. There were two apartments of tolerable dimensions, several small rooms, and a kitchen. The chief entrance was from a sort of square, formed by the several buildings belonging to the estate. In front was the chapel; to the left was a large dwelling-house unfurnished, and the negro huts, a long row of small habitations, having much the appearance of alms-houses, without the neatness of places of this description in England; to the right was the mill worked by water, and the warehouse or barn in which the sugar undergoes the process of claying; and to the view of these buildings may be added the pens for the cattle, the carts, the heaps of timber, and a small pond through which the water runs to the mill.⁴

Also deserving of quotation is the brief but fairly complete description of the nucleated settlement that forms the central cell of the *fazenda* given by Burton. Of the Casa Branca estate in Minas Gerais he wrote as follows:

The manor house was in the normal style, fronted by a deep verandah, from which the owner can prospect the distillery, the mill, whose wheel informs us that sugar is the staple growth; and the other offices. At the end of the verandah is the Chapel of Na Sa do Carmo, with her escutcheon of three gilt stars upon a wooden shield painted blue; here there is chaunting on Sunday evenings. The *Senzallas* or negro quarters are, as usual, ground-floor lodgings within the square, which is generally provided with a tall central wooden cross and a raised stage for drying sugar and maize; the tenements are locked at night, and, in order to prevent disputes, the celibataires are separated from those of the married blacks. These *Fazendas* are isolated villages on a small scale. They supply the neighbourhood with its simple wants, dry beef, pork, and lard, flour of manioc and maize, sugar and spirits, tobacco and oil; coarse cloth and cotton thread; coffee, and various teas of Caparosa and orange-leaf. They import only iron to be turned into horse-shoes; salt, wine, and beer, cigars, butter, porcelain, drugs, and other "notions." There is generally a smithy, a carpenter's shed, a

³ Southey, *History of Brazil*, II, 674; cf. Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brazil*, 1920, I, 291.

⁴ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 222-23.

shoemaker's shop, a piggery, where during the last month the beasts are taken from the foulest food, and an ample poultry yard.⁵

As larger and more modern mills have replaced the primitive machinery of the *engenhos*, as the *usinas* have concentrated the sugar lands into ever larger holdings, many of these old village clusters have been destroyed. However, the quarters or colonies about the central factories have retained the village form and increased in size. Some of the nuclei of the *engenhos* also have been retained as colonies. In short, the enlargement of the estates has brought a rearrangement of the nuclei, but has not changed the settlement pattern. On some of the estates the homes for workers which have been constructed recently are decidedly more substantial and more desirable as living quarters than the earlier types.

On estates that are given over to cotton production there is also a pronounced tendency for the workers' cottages or huts to be clustered about the home of the proprietor of the *fazenda*. This is particularly true in the northeastern cotton-growing areas. However, these estates are smaller than those found in the sugar and coffee areas, and the number of workers' families is much smaller. Generally not more than fifteen or twenty cottages will be found in the nucleus of the cotton *fazenda*. Furthermore, a good share of the cotton is produced on small farms. In São Paulo, cotton is frequently grown on the bottom lands belonging to a coffee *fazenda*. Much of this cotton land has been cleared in the last decade, and interestingly enough the principle of grouping the workers' homes frequently is abandoned and one sees them scattered over the landscape amid the cotton fields, overshadowed by the standing trunks of trees that have been killed by the fire, in an arrangement reminiscent of recently opened cotton areas of the Mississippi Delta.

Many of the larger cattle *fazendas* in such states as São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Goiás, and Mato Grosso have small villages or hamlets as headquarters. As one goes overland by truck or train, these seem to be separated by almost interminable distances, especially in Mato Grosso, Goiás, and northern Minas Gerais. During the dry season each of them appears as a small green oasis in the desert of brown grass. From a plane the bird's-eye view shows their arrangement in relation to the trails, the fences, the salting grounds, and the *roças*, and gives a more complete picture of the estates of which they form the central cells.

But cattle raising requires relatively few hands. In the northeast it is generally entrusted to *vaqueiros* who care for about five hundred head of cattle each; and in Rio Grande do Sul the proprietors of the *estâncias* disperse on the plains the barracks for their peons. For these reasons

⁵ Burton, *The Highlands of the Brazil*, II, 39.

it will be necessary to include a discussion of the cattle fazenda below when scattered settlement patterns are being considered.

It should be emphasized that the village of freeholders who live in the center and go out daily to till their farm lands is not to be found in Brazil.⁶ However, because so much of the populated part of the country is given over to large coffee and sugar estates, both of which use the village form for arranging the cottages of the workers, nucleated settlement patterns are a prominent feature of the Brazilian landscape. The clustering of workers' homes about that of the proprietor on the larger cotton fazendas of the northeast and on the largest cattle fazendas of the interior also contributes to the importance in Brazil of this mode of arranging the people on the land.

THE LINE VILLAGE

The line-village form of settlement, intermediate between the village and scattered farmstead types and combining most of the social and economic advantages of both without the most pronounced disadvantages of either, is surprisingly widespread in Brazil. In no other country, unless it be France, has the line village been used to a comparable degree for arranging the population on the land. Furthermore, this is the type of settlement generally used in Brazil's extensive settlement and colonization programs, both private and governmental, so that it is rapidly being spread over more and more of the national territory. The line village eventually may be as characteristic of Brazil as scattered farmsteads of the checker-board style are of the United States.

As yet, I have been unable to discover just what factors led to the adoption of the line-village pattern of settlement in Brazil's early colonization ventures. That the farm tracts were laid out side by side in ribbon-like bands and the houses all built in a line at the front of the holdings is easily proved. The descriptions in the first *relatórios* state that this was the case; one may see the arrangement preserved in the settlements as they appear today; and one finds that the pattern has become set in the folkways of the people and the policies of the government so that new settlements or colonies automatically take the line-village arrangement. However, it is important to indicate that the holdings surveyed were never as long and narrow as those frequently laid off in French and Spanish settlements.

⁶ Perhaps the tendency for nuclei of settlement to come into being near the reservoirs that have been constructed in the northeast should be mentioned as an exception to this statement. Such a tendency exists, and, if property were to become more widely distributed, there might result a genuine village community type of settlement in these locations. In addition in a few of the colonization projects begun since the close of World War II, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is being used. See Fabio Luz Filho, *Cooperativismo, Colonização, Crédito Agrário* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952), 193-94.

Rarely in Brazil have the farm plots surveyed been more than ten times as long as they were wide, and generally the disproportion has not been this great.

Because the line village was used in the establishment of the colonies and because these have multiplied so rapidly in the south, a large part of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná is already covered with settlements arranged in this manner. In addition, there already are extensive settlements of this type in parts of western São Paulo, in Minas Gerais, in Rio de Janeiro, and in Espírito Santo. In recent years state and national colonization projects have begun to spread this type to other sections of the country.

But the line-village arrangement of the population on the land is not confined to the colonial areas of Brazil, and its penetration into other parts of the country did not wait upon colonization projects. All along the coast of Brazil from Ceará to Bahia, except where the sand dunes come down to the water's edge, one finds extensive line-village settlements. In some parts of the littoral, especially in Pernambuco, there are thousands of little *sítiozinhas*, each long and narrow, laid off side by side, all fronting on the ocean. These tiny farms are given over, for the most part, to the growing of coconuts. Their inhabitants lead a very simple and unpretentious life; but it would be difficult to discover a more picturesque scene than is presented by the quaint little cottages of thatch, each set amid the palm groves, that are strung along the coast for miles on end. It would also be more difficult to find better examples of small natural groupings of the neighborhood type than are presented in segments of this coastal strip.⁷ But at the moment the point to be emphasized is that the use here of the line-village pattern of settlement has contributed considerably to the importance of this mode of arranging the population on the land in Brazil.

Along the São Francisco River in northern Bahia and on some of its small tributaries such as the Salitre line-village settlements are in evidence. It may be that those in this section have originated spontaneously as an adaptation to the peculiar geographic features of the area and the nature of the economy.⁸

Other extensive line-village settlements are to be found throughout Brazil. For example, as one flies over the middle Amazon region, or passes

⁷ Cf. *Conceito de Povoador: Contribuição ao seu Estudo* (Recife, 1942), 8-9, for information about some of those settlements where "there is an infinity of little coconut farms, narrow bands of land a few yards wide."

⁸ Cf. T. Lynn Smith, "Notes on Population and Social Organization in the Central Portion of the São Francisco Valley," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, I (December 1947), 50.

among its labyrinth of channels, frequently he will come upon a settlement, often miles in length, where this pattern of settlement prevails. In the Bragança district east of Belém in Pará are other extensive settlements of this type. Many of them also have developed in the northern states of Maranhão and Piauí. Thus, between Caxias, center of Maranhão's cotton industry, and Teresina, capital of Piauí, one sees densely populated districts in which this pattern of settlement prevails. Just out of Caxias, where the road and the railway both parallel the stream, one observes line villages that are fully as distinctive as those found in the French-speaking portions of Louisiana or those in Quebec. Finally, it should be repeated that, other than France, and possibly Germany, to which this manner of arranging the population on the land diffused from France, Brazil is probably the nation which makes the greatest use of the line-village form of government.

As yet no one has studied the origins of this settlement pattern in Brazil, or at least I have not been able to discover any study of the subject. Possibly it was originated more or less independently under the strong influence of some environmental determinants. Such seems a likely hypothesis in accounting for the extensive settlements along the northeastern coast and in the Amazon region, although more detailed study may show this to be merely a "lazy man's explanation." To south Brazil it may have come with the German settlers, for certainly they used it in their first colonies. But the vigorous complaints of the German colonists at not being settled in villages seems to make this hypothesis untenable.⁹ Be that as it may, the line village early formed an indispensable element of official Brazilian colonization projects and has been widely diffused throughout Brazil by these governmental undertakings. Private ventures in the same area, of which there have been many, also made use of this system for arranging the population on the land. As a result, it is now the principal form of settlement used in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná. It also is much used in São Paulo and Espírito Santo, and in Minas Gerais and other states it also has been introduced on the numerous colonization projects. It is now being widely diffused throughout the north by official colonization ventures.

⁹ Cf. Emílio Willems, *Assimilação e Populações Marginais no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1940), 82-83, who quotes the following passage from a publication commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Brusque, Santa Catarina. "After their strenuous daily work, they could not rest in the accustomed manner of their country of origin. It was not possible to converse in the evening with their neighbors to the right and left. Sunday mornings they did not hear the peal of the bell that should call them to church, in the afternoon they could not stroll through the fields, at night they could not meet with their friends in beer halls to drink beer. Their children were raised without companions, without schooling. They lived in the solitude and desert of a strange country and their eyes saw nothing but the monotonous shade of a virgin forest." See also *ibid.*, 86.

SCATTERED FARMSTEADS

"In general the colonists lived on their farms [sítios], in the vicinity of the *vila*. To this they only flowed on feast days." In these words Rocha Pombo described the scattered settlement patterns of Paraná,¹⁰ a type of settlement that was and remains of great importance in Brazil.

Great interest should be attached to the widespread use of this type of settlement in Brazil. Like those of the United States, the isolated farmsteads prevailing in Brazil represent a sharp break with tradition, a New World development and one that is very important. All through the valleys of the *Serra do Mar* are scattered in haphazard manner the homes of small farmers, or *sitiantes*, each located on the land. Sandwiched in between São Paulo's fazendas, and even on the shattered fragments of former fazendas, one also finds numerous homes of persons of the small-farmer class, nearly always widely dispersed over the landscape. These are particularly numerous in the poorer areas of the state where the soils are of second quality, or where the terrain is sharply rolling.

Southern Minas Gerais is an immense area of scattered farmsteads. Here the land has become greatly divided, so that even the remaining fazendas are small. Except for an occasional large estate where the colony for the workers survives, the entire section is now blanketed with the scattered settlement pattern.

The settlement pattern prevailing throughout immense cattle-grazing areas which extend northward from central Minas Gerais to north central Piauí and Maranhão and westward across Goiás and Mato Grosso is not easy to characterize. A few of the largest fazendas are true villages. Most of the fazendas will have at least a few thatched huts for the workers located near the more substantial dwelling of the proprietor. However, in general, the pattern is that of scattered farmsteads.

The cotton-growing sections of São Paulo, the western parts of Minas Gerais, and those portions of the northeastern states of Brazil which lie next to the cane-growing littoral are also areas in which scattered farm dwellings are predominant. In São Paulo the cabins of the *parceiros*, who care for the crop, are scattered about in the cotton fields as they are in the southern part of the United States. Elsewhere, the huts of the workers are likely to be found near the proprietor's more pretentious dwelling. However, since the cotton fazendas are small and since much of the cotton of the northeast is produced on small farms, there is a considerable dispersion of farm homes in most of the cotton-producing areas.

¹⁰ José Francisco da Rocha Pombo, *História de Paraná* (São Paulo, 1930), 96. See also Schmidt, *O Meio Rural*.

Finally, it should be indicated that there are many small farmers scattered about on the less desirable lands of the sugar sections, in the little valleys that lead into the São Francisco River, in little pockets amid the line-village settlements of south Brazil, in little "augur holes" in the forests of the north, and in a host of other miscellaneous situations. When these people are actually rooted to the soil, the settlement pattern is generally of the dispersed type.

FINAL PATTERN?

One should not close this discussion of the settlement types in Brazil and their distribution without making the point that much of Brazil's settlement pattern is still to be determined. Even today there are large areas of unpatented public lands in the nation. Although there may be some "squatters" or "intruders" living on them, they can hardly be said to have been settled. Which of the patterns will be used when they are settled remains to be seen. Portions now being sold by the government of the state of Mato Grosso in tracts of about five hundred hectares are going into scattered farmsteads. That being used for state and national agricultural colonies is being developed into settlements of the line-village type.

But it is not only on the lands that are in public ownership that settlement patterns are still to be determined. Except on the coast, and in some of the southern states, density of population is comparatively slight even where the land has nearly all been patented. In almost every part of Brazil there is room for many more people, without the necessity of lowering living standards. In fact, a shift from cattle grazing to agriculture might greatly raise the standard of living in other parts of Brazil just as it has in parts of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. In any case, just as a Santa Catarina fazenda that formerly provided a scant living for a handful of people is now the site for prosperous line-village settlements, large estates in other parts of Brazil may become the homes of increased numbers of people.

Another reason for asserting that the settlement patterns of Brazil are still to be determined is that the nomadic life associated with the system described as fire agriculture is so significant. At the present time in Brazil's vast interior millions of unattached rural people move about from year to year, destroying large acreages of forest in order to prepare their roças for beans, mandioca, corn, and other crops. Their homes are not fixed for any length of time. If they become attached as agregados on fazendas, or are given places in agricultural colonies, they may initiate a considerable change in Brazil's pattern of settlement. But the form of settlement used in their "fixation" may be any one of the three; and if present tendencies

persist, those who are incorporated into the labor force of the fazenda will live in village settlements, those placed in the colonies in line villages. However, if through a homestead law they were allowed permanent possession of the public lands on which they had made a roça, large areas in Maranhão, Goiás, and Mato Grosso, and parts of Pará and Amazonas might eventually be covered with scattered farmsteads.

BREAK WITH PORTUGUESE TRADITION

The manner in which the population is arranged on the land, the settlement pattern of Brazil, is another indicator of the sharp break with traditional patterns that was made in the colonization of Brazil. Because small-farming classes were not settled in Brazil, obviously the typical Portuguese village settlement of small freeholders could not be transplanted. Therefore, in contrast to the situation in most of Spanish America where the village pattern of settlement was transplanted from Spain, or the French Colonies where the traditional French patterns became deeply graded, or even Anglo-Saxon America where the first settlements were of the typical English village variety, from the very first stages of colonization there was a break with the traditional Portuguese forms. In Brazil this break with the past and the subsequent evolution of other types was probably even greater than in the United States.

This difference between Brazil and the United States is most pronounced if the former is compared with the northern parts of the latter; less pronounced if the comparison is with our South. In the North, and particularly in New England, the old patterns persisted until well into the nineteenth century. When Timothy Dwight made his famous "travels" throughout New England at the opening of the nineteenth century, the old village settlement patterns were still predominant in the more settled parts of the region; only on the frontier were the scattered farmsteads coming into their own and beginning to form the types of neighborhood and community units that now blanket the United States.¹¹ Even at the close of the nineteenth century the use of the village settlement pattern for arranging the farm population on the land made some American rural communities so similar to those of Old England that they even compared closely with the Germanic prototypes from which the latter had been derived;¹² and in general in the United States the transition from the European nucleated types of locality groups to the scattered farmsteads, the open country neighborhoods, the village-centered rural communities,

¹¹ See Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York* (London, 1823), I, 300-303; III, 167, *passim*.

¹² Cf. Herbert B. Adams, *The Germanic Origin of New England Towns* (Baltimore, 1882).

and the county units of local government was a gradual process. It came about only after several centuries in the New World had produced a cultural heritage sufficiently modified from that transferred from Europe to enable man to cope with the wilderness, and only then because the force of constituted authority and law had become greatly weakened. For the first hundred years or so in New England the arm of constituted authority was very strong, and the activities of the individual were greatly limited. But by the latter half of the eighteenth century men on the frontier were getting out of hand. Probably the major factor leading to the development of the scattered farmsteads and open country neighborhoods in western New England and in New York was the fact that the hold of the constituted authorities had become weakened to the point that it was possible for the frontier family to move onto a desired tract of land, blaze trees to indicate the boundaries of the territory claimed, and by "squatting" there obtain "tomahawk rights" to the land that were recognized by the mores if not by the law.

In Brazil the break with the past came more immediately. The Portuguese who settled Brazil never attempted to transplant the village communities of small farmers such as were typical of the old country. Rather, the number of whites moving to the New World was relatively small and consisted of impoverished members of the lower and even upper rungs of the nobility—adventurers seeking to re-establish their fortunes in the colonies. Each of them secured an immense tract of land, the grant of *sesmaria*, and on it established a sugar plantation or *engenho*. Workers to carry on the multifarious activities of the plantation were secured at first by enslaving the Indians and later by importing Negro slaves from Africa. From the first the settlements established in Brazil were quite different from those of Portugal, for although the latter had a landed nobility, it was for the most part a country cultivated by a peasant class of farmers settled on the land in village communities. The Brazilian sugar plantation, although utilizing a village arrangement for its slave quarters, was still only one farm. It has little resemblance to patterns in the mother country. As in the south of the United States, when villages and towns came into being, they were of the trade-center type. If the colonist lacked the means required to equip a sugar *engenho*, and was forced to go inland and establish a cattle *curral* or *fazenda*, an even greater break with Portuguese tradition resulted. In such cases the equivalent of scattered farmsteads often came into being, if not at first, then later as the land was divided by inheritance. Rocha Pombo, one of Brazil's most distinguished historians, wrote of the colonial period:

It is easy to see that in those times the number of houses constituting the nucleus of a vila was very small. The inhabitants lived widely separated, sometimes in the amplitude of a vast district, on their sítios (name commonly given to the fazendas, pastoral or agricultural) ; and only on the holidays or Sundays did they congregate at the seat of the vila. Those men that almost always carried on a life of laziness, poorly directing the slaves—upon leaving the sítios for the *freguezia*, already were different men, especially if business was going in a manner that might permit larger aspirations. To the extent that they grew wealthy, they soon had the caprice of building a house in the vila or city, where already they were making more frequent visits.¹⁸

Also to be remembered in accounting for the break with Portuguese tradition in this and other respects is the absence of European females among the colonists. European women played an insignificant role in the settlement of Brazil. Since it is chiefly women who preserve and diffuse cultural traits, it is possible that Brazil's cultural evolution would have been entirely different had a significant percentage of females been included among the Portuguese who came to Brazil during the colonial period.

¹⁸ José Francisco da Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.), V, 701.

CHAPTER XIV

LAND DIVISION, SURVEYS, AND TITLES

THE MANNER of dividing the land, surveying the boundaries of rural properties, and recording the titles to agricultural holdings are among the most significant aspects of the relationship of men to the land. All three are so closely interrelated that they really constitute a single part of the land system. In the analysis of their situation in any country there are two aspects that should be clearly kept in mind: (1) the extent to which land surveys are definite, determinate, and permanent, and (2) if the farmers reside on their lands, as is generally the case in Brazil and the United States, the extent to which the system in use permits farmhouses to be located near one another, makes for economy in the building, upkeep, and use of roads, electric lines, and other facilities, and allows adaptation of the settlement pattern to the natural environment for maximum adjustment to and benefit from topographical and structural features of the landscape such as slopes, watercourses, soil types, and vegetation.

Unless the surveys are definite, determinate, and built upon permanent bases, a simple system of registering land titles cannot be put into effect. When the surveys are indefinite and indeterminate, disputes over the property lines cannot so easily be settled by the expedient of a resurvey. The passage of time will alter the boundaries of the farms if surface phenomena, such as stones, trees, creek beds, and water divides, are the points of reference used in the surveys. In the perfection of any nation's land system, all of these points are cared for in the most satisfactory manner possible if astronomical bases are selected as lines of departure in the making of the surveys and if the dividing lines based on the principal meridians of latitude and longitude are made with strictly parallel lines. These principles have been followed in the system of surveys used in the United States. However, many of the advantages that might come from such a rectangular system have been vitiated in this country by unnecessary rigidity, the prescription that all the parallelograms into which the land was divided should be in the form of squares.

In those portions of the United States surveyed and settled after 1790, the cultural landscape is oriented with respect to parallels of latitude and longitude, and is not based on surface features. Along with the obvious

influence this system has had upon political divisions, roads, lines of trees, and shapes of fields, it has assisted greatly in the perfection of a highly satisfactory method of registering land titles. This situation, found throughout most of the United States, is in sharp contrast to that in the states along the eastern seaboard and in the Old World. Had the surveys permitted choice in the shape of the rectangles, a near perfect system of dividing the land could have resulted. Such a system is more necessary in countries such as the United States and Brazil, where most farmers live on the land, than in Europe and Asia where nucleated settlements predominate.

Man's welfare on the land requires that the system of surveys in use permit him to build his home in fairly close proximity to his neighbors, unless, of course, the village form of settlement is used. He benefits not only by association with his fellows, of extreme importance for children, but also by modern conveniences such as paved roads, telephone lines, electricity, and busses for school children, the costs of which are prohibitive if farm homes are widely dispersed. The checkerboard pattern in use in the United States results in an almost maximum separation of farm homes, density of population and size of farms being what they are. It would have been possible to have made the surveys just as definite, determinate, and permanent as they are, and at the same time have prevented the extreme dispersal of homes, had the rectangles used in the surveys been considerably longer than they were wide. Even this, however, would not have permitted the adjustment of surveys to topographical features. A nation must choose between orienting its cultural landscape with respect to natural features such as mountains, hills, and rivers, at the cost of land boundaries that are indefinite, indeterminate, and subject to change; and definite, determinate, permanent boundaries which do not permit fine adjustments of farm boundaries to natural phenomena.

INDETERMINATE LAND SURVEYS

When the North American observer looks at the map of a Brazilian locality he is unconsciously seeking something that is not there. This does not grow out of a feeling that the map is unreliable or poorly executed. It does not come from a lack of detail, because infinite care may have been taken to indicate all small streams, each divide, and every semblance to a hill or mountain. What the observer misses is the man-made additions, the system of co-ordinates that form the warp and woof of our own positional orientation, the systematic division of the territory into ranges, townships, and sections, or in the older areas the pattern of original land grants by means of which the lands were alienated. As a rule, Brazilian

maps do give the ranges, but generally these have no functional relations to the man-made features of the landscape such as the roads, the property divisions, the layout of fields, the arrangement of the farm homes, rows of trees, and ditches. Brazilian locality maps are based almost entirely on natural phenomena such as streams, shore lines, and dividing ridges.

If, instead of looking at the map, one travels through the interior, the same fundamental contrast will be exhibited in the arrangement of the cultural landscape. Most Brazilian property lines follow streams or dividing ridges. Roads are not laid out on section lines, but are oriented to the topography, a feature generally advantageous. Houses are located without respect to distances west of Greenwich or south of the equator. In short, the cultural landscape of Brazil is adjusted to natural phenomena, and not to the man-made degrees of latitude and longitude. Naturally, this contrasts sharply with the geometric arrangement of cultural landscape that is such a prominent feature in the United States.

Land surveys and property descriptions in Brazil, like those of most of Latin America, are based on European models. They are oriented with respect to surface phenomena and delineated along irregular lines. It is, then, practically impossible to give a simple deed that will accurately define the limits of an area, which limits will be the same ten, twenty, or fifty years in the future.

Basing the surveys on surface phenomena inevitably gives rise to the practice of surveying boundaries and describing property limits in terms of metes and bounds. Brazilian property lines follow water courses, dividing ridges, or the lines of earlier surveys. Since water courses and dividing ridges follow extremely irregular lines this means that the area in a given piece of land may never be determined with the highest degree of precision; in other words, the surveys are indeterminate. Hence, practically all statements of size in Brazilian property descriptions contain the phrase *mais ou menos* (more or less).¹

Such a system of surveys is also lacking in permanency because stream beds constantly shift, waterfronts slowly recede or advance, and even the absolute position of a dividing ridge may change significantly in the course of time. Markers may be moved, or knowledge of the exact course followed by previously established property lines may be forgotten or lost with the death of an old settler. All of these circumstances make for lack of permanency in land boundaries, and frequently contribute greatly to misunderstandings between the owners of adjacent lands.

¹ A similar situation exists in those parts of the United States that were surveyed before the land-minded nation adopted its official system in 1789 in which all surveys were based on the astronomically determined lines of longitude and latitude.

On the other hand, as indicated above, such systems of surveying lands permit the greatest adaptation of settlement patterns and farm organization to topography and other features of the natural landscape. In wisely planned settlements or colonies, like many of those to be found in south Brazil and others now being established in other parts of the nation, each settler's holding may include a front on the stream, a face on the road, and portions of the various types of soil and land covering that are found in the area. These are of tremendous importance to the people on the land. However, if there is lack of foresight and control, coupled with indiscriminate location and surveys based on metes and bounds, the system greatly facilitates the activities of the monopolist who seeks to secure a right to the springs, water holes, stream fronts, or other limited and essential features of the landscape that give him effective control of an area much larger than the one he owns.

In the early days of Brazil's history, land was so plentiful, the estates so large and sparsely populated, and the distance so far from the *casa grande* of one estate to the seat of a neighboring *fazenda* or *engenho* that questions of boundary lines and probably even of titles were of relatively little moment.² With the growth of population that situation changed. Even in some of the cattle-growing sections, i. e., those of sparse population, the lack of surveys, proper deeds, and a systematic division of the land were retarding factors. Consider the report of the engineer who surveyed the route for the proposed railway for Bahia's capital across the *sertões* to the São Francisco River.

It is of vital importance that the proper authorities should provide:

(1) The demarcation of the properties making effective the land law, which has never penetrated into these regions.

(2) The preparation of dams in the most appropriate places, instituting premiums and guarantees to those who might construct them.

When the land law begins to be translated into facts I am certain that there will appear many square leagues of unowned lands which now it is impossible to indicate.

² However, the lack of systematic surveys and indeterminate boundaries early led to conflicts. At the opening of the nineteenth century Koster, who himself operated sugar *engenhos* in Pernambuco, wrote: "Some districts are in a quieter state than others, but very few are totally without disturbance; and there are few plantations in any part of the province about the boundaries of the lands of which more than one law suit has not been entered into." *Travels in Brazil*, 243-44.

These law suits were by no means the monopoly of people of means and over large tracts of land. Koster himself was involved in one such suit during the time he resided on Itamaracá. His neighbors in this instance were "a numerous family of free negroes [who] possessed a small plot covered with coco-trees. These latter people had been much impoverished by the obstinacy of the chief of the family, now deceased, in maintaining a law-suit for many years, about the boundaries of his plot of land. As soon as I took possession, one of his sons wished to commence law proceedings with me, in spite of several awards which had been given against his father." *Ibid.*, 276.

In all of the povoados there are one, two, three and even four square leagues which are said to be patrimonies of the parishes.

There are no traces of the origins of these patrimonies. What can be affirmed however is that in these places one is free to fence the land that he pleases, to plant and to build according to his fancy, to call this his property and to transfer it to others without the consent of the proprietor of the patrimony and without making him the most insignificant payment.³

Since 1874, however, there have been great improvements, especially in the southern part of the nation where an agricultural civilization, characterized by a relatively dense population, is rapidly spreading out and overlaying the old pastoral culture. Nevertheless, land troubles continue to bother most of the states. The comments of the state directors or supervisors (*delegados gerais*) of the 1920 census, who were asked to report on the areas of farm properties, constitute a significant body of facts.⁴ One of the most comprehensive statements came from Dr. Aurelio de Britto, reporting for the state of Piauí.

In Piauí the lands are commons, *pro indivisu*. It is customary to speak of a *dada de terra* to indicate the area of a sesmaria, whose extension is almost always of three leagues in front by one in depth. Those sesmarias conceded during the colonial regime, although delimited at that time, now generally have the marks obliterated and each one is subdivided into various possessions, in a manner more or less vague and abstract, out of which originate constantly questions among the holders of the various titles, especially in the places most subdivided (which are the areas where are found the carnaúba and coconut palm trees). The proprietors never express the extension of their properties in alqueires, tarefa, or any other agricultural measure; they give the selling price.⁵

Of Ceará, Dr. Hermano Vasconcellos Bittencourt reported: "It appears incredible but the reality is that, excepting the engineers and land surveyors, the majority of those that can read have no idea of how to measure an area. Persons who are supposed to be educated know how to estimate an area only when it is a rectangle. . . . Sometimes the owners themselves do not know what they possess."⁶

³ A. M. de Oliveira Bulhões, *Estrada de Ferro da Bahia ao S. Francisco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1874), 54.

⁴ "Introdução," *Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920*, I.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 504. This practice of giving selling prices, instead of areas, is still followed in the official statistics of Pernambuco, the most advanced of the northeastern states and the only one for which it has been possible to secure figures on the number of rural properties. Cf. the *Anuário Estatístico de Pernambuco*, Ano XI, 180-97.

⁶ *Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920*, I, 505. This statement has a familiar ring to those acquainted with Koster's comments which were made a hundred years earlier: "The division of property in the Sertam is very undeterminate, and this may be imagined, when I say that the common mode of defining the size of a fazenda is by computing it as so many leagues; or, as in some cases, by so many hundreds of calves yearly, without any reference to the quantity of the land. Few persons take the trouble of making themselves acquainted with the exact extent of their own property, and perhaps could not discover it if they made the attempt." *Travels in Brazil*, 153.

Dr. Joaquim Pessôa, delegado geral for the census in Paraíba, wrote: "Enormous difficulties were encountered in gathering the agricultural statistics, because the farmers, in addition to being ignorant of their own conditions, avoided giving the information requested, fearing that it was being asked for the purpose of creating new taxes."⁷ From Rio Grande do Norte, Dr. Heraclio Villar reported that "not rare is the lack of knowledge of the area of the rural establishments,"⁸ and the delegado for Pernambuco, Dr. Henrique Barbalho Uchôa Cavalcanti, complained of the "diversity of the methods used in each place for estimating rural areas."⁹ Dr. Carlos Cavalcanti de Gusmão who had charge of the census in the state of Alagoas clearly and specifically stated: "Rare, very rare, are the rural properties in Alagoas that are regularly surveyed. Thus the agricultural questionnaires contain entries secured by estimates and calculations, it following also that the heterogeneity of them does not permit the organization of a summary table. . . ."¹⁰ From Goiás the delegado also reported that the rural establishments having delimited areas were extremely rare.¹¹

These comments are quoted for the more northerly states where the problems introduced by extensive developments of new agricultural zones, on lands previously given over exclusively to grazing, had not been felt to any great extent. In the southern portions of the country the census agents were able to give much more satisfactory answers to this type of question. Nevertheless, even there the questions of indefinite and indeterminate boundaries were then and continue to be acute.¹²

Great headway undoubtedly has been made in systematizing the land surveys, improving the methods of dividing the land, and recording the land titles, particularly in the states from São Paulo south. Gradually these improved systems are eliminating the older, more haphazard methods. Already it has been possible for one qualified observer to report about São Paulo:

To find small or medium-sized holdings in any considerable numbers, or rather holdings without any fixed boundaries and limited only by the scarcity of the labour available to cultivate them, one must penetrate far inland to the borders of Paraná, where, except at certain spots, there are no properly equipped development schemes, no systematic settlement and no land survey,

⁷ *Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920, I, 506.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 507.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 508.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 509.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 525.

¹² This is even true of such newly opened areas as Acre territory. For an account of the haphazard surveys, indiscriminate location, squatters' rights in the territory, and the social conflict generated thereby, see Schurz, Hargis, Marbut, and Manifold, *Rubber Production in the Amazon Valley*; Trade Promotions Series, No. 23, p. 286.



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CAPITÃO-DO-MATO

but only more or less isolated pioneers who carry on at the confines of the civilized zone the out-of-date tradition of the heroic age of immigration and settlement, when the state itself recognized occupation as a valid title to ownership.¹³

In Minas Gerais, too, there has been also considerable progress in the improvement of the system of surveying lands and recording the titles to tracts that are alienated. The basic provisions of the law in this state are contained in Law No. 4,496 of January 5, 1916, a piece of legislation devoted to regulations pertaining to public lands. Unoccupied lands are defined as those not held privately by a legitimate title, or applied to public use by the federal, state, or município governments. Lands occupied by mere possession, or by concessions which were not legalized in the manner specified in previous legislation are classed as unoccupied or *terras devolutas*. Titles obtained by sale or donation are legitimate, as are claims to land on which imposts had been paid prior to the regulation of January 30, 1854.

Of the unoccupied land the state proposed to reserve sites for villages and colonies, space for roads, and the woodlands on the upper part of mountain slopes. A service was established for the purpose of surveying, marking, describing, and disposing of state lands. For these purposes Minas Gerais was divided into four districts, each having a commission, composed of an engineer, two surveyors, and a registrar, to carry out the provisions of the law. Each commission apparently was to determine where it would work, but was required to give notice at least fifteen days in advance of any proposed surveys. Owners of lands adjoining or included in those to be surveyed were to be invited to exhibit proofs of their titles. If an examination of the documents should not resolve the doubts, the work of measurement was to begin. The law provided for an appeal from the decision of the commission to the courts, but indicated that this should not delay the surveys.

It was stated that a detailed map should be made of each territory surveyed, on which was to be indicated the areas to be reserved; the remainder was to be divided into lots varying in size from 25 to 500 hectares, in areas suitable for agriculture; and from 50 hectares to areas capable of grazing 400 head of cattle, in pastoral sections. It was specified that topographical features and type and quality of the soil should be considered in laying out these lots, the purpose being to form small, independent properties.

Article 25 specified that stone, whenever available, was to be used for the markers at the principal corners; otherwise, hardwood was to be used.

¹³ Fernand Maurette, *Some Social Aspects of Present and Future Economic Development in Brazil* (Geneva, 1937), 16.

Before placing the markers, glass, coal, or other unalterable substances were to be placed in the holes to facilitate relocation of the spot if the marker should disappear. The wooden markers should be placed on little mounds of earth, about which small trenches had been dug. The maps were to be oriented according to the true meridian of the place, the magnetic declination being taken into consideration.

In the sale of lands surveyed, Article 32 provided that preference be given to : (1) those who had failed to validate their titles during the periods permitted by the previous laws, (2) squatters who could prove habitual residence and effective cultivation of at least one fifth of the area, (3) petitioners who had paid for the surveys, (4) owners of adjacent lands who could prove their need and the means to use the area requested, and (5) young graduates of institutions maintained by the state for purposes of agricultural education.¹⁴

Although notable progress had been made in improving the system of land division, surveys, and titles in south Brazil, over much of the country the system of metes and bounds is still followed. Streams and divides continue to figure prominently in most property descriptions. This is particularly true in the west and in the Amazon Valley. Several property descriptions typical of those used in the sparsely settled pastoral areas of west central Brazil, appear in the *Diário Oficial* of the state of Mato Grosso for October 6, 1942.

To His Excellency the Secretary General of the State:

Ciriaco Rondon, Brazilian, married, represented by his qualified counsel who formulated this statement and who signs below, desiring to acquire by purchase from the State a piece of unoccupied land, pastures and fields, with 500 (five hundred) hectares, more or less, in the place called "Baía de Santa Terzinha," situated on the right side of the Riozinho; in the município of Herculânea, presents himself very respectfully to request Your Excellency that, following the fulfillment of the legal formalities, you will do him the honor to cede to him by sale the said tract of land, with the following boundaries: on the North, beginning on the bank of the Riozinho at the limit of the lands of Paulino Luiz de Barros, and following this property line to a certain point; on the West and South with unoccupied lands; on the east separated from the Fazenda Cervo by the same Riozinho. The petitioner subjects himself to all the obligations of the law. . . . Cuiabá, August 26, 1942. P. P. Gabriel Neves.

Another tract of 500 hectares sought by Catulo da Costa Rondon, also located in the município of Herculânea, is described as "beginning at the Corrego Anhumas [a small creek or stream] and extending towards the line of hills, bounded on the North, West, and South by unoccupied lands,

¹⁴ The law is published in *Relativos aos Serviços de Terras Publicas do Estado de Minas Gerais* (Belo Horizonte, 1925).

and on the East separated from the Fazenda by the same Anhumas creek, Guanandí Bay being situated within the area concerned."

With such indefinite descriptions of lands in the deeds granted by the states, considerable confusion may arise, and there is also a possibility of overlapping claims or "shingle titles" such as characterized the granting of public lands in Kentucky and Tennessee. However, some precautions are taken by the various states to prevent this. In some cases the title to a tract of land may be registered only after the owners of the adjoining properties have signified that the dividing limits are accurate. Notice may be given that a certain tract is to be surveyed and that those concerned should look out for their interests. Thus, in the *Diário Oficial* of Mato Grosso for October 7, 1942, appeared five notices regarding lands that had been sold by the state and were to be surveyed and marked. The translation of one of these notices reads:

Notice of Measurements:

The below signed, designated by His Excellency Dr. Secretary General of the State to determine and proceed to the measurement and demarcation of the tract of land called "Sapé," situated in the município of Alto Araguaia, acquired from the State by Sr. Juvenal Alves de Faria, sets the day of November 28 next, at 8 o'clock in the morning for the beginning of the field work and invites all those awaiting and others interested to witness the said services and set forth that which is correct.

The tract being surveyed has the following boundaries: upon the North, commencing at a convenient point on the divide between Jatobá creek and the headwaters of the Sapé, running in a straight line and crossing the bed of the headwaters of the Sapé: on the East by the divide of Engano creek, fronting on the lands belonging to Viriato Bino, for a distance of 2,000 meters; on the South, by a straight line running to a convenient point; on the West, from the latter point through the woods to the point of beginning.

Cuiabá, October 5, 1942

Julio da Costa Marques, Agronomist.

In other cases, notice is given that certain tracts have been applied for, and interested persons are given a certain length of time in which to examine the descriptions and, if they care, to raise objections. Thus in the *Diário Oficial* of the state of Mato Grosso for October 6, 1942, appeared the notice:

Directory of Lands and Public Works
Notice

By order of the Director, I make public, for the information of those interested, during the space of five days from the publication of this notice there will be open to inspection the files of measurements and demarcations of the tracts of land called "São Luiz," "Pedra Furada," "Ribeirãozinho" and "Córrego do Bagre" situated in the municípios of Herculânea (2), Três Lagóas,

and in this Capital, purchased from the State, by citizens Joaquim Vincente Ribeiro, Joaquim Crisotomo Furtado, Jovino Pereira de França and Joaquim Pedroso de Barros.

Department of Lands, Cuiabá, October 2, 1942

Carlos Huguenev de Siqueira

Head of the Department

Developments Before 1850. As was inevitable in the occupation of such an immense territory by so few people, the system of dividing Brazil's tremendous acreages grew up in a haphazard fashion.¹⁵ The first legal concessions of land seem to have been made by Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 and 1532, some on the Island of Guaibe and some in Piratininga (later the city of São Paulo). In 1532, also, the king informed Martim of his decision to form *capitanias* on the coast from Pernambuco to the Rio da Prata, each with an extension of 50 leagues along the coast. Martim himself was to have 100 leagues, his brother, Pero Lopes, 50.¹⁶ Since presumably the lines extended westward from the coast, the *capitanias* created were of very unequal size. The only markers were on the coast.

Also, the 50-league criterion was not adhered to strictly. In the end Pero Lopes got 80 instead of 50, João de Barros 100, Duarte Coelho Pereira 60, Fernando Alvares de Andrade 75 leagues; on the other hand Antonio Cardoso de Barros got only 40 leagues, and Pedro de Góes only 30.¹⁷ However, this system of *capitanias* proved quite unsuccessful as an instrument for peopling the new continent, and soon another plan was substituted. The king reassembled the diffused governing powers and placed them in the hands of the *capitão* of Bahia as governor general of all the *capitanias*. The first governor general, Tome de Souza, carried with him to the New World the elements for greatly altering the land system of the colonies. These elements consisted of ideas for modifying the system of *sesmarias*, previously adapted to tiny Portugal, which, as used in Brazil, so far had proved inadequate for promoting the settlement of a hemisphere.

In Portugal the *sesmarias* had been devices for recovering lands from the hands of those who were not making good use of them. The use of these devices in America probably had much to do with retarding the settlement process. Anyway, the early distribution seems to have been very parsimonious. Tome de Souza soon introduced the practice of granting

¹⁵ This is reminiscent in many ways of the parallel developments in North America, where there was little or no system in the surveying, division, and distribution of land until after independence had been attained.

¹⁶ Ruy Cirne Lima, *Terras Devolutas* (Porto Alegre, 1935), 30-31.

¹⁷ Augusto Fausto de Souza, *Estudo Sobre a Divisão Territorial do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1878), 35-38. For the estimated areas of these *capitanias* see Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brazil*, III, 132.

lands for the establishment of sugar *engenhos*. This meant great liberality in giving away land. Enough lands were given to successful applicants to supply the cane for a mill and to develop an establishment large enough to maintain the towers, fortifications, and private army necessary for defense against the Indians. Hence, it was necessary for those seeking *sesmarias* to have ample means. Always they tried to demonstrate that they were men of "great possessions and family," or that they possessed numerous cattle and slaves.¹⁸ From this time on, the various incumbents in the office of the governor general granted enormous, ill-defined tracts¹⁹ as *sesmarias*. In reality, many of them were *capitanias*, and their proprietors in turn parceled them out to others in *sesmarias*.²⁰ For example, D. Alvaro da Costa received as a *sesmaria* all of the land lying between the rivers Paraguassú and Jaguaripe for a depth of ten leagues, a grant the size of a *capitania*, and indeed it was called the "Capitania de Peroassú." There resulted the complete lack of any system in the division of lands, or, as Cirne Lima has said, one which "abandoned to the colonist himself the selection of his territorial seat," and "the colonial population established itself in our territory in obedience, not to a predetermined plan of geographic distribution, but to the wishes and convenience of the individual."²¹ Another Brazilian writer has generalized as follows: "Properties extended themselves along the currents of the rivers. On the Brazilian shores, when colonization commenced, the *capitanias* only had marks on the coast. The internal limits depended upon the ardor, combativeness, and energy of the *semiproprietors*. In the West there were only fixed limits along the river shore. Inward, if another river was not touched, there was only indetermination."²²

An Englishman who lived in Brazil in the early years of the nineteenth century, before independence, has supplied some of the details as to techniques used in ensuring boundaries.

Lands are obtained by grant as well as by purchase; and being distributed by the map, instead of survey and measurement, it cannot be wonderful that confusion and contests should arise with respect to their boundaries. To ascertain and establish their claims, many land holders fix around their borders a number of small tenants, called *Moradores*, who pay a trifling rent, procure their sub-

¹⁸ Oliveira Vianna, "Evolução do Provo Brasileiro," *Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920*, I, 284.

¹⁹ "The new system of administration produced the necessity of determining better the limits of the different units of government, and abandoning imaginary east-west lines; limits were being modified to the extent that the territory became better known, and advances were made in the conquest of the lands occupied by savage tribes." Fausto de Souza, *Estudo Sobre a Divisão Territorial do Brazil*, 41-42.

²⁰ Cirne Lima, *Terras Devolutas*, 35.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 35-36.

²² Werneck Sodré, *Oeste*, 119.

sistence chiefly by the cultivation of vegetables, and answer the important purpose of Watchmen, preventing the encroachments of neighbouring proprietors and the robbery of the woods. They are generally white people who have families, sometimes a slave or two, and add much to the population of the country; but they love and affect independence, and seldom continue after the limits of an estate are well ascertained, and its remoter parts are brought under cultivation.

The ignorance and listlessness of these people are astonishing. Living almost constantly in the woods, their minds are uncultivated, and become hardly capable of more than one kind of excitement. Accustomed to exercise the violent passions without control, and to slaughter every animal which comes in their way, their fury knows no bounds, and they are ever ready for all that it urges to. Their eyes, incessantly on the watch, become large, distorted, and piercing, even to a frightful degree; and the muscles of their faces assume a concomitant form. Having nothing to lose, easily finding a supply for their wants, and unattached to any particular spot, they leave their abodes without regret, and fix again without any seeming concern but that of avoiding the rivalry and annoyance of a neighbourhood.²³

Carried forward by such a process of settlement, there can be little doubt that indiscriminate location, haphazard surveys, and little concern with land titles very early laid the basis in much of Brazil for a chaotic condition similar to that which prevailed in Kentucky, Tennessee, and neighboring states. However, because Brazilian holdings were large, and because personal adjustments of differences are easier between a few people than among many, less confusion arose than otherwise would have been the case. Brazil seems to have suffered less in the early days from conflicts over "shingle titles" than the United States, in that portion between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. Even so, the conflicting and overlapping claims, generated by the lack of a precise system, undoubtedly have had an adverse effect upon the nation's growth and development.

In the latter years of the eighteenth century the granting of sesmarias became much less general and the practice of taking possession of unoccupied lands by the process of "squatting" much more prevalent. Werneck Sodré explains this as being due to "delay and complexity in the acquisition of land titles." However, Brazil, like the United States, had developed a population thoroughly capable of coping with the wilderness, receiving relatively little from the mother country overseas, and quite unwilling to be prevented from occupying desirable sites for fazendas merely because such might not be in accord with old formalities. Werneck Sodré has also pointed out how, as the sesmarias became more rare, there was an increase in the number of those squatters who preferred to seat themselves on the land without formality. They hoped "to obtain, in view of the prevalence of such cases, the benevolence of the organs of public

²³ Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the Southern Parts of Brazil*, 293.

administration, when the case should come to a test." With the cessation of the sesmarias in 1822,²⁴ this practice became general, and it continued to be so for several decades. It was in an attempt to put an end to this that the emperor promulgated the law of September 18, 1850, which prohibited the acquisition of lands by any means except purchase, and threatened removal, loss of benefits, fines, and imprisonment to those who, in the future, illegally occupied public lands. However, the practice of squatting and of claiming ownership through mere possession was then already so old, so firmly established, and so generally practiced that it was impossible suddenly to carry the new provisions into effect without jeopardizing the economic existence of many regions, including the west. Therefore it is not surprising that Article 5 of the law ordered that there should be legitimated lands acquired by first occupation, or secured from the first occupant, providing they had been opened to cultivation, or actually lived on by the possessor or his representatives.²⁵ In nearly all cases, however, on both those secured by sesmaria and those obtained by squatting, the property lines, if any, seem to have been traced in terms of streams, divides, and previously established lines. "Wherever possible," one Brazilian writer observes, "natural limits were chosen in the division, such as rivers and brooks, which, besides resolving all doubts as to the boundary lines, serve as natural fences for keeping in the cattle."²⁶ Despite such a case for metes and bounds, a reliance upon these natural features ultimately results in confused and conflicting titles to the land.

Attempts to Introduce Rectangular Surveys. Brazil has officially recognized the need for basing its land surveys on unalterable astronomical criteria. A preamble to a decree dated December 10, 1796, referred to the necessity of using geometric lines that would fix secure boundaries, and be linked unalterably with "trigonometric and astronomic measures" that alone could give the surveys "the necessary stability."²⁷ Half a century later Article 14 of the important land legislation, Law No. 601 of September 18, 1850, specifically decreed that the surveys should be based on the true meridians and that property dividing lines should cut one another at right angles.²⁸ The attempt to systematize the land surveys in this manner led to immediate repercussions. Varnhagen, for example, objected strongly.

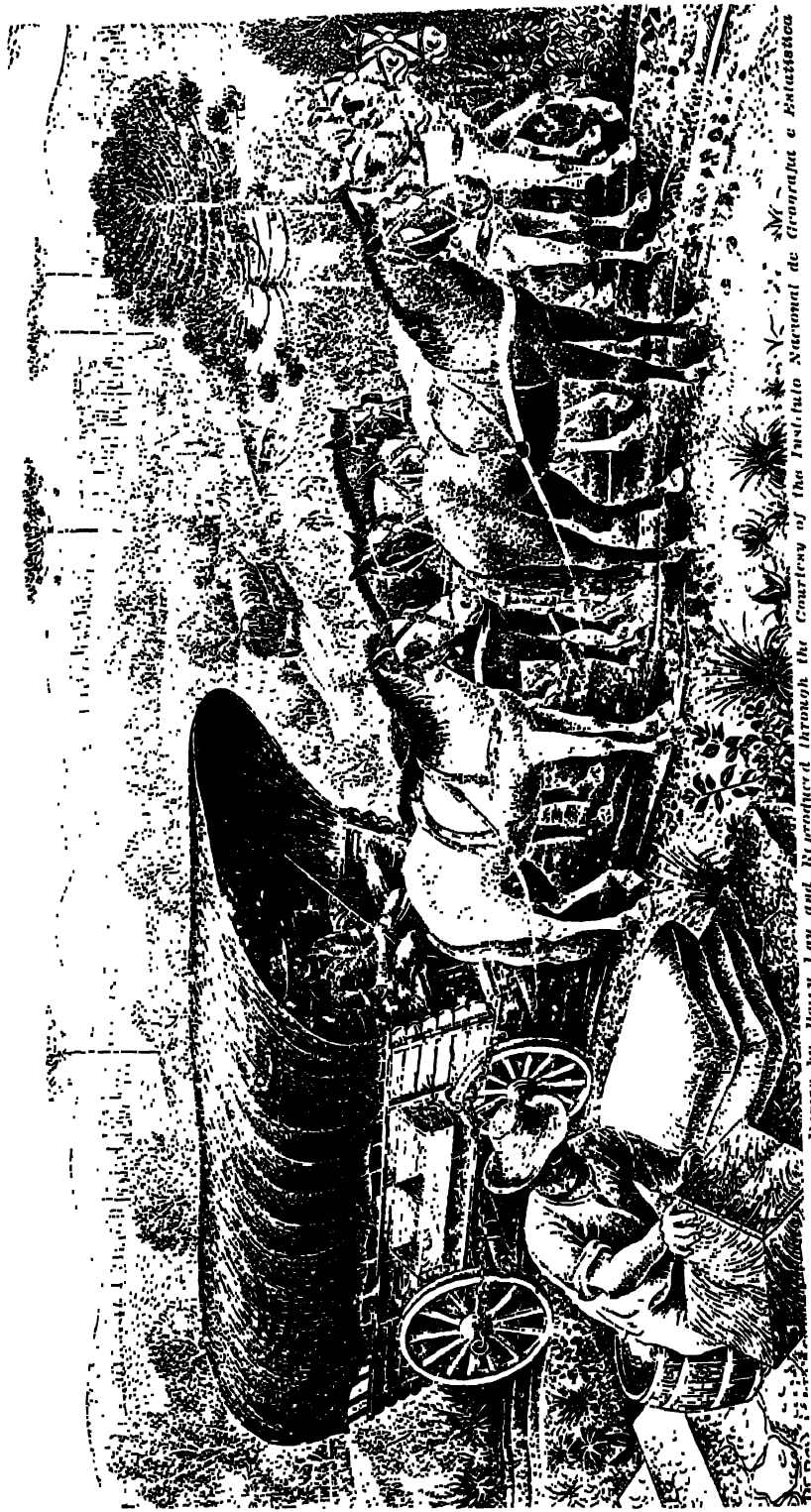
²⁴ A Brazilian friend writing to Burton attributed the exhaustion of much of Brazil's best land to the extralegal system of occupation which followed the cessation of these grants. *The Highlands of the Brazil*, I, 42.

²⁵ See Werneck Sodré, *Oeste*, 83-84.

²⁶ Eugenio Dahne, *Descriptive Memorial of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil* (Pôrto Alegre, 1904), 24.

²⁷ Cirne Lima, *Terras Devolutas*, 58.

²⁸ This law is reproduced in J. O. de Lima Pereira, *Da Propriedade no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), 200-206.



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TYPE OF WAGON INTRODUCED IN SOUTH BRAZIL BY COLONISTS FROM POLAND AND THE UKRAINE

The system of the United States of selling lands in square plots, is, in general, less applicable in Brazil, where, in all the municípios, there exist, irregularly spaced, lands which should be given according to the Brazilian system of water divides, which, moreover, is the most proper for a mountainous country cut by washes and rivers because it is cheaper and more practical; while Meridian lines, or squares, require better engineers, more numerous markings, instruments, etc. Sometimes such a system might have advantages in the great plateaus, as yet absolutely unoccupied; but it is better that the law should not impose it as a principle, with exceptions only when the "local circumstances do not admit it."²⁹

Whether objections of this kind were effective or not one cannot be sure, but the intentions of the framers of the law of 1850 were never carried into effect, and the system of metes and bounds based on surface phenomena, continued to be the only system used in the division of Brazilian lands. However, as late as 1895 a law pertaining to public lands signed by the Governor of Rio Grande do Norte included the following provision: "The measurement and division shall be made by lines that run from North to South, in conformity with the true meridian, and by others that cut them at right angles, in a manner that lots or squares are formed of as many hectares as are necessary, truly surveyed, having in view the situation and the end to which they are destined."³⁰

Nevertheless, there is little evidence that such legislative provisions ever gained widespread expression in the land system. Irregularly shaped holdings, divided by creeks and ridges, and a cultural landscape oriented to these natural phenomena were bequeathed to Brazil by the pattern cut before 1850. An English writer, who studied Brazil intensely for the purpose of determining its possibilities in the production of cotton, generalized: "Land ownership in Brazil is a difficult point; the original titles were made out on the basis of maps, boundaries, etc., but these maps have proved often to be wrong. The country has not yet been thoroughly surveyed and we have found mountain ranges 30 miles from the place indicated by the maps. The courses of rivers are also frequently not properly marked on the maps."³¹

Developments After 1850. The law of 1850 was an attempt to systematize the land system by restricting the activities of squatters. New settlement was to be confined to lands secured by purchase. The law came into being shortly before the tide of immigrant small farmers entering the southern states reached a significant size. Most of its provisions, including

²⁹ Varnhagen is quoted in Cime Lima, *Terras Devolutas*, 63.

³⁰ *Terras Públicas* (Natal, 1896), 5.

³¹ Arno S. Pearse, *Brazilian Cotton* (2d ed.: Manchester, 1923), 86. The Instituto Nacional de Geografia is now preparing detailed maps of Brazil that are far superior to anything published in the past. These new maps indicate the degree of reliability that prevails in the delineations for each section of the country. Not infrequently the studies which laid the basis for the new maps indicated radical errors in the older maps.

the one calling for rectangular surveys, were of little effect. In another twenty years, however, developments had taken place which called forth widespread attempts at reforming the land system and which set in action the trial and error processes that eventually resulted in some of the best systems of land division yet devised.

As late as 1865 some of the North Americans who carefully studied São Paulo and neighboring states as a possible home for emigrants from southern United States described the conditions of land surveys and holdings. "Ask a man 'how much land do you own?' and his usual reply is, 'I do not know exactly, but it is four, six or ten miles long, and from four to six miles broad.' The lands of Brazil, except in rare instances, have not been surveyed, and no one with whom we have conversed on this subject, knows how much land he owns; all guess."³²

Following the 1860's, however, the developments, stimulated by the problems encountered and the experience gained in the colonies and by reports of what was being done in Argentina, were rather rapid. Thus, in 1871, a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture who presented a report on the condition of the German colonies in Santa Catarina called attention to the necessity for a more systematic registration of land titles.

In the capital there should be a book that would contain the general register of the lands in the province, separated by parishes, as is ordered by Art. 13 of law No. 601 of April 18, 1850. In it should be entered the sales by the State to private individuals, setting forth the manner in which the privately owned lands came into such possession. This book, supplemented by a topographic map of the province, in which could be entered notes concerning surveys made, would give a basis for the inventory of landed properties, a service so necessary for us, and which the Argentine Confederation has so carefully and successfully done, and which has in some way aided the current of immigration that for some years has been establishing itself there.

The register of private lands which has been the responsibility of the priests, will assist in the work of the general land register. . . . It may be that I am in error, but I believe that the work I am doing will be of great utility for the discrimination of the public domain from the private, and for eliminating many misunderstandings between present and future proprietors, preventing many demands, and contributing in this manner for the peace and progress of the province.

In the provinces where colonies exist, it is of great urgency to attend to the necessity of organizing this work. I believe, however, it can only be organized by a permanent commission.³³

Two years later another report presented to the Minister of Agriculture discussed the same problem.

³² Dunn, *Brazil*, 232.

³³ Albuquerque Galvão, *Relatorio Sobre Blumenau, Itajaby, Principe D. Pedro e D. Francisca*, 22-23.

Even up to this day it has not been possible to establish the general registration of lands; in spite of repeated periods, successively designated for twenty years as the dates for registration, it has not been possible to achieve the result that the law had in view, that is, the competent separation of the public domain from the private.

To expel the intruders and squatters, who took possession of public lands after the regulation of January 30, 1854, would provoke conflicts, destroy agricultural establishments already founded, and, perhaps, nuclei of budding villages. The remedy is to legitimate these possessions, requiring of the possessors the minimum legal price for the lands usurped and to set a new period for the legitimation of the ones prior to the said regulation, dispensing with penalties, whenever possible. . . . The Notice of June 13, 1863, which ordered preference in the purchase of lands be given to the occupants, is a salutary procedure, tending to realize this thinking.⁸⁴

At this time, too, there was aroused some concern about knowledge of the conditions under which land was being held, and the extent of unoccupied areas. For example, a map, and accompanying text, of the state of Santa Catarina, published in 1874, estimated the area of the state to be 1,100 square leagues, classified as follows: terras devolutas, 700; occupied lands, 300; and doubtful, 100 square leagues.⁸⁵

There are other evidences of a growing concern for the improvement of the systems of surveying and recording. An official report published in 1875 stated that land surveys were in their beginning and needed to be better regulated. It stated, however, that it would be useless to survey the distant sertões, far from markets and lines of communication. Neither the immigrant nor the Brazilian would establish himself in those vast solitudes, and in a few years all traces of marks would be erased by Brazil's prolific vegetation. It was recommended that the surveys and demarcations made should be close to the centers of population, along the railroads, near the roads, or not far from other lines of communication. In the provinces receiving colonists it would suffice to make the measurements as the newcomers arrived or slightly before. However, the service should be performed with all regularity and in entire accordance with the law of 1850 and by fully qualified surveyors.⁸⁶

The same report also stated that it would be quite unjust to expel those who had intruded upon and taken possession of public lands following the *regulamento* of 1854. To do so would "destroy agricultural establishments already founded and perhaps growing population centers." It was urged that the holdings be legitimated by selling them to those in possession at the minimum legal price, to be formalized during a period of time that

⁸⁴ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Brazil*, 291.

⁸⁵ Bernardo Augusto Nacentes de Azambuja, *Descrição Topographica do Mappa da Provincia de Santa Catarina* (Rio de Janeiro, 1874).

⁸⁶ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Brazil*, 295-96.

would be established for the purpose.³⁷ Moreover, it urged the necessity of establishing in Brazil a counterpart of the "homestead" law, a device that might have meant much to Brazil by placing immediately before the eyes of its millions of landless people the goal of landownership. Had Brazil's rural masses been favored with such an opportunity to scale the agricultural ladder, it is highly probable that the pace of agricultural development in that country would have more nearly equaled that of the United States. The author of the report under consideration had written in 1873:

Brazil, however, is in the primary phase of colonization; its extremely vast territory, which could contain more than 500 million people still includes vast solitudes, unpopulated sertões, that invite human immigration. To foreigners with families who land with capital on our shores and who do not shortly find work with pay to care for their economic necessities, who apply for the purchase of a plot; to the agregados on the fazendas or engenhos; to the mixed bloods—destroyers of the forests—and to all this nomadic and restless population, that idles in the interior; to the persons or companies that propose to found agricultural colonies, orphanages, or homes for the incapacitated there should be conceded as a patrimony, with free title and under careful supervision, unoccupied lands that in a few years would be centers of attraction and birthplaces of cities.³⁸

In many parts of the country it is not too late even now to secure some of the gains that could come from the equivalent of a homestead law. In the course of a few decades the incentives for stability of residence and propulsions to steady work habits thus induced in the population probably would far outweigh the small loss of revenue from the sale of lands. Certainly in such an immense country, with so few people and such large percentages of them either held generation after generation in the unenviable status of agricultural laborers on the large estates or leading an unproductive nomadic existence in which they must destroy acres of forest in order to gain a few bushels of corn or mandioca, the experiment is worth trying.

CLOUDED TITLES IN THE SOUTH

By 1889 there had already been laid the basis for considerable difficulty and conflict in the southern states to which immigrants had been coming. A consideration of developments there helps to throw the whole problem, and the attempts to cope with it, into bold relief. First, however, a brief summary of the elements in the problem seems to be essential.

As the density of population increases in any country, questions of land surveys, land divisions, and land titles, which previously may have been relatively unimportant, are certain to become of tremendous im-

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 291.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 281-82.

portance. This is especially likely to be true if (1) the increase in population is due to the introduction of small-farming immigrants into an area previously inhabited by a few large holders and their slaves, or other workers who never aspired to landownership, and (2) the country under consideration has been careless in permitting lands to be alienated without making proper surveys, devising clear deeds, and getting value received for the land. Carelessness in such matters inevitably results in land grabbing, fraud, and the monopolization of the best areas by a few fortune seekers.

As was the case in the United States during the period when lands were abundant, lack of system in surveying and recording titles contributed greatly to land grabbing and frauds in Brazil. "Land sharks" had an unusual opportunity to monopolize valuable lands in south Brazil early in the second half of the nineteenth century. Then, when the persons or companies, who by irregular means had acquired the lands, sold them to immigrants and other settlers, the situation became very complex. Naturally, after what had transpired became known, the state desired to repossess the acres of which it had been defrauded; but to do so, in many cases, would have meant ruin for thousands of the most industrious and productive citizens, farmers who had acted in good faith and built homes, farms, and communities on the land. This problem was particularly acute in the south, where tides of European settlers did much to increase the demand for and enhance the value of terras devolutas, or unpatented land. Much fraud also seems to have taken place during more recent years in parts of the Amazon Valley;³⁹ in this case, however, the problem was not so greatly complicated by the subsequent establishments of farm communities on the land.

Brazilian writers have done much to assemble the pertinent facts and trace the general lines of development of the situation—a situation more than a little reminiscent of that prevailing in the section between the Appalachians and the Mississippi during the early years of the nineteenth century. The account of the developments in the important state of Rio Grande do Sul are particularly enlightening.⁴⁰ Following 1850 large contingents of immigrants began flowing into Rio Grande do Sul. The distribution of land was, of course, under the old federal law of 1850. Land sharks naturally saw an opportunity to make huge fortunes by "grabbing" public lands and parceling them out at substantial prices to the newcomers. Tremendous acreages were patented under titles later held to be

³⁹ See Antonio Borges, *Negociatas Escandalosas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938).

⁴⁰ See Godolphim Torres Ramos, "Terras e Colonização no Rio Grande do Sul," *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano I, No. 4, pp. 740-53.

invalid. In the year 1881, for example, a total of 1,164 square kilometers of land was granted and the following year the total was almost as great, 1,047. However, during the next two years, because of extra precautions taken by the provincial governor, it is reported that fraud was greatly reduced and only 200 square kilometers were alienated. This relative inactivity proved to be temporary, for between September 20, 1885, and November 15, 1889, in this one province, a total of 3,074 square kilometers of the empire's lands passed into private hands.

With the establishment of the republic the public lands came to be the property of the several states. In Rio Grande do Sul this brought about a sharp reduction in the speed with which the public lands were alienated. According to the available data in the three years ending with 1902, only 898 square kilometers of land were patented; and during the five years that followed, the total was only 151 square kilometers.

After the state replaced the nation as possessor of public lands, it also undertook to recover lands that had been secured in a fraudulent manner. A law passed in March, 1897, established a commission charged with the responsibility of determining which lands were held in legitimate possession and which still belonged to the state. The commission began work in the município of Santa Cruz. Apparently it discovered abundant evidences of fraudulent titles. In a little more than a year it had been determined that an area of 193 square kilometers of land should be returned to the state. This was in a single município.

Before revoking title to the land, however, the state found it necessary to take into account other considerations than the mere fact that fraud might have been practiced in connection with the original alienation of the public domain. Thousands of immigrants had purchased in good faith lands from those receiving the original patents. Officials had to recognize that the issue of cloudy land titles could undermine one of the most important agricultural regions in the state, and drive its settlers away, perhaps to Argentina.⁴¹ Therefore, the president of the state in a message to the Representative Assembly in 1898 stated:

Under the dictates of natural equity and actuated by motives of manifest public convenience, the government has resolved to cede to the actual occupants these

⁴¹ There is some evidence that this had already taken place on a considerable scale. The editor of an English language newspaper in Buenos Aires wrote: "Then again the authorities [in Rio Grande do Sul] had not properly measured and marked out the ground, which was considered a trifling matter; but when land subsequently became of value, the number of disputed titles was so confusing that a special commission was at last sent by the Government to restore order and confirm rights, but not before some of the most industrious colonists had thrown up their farms in disgust and removed to the new German colonies that were being formed on the River Plata." Michael G. Mulhall, *Rio Grande do Sul and Its German Colonies* (London, 1873), 127.

lands liable to the commission, because of unobservance of the conditions expressly essential, judged in accordance with the relative value of the colonial holdings or prices. Proceeding in this manner the government has in view not to aggravate the situation of the small farmers who today hold the said land, through purchases made in good faith from individuals or companies which exploited, in the old regime, these rights of domination from the state, by means of artificial processes to satisfy their insatiable egotistical interests.

Later, the government of the state found it essential to take additional steps to safeguard the titles of the small farmers. A regulation of July 4, 1900, established that, for possessors of small areas "there will be respected those areas of legitimate possession and of sesmarias and other concessions revalidated in terms of Law 601 . . . as well as lands that are found in private possession by any legitimate title; and on the other hand . . . considered legitimate are possessions established prior to November 15, 1889, that were constituted in good faith and which have been effectively cultivated and habitually lived upon."

Under the terms of this regulation the "area of possession" was to be limited to the "cultivated extension," provided this was not less than 25 hectares of woodlands and 50 hectares of prairie.

Still the titles were not entirely clear and questions concerning them continued to plague the state during the ensuing years. As the small holders multiplied, by natural increase and by further immigration, pressure probably became rather great for removing any clouds that still remained about the titles under which they held the land. A decree of February 10, 1903, reaffirmed that the state still had the right to recover lands that had been secured by fraud, but admitted that the lands were then in the hands of colonos, nationals and immigrants, who had acquired them at relatively high prices, and held that the occupants were entitled to the assistance and protection of the state. Therefore it was resolved that (1) the colonos who had acquired land legitimated in terms of the law of 1850 were relieved of any indemnification to the state, and (2) courts entitled to rescind the sentences would deliver new titles free of charge.

Similar developments took place in other states. Oliveira Vianna discusses the question, with allusions to São Paulo that are obvious. From his comments it is also clear that the latifundium, in the sense of large tracts of land deliberately withheld from productive purposes, might be so much of a problem that even the forging of titles would seem to be the best way of solving it.

Today, in contrast with the past, there are no lands without an owner: either they belong to private individuals, as a heritage from the immeasurable primitive sesmarias, or they are "terras devolutas" and belong, in this case, to the State. These lands, when they do not belong to the State, are preserved virgin and

unexplored, but "appropriated" by backward *latifundiarios*, extremely jealous of the greatness of their latifundia, "old guards who hold on to thousands of alqueires in order to draw from them a plate of beans and a handful of grain."

It falls to the "grilleiro" to resolve this difficulty. He is the one who gives to the progressive colonizer, full of ambition and with capital, the right to utilize this unproductive treasury. For this he creates by chicanery and by falsehood, the indispensable property title. "He works the greatest frauds; he falsifies signatures, papers, stamps; falsifies rivers and mountains; falsifies trees and markers; falsifies judges and archive; falsifies the indicator on the scales of Themis; falsifies the sky, the land and the water; falsifies God and the Devil, but he wins. He divides the broad acreages into lots and he sells them to the legions of colonists that follow him as buzzards do the smell of a carcass. Five, ten years later, the flower of the coffee tree whitens the zone and incorporates it into the patrimony of national wealth."⁴²

Uncertainties over title to their lands also plagued the colonists in Santa Catarina. Augusto de Carvalho summarizes the accusations of the colonists against the government under three headings: (1) "the refusal to give permanent titles to the property in the colonial tracts granted by the government," (2) "the lack of surveys and demarcation of these tracts," and (3) "the sale of lands that were surrounded by tracts transferred to speculators who had in mind only to resell them at exaggerated prices."⁴³ And Willems states that "fraudulent land titles were also frequent in some zones of the South, having been practiced in certain municípios of Santa Catarina as late as 1930."⁴⁴

RIVER-FRONT DIVISION IN THE SOUTH

It is necessary to say a few words about the system of dividing lands that has finally been worked out in south Brazil's "colonial" areas.⁴⁵ As should be evident from the preceding discussion, this system has been attained at the cost of hard, sometimes bitter, experience. This is only one more reason why south Brazil, and especially the states of Paraná and Santa Catarina, deserve much credit for the systems of land division that have been developed there in the course of a long experience with programs of colonization. Probably the system now in use in Paraná and Santa Catarina represents the highest degree of perfection yet attained in dividing lands. Certainly this is true if importance is attached to the type of division that

⁴² Oliveria Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil*, 1920, I, 309. The quotations used by this authority are from J. B. Monteiro Lobato, *A Onda Verde* (São Paulo, 1922), which almost glorifies the "profession" of "grilleiro." See especially pp. 5-37.

⁴³ Augusto de Carvalho, *O Brasil: Colonização e Emigração* (2d ed.: Porto, 1876), 204; cf. 205 ff.

⁴⁴ Willems, *Assimilação e Populações Marginais no Brasil*, 82.

⁴⁵ These areas are occupied by colonos or small farmers.

permits the farmer to reside on the land without sacrificing the social and economic advantages derived from having his home near those of neighbors, and at the same time having the boundaries of the farms laid out in a manner best adapted to the topographical features of the area settled.

In the numerous colonies established by federal, state, and private agencies in Brazil, the system of land division most generally used has been a modified version of the river-front type so characteristic of French settlements. In the earlier colonies, such as the German settlement at Blumenau, Santa Catarina, the river was the point of departure, roads followed the streams, and holdings were rectangular in shape, except for the end where each fronted on the stream. In the Santa Catarina colonies these farming plots measured 110 meters (50 braças) in width and 1,100 meters in depth.⁴⁶ In those at Moniz in Bahia the lots were 200 by 320 meters.⁴⁷ In the colony of Santa Isabel in Espírito Santo they were 200 braças wide and 600 braças deep.⁴⁸

In other colonies still other dimensions were used. However, in all cases the principle of making the width of the holdings considerably less than the length was used. This is the practice that must be followed if line-village settlement patterns are to be used or developed.

From the very first, the systems of land division used in these Brazilian colonies had one distinct advantage over similar systems in use elsewhere. Unlike the practice so generally followed by French and Spanish colonists in dividing their lands, meanders in the streams did not lead to the use of nonparallel lines for bounding the sides of the plots. As a rule in these Brazilian surveys the width of the holding was uniform throughout its length. (See Figure 12.)

The first colonies, however, were marred by one serious defect in their system of land division. The irregular jagged line formed by the rear boundaries of the holdings created great complications for future settlement of the area. It also prevented the fullest adaptation of settlement forms and farm layouts to the topography of the area settled. Since the colonists were hewing homes from a wilderness, perhaps a great deal of importance should not be attached to any disadvantages that accrued to future settlers. Certainly, the early settlers adapted a pattern well fitted to their own needs.

⁴⁶ Cf. Albuquerque Galvão, *Relatorio Sobre Blumenau, Itajaby, Principe D. Pedro e D. Francisca*.

⁴⁷ Bernardo Augusto Nascentes de Azambuja, *Relatorio Sobre as Colonias ao Sul da Provincia da Bahia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1874), 42.

⁴⁸ Joaquim da Silva Rocha, *Historia da Colonisação do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1918),

Gradually, as experience was secured, practices were modified and systems of dividing the land were perfected to higher degrees. This important feature in the relationships of man to the land seems to have reached its highest stage of development in the colonization projects of the North Paraná Land Company and in the official colonies established by the state government on the former fazendas of Santa Catarina. Today the procedures used in dividing the land are fairly well defined. When a new settlement project is undertaken, the land is first surveyed in order to determine the courses of all streams and to delineate the lines followed by the divides of all the principal watersheds. A detailed map of the area is made on which all of these are plotted. In the North Paraná Land Company's settlements, the roads projected for the colony are designed to follow along the ridge of the principal divides; in Santa Catarina they usually follow the stream. But in both states the tract of land cut off for a prospective purchaser or colonist is bounded on the one end by the stream and on the other by the road or dividing ridge. Variations in the size of farms sold or allotted are secured by increasing or decreasing the width of the holding, never by modifying the stream-to-divide principle of determining their length. This system maintains the desirable feature of the long-lot farm, thus allowing the settlers to capitalize on the social and economic advantages of line-village settlement patterns. At the same time it permits a high degree of adaptation to topographical features, both of the farm layout and of the settlement pattern. It gives each settler access to water, to the various kinds of timber, to the lowlands and the uplands. In short, each settler participates in all of the advantages and disadvantages offered by the natural setting.

For typical examples of the system of land division used in these colonies, see Figures 13 and 14. The first of these illustrations shows a section of the new territory which has been opened for colonization by the North Paraná Land Company. Already some seven or eight thousand new family farm units have developed on these projects. The second illustration reproduces a portion of the map of one of the Santa Catarina state government's colonization projects. The latter has added interest because it shows the boundaries of fazendas as yet undivided, in addition to the layout of the colonists' sítios. In both, as will be observed, there has been some sacrifice in uniformity of plots, and, therefore, in ease of surveying and recording, in favor of greater adaptability to the topography. Both, however, permit the formation of line-village settlement patterns. Both represent very considerable advances in the conscious planning of man's relation to the land so as to secure the most advantageous utilization of natural

features of the landscape. Finally, they both represent very material improvements over the systems in use as late as 1908. (See Figure 12.)

The more detailed aspects of the system may be noted by the observation of a single farmstead on one of the projects. In Figure 15 is reproduced the map of a small farm sold to a colonist by the North Paraná Land Company on February 27, 1941. It is located in the Ribeirão Jacutinga

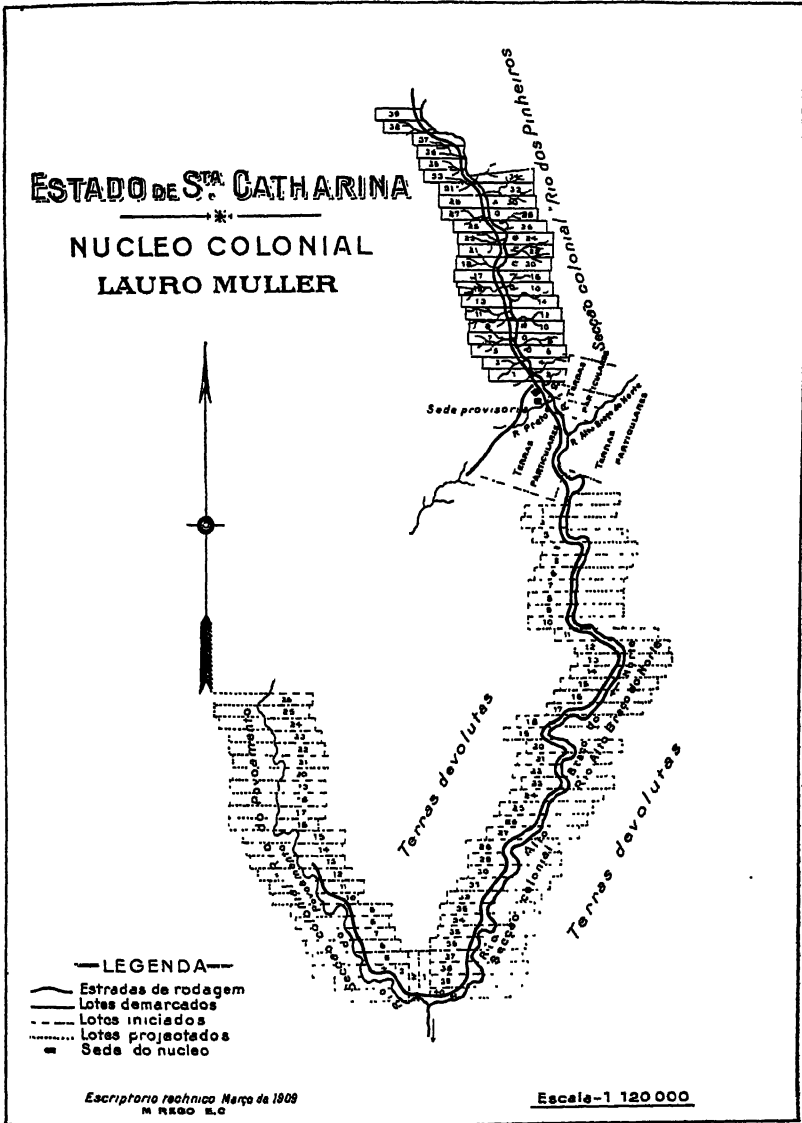


FIGURE 12. Plan of the Colony "Lauro Muller," Santa Catarina, Founded in 1908, Showing the Type of Surveys Used in Early Colonization Projects. (Reproduced from J. F. Gonçalves, Jr., *Relatorio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1909), 123.

subdivision of the company's project. Along with the map of the plot of land he had purchased, the buyer received a copy of the following description of its boundaries:

Beginning at a hardwood marker which was set on the right bank of the Bom Sucesso Creek and following the border with lot No. 212A in the direction of SW 18 degrees and 31 minutes for a distance of 814 meters to a marker placed on the Bom Sucesso-Jacutinga divide: from there the line follows the said divide in the direction SE 64 degrees and 14 minutes for 126 meters to a marker similar to the others; from this point it follows along the boundary with lot No. 212C in the direction NE 21 degrees and 51 minutes to a marker set in the right bank of Bom Sucesso Creek, and finally it follows up this to the point of departure.

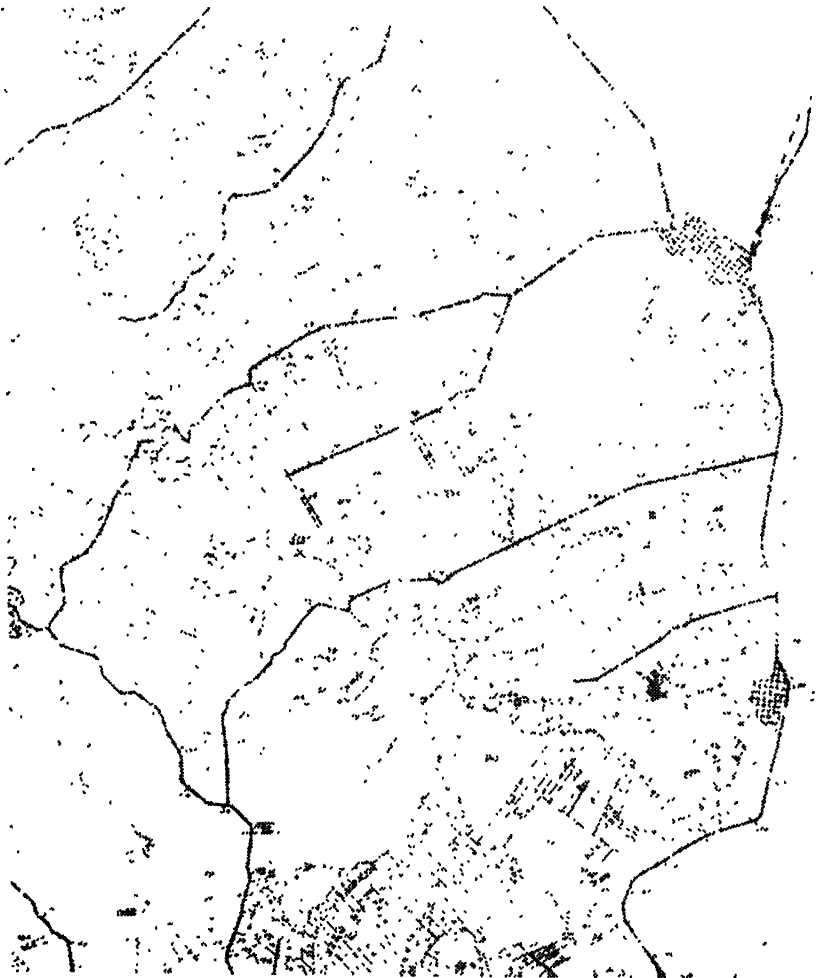


FIGURE 13. System of Land Division Used by the North Paraná Land Company. (Courtesy of the Company.)

To one interested in the division of farm lands so as to obtain the maximum efficiency in farm organization, in settlement patterns that permit farmers to live on the land without sacrificing all the advantages of near neighbors, and in the adjustment of both farm layouts and settlement patterns to topography, southern Brazil is one of the best possible fields for study. The Brazilians' practices in these respects, based on many years' experience, are deserving of careful study with a view to wide application

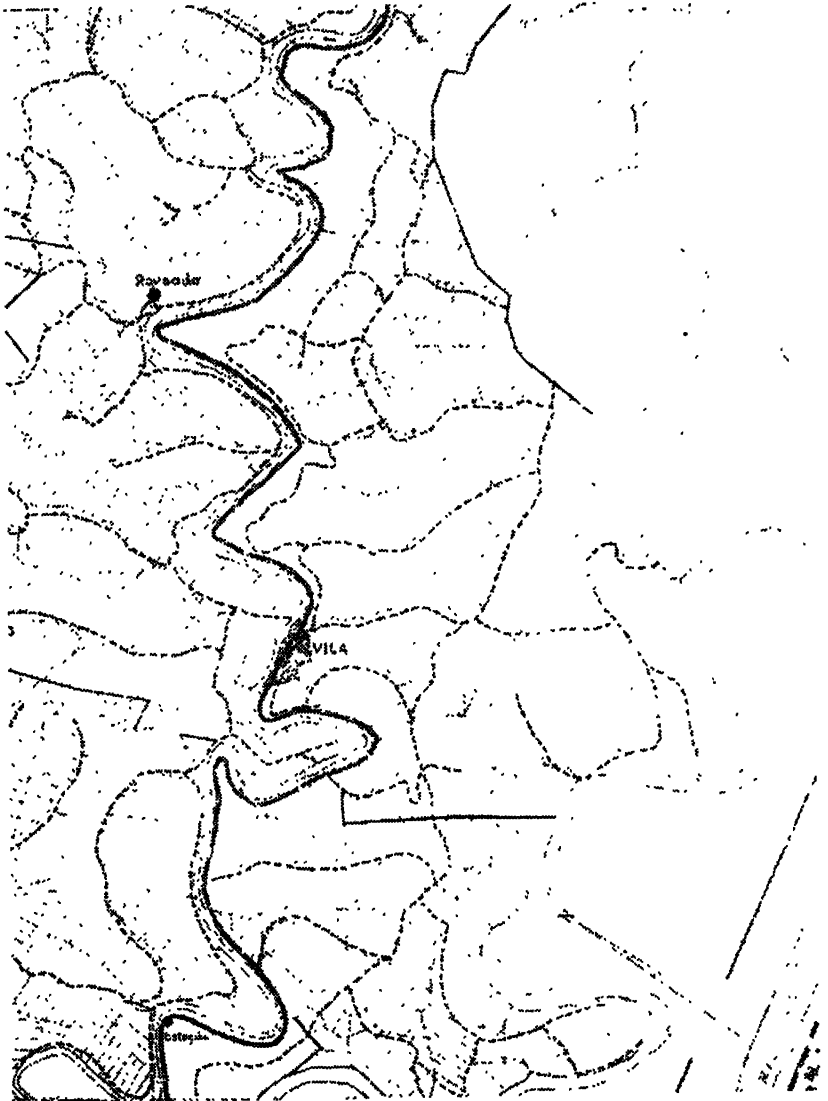


FIGURE 14. The System of Land Division Used by the State of Santa Catarina. (Courtesy of Virgílio Gualberto, Director-Geral of the Departamento Estadual de Estatística.)

in other countries. Resettlement projects and colonization activities should not be carried on until their directors are acquainted with these Brazilian developments. It is to be hoped that the most effective use of this ex-

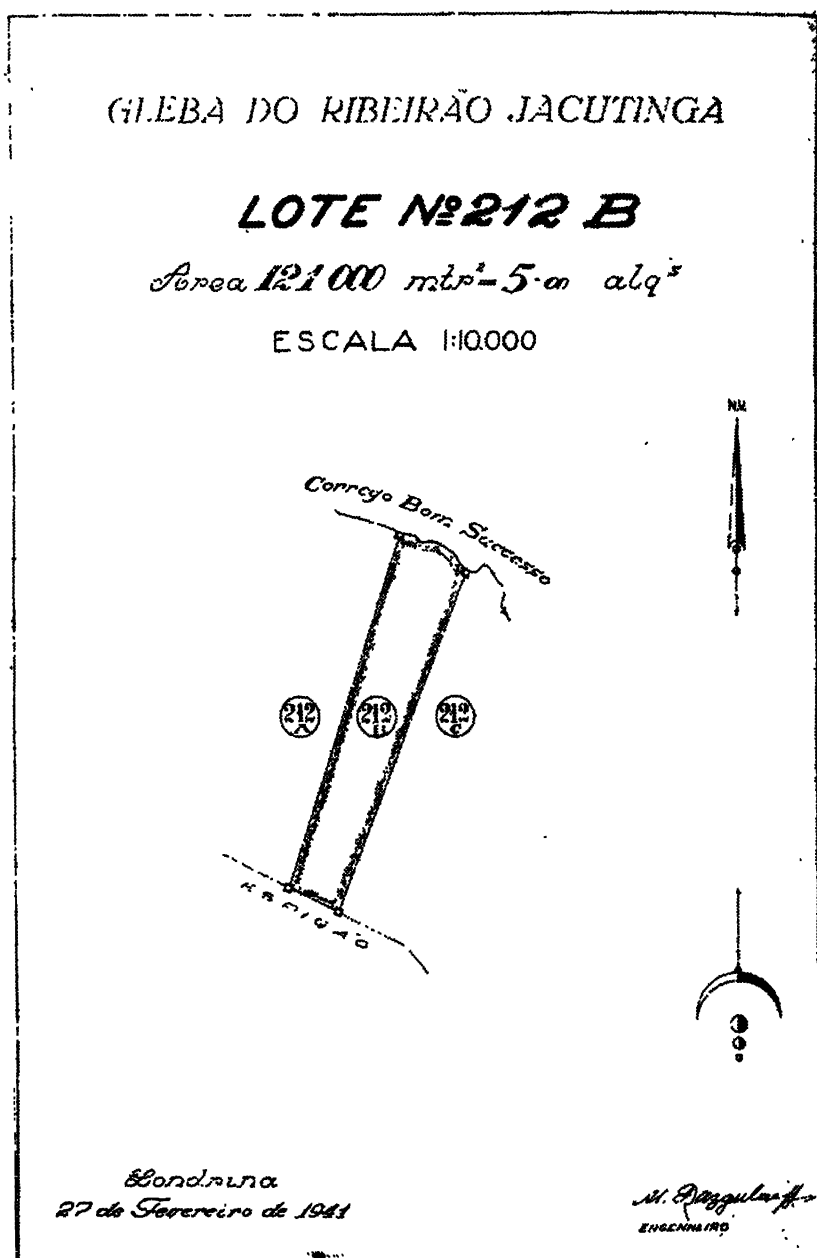


FIGURE 15. Map of the Lot Sold to One of Its Customers by the North Paraná Land Company. (Courtesy of the Company.)

perience will be in Brazil itself. Of course these forms are useful only in carefully planned and supervised or directed settlement. Where occupation of the land is spontaneous, a system such as that described in the concluding chapter of this book is greatly preferred.

CHAPTER XV

LAND TENURE

AS ONE reads the very considerable literature dealing with Brazil's social and economic problems he is impressed by the slight attention given to questions of land tenure. Only recently has this subject begun to receive attention at the hands of Brazilian scholars. Whereas certain phases of this subject, and especially tenancy, are sure to be placed in the top rank of rural social problems in the United States, they long went almost without mention in Brazil. This is not because that nation's scholars have been callous to the social problems of agriculture. Both agricultural credit and co-operatives receive specific mention in the constitution; there are numerous books and articles dealing with problems of illiteracy and the rural schools, latifundia and the unfavorable situation of the working masses, poor health, malnutrition, and diet; and there has been extensive discussion of rural poverty, isolation, inadequate systems of transportation and communication, droughts, migration, and almost all the other phases of the rural problem as they are known in the United States. But questions relative to land tenure are only now coming to occupy a place of importance in Brazilian thinking. The press, the magazines, the learned journals, and the classroom rarely if ever give a place to matters pertaining to the leasing of lands and the relationships between landlord and tenant. Even many of the books on agricultural economics and rural sociology have omitted land tenure from the outline of materials which are presented.¹

¹ See Carneiro Leão, *A Sociedade Rural*; Hernani de Carvalho, *Sociologia da Vida Rural Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951); and Fabio Luz Filho, *Aspectos Agro-Economicos do Rio Grande do Sul* (São Paulo, 1937). See also the significant list of rural social problems given by the outstanding leader in education and statistics, M. A. Teixeira de Freitas, "Educação Rural," *Revista Nacional de Educação*, Nos. 18 and 19 (March and April 1934), 54-79. Although the list as given by this authority includes misery of the rural proletariat, routine in the processes of work, lack of technical organization and administration of agricultural enterprises, faulty land titles, confused weights and measures, and a rudimentary system of credit, it makes no mention of tenure problems. Finally, it should be indicated that neither *arrendar* (to rent), *arrendamento* or *arrendação* (rent or renting), *arrendador* (one who rents to another), or *arrendatário* (one who rents from another) appear in the fourth edition of José de Souza, *Dicionário da Terra e da Gente do Brasil*. They are given in Hildebrando Lima and Gustavo Barroso, *Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa* (3d ed.: Rio de Janeiro, 1942), but buildings and not lands are used for the purposes of clarifying the nature of the rental contract. However, in some recent works the subject is receiving the attention it deserves. See especially, João Gonçalves de Souza, "Relações de Homem com a Terra em 4 Comunidades Rurais

That Brazilians have paid little attention to matters of land tenure seems to be due entirely to the fact that only in recent years has this aspect of the land problem become acute, and then only in a few parts of Brazil.² Although the leasing of lands, especially for grazing purposes, has been known in Brazil since colonial days,³ as late as 1920 rented farms numbered only 23,371, or constituted but 3.6 per cent of the land in farms. Certainly these data do not indicate a dispossession of farmers from their lands such as has stimulated interest in tenure problems in parts of the United States. Nor do they indicate the confusion of tenancy and share wages which has aroused interest in the former in other parts of our nation. However, it is merely a matter of time until the small-farming classes of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, and Espírito Santo begin to encounter greater difficulties in finding sufficient suitable land for their numerous progeny and until the people of São Paulo become more cognizant of the fundamental changes that are under way in the land system of their state. Then the questions of land tenure are likely to attain burning significance. The continued subdivision of lands by inheritance in Minas Gerais and other states may bring a like result. The reduction of the former northeastern sugar planters and millers to the status of *fornecedores*, frequently as renters of the lands they once owned, is certain to make tenure problems more acute in the coastal areas of the north and east. Elsewhere in Brazil land questions will likely remain those that grow out of large-

do Médio São Francisco," *Boletim da Sociedade Brasileira de Geografia*, No. 1 (1950); Serviço de Informação Agrícola, *Reforma Agrária no Mundo e no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952); and João Gonçalves de Souza, "Land Tenure Problems in Brazil and Their Solution," in Joseph Ackerman and Marshall Harris (eds.), *Family Farm Policy* (Chicago, 1947), Chap. X. Furthermore in 1953 the Brazilian Government in co-operation with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations staged a five-weeks seminar to study land tenure problems in Latin America.

² Nevertheless, early writers, in commenting upon leasing arrangements in Brazil, have mentioned that the renting contracts favored the tenants. For example:

"The laws respecting Landlord and Tenant are very much in favor of the latter. If he has built a house, planted fruit-trees, or in any other way benefited an estate, beyond the terms of his contract, he does not on removal lose what he has paid out; appraisers are appointed to ascertain the value of the improvements, and the landlord must pay for them, whether useful to him or not. Indeed they can hardly be considered, in any case, as useless; for, when an estate is sold, these *Bemefitorias*, as they are called, are always valued separately, and paid for in addition to the sum agreed upon for the purchase of the land and the woods. The operation of these laws is as beneficial to the public as to the individuals, not only saving them from oppression, but gradually spreading them over the country, when they begin to acquire property. And such a dispersion is by no means uncommon, for landlords here are adverse to wealthy tenants." Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the Southern Parts of Brazil*, 294-95. Laws of this nature would prevent the genesis of landlord-tenant conflicts in two ways: (1) by safeguarding the interests of the renters, and (2) more important, by preventing the rise of any considerable class of renters.

³ Cf. Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil*, 1920, I, 284.



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OXEN AND OXCART

scale agriculture, the plantation system, rather than the problems of tenure as such.⁴ Particularly in the sugar areas, a further dispossession of the *senhores de engenhos* and the continued growth of the larger *usinas* is to be expected.

The Nature of Property Rights in the Land. Property rights in land in Brazil are based in and adhere closely to the canons of Roman law. Brazilian lands are held under a system of ownership in fee simple similar to our own, except that mineral rights belong to the federal government. The right of eminent domain may be exercised by the state or nation in cases of "public necessity" or "public utility," and these are rather broadly construed. Lands may be expropriated on the grounds of public necessity if they are needed for the following purposes: (1) the defense of national territory, (2) public security, (3) in times of calamity, for public succor or relief, and (4) public health. Under the category "public utility" lands may be taken for (1) providing locations for populated places and establishments for public assistance, education, and public instruction, (2) the opening, enlargement, or prolongation of streets, parks, canals, railways, or any other public thoroughfares, (3) the construction of works or establishments destined to promote the general welfare, or the appearance and hygienic condition of a locality, and (4) the opening and working of mines.⁵

EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

The evolution of Brazil's body of property rights in land parallels in many respects the development of our own public land system. But there are some major and highly significant differences. For example, in the United States a very important factor in achieving national unity at the time of the adoption of the Constitution was the relinquishing by the several states of their own rights to the unoccupied western lands. All these lands together were established as the public domain of the federal government, and their sale not only promoted the westward movement of population, but also helped to finance the new federal government. In Brazil, on the other hand, the sequence of events was just the opposite. Prior to the establishment of the republic in 1889, the rights to the public land were

⁴ To one who has long urged that the social problems of the southern United States are the result of the plantation system and the absence of small operators, either owners or renters (tenants), and not to tenancy, Brazil offers an important supporting case. Brazil suffers from all the ills of the plantation system, many of them even more acute than they are in the South, without, however, offering the slightest shred of evidence in support of those who would attribute these evils to tenancy. Brazilians have always placed the blame where it belongs, on the *latifundium*.

⁵ *Código Civil Brasileiro* (8th ed.: São Paulo, 1942), Arts. 527 and 590; see also Art. 15 of the Constitution of November 10, 1937.

vested solely in the national government, the empire. With the adoption of the republican constitution, each of the states was, with minor exceptions, vested with the rights to the public lands lying within its borders. However, this exception should not be given undue importance; in its major outlines Brazil's land system has developed in much the same way as our own.

As in North America, the founding nation by right of discovery and conquest assumed the rights to the land in the newly discovered territories. Gradually, throughout the colonial period, property rights in land were transferred from the public power to private hands and passed on from one individual to another. Very early the lands were all given as capitánias to twelve *fidalgos*, or nobles.⁶ It might well be said that this divided Portugal's share of the Western Hemisphere into twelve large and almost uninhabited baronies. It was soon discovered, however, that this system did little to promote the settlement of Portuguese America, and so the grants were revoked and the lands again taken by the crown. To replace the capitánias the government of the colonies was placed in the hands of the king's viceroy. Under the direction of this royal representative the settlement of the coastal fringe proceeded rapidly.

During the early period, that of the viceroys, the only manner of granting land by the crown was the giving of large tracts in *sesmarias*⁷ or grants to those who applied for them. Any person trying to qualify for such a grant went to considerable lengths to convince the representative of the crown that he was of "good family," that is, of *fidalgo* lineage, and that he possessed the means necessary to enable him to open and operate a sugar plantation or *engenho*. These *sesmarias* as a rule measured at least two leagues (roughly 7.5 miles) on each side, and some of them were of al-

⁶ Cf. Fausto de Souza, *Estudo Sobre a Divisão Territorial do Brazil*, 34, *passim*.

⁷ *Sesmaria* appears in Portuguese legal codes long before the discovery of America. During the reign of Dom Fernando I was published the *Lei das Sesmarias*, formalizing an old practice of taking from owners any cultivatable lands that they were allowing to go unused. Naturally the concept evolved rapidly when the tiny Kingdom of Portugal attempted the colonization of immense areas of practically unoccupied land in the New World, the Dark Continent, and the Indies. When Martim Afonso de Souza undertook his expedition to Brazil in 1530 he carried with him, among other documents, a royal letter authorizing him to concede in *sesmaria* lands found that might be utilized. It was under the authority of this royal letter that João Ramalho was given lands on the isle of Guaiabe in 1531, and Braz Cubas in Piratininga on October 10, 1532. Cirne Lima, *Terras Devolutas*, 10, 29-30. When Brazil was divided into capitánias, i.e., between 1532 and 1548, each *capitão* had the right to grant land in *sesmaria*; after the powers were re-assembled in the hands of a governor general, that official alone held the rights of granting *sesmarias*, although some of those to whom extensive grants were given, in turn, gave them out to others in immense parcels as *sesmarias*; in fact the giving of lands in *sesmaria* was the only legal manner of distributing lands while Brazil was a possession of Portugal. *Ibid.*, 31-32, 33, 51. The regulations abolishing the granting of lands in *sesmaria* came in 1822. Cf. Werneck Sodré, *Oeste*, 83.

most boundless extent. In pastoral regions ten leagues on a side was customary, although there were many larger sesmarias given out. From very early times it was possible for some of the landed potentates to rent lands for cattle raising to their fellows who lacked the lineage or funds necessary to obtain a sesmaria, these rented acreages measuring a minimum of one league on each side.⁸ In addition to the alienation of lands by sesmarias, tracts also passed from public to private ownership through sale, donation, exchange, and the legalization of possessions that had been established.⁹

In Brazil from the very first the transference of rights from public to private hands was rather complete, i. e., vestiges from the feudal land system did not result in the crown's retaining many rights in the land. The collection of the tithe, at first for the church and later for the state, however, was general.¹⁰ The other remnants of feudalism that remained, although numerous, were largely confined to the manner in which the landed proprietor carried on the operation of his vast estate;¹¹ they did not remain because the public power failed to grant him free and unhampered rights to the land. Once the sesmarias were confirmed by the king, the title was full and complete, and the owner was exempted from any further obligation except the payment of a tenth of the produce to "God, our master."¹²

⁸ Cf. Oliveira Vianna "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brazil*, 1920, I, 284, *passim*. And Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 37, gives data for Bahia of holdings measuring 80, 160, and even 260 leagues.

⁹ Lima Pereira, *Da Propriedade no Brasil*, 6.

¹⁰ Precautions were taken to ensure that the original concessionaires should not fasten a set of feudal obligations upon the settlers in their colonies. Those receiving donations of capitania were permitted to cede lands "without fees, nor any obligation, only the tenth of God." But they were prohibited from appropriating the lands for their own use, even in an indirect manner, until they had been used a minimum of eight years by or for those receiving the sesmarias. The prohibitions specified included grants to their own wives, or heirs, and purchase. In other words, the persons to whom the capitania were given could cede the land to others as sesmarias, but could not appropriate it for themselves. Cirne Lima, *Terras Devolutas*, 31-32; cf. Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brazil*, III, 142-44.

¹¹ While he was operating a sugar plantation near Recife, Koster often compared his existence with that of a baron of feudal times: "The great power of the planter, not only over his slaves, but his authority over the free persons of lower rank; the respect which is required by these Barons from the free inhabitants of their lands; the assistance which they expect from their tenants in case of insult from a neighboring equal; the dependence of the peasants, and their wish to be under the peculiar protection of a person of wealth who is capable of relieving them from any oppression, and speaking in their behalf to the governor or the chief judge; all these circumstances combined, tend to make the similarity very great." *Travels in Brazil*, 224.

¹² Through an interesting development the tithe, once a tribute levied for the support of the church and the clergy, came to be collected to help fill the coffers of the government. Koster called attention to the fact that, in his days, "a tenth is raised in kind upon cattle, poultry, and agriculture, and even upon salt; this in former times appertained, as in other Christian countries, to the clergy." He then explained that during the early days of the colony the priests found it difficult to live upon the proceeds from the tithes and petitioned that they be given fixed stipends and that the state take the tithing. Koster

However, the king did reserve the right to establish on the concessions towns or villages, when he judged it necessary, and also the right to use the hardwoods growing on the land, especially for the building of vessels.¹³ The *donatario* or noble person receiving the original grant enjoyed all the powers and privileges of government, including, besides the right to grant sesmarias, the naming of all officials and a freedom from any superior authority except that of the king. Their revenues were derived from a share, one tenth of the tithe.¹⁴

But there were some significant encumbrances smacking of feudalism which arose within the system of private ownership. One of these interesting and highly significant features of the system of land tenure that developed in Brazil is brought out in the following quotation from an early nineteenth-century writer:

The waste lands I had seen on this and other excursions were satisfactorily accounted for, by the circumstances arising out of an attempt made by a friend of mine to purchase about twenty acres, situated upon the margin of the bay, four miles by water and eight by land from the city. Its cultivation had extended no further than the employment one solitary slave could give it; a few patches of mandioca were visible, and two rows of fruit trees, from the eminence on which a clay tenement stood, formed a pathway towards the bay. Nine hundred milreis (upwards of two hundred pounds) was the sum demanded for the everlasting possession of it, subject to the payment of a fine of five pounds per annum to a lady, whose assent to the transfer was required, and could be immediately obtained. My friend determined to be the purchaser, and called upon the donna, to ascertain under what circumstances the five pounds were to be paid. She had no objections to his becoming the purchaser; but said, she thought the sum demanded was too much, and that she would send in a person to value the *bemfeitoras* [*sic*], that is, what produce might be upon the ground, if the party wished to sell it. He found, therefore, in place of its being a free purchase, this lady had the full control over the property, in case of the occupier wishing to dispose of it. He would have purchased her five pounds fine; that she would on no account part with, and further stated, that, for every two slaves more that he employed, he must pay five pounds more fine. The present holder was only to work it with two. The object of this would seem to be, that, in the event of its being disposed of, she would not have so many *bemfeitoras* to take. This gentleman would have expended a considerable sum, and have brought the land into a state of fine cultivation, if he could have retained it in his own possession, and that of his successors in perpetuity; but, if circumstances compelled him to part with it, this donna, by the Brazilian laws, would have had the preference; and two people, appointed for the purpose, would have been sent to value the produce standing upon the ground, without regard to improvement of times,

also remarked that in the early nineteenth century the clergy were complaining of the bargain made by their predecessors. *Ibid.*, 31-32.

¹³ Lima Pereira, *Da Propriedade no Brasil*, 6.

¹⁴ M. de Oliveira Lima, *Pernambuco, Seu Desenvolvimento Historico* (Leipzig, 1895), 10-11.

or the amelioration of the soil; and, in consequence of this fine, she would have unfairly regained possession of the property for a mere bagatelle. This being the state of the case, my friend immediately declined any further treaty upon the subject. This donna and two sisters, all spinsters, possess a most extensive range of land, the whole under similar circumstances, and nearly in the same condition that it was left by the Indians. The parties occupying it live upon the produce of fruit sold at market, and a little mandioca. Under the present system of landed tenure, it will remain covered with wild grass till doomsday.

It is a great misfortune to the Brazil, that extensive tracts of land have been granted to donatories, who do not possess the means of cultivating one-hundredth part of it, but hold it on under the expectation that the gradual improvement of the country will render it daily more valuable, and the residence of the court here induces them to adhere more strongly to this impression: if they dispose of any part of it, they generally subject it to a fine, and the consequences attending such a contract will present a decided obstacle to the agricultural improvement of this country, not at all proportioned to its extent or superabundant powers. Individuals who would devote their exertions and property to the culture of the soil, where this mode prevails, must be effectually deterred. The province of St. Paulo, which may be estimated to contain one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, has no land devoluto, or ungranted, although one-thirtieth part of it is not in a state of cultivation. Land of course may be bought without a fine, but not generally. I had some conversation with a Portuguese gentleman, whose intention it was to obtain from his Majesty a grant of land to the extent of two or three square leagues, situated upon the northern bank of the river Parahiba; but he could not have placed more than two slaves upon it, and his avowed object was to retain it under the anticipation of futurity producing him an advantage in the sale of it, by portions or otherwise. The King is very liberal in granting land; and would, no doubt, afford encouragement for the agricultural improvement of the country, and even during my short stay at Rio he supplied some individuals with slaves for the purpose of cultivation; but the parsimonious feeling and apathy which prevails will operate against any speedy change or improvement of the system. In the donation of lands, it would be wise to attach a positive obligation to cultivate, or in a certain period either to revert to the crown or be publicly disposed of to those who are competent, and intend to work them; and further, to grant lands only in quantities proportionate to the means the individual receiving them may possess of bringing them into a state of culture; otherwise it would be infinitely better for the lands to remain with the crown, thereby precluding the practice of retailing them out with a fine.¹⁵

From other sections of Brazil come reports of the entailing of estates, a practice that also seems to have worked against the progress of agriculture. Koster described as follows these arrangements:

There are a few *morgados* or entailed estates in Pernambuco, and I believe in Paraiba likewise; and I have heard that in Bahia there are a great many. There are also *capellados* or chapel lands; these estates cannot be sold, and from

¹⁵ Henderson, *A History of the Brazil*, 85-87.

this cause are sometimes suffered to decay, or at any rate they yield much less profit to the State than they would under other circumstances. The *capellado* is formed in this manner: the owner bequeaths a certain part of the produce or rent of the estate to some particular church, for the purpose of having masses said for his own soul, or for pious uses of a less selfish nature. On account of this the estate cannot, according to law, be sold, so that if the next heir is not rich enough to work the mill himself, he lets it to someone who possesses a sufficient number of negroes. The portion which is due to the favoured church being paid, the owner then remains with the residue of the rent as his share of the profit. Now, lands even with buildings upon them, are let at so low a rate, that after the church is paid, and the tenant has deducted what he has expended in repairing the edifices of the plantation, but a poor pittance remains for the owner. The *engenho* of Catu near to Goiana is placed in these circumstances; the owner lives in the neighbourhood of the Great House or principal residence, and the only advantage which he derives from the possession of this most excellent and extensive estate, is that of residing rent free upon one corner of it and now and then receiving a trifle of money. Whereas if it could be sold, he would immediately receive a sufficient sum to place him in easy circumstances; and the estate would undergo improvement, for the occupier would then have a direct interest in its advancement. I might mention several other plantations which are situated in like manner.¹⁶

During the colonial period there were from time to time established other regulations that somewhat restricted individual property rights in the land and gave more form to public policy. Thus an order of December 27, 1685, established a quit-rent, in addition to the tithe, that had to be paid by the concessionaire. A royal letter of December 7, 1698, limited the extension of sesmarias to three leagues in length by one in breadth; and one of March 3, 1704, required their judicial demarcation. Another of February 23, 1711, provided that the lands should never by any title pass under the "dominion of the Religions,"¹⁷ and "where these Orders already possessed estates, they were to pay tenths, like the estates of the laity; and if any lands or houses were bequeathed to them, the bequest was not to take effect without the King's permission."¹⁸ A decree of October 20, 1753, prohibited the confirmation of sesmarias that had not been previously surveyed and marked. The next year a provision of March 11, 1754, reserved space for purposes of public utility on major streams; and a royal letter of March 13, 1797, prohibited the concession of lands fronting on the coast or on the margin of navigable streams.

But most important was the charter of October 5, 1795, which served to systematize the regulations pertaining to the granting and use of lands. Among its provisions were the following: (1) the proprietor receiving a

¹⁶ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 355-56.

¹⁷ Silva Rocha, *Historia da Colonização do Brasil*, I, 158.

¹⁸ Southey, *History of Brazil*, III, 146.

sesmaria was obliged to establish the marks inclosing the grant one year before taking possession of it, (2) there was to be created a registry for the letters which granted and those which confirmed the sesmarias, each in suitable books, and (3) each cidade or vila should receive four square leagues of land located within a radius of six miles of the population center, and the income from this property should be used to defer the expenses of the *câmara* (local governing body or council) in the particular city or town.¹⁹

With the separation from Portugal and the establishment of the Empire of Brazil, the granting of sesmarias was discontinued. From this time, 1822, however, dates a thirty-year period of great confusion in land policy and procedure, during which there was a considerable development of unauthorized occupation of vacant lands by squatters.²⁰ This became so widespread that it gave rise to the next important benchmark in Brazilian tenure legislation. This body of legal provisions concerning the ownership and possession of land in Brazil came in the period of the empire as Law No. 601, of September 18, 1850.²¹ This law stipulated that title to unoccupied lands might be acquired only by purchase. All lands were defined as unoccupied (*terras devolutas*)²² except those in public use, those held by legitimate title, and those to which titles might be confirmed under the provisions of the law entering into force. The liberality of the provisions for confirmation of "squatters' rights" and other extralegal forms of possession may be observed from certain provisions. Article 4 provided that all sesmarias, whether granted by the central or the provincial governments, might be confirmed if the person to whom the grant was made or his representative had lived on the land and cultivated it, although none of the other provisions of the law had been complied with; and Article 5 provided for the confirmation of all claims to land based on first occupancy provided they were cultivated, were beginning to be cultivated, or were the habitual residence of the possessor. The latter also made provisions for the settlement of conflicting claims. Another article, No. 11, stipulated that each possessor must secure a title to the lands claimed, and set the fees that should be charged for these services. Article 14 detailed the manner in which lands were to be disposed of in the future, providing specifically

¹⁹ Lima Pereira, *Da Propriedade no Brasil*, 7-8.

²⁰ Burton wrote: "A Brazilian friend writes to me—'The iniquitous law of 1823, which put a stop to land concessions, caused substituous occupation to take the place of lawful titles. Thus the best lands were worked out and ruined.'" *The Highlands of the Brazil*, I, 42.

²¹ The law is cited in Lima Pereira, *Da Propriedade no Brasil*, 200-206.

²² Literally, *terras devolutas* at first meant lands that had reverted to the state for failure to comply with the conditions stipulated in the original grant. In general practice it later came to mean any unoccupied or unowned lands, or in brief the public domain. Cf. Ferreira, *Azumbuja e Urussanga*, 13-17.

that they should first be surveyed, subdivided, marked, and described. Interestingly enough, it stipulated that, local circumstances permitting, the divisions should have as a point of departure the true meridians, that other lines should cut these at right angles, and that the lots should measure 500 braças (1,111 meters) on each side. It hardly needs mentioning that such a system of surveys never became effective and that dividing ridges and water-courses continued to be followed in the demarcation of Brazilian property limits. (See Chapter XIV.) Article 16 indicated the rights that were withheld from the owner by specifying that he might be required to cede lands for roads or ports; grant right of way to neighbors so that they could have access to highways, population centers, or ports; consent to the drawing off or passage through his property of unused waters; and be subject to laws respecting mines that might be discovered on the land. And Article 21 authorized the government to publish a regulamento pertaining to public lands and to establish a department with charge of affairs relating to their surveying, division, sale, distribution, and colonization.

On January 30, 1854, the regulamento referred to above was published as Decreto No. 1,318.²³ Its nine sections and 108 articles specified in detail how the department was to be organized and administered, outlined procedures and responsibilities for the surveying of public land, gave the routine to be followed in the confirmation of land titles, provided for the sale of public lands, specified the categories of land that were to be reserved, established restrictions for unoccupied lands that lay on the nation's boundaries, made the local judges responsible for ensuring that the public lands were not occupied illegally, and provided for a registry of land titles.

With the advent of the republic in 1889 the ownership of public lands which had been vested in the central government passed to the states. Even before this, in 1888, as part of the rapid development of state's rights which brought on the republic and also a great decentralization in Brazilian government, Law No. 3,396 of November 24 conceded to the respective provinces the proceeds received from the sale of lands within the province. Funds so derived were to be used by each state in developing its colonization service. Article 64 of the republican constitution specifically provided that the states should possess "the unoccupied lands situated in their respective territories, there falling to the Union only that portion of the territory that may be indispensable for the defense of the frontiers, fortifications, military constructions, and federal railroads."

From the establishment of the republic to date, land laws have fallen within the jurisdiction of the several states, except that the matter of

²³ Cited in Lima Pereira, *Da Propriedade no Brasil*, 206-28.

mineral rights and some control of a band along the frontiers have been under federal jurisdiction and control. Naturally, the provisions in the twenty states have been extremely varied. In many cases the states, in turn, have conceded special privileges to the municípios. For example, the state of São Paulo granted to each município all the unoccupied land lying within a radius of six kilometers from the center of the central plaza of each center village, town, or city having 1,000 inhabitants or more.²⁴ São Paulo and Amazonas both gave large grants of land to official land and colonization companies organized by the Imperial Japanese Government. These and many other phases of Brazil's land question must enter into the exhaustive study still to be made of Brazil's land system under the republic, which will require the long untiring efforts of a host of scholars. The present writer has examined somewhat the legislation of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Rio Grande do Norte. In all of these, provisions were made for determining which lands were legitimately in the hands of private owners and which still legally belonged to the state; procedures were instituted for validation of claims established by occupying, cultivating, and establishing a home on the land, or of claims from sesmarias that had never been registered; and a register of deeds was set up. However, no basic changes in the rights to the land seem to have been introduced.

LAND TENURE IN 1940

The principal source of information on land tenure in Brazil is the census of 1940. Fortunately, this census gathered material and tabulated it with sufficient detail, concerning both subject matter and geographical divisions, that it is possible to determine the principal features of Brazil's tenure system from its reports. In utilizing this material it is necessary to keep in mind that in 1940 less than one fourth of the area of Brazil was included in the category "land in rural establishments."²⁵

Unfortunately, in Brazil as generally is the case in other countries, including the United States, it still is impossible to answer accurately some of the most important questions concerning the tenure rights possessed by those who till the soil. Despite their costliness and detail, modern censuses of population and agriculture still do not supply the answers to some basic questions. What is the number and what is the proportion of the nation's families dependent for their livelihood upon agriculture (or one of the other principal industries)? What percentage of the nation's farm families are the operators of farms, and what percentage fall in the category of farm

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

²⁵ The basic data on number of farms, land in farms, and tenure are given in the "Sinopse do Censo Agrícola, Dados Gerais," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).

laborers? And, of all the families in a given country who are dependent upon agriculture, what proportion are the owners of the farms on which they work? Only proximate answers to such questions, based merely upon estimates, can be given for the United States; the same is true for Brazil.

Fortunately, the task of estimating the number of farm families in Brazil is somewhat less involved than it is in the United States; and by ignoring the fact that some rural families engage in little or no agricultural activities it is fairly easy to get some approximate figures. Thus, from the housing census one may determine the number of rural households or domiciles, which must be approximately the same as the number of families. Relating this to the number of farm owners, as in Table XXXIX, reveals that among each 100 rural families in Brazil only 22 are classed as farm owners. Were rural families who do not till the soil eliminated, if that could be done, it is possible that the ratio might be raised to 25. Even so, hardly more than one family out of four throughout the vast expanses of rural Brazil owns the land on which it is dependent for a livelihood. The proportion of farm owners reaches its maximum in the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina. It is lowest in Acre, where the land is monopolized by the owners of a few large estates on which rubber and other forest products are collected, and in Maranhão, where the bulk of the rural families are merely squatting on the land. The low percentages in the states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are highly significant. Even in immense, remote and sparsely settled Mato Grosso, the ordinary family seems to find it difficult to secure land of its own on which to work.

According to the 1940 census there were in all Brazil 1,904,589 rural establishments or farms. Of these only 221,505, or 11.6 per cent, were operated by renters. Certainly those obsessed by the tenancy bugbear could find in these data little basis for raising an alarm. Even so, however, rented farms were almost 10 times as numerous in 1940 as they were in 1920 when only 23,371 (3.6 per cent of the total) were in that category. However, these tenant-operated farms were somewhat smaller than the average, including 9.7 per cent of the land in farms; and they included on the average lands slightly less valuable than other properties with the result that only 8.9 per cent of farm values were accounted for by those in the rented category. An interesting and significant fact is the high percentage of rural establishments which were operated by administrators, 178,326, or 9.4 per cent of all. Furthermore, that administrators were in charge of Brazil's larger and more valuable farm properties is indicated by the fact that the estates under their management contained 22.7 per cent of the farm land and made up 21.2 per cent of the land values in all Brazil. Owner-operatorship, of the type in which the labor is performed

TABLE XXXIX

Number of Rural Families, Number of Farm Owners, and the Proportion of Farm Owners Among All Rural Families, 1940, by States *

State	Number of Rural Families (Domiciles)	Number of Farm Owners	Number of Farm Owners per 100 Rural Families
Brazil	6,256,735	1,376,602	22.0
North	228,961		
Acre	17,104	294	1.7
Amazonas	67,161	15,576	23.2
Pará	144,696	36,433	25.2
Northeast	1,749,970		
Maranhão	246,940	17,329	7.0
Piauí	148,195	23,443	15.8
Ceará	344,266	70,379	20.4
Rio Grande do Norte	134,840	25,063	18.6
Paraíba	244,564	51,646	21.1
Pernambuco	453,138	92,469	20.4
Alagoas	178,027	25,465	14.3
East	2,332,419		
Sergipe	97,516	31,857	32.7
Bahia	712,288	189,728	26.6
Minas Gerais	1,089,260	233,146	21.4
Espírito Santo	117,219	30,753	26.2
Rio de Janeiro	255,618	33,751	13.2
Distrito Federal	47,536	2,349	4.9
South	1,768,935		
São Paulo	916,353	161,982	17.7
Paraná	212,262	49,432	23.3
Santa Catarina	189,958	71,917	37.9
Rio Grande do Sul	450,362	174,653	38.8
West Central	176,450		
Goiás	123,272	31,031	25.2
Mato Grosso	53,178	7,770	14.6

* Sources of basic data: "Censo Demográfico—População e Habitação," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940*, II (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), 176-78; and "Sinopse do Censo Agrícola, Dados Gerais," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).

by laborers paid either on a wage or a share basis, was the dominant type of tenure in Brazil. In all, 1,376,602 Brazilian farms, 72.3 per cent, were operated by their owners in 1940. In the establishments of these owner-operators was 64.4 per cent of the farm land, indicating that their farms were smaller than the average, and 69.5 per cent of the farm values. However, the variations from state to state are so great that no conclusions as to the comparative sizes and values of the properties of the various tenure

classes should be drawn until the situation in the several states has been observed. To facilitate such observation, Tables XL, XLI, and XLII, have been prepared. The first of these shows, in addition to the number of farms in each state, the percentages of owner-operators, administrators, renters, and squatters. Table XLI shows the percentage of farms with tenant operators and also the percentage of the total land in farms and the total value of the rural properties that are accounted for by farms

TABLE XL
Tenure of Farm Operators, 1940, by States *

State	Number of farms	Percentage of farms operated by:			
		Owners	Administrators	Renters	Occupants, others, and unknown
Brazil	1,904,589	72.3	9.4	11.6	6.7
North	81,079				
Acre	1,047	28.0	11.3	45.7	15.0
Amazonas	21,897	71.1	10.3	6.5	12.0
Pará	58,135	62.7	12.5	10.6	14.2
Northeast	476,682				
Maranhão	95,228	18.2	7.3	12.9	61.6
Piauí	32,496	72.1	20.4	7.1	0.4
Ceará	93,382	75.4	15.7	8.3	0.6
Rio Grande do Norte	34,392	72.9	12.8	12.0	2.3
Paraíba	65,137	79.3	11.6	9.1	†
Pernambuco	123,266	75.0	7.0	17.6	0.4
Alagoas	32,781	77.7	7.8	14.3	0.2
East	644,695				
Sergipe	34,579	92.1	6.4	1.3	0.2
Bahia	226,343	83.8	11.9	2.9	1.4
Minas Gerais	284,685	81.9	9.5	5.2	3.4
Espírito Santo	41,919	73.3	11.7	4.3	10.7
Rio de Janeiro	48,389	69.8	18.4	11.5	0.3
Distrito Federal	7,994	29.4	12.0	46.1	12.5
South	636,203				
São Paulo	252,615	64.1	8.5	26.5	0.9
Paraná	64,397	76.8	5.9	13.0	4.3
Santa Catarina	88,469	81.3	3.9	11.5	3.3
Rio Grande do Sul	230,722	75.7	5.6	11.5	7.2
West Central	65,930				
Goiás	55,908	55.5	7.2	16.0	21.3
Mato Grosso	10,022	77.5	8.1	6.3	8.1

* Source of basic data: "Sinopse do Censo Agrícola," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).

† Less than one tenth of one per cent.

with tenant operators. Table XLII gives for the farms operated by administrators data comparable to those of Table XLI.

TABLE XLI

Relationship of Tenancy to Size of Farm and Value of Farm Land, 1940, by States *

Size	Number of farms	Percentage tenant operated	
		Of total acreage	Of total land value
Brazil	11.6	9.7	8.9
North			
Acre	45.7	50.0	42.6
Amazonas	6.5	22.3	13.7
Pará	10.6	23.2	15.8
Northeast			
Maranhão	12.9	5.6	5.8
Piauí	7.1	4.9	8.4
Ceará	8.3	4.9	6.4
Rio Grande do Norte	12.0	5.0	6.8
Paraíba	9.1	5.1	6.5
Pernambuco	17.6	10.0	13.7
Alagoas	14.3	5.9	8.4
East			
Sergipe	1.3	1.1	2.7
Bahia	2.9	1.5	2.2
Minas Gerais	5.2	3.4	4.2
Espírito Santo	4.3	3.8	3.2
Rio de Janeiro	11.5	8.4	8.5
Distrito Federal	46.1	37.8	39.3
South			
São Paulo	26.5	8.6	9.2
Paraná	13.0	9.3	6.8
Santa Catarina	11.5	6.8	6.5
Rio Grande do Sul	11.5	14.4	14.3
West Central			
Goiás	16.0	3.1	3.8
Mato Grosso	6.3	9.7	6.8

* Source of basic data: "Sinopse do Censo Agrícola, Dados Gerais," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).

OTHER TENURE CATEGORIES

The statistical data presented above indicate that farm operators constitute but a small handful of the total rural population of Brazil. The tenure relationships of the masses who are not to be classed as owners, administrators, or renters also must be considered. Many and varied are the

TABLE XLII

Relationship of Operation by Administrators to Size of Farm and Value of Farm Land, 1940, by States *

State	Percentage administrator operated		
	Of farms	Of total acreage	Of total land value
Brazil	9.4	22.7	21.2
North			
Acre	11.3	11.1	18.1
Amazonas	10.3	26.7	16.3
Pará	12.5	31.6	26.1
Northeast			
Maranhão	7.3	30.4	23.4
Piauí	20.4	38.8	30.2
Ceará	15.7	25.1	20.9
Rio Grande do Norte	12.8	24.6	18.9
Paraíba	11.6	17.8	18.3
Pernambuco	7.0	18.5	22.7
Alagoas	7.8	23.2	22.2
East			
Sergipe	6.4	18.7	17.0
Bahia	11.9	28.2	24.3
Minas Gerais	9.5	18.8	17.4
Espírito Santo	11.7	16.1	17.4
Rio de Janeiro	18.4	28.5	29.9
Distrito Federal	12.0	22.5	23.2
South			
São Paulo	8.5	31.0	31.7
Paraná	5.9	18.8	22.7
Santa Catarina	3.9	8.5	5.9
Rio Grande do Sul	5.6	17.1	15.6
West Central			
Goiás	7.2	18.7	15.6
Mato Grosso	8.1	24.8	25.1

* Source of basic data: "Sinopse do Censo Agrícola, Dados Gerais," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).

possible categories into which rural Brazilians who are not farm operators, or whose tenure is on the borderline between that of farm operator and farm laborer, might be grouped. But the classification into categories, without accompanying description of the relationships between man and land, proprietor and worker, would be of little consequence. Furthermore, the great bulk of the Brazilian population is to be classed as agricultural laborers, or still further down the scale of social evolution. A very large

part of all fall in an indeterminate category wherein life varies all the way from that of the unrestrained, nomadic existence of the hunter, fisher, and primitive agriculturist to that of a regular worker on an estate. On the social scale the colono on the São Paulo coffee or sugar plantation would probably rank at the top. Below him are the millions of his fellow countrymen who live on the cattle, sugar, cocoa, and other estates throughout the country, even though technically some of them might be considered tenants, or even "farm operators" in the sense that they are responsible only to themselves as to where they "squat" or make a small roça.

The pages that follow set forth briefly the principal varieties of tenure categories, beginning with the most informal, and the processes by which a rather stable class of laborers is secured.

From Squatters to Agregados. One may well begin the analysis with that numerous group of the lowest social class who inhabit the interior portions of the country, sometimes moving about annually, subject to no one and making their small roças where they please, at other times established as agregados or retainers on the fazenda of some patron. This class is of tremendous importance numerically. Throughout a large part of Brazil land is very cheap, and is held in extremely large holdings by proprietors who are primarily interested in keeping enough people about so that they can secure required help. Always there is the falta de braços in Brazil. It is not easy to retain a labor force because population is sparse, it is easy to secure the means for satisfying basic creature wants, and the lower classes lead a nomadic type of existence. Under these circumstances tenure relationships tend to become very informal indeed. Through long practice the rural people (the caboclos, matutos, sertanejos) feel free to "squat" where they please. They may establish their temporary quarters almost anywhere, erecting rough temporary shelters, making small roças²⁶ from which to harvest a little mandioca or maize, collecting and shelling babassú, preparing carnaúba wax, searching for diamonds, cutting wood, or fishing. If left to themselves this class of people will continue to live a nomadic life, gaining a precarious livelihood by hunting, fishing, collecting, and destroying the forests in order to get a little corn or mandioca from the roças they make. Since labor is always the limiting factor in Brazilian production, the landowner may find it to his advantage to allow these rural folk to live on his land; even foreign concerns soon discover

²⁶ Says Emílio Willems: "A certain part of native rural people of a very low economic status is represented by the *intrusos*, that is, intruders who invade large and yet unexplored properties of the state or individual owners, occupy their lands and cultivate the soil in a highly primitive way. When the soil is exhausted or when civilization advances closer, the *intrusos* move on and continue their work in more distant regions." "Some Aspects of Cultural Conflict and Acculturation in Southern Rural Brazil," *Rural Sociology*, VII (December 1942), 376.

that it is a mistake to try to fence them out. Moreover, if the person who owns the land supplies a needed axe, offers a little ammunition now and then, provides necessary medicines, furnishes a few of the minimum essentials for improving the hut, supplies them with some fishing equipment, allows the use of a pack animal, he may in time get them to agree to bring in a pig now and then, or a few chickens, or a portion of the corn crop, a little mandioca, or possibly even to work a day once in a while. In short, he will come to play the same role as the selected leaders who were once sent by the provincial governors to bring under their influence the settlers who had squatted in this valley or along the banks of that stream.²⁷ By degrees some of these people may come to be part of the fazenda, the owner's agregados,²⁸ and the others move on. The nature of their tenure is not very clear cut, or rather, it does not fall into the categories familiar to students of land tenure in the United States.

The relationship between the proprietor and the agregado, an adjustment between master and man that is so widespread throughout Brazil, is well described in the words of Djacir Menezes, who says of it: "There is an exchange of services, for compensation, in relations which are reminiscent of feudalism: a tribute for activity on the land of the proprietor, as was the case before the consolidation of the capitalistic regime."²⁹

Oliveira Vianna gives a detailed description of the agregado's status on the fazenda:

From the class of slaves it is necessary to distinguish that of agregados. They are differentiated from slaves by their ethnic origin, by their social situation, by their economic condition and by their residence apart from the manor house.

They are a kind of free colonos. They differ, however, from colonos proper. The German colono of Santa Catarina is a small proprietor. The Italian colono of the Paulista fazenda is a salaried worker or a share tenant [parceiro]. The Vicentista agregados are neither one nor the other of these. These agregados are moradores or *foreiros* [subjects]. They live outside the limits of the senzalas in rude huts located on small dispersed plots that are scattered about the great house on the hill to which they are oriented and which dominates them. From the fertile land they extract, almost without work, sufficient game, fruits and cereals to live a frugal and indolent life. They represent a type of small self-sufficing producer vegetating at the side of the large fazendeiro producer.³⁰

²⁷ Cf. Oliveira Vianna, *Populações Meridionaes do Brasil*, 98, 99-100, 101, 119, and 123.

²⁸ Says Burton of the situation on the Fazenda Jaguara in Minas Gerais: "Here and there were scattered the huts of 'agregados,' squatters who are permitted to live up on the Fazenda, but who do not acquire by residence any right to the soil." *The Highlands of the Brazil*, II, 27.

²⁹ Djacir Menezes, *O Outro Nordeste* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937), 66.

³⁰ Oliveira Vianna, *Populações Meridionaes do Brasil*, 75-76. Rocha Pombo says that "the agregado remained in a condition that it is not known in what it differs from one of the true slaves. He was the serf of the Middle Ages, and perhaps less." *Historia do Brasil*, V, 515.

Other descriptions are in essential agreement. Thus Cardoso de Menezes e Souza first quotes Straten-Ponthoz to the effect that in Brazil "the extension of the old concessions has permitted the proprietors in the interior of the provinces to surround themselves with a population of sharing colonos, or tenants, and renters by various services and occupants by tolerance. There were other bodies of partisans serving in the various truly feudal rivalries and in their resistance to the government." Then he concludes that from this concentration of landownership in the hands of the few "came the constitution, almost feudal, of the proprietorship of the soil and this band of agregados, that on our rural establishments live in dependency upon, and at the mercy and expense of the fazendeiros, at whose nod they are subservient and bowed, in order not to be ejected from their miserable ranchos [thatched huts] where they live and from the roça or engenho where they work to gain their daily bread."³¹ To remedy this situation he strongly recommended the levying of a tax on unused land, citing the experience of various other countries in this respect.³²

Such informal arrangements, vastly different from the contractual agreements in São Paulo's leading fazendas, or in the United States, are typical in large areas of Mato Grosso, Goiás, Bahia, and all of the states to the north of them. One should not make the mistake of thinking that such families of agregados, and even the unattached persons of a comparable social level, are to be found only in the distant interior.

There are just outside the limits of the cities and adjacent to the fazendas many poor families, many people almost proletarianized, who live miserably on the products of hunting and fishing, or from small gardens and groves beside the poor huts of thatch in which they shelter themselves from the inclemencies of the weather. Some work by the day or the task on the clearings of the fazendeiros, being considered as agregados on the agricultural establishments; others idle away in the most degrading laziness playing little guitars and singing *modinhas* [little hits] in the *sambas* and *cateretês*, where, not rarely, disorders break out and bloody tragedies take place, in which these minstrels of the sertão are involved.³³

It is difficult to find full descriptions of the arrangements between master and man on the various estates that have such informal tenure systems, but here and there some light is thrown upon the subject. Of such tenure relationships in Pilão Arcado on the São Francisco River in Bahia, Pearse says:

³¹ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brazil*, 309.

³² *Ibid.*, 309-15; proposed law cited, *ibid.*, Appendix F.

³³ *Ibid.*, 172.

The principal crops are Carnaúba palm leaves, mandioca and Indian corn. Fishing takes up a lot of the time of the people. There is no share system. Those who rent land do not pay any rental. The landlord is satisfied to have somebody on his land, on whom he may call for help against payment of a daily wage. The products of such tenants are sold to the landlord; by these means the landlord probably earns what he loses on the rent.⁸⁴

In spite of a somewhat strained emphasis upon race, the description by Sir Harry H. Johnston is more adequate. In the following paragraphs he describes the process by which squatters are brought under the dominion of the landowner:

The conditions regarding the acquisition of land (more especially Government land in new districts) require the possession of more or less ready money. The white man, therefore, acquires the land and surveys it at his own expense. Before he casts his eye over this likely estate it may already have been squatted on by negroes, negroids, or "Indians" (these squatters are called "Moradores" in Brazil), or after the estate had been acquired and surveyed, the Moradores drift thither and settle on it with or without permission. But before long they are obliged to come to terms with the real owner of the estate, who has acquired these rights by a legal contract. So far from the estate owner desiring to evict the squatter, he is anxious to come to terms with him, because if he be harsh, the squatter with his invaluable labour will move off to an unclaimed piece of land or to a more considerate employer. The unwritten law which all parties believe in and observe is that the Morador shall pay for his rent and other benefits in labour, and this he is quite ready to do, provided the demands on his time are not unreasonable. But the estate owner generally keeps a store, and is in a small way a banker. The result is that the Moradores—Negro and Indian—are generally more or less in debt to the proprietor they serve; and the latter, if need be, has recourse to the law to compel the payment of debt by a reasonable amount of labour. Usually quite patriarchal conditions arise between the white Padrão and the coloured "Camarada." This last receives in theory small monthly wages, which are not always adequate to the payment of the rent and the purchase of goods; but then he has a right to share the two principal meals of his Patron, to whose family he considers he belongs. The Padrão is usually the godfather—and his wife the godmother—of the Camarada's children. The Padrão conceives himself obliged by the requirements of good feeling to give occasional entertainments to the tenants with singing, dancing, and fireworks, usually on saints' days.

Until the negro acquires capital, which he invests in land and in the development of estates, so long will the white man hold the political and social ascendancy in Brazil. And it should be noted once again that negro tenants very much dislike settling down under *negro* landlords (where there are such). They infinitely prefer to associate themselves with the development of estates owned by *white men*, or, at any rate, by such persons who endeavour to conceal the

⁸⁴ Pearse, *Brazilian Cotton*, 111.

slight element of the negro or the Amerindian in their bodies by behaving with liberality and justice attributed to the white man.³⁵

Thus there are millions of Brazilians who fall in the range between squatters and *agregados*; and many of the former gradually are being transformed into the latter. It appears that the *agregado* who has attained the status of a *parceiro* or *meieiro* is approximating that of the sharecropper in the southern part of the United States. In any case, over much of Brazil tenure questions resolve themselves into considerations of ownership and the rights, duties, privileges, and obligations of the *agregado*.

Sharecroppers. Although neither the *agregado* nor *camarada* could be considered a share hand or a sharecropper, frequently there is an element of share wages in the terms on which he is permitted to live on a *fazenda* and make use of the land. If the owner is absentee, if the proprietor is lax in his supervision, or if what was once a well-managed plantation becomes decadent, a share system is likely to develop. In some cases the former *agregado* may become so independent that he deserves classification as a renter who secures his land in return for a share of the crop. In any case, in the longer-settled portions of the interior, where sugar or coffee has not developed a rationalized plantation labor system but where density of population is rather high, the tenure system is already in a stage resembling our sharecropping. Thus a share system on half-and-half basis is common in the cotton-producing parts of the northeast. Arno S. Pearse gives some of the details about this system of *parceria* in the following quotation:

Mr. Beserra has the usual share-system in vogue on his farm. There are 40 families ("moradores"); each has a small farmstead completely stocked with animals and the lands are properly fenced. The "morador" works in the fields and hands over to Mr. Beserra, the owner, half of the cotton crop in lieu of rent. Each family grows a small quantity of maize, beans, etc., for their own use. Mr. Beserra instructs the "moradores" as to planting, weeding, etc., and his orders must be carried out by the tenant. The other half of the cotton crop the tenant has to sell to the landowner, but he can abide his time for selling.³⁶

During the drought of 1942 in these cotton-producing sections of the northeastern sertão, a Brazilian government official who visited the area was prompted to write:

Since the major proportion of the rural population is made up of *meieiros* [half hands], who are financed by the large proprietors of the rural domains, in accordance with the volume of agricultural production, there occurs, now, as during previous droughts, the suspension of advances in money or in food. The

³⁵ Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, 100-101. In connection with the terminology employed here, note that *camarada* is widely used to refer to a worker who lives off the estate in distinction to the *agregado* who lives on the place.

³⁶ Pearse, *Cotton in North Brazil*, 103-104.

loss of half the harvest, the worst to be expected, will be more prejudicial to the landowner than the inevitable insolvency will be to the *meieiro*. Without financing, or being furnished with food, the rural worker abandons the house, improvements, and also the cotton trees which may enable him to recover his losses, a few years later, when they begin again to produce normally the "white gold."³⁷

As will be indicated below, in São Paulo cotton production has been highly rationalized. In recent years the Japanese, as renters, have helped introduce a system which enabled them to get temporary possession of the land for carrying on their soil-mining enterprises, much to the detriment of the land. However, in addition to the genuine renting arrangements in which they are involved, other tenure arrangements of a sharecropping type somewhat closely approximating a system of renting have been evolving. Pearse has described the essential nature of the tenure arrangements prevailing on a cotton plantation near Vila Americana, of São Paulo.

On the estate are 60 families, each of which has three hectares; they work on the share system, keeping the proceeds of two-thirds for themselves and one-third goes to the company. The tenant is debited with two-thirds of the cost of manure; money is advanced for implements, manure, etc. The tenants must conform to the instructions of the manager as regards the cultivation of the plot. The manager has further the call on the tenant when he requires labourers for the land of the company, where he raises special cottons; for this work they get paid a daily wage. A man able to work the disc-cultivator gets five milreis per day.³⁸

Today this system of sharecropping is widespread throughout the cotton-producing portions of the state.

In Brazil sharecropping undoubtedly is most prevalent in these cotton-producing portions of São Paulo and in the northeastern states. However, it also has long been a feature in the production of sugar cane in Pernambuco and the neighboring states. On the old *engenhos* nearly always there were a miscellaneous lot of fairly independent families allowed to live and work on the place, who turned over to the proprietor a share (usually one half) of the cane which they grew. Today, some of these remain, either delivering directly to the *usinas* often a 50 per cent share in addition to a very high interest on advances, or living and working on a share basis under the jurisdiction of one of the owners or tenants who furnishes cane to the central factory.³⁹

³⁷ Henrique Doria de Vasconcellos, *Viagem de Inspeção ao Norte* (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), 41.

³⁸ Pearse, *Brazilian Cotton*, 81.

³⁹ Cf. Gileno de Carli, *O Processo Histórico da Usina em Pernambuco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), 20-21, *passim*.

Vaqueiros in the Sertão. At best the agregado is a farm laborer. Even though he may eventually become a parceiro, corresponding approximately to a southern sharecropper, he could hardly be classified as a farm operator. Few Brazilians would be guilty of such a misuse of logic. However, there are other types of tenure relationships prevailing in Brazil that do justify classifying as an operator the nonowner who does the work. One of these is found in the cattle-growing sections of the interior, in the sertões. The tenure system in use there is much more formalized than the relationship between the fazendeiro and the agregado, even though it rarely involves a written contract. Euclýdes da Cunha in his classic work, *Os Sertões*, has described the system under which the vaqueiro operates.

In contrast with the owner of the *estância* [in Rio Grande do Sul] the fazendeiro of the sertões lives in the littoral, far from his expanded dominions, which in some cases he has never seen. He has inherited an old historic vice. Like the opulent possessors of *sesmarias* in colonial times, he enjoys parasitically the return from his unbounded lands. The vaqueiros are his submissive serfs.

Thanks to a contract by which they receive a certain percentage of the product, there they remain, anonymous—being born, living, and dying on the same piece of land—lost in the trails and huts; and throughout a lifetime carefully caring for the herds which do not belong to them.

The true owner, absent, knows them to have fidelity without comparison. He does not supervise them. At most he knows only their names.

Dressed in their characteristic garb of leather, the sertanejos raise a hut of upright poles [pau-a-pique] beside the water holes, rapidly as though erecting a tent, and resign themselves to the unprofitable service.

The first thing to do is to learn the abc, and then, all of the exigencies of the art of which they are past masters: to know the *ferros* [brands] of their fazendas and those near by. This is the designation applied to signs of all shapes, or letters, or capricious designs imprinted by hot irons on the flanks of the animals, completed by cutting markings or small angles in the ears. Branded, the animal is guaranteed. He may break through any fence and stray away. He carries the indelible indication that restores him to his original *solta* (unfenced pastures), because the vaqueiro is not content to know the brands of his own fazenda; he learns those of the others. Sometimes, by an extraordinary feat of memory, he comes to know one by one, not only the beasts under his care, but those of the neighbors, including their genealogies and characteristic habits, their names, their ages, etc. Accordingly, when there comes to his place a neighbor's animal, whose mark he knows, he promptly restores it. If he does not know the brand he keeps the intruder, treating it as he does the others. But he does not drive it to the annual sale (*feira*), nor use it for any work; he lets it die of old age. It does not belong to him.

If a cow gives birth to a calf, he brands the latter with the same unknown mark, which he reproduces with admirable perfection; and the same is done with all of its descendants. Of each four animals, however, he takes one for himself. It is his pay. He establishes with the unknown patron the same arrange-

ment he has with the other. And he follows strictly, without judges and witnesses, the strange contract which no one wrote or suggested.

Many times it happens that a brand is deciphered only after many years have passed, and the cattleman is happy to receive, in place of the one cow which fled and was forgotten, a small herd produced by her.

This fact may appear fantastic, but it is common in the sertões. It is given as a fascinating feature in the integrity of the countrymen. The great proprietors of lands and herds know it. They all have with the vaqueiro the same contract of sharing, summarized in the single clause that they give to him, as a return for his care of the cattle, one fourth of the products of the fazenda. They know that the percentage will never be violated.

The settling of accounts takes place at the end of the winter and is done, ordinarily, without the party most interested being present. It is a dispensable formality. The vaqueiro separates, scrupulously, the large portion of the increase belonging to the patron (on which are imprinted the brand of the fazenda) from the few, one fourth, which fall to him. On these he places his own private brand; and he keeps them or sells them. Then he writes to the patron, giving him a minute account of the affairs of the sítio, going at length into the slightest details; and he continues uninterruptedly with the work.⁴⁰

From other sources one obtains essentially the same picture. Southey gave the following account of the background and development of the system described by Euclides da Cunha in the quotation which follows:

The lands of Piauhy were given in *sesmarias* of three square leagues: between every two, a league was left common to both for the use of the cattle; but neither owner might build either house or fold upon this intermediate land. This was thought necessary, because of the frequent droughts, and consequent failure of pasturage. The owners also were jealous of neighbours, and liked their state of lonely lordship: they had some reason, considering that there were times when a watering place became of as much value as in Arabia; and that dogs were a nuisance to all cattle, except those which they were trained to guard. But this system tended to keep them in barbarous state of manners. A house was built, usually with a thatched roof, some folds were enclosed, and twelve square miles were then peopled, . . . according to the custom of Piauhy. Ten or twelve men sufficed for managing an estate of this extent. Part of their duty is to destroy the wild cattle and horses, that they may not decoy away the tame, or render them unmanageable. If the owner has no slaves, Mulattos, Mamalucos and free Blacks, who abound in the Sertoens of Seara, Pernambuco, and Bahia, and particularly about the Rio S. Francisco in the higher parts of its course, are eager to obtain employment in these farms. These men, who hate any other labour, are passionately fond of this way of life, which not only gratifies their inclinations, but holds out to them the fairest prospect of attaining to wealth themselves. Every one hopes to become a *Vaqueiro*, *Creador*, or *Homem de Fazenda*, as the managing herdsman is called, in his turn. These superintendents serve for five years without pay; from that time they are entitled to a fourth of the herd every

⁴⁰ Euclides da Cunha, *Os Sertões* (15th ed.: Rio de Janeiro, 1940), 122-24; for an earlier description of the tenure contract of the vaqueiro see Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 148-49.

year. This gives them an interest in its prosperity, and in the course of a few years, some of them establish *Fazendas* of their own.⁴¹

TENURE CHANGES IN THE SUGAR AREAS

In Pernambuco and other sugar-growing states a rapid change is doing much to add complexity to the tenure systems of Brazil. That time is definitely past when the tenure classes in this sugar-growing area could be clearly divided into the masters, *senhores de engenhos*, their slaves and *agregados*, with a few poverty-stricken independent producers of mandioca and other foodstuffs thrown in for good measure. In this section the concentration of land in the properties of the sugar companies is rapidly reducing the members of the former aristocracy to the status of renters, tenants on the vast acreages they once owned. It is also replacing many of them with others under a variety of tenure arrangements.

Formerly, it was said of Pernambuco that the greater part of the land was in a few great properties, remains of the undivided *sesmarias*. The proprietor, or the renter of an *engenho*, used a small part of it and let the remainder to a multitude of free mulattoes or Negroes, for whom he served as protector, or from "whom he demands absolute obedience and over whom he exerts the most complete despotism."⁴² That these free workers had a place on the typical sugar estate is indicated by Koster: "The lands of sugar plantations are appropriated to five purposes. These are: the woods,—the lands for planting canes,—those which are cleared for pasturage,—the provision grounds for the negroes,—and the lands which are occupied by free people."⁴³ Their tenure is clearly described in the following paragraph:

An estate contains in general much more land than its owner can manage or in any way employ, even under the present extravagant system of changing from one piece of ground to another. I call it extravagant, because it requires so much space for its operations and performs these with more labour than is necessary. This over plus of land gives room for the habitations of free people in the lower ranks of life, who live upon the produce they raise by their own labour. The tenures by which these persons hold the lands which they occupy, are most insecure, and this insecurity constitutes one of the great engines of that power which the landholder enjoys over his tenants. No agreements are drawn out; but the owner of the land verbally permits the peasant who applies to him for a place of residence, to inhabit a cottage upon his lands, under the condition of paying him a trifling rent . . . and he is allowed to cultivate as much ground as he possibly can by himself, but the rent is increased if he calls in any one to assist him. Sometimes the verbal arrangement which is entered into, is that the

⁴¹ Southey, *History of Brazil*, III, 756.

⁴² A. P. Figueiredo writing in *O Progresso* of Recife in 1846, cited in Freyre, *O Nordeste* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937), 153.

⁴³ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 358.

tenant shall perform some service in lieu of making his payment in money. The service required is, for instance, that of going on errands, or of seeing that the woods are not destroyed by persons who have not obtained permission from the owner to cut down timber, and other offices of the same description.⁴⁴

From farther south, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, comes a report of how a more advanced type of tenant was used to help develop a sugar plantation, some of these tenants ultimately becoming landowners and the others being reduced to the less advanced status described above. According to John Luccock, the nomadic, ignorant, and listless *moradores*, whose chief function was guarding the estate against infringements from the outside, were

frequently succeeded by a more valuable class of tenants who possess a small capital, which they invest in slaves, cultivate a larger portion of land, and pay their rent sometimes in money, or by labour, more commonly in produce. If the article raised be sugar-cane . . . half the produce usually goes to the landlord, for which he not only furnishes the soil, but crushes the tenant's share of the cane, distils the syrup, or converts it into sugar. . . . Such a bargain is considered as advantageous to a man, who possesses land without much capital, because he is hereby enabled to construct Sugar-works adapted to his whole estate, and to keep them more fully employed. The tenants are bound also to plant a certain quantity of Cane on additional pieces of ground, and to crush the produce at the Mill belonging to the estate; and these minor Farms fall successively into the owner's hand, and add to the value of his property. At the same time, many of the tenants improve their own condition, become advanced in the scale of cultivators, and ultimately proprietors of land.⁴⁵

In other words, in the sugar areas there were three classes of people on the land: the *senhores de engenho*, their slaves, and their *agregados*. Except that slaves became relatively less important and finally disappeared while *agregados* became more significant, the system seems to have changed little in hundreds of years. However, the introduction of more modern processes and of twentieth-century machinery set in motion some forces that still have not completed the readjustments they were destined to bring about.

Most evident is the fact that the process of land concentration in the sugar-growing littoral of the northeast has brought into being various types of tenancy on the heavy black soils of that region. The first step, of course, was the reduction of the proprietors of the *engenhos* to the status of *fornecedores* of cane for the *usinas*. This came about because gradually the lands as well as the milling facilities became the property of the sugar company which, having great financial power, followed the policy of "acquiring land for the direct cultivation of cane, liberating it [the *usina*]

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 360.

⁴⁵ Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the Southern Parts of Brazil*, 293-94.

from exclusive dependency upon the fornededores.”⁴⁶ Naturally, this upset the whole scheme of life of the former landowners. A memorial submitted to the house of deputies of the state of Pernambuco on August 14, 1928, by the Association of Furnishers and Planters of Cane in Pernambuco, included the following assertions:

The independent agricultural property, which all peoples aware of its importance seek to safeguard and fortify in their agricultural systems, is disappearing from the State. The soil which grows its most traditional and most prominent crop has become the land of the usinas, which do not care to utilize them directly by themselves and with their own capital, with a progressive technique, with initiative capable of bettering the extremely poor conditions of productivity. Day by day the usinas become larger land capitalists. They expulse the proprietors from their former engenhos and they put in their places temporary renters, who are less apt and less interested than the former owners.⁴⁷

However, the company owning the sugar factory rarely engaged directly in the cultivation of the soil. Instead it rented lands to small operators in return for 50 per cent of the gross product. In some cases, also, they rented the lands of the former engenho to a fornededor, who in turn let them out to small farmers for a share rent amounting to 50 per cent of the cane produced.⁴⁸ In this way, in addition to the independent farmers who managed to retain their lands although the mill and their status of senhores de engenho were gone, there came into being several other tenure classes. First of these are the fornededores who rent their lands from the usinas. These Dé Carlí divides into two classes: the first, called *rendeiros*, are those who pay in cash a sum arrived at on the basis of a stipulated formula. For example, some pay an amount equivalent to 20 per cent of the value of the first 1,000 tons of cane delivered, 15 per cent of the value of the second 1,000 tons, and 10 per cent of the value of cane supplied in excess of 2,000 tons. Penalties are assessed if the cane is not up to the standard in quality; the renter obligates himself “to keep in good condition the houses on the rented engenho”; and it is specifically stated that if he finds it necessary to erect other houses for his workers, he shall be entitled to no reimbursement for such expense, but will be obligated to maintain those in good condition. The second category he calls *parceiros*. They pay on a share-rent basis, usually giving at least 30 per cent of the harvest, plus fees and interest totaling from 9 to 12 per cent, so that “it was not rare, even in the first quarter of the present century, to find a rent as high as 50 per cent of the gross production.” In addition, a penalty

⁴⁶ *Bolesim da União dos Sindicatos Agrícolas de Pernambuco*, No. 6, September 1910, quoted in Dé Carlí, *O Processo Histórico da Usina em Pernambuco*, 19.

⁴⁷ This was cited, *ibid.*, 33-34.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

might be assessed for *cana branca* or "white cane," because his cane was of the "butter" (*manteiga*) type. With much reason Dé Carlí asks how the usinas can penalize the producer for not producing a better cane, when they themselves do not do so.⁴⁹ "Many proprietors rent their lands to their farmers—small agriculturists—for a rent varying between 30 and 50 per cent of the gross production, the farmer receiving financing for his small crop and a base almost always 6\$000 per ton," he says again referring to this class of share renters. "These farmers are the ones responsible for a large share of the harvests of the fornededores, in whose names the cane is entered at the factory."⁵⁰

Continuing the analysis and description of the classes of fornededores Dé Carlí quotes with approval the following description presented in 1878 to the Congresso Agrícola in Recife:

Our harvests of sugar are the product of the work of two very distinct classes of agriculturists; the proprietor or renter who plants the cane and manufactures the sugar, and those who live on the farmers' lands, upon condition of dividing with him the sugar produced from the cane which they plant.

This system is general in the Province; it establishes a system of sharing [parceria] *sui generis*, which I have no trepidation in saying, nullifies the labor of the share planter, diminishes the production.

The nonmanufacturing planter follows a precarious life; his work is not remunerative; his feelings are not respected; his interests lie at the mercy of the sugar manufacturer on whose lands he lives. There is not even a written contract to obligate the interested parties; everything is based in the absolute will of the manufacturer. In exchange for a habitation, often the poorest, and a little land given for planting mandioca, *which must be limited and made* on the least productive ground; in exchange for this, the parceiro divides his cane in equal shares; the manufacturer gets all the molasses, all the resulting *cachaça* [rum], all the bagasse, which is excellent fuel for the sugar mill, all the cane tops, succulent food for his cattle. It is a lion's share, gentlemen, the more unjust because all the expenses of planting, cultivation, cutting, arranging [tying up in bundles] and transportation to the mill are cared for exclusively by the half-share farmer.⁵¹

According to Dé Carlí, essentially the same tenure relationships still prevail. Data presented by him for the year 1929–30 led him to believe that these parceiros produced approximately one half the cane delivered by the fornededores.⁵² It is evident that tenure relationships are far different from those that prevailed when masters and men formed the two widely separated classes in the society that Gilberto Freyre has described so well.

LAND TENURE IN SÃO PAULO

To one acquainted with the history of the land question in the United States it must seem strange that there is little or no consciousness of a

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 20–23.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 46–47.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 49.

tenant problem in São Paulo. In that state are to be found municípios in which rented rural properties attain 60, 70, 80, and even 90 per cent. There is as yet no carefully devised, systematic set of legal provisions for regulating landlord-tenant relations such as keep tenancy from being a problem in the British Isles, but rather a hit-and-miss system of renting similar to that prevailing in the United States. Why, then, may we ask, is there no burning antagonism between the social classes in agriculture? No widespread agitation for legal and practical reform in the land system? No flood of discussions of the subject in the newspapers, magazines, professional journals, and classroom?

To answer such questions it is necessary to understand the manner in which the system came into being. In part the general analysis given above also applies specifically to the state of São Paulo. As was the case with all Brazil, São Paulo was first cut into large estates which were tilled by slave labor, Indians at first and Negroes later, or devoted to immense pastures for herds of cattle. The system of colonization carried on by the Portuguese did not result in the transference of the small-farming system of northern Portugal, from whence a large portion of the colonists came, and in the establishment of small-farming communities; it was more on the order of the system of settlement that prevailed in our tidewater South. As a matter of fact, the sugar plantations established along the Brazilian coast by the Portuguese were even larger, more dependent upon slave labor, and probably characterized by a more luxurious life for their owners, than were their feudal counterparts in our own Southland. Even Jefferson Davis and his fellows in the Natchez area probably did not equal these Brazilians in the splendor of their conspicuous consumption. When the Portuguese moved inland and established the small nodules of settlement which secured for Portugal all of the vast territory which constitutes present-day Brazil, they parceled the land into huge tracts. Nor was the land given promiscuously to all who might desire it. In order to secure a grant, or sesmaria, the applicant had to convince the authorities that he came of a good family and that he had plenty of funds for developing the land. Unlike the situation in our own South, there were admitted to Brazil no hundreds of thousands of small farmers, such as the Scotch-Irish and German families who in the United States cut behind the coastal plantations, engaged in cattle raising, spread along the Piedmont, and eventually divided the rolling, hilly, and less desired territory into small farms. The cattle which overspread Brazil were driven forward by persons (mostly Paulistas) seeking locations for more tremendous landholdings, and securing them by occupation or by grant from the authorities. There was not even the independent possession and control of small tracts by fugitives

from the obligations of the settled communities, comparable to the roles played by indentured servants and fugitive slaves in the settlement of western United States. Many persons did flee to the west and obtain squatter's rights in the land. Such movements were particularly strong when levies of conscripts were being inducted into the army, or when the militia was called up for service in war.⁵³ It also included numerous fugitive slaves. The government recognized that these persons should not be dispossessed at will, but it developed no system comparable to our homestead provisions to legalize their possession. Instead, when the authorities learned that a considerable number of such masterless people had located a given area, an outstanding citizen would be designated to go out, receive a title to the land on which they were settled, establish a new fazenda, and gradually bring them under his influence and control. Thus, frequently, squatting on unoccupied land was not the prelude to the establishment of a small-farming community, but merely one of the steps in the opening of another fazenda.⁵⁴ Furthermore, as late as 1809 the legal ownership and possession of land was restricted to members of the white race.⁵⁵

São Paulo maintained its fazenda system, largely unaltered by the introduction of the present-day system of renting, until a very recent date. According to the census of 1920 there were in the entire state only 80,921 rural properties (farms), of which nearly one half (39,190) were less than 41 hectares in area. Including all properties large and small, the average area was 172 hectares; and 85 per cent of all the land in farms was held in tracts of more than 100 hectares in size, the 21 largest averaging almost 50,000 hectares each. At that time there were only 2,354 renters enumerated in the entire state, or only 2.9 per cent of the farm operators. On the other hand, hired administrators numbered 6,247, or 7.7 per cent, of all operators. In 1920 the renters of São Paulo were operating farms that were below the average for the state in size and value, while administrators were in charge of the operations on the larger estates and more valuable

⁵³ Cf. von Spix and von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, I, 319. Enlightenment about the propulsions to such westward movement is given in the observations of a South Carolina doctor who visited the state of São Paulo in October 1865.

"After getting dinner we rode back to survey the village of Jundiabi; and found that it had one rather comely looking church, with two others that presented quite a dilapidated look. There was also a jail, at which a military sentinel was on duty; and it perhaps contained some of the patriotic recruits, who are taken in chains from this section of São Paulo, and thence sent to Rio de Janeiro, for service in the army against the Paraguayans. We have met on the road a number of these fellows handcuffed, and with a chain around their necks, under a mounted guard, who seemed to think that they were doing the country a good service from the large number in charge of a few prisoners." Gaston, *Hunting a Home in Brazil*, 78.

⁵⁴ Cf. Oliveira Vianna, *Populações Meridionaes do Brasil*, 98, 99-100, 101, 119, and 123.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 128.

lands. Thus, the 2.9 per cent of all operators who were renters operated only 2.6 per cent of the land in farms, and this land was valued at only 1.8 per cent of the total for the state; the administrators, who constituted 7.7 per cent of the farm operators, were in charge of 29.7 per cent of the land according to area and 36.9 according to value.⁵⁶

In 1934 the state of São Paulo made a census of agriculture that was, in many ways, one of the best collections of any significant social and economic data ever made in Brazil. The farms were counted, the nationality of their owners determined, the crops grown and livestock inventoried. All of this was tabulated, along with the best information on the population collected up to that time. But no tenure classification was introduced into the published counts.⁵⁷

It therefore seems evident that São Paulo's renting system is relatively new, and to this in part must be attributed the lack of concern with tenure problems. But there are other factors to be considered as well. Extremely important is the fact that the new system has not grown out of the dispossession of small holders; it did not come about because of former owners losing control of the land and dropping down one rung on the agricultural ladder. Rather, it is merely a new aspect added to the old fazenda system, the long-continued concentration of landownership and control. As has been shown elsewhere in this volume, following the freeing of the slaves São Paulo developed a large program of subsidized immigration to provide a labor supply for its fazendas. At first Italians were the principal immigrants, and according to reports most of them were willing to stay indefinitely on the fazendas with little concern for improving their status to a position above that of colono, a laborer paid on a piece and a share basis. However, their descendants now own a great many of the largest and most prosperous fazendas in the state. After 1902 Italian emigration to São Paulo was prohibited by the Italian government, and São Paulo had to turn elsewhere for the replenishments for its labor supply. The Spaniards, Germans, Japanese, and other nationalities have been even less content to remain forever in the landless laboring class, and it is undoubtedly this factor that has done much to bring about the changes that have occurred since 1920. To this attitude of the more recent immigrants must be attributed much of the present high development of the renting system of São Paulo.

Thus, the manner in which São Paulo's tenant system has come into being does much to explain the lack of a widespread public consciousness of a land problem and the lack of agitation for land reform. The tenants

⁵⁶ "Agricultura," *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, III, Pt. 1, pp. 6-9.

⁵⁷ See *Recenseamento Agrícola-Zootécnico Realizado em 1934* (São Paulo 1936).

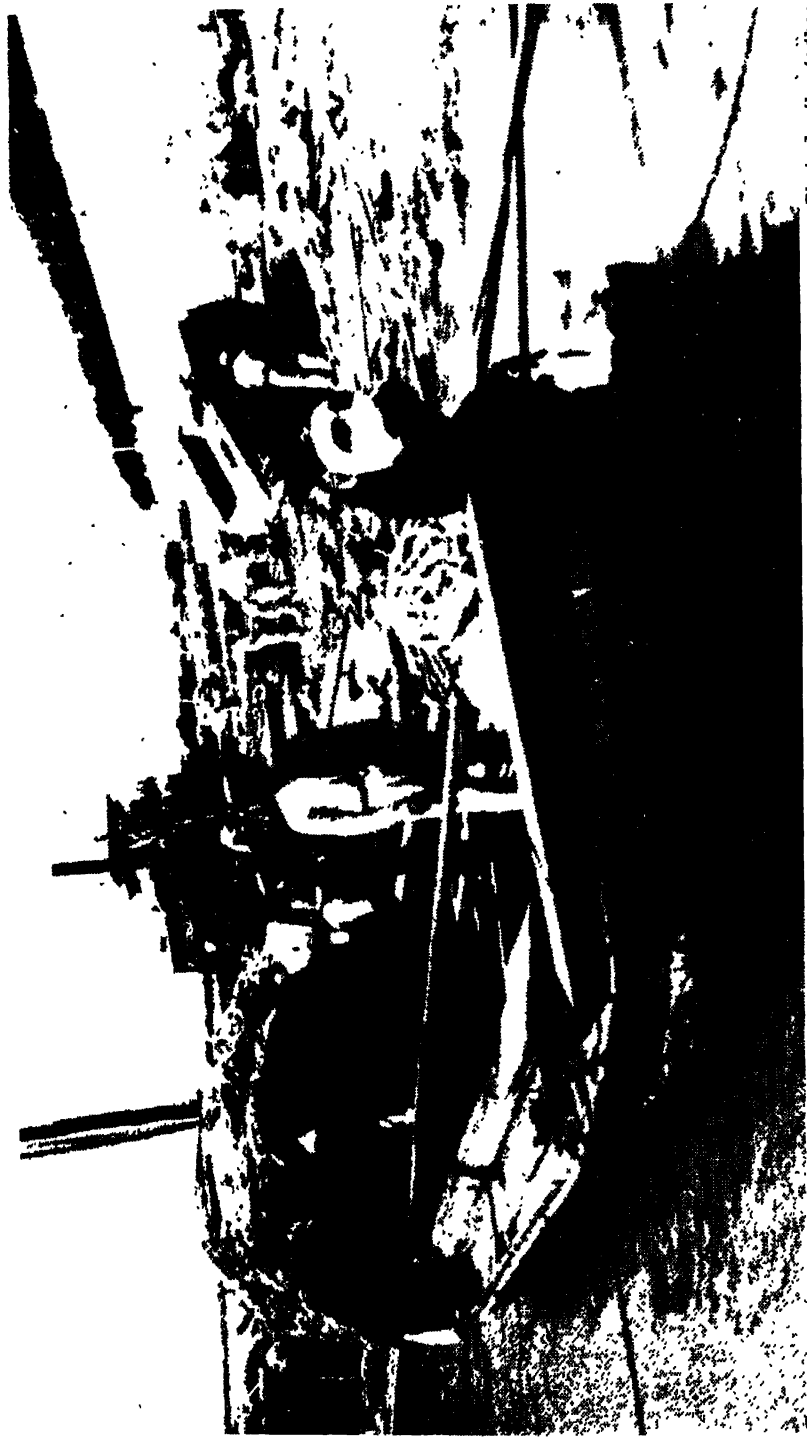


Photo by the Author

THE TYPE OF BOAT WHICH PLIES THE WATERS OF THE SÃO FRANCISCO RIVER ABOVE JOAZEIRO

are newcomers, of foreign stock of extremely heterogeneous origin, without the social and political status possessed by the native-born population; for São Paulo's tenants, renting represents a position on the agricultural ladder that is far above that of agricultural laborer formerly held by themselves or their fathers; the class of renters is not to any significant degree made up of dispossessed farmers, as is the case in our own Midwest; and except for the chosen few in the landowning class who make up society's elite, the foreign elements in the tenant class enjoy a social and economic position considerably above many Brazilian native-born who are confined to the class of agricultural laborers. Thus, on the whole the renting system of São Paulo should be thought of as a step forward in the direction of a system of landownership and control in which the functions of laborer, manager, and capitalist are united in the same person. To such a system of family farms our own Midwest owes its world-recognized agricultural superiority; to it our nation owes the development and maintenance of what is probably the highest average level of rural citizenship that the world has ever known. In this respect São Paulo differs from the "colonial" parts of the more southern states where federal, state, and private colonization projects have established a class of small farmers on the land as owner-operators.

The most negative aspect of São Paulo's recent development of a system of leasing the land is probably the soil-mining practices of the Japanese renters. In recent years they have been able to rent farm lands for the planting of cotton, and it is said they are particularly efficient in extracting everything possible from the land.

Even for São Paulo it is not possible to learn with any degree of accuracy the proportion of farms operated by renters, the crops grown on these, the cultural practices followed, and the related items, necessary for determining some of the more basic aspects of the tenure system. The 1940 data, presented above, indicate that tenant-operated farms constituted 26.5 per cent of all the rural properties in the state, and that in the places operated by the tenants was 8.6 per cent of the land in farms and 8.9 per cent of the total value of the farm land. However, as yet the data from the more recent census, that of 1950, is not available even in preliminary form. Therefore one must still depend upon earlier information for such understanding of the situation as he is able to obtain.

The materials prepared by Carlos Borges Schmidt for São Paulo state are among the most reliable and significant available.⁵⁸ According to this informed writer, agricultural enterprises conducted on lands that the

⁵⁸ See Carlos Borges Schmidt, "Systems of Land Tenure in São Paulo," *Rural Sociology*, VIII (September 1943), 242-47.

operator secured by renting developed rapidly in connection with the recent cotton boom in the state. In 1937-38 the records of the Secretaria da Agricultura indicated that there was a total of 64,147 farmers engaged in cotton production, of whom 31.3 per cent were operating as renters. In 1938-39 the number and proportion were practically the same. But in the year following, 1939-40, the number of cotton farmers rose to 111,541, and the percentage of owner-operators fell to 57.7. This year some "sharecroppers" (*parceiros*) were combined with the renters, making it impossible to determine the number and proportion of the latter.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Schmidt is of the opinion that the renters had risen in importance, probably to as high as 36 per cent of all. An interesting item in the analysis of this author is that dealing with the effects of renter-operation upon the soil. He points out that the interest of the renter is to take from the land the maximum product, in the shortest period, and at the least expense. Then he adds:

This has always been the rule; at the end of the contracted period, the renter returns the land in the condition to which it is reduced after the growing of cotton, whatever this state of affairs may be. No care or precaution is taken to prevent or reduce to a minimum the waste and impoverishment of the soil. The lands which have been rented to the Japanese are a good example of how much the soil can be damaged by being farmed on the basis of an absolutely unilateral interest. Already the conviction is deep rooted that the land which the Japanese has cultivated, as a renter, will produce nothing more, "*nem mesmo capim*" ("not even grass")—say our rural people.⁶⁰

Schmidt also describes the system of sharecropping, *parceria*, used in the production of supplementing crops in the coffee sections. This *parceria* is of two types, one in which the landowner participates in the farming operations and one in which he does not. The first prevails in those areas where agriculture is in the most advanced stages, throughout the central part of the state. In this type the owner does the plowing, harrowing, and other operations necessary to prepare the land for the seed, and furnishes that as well. In brief, he turns land ready for planting, and the seed, over to the *parceiro*. The latter is responsible for the planting, cultivation, and harvesting processes. The product is divided in the field, each party being responsible for the transportation of his share. If insecticides are necessary, the landowner supplies the materials, the *parceiro* applies them. If fertilizer is used, the cost is usually shared equally by the two parties to the contract. The product is shared equally also as a rule, except in some of the older and more fertile areas, where the preparation of the soil for the seed

⁵⁹ This probably also accounted in no small degree for the increase in farms reported.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 243-244.

is relatively easy and no fertilizer required. In such cases the landowner may take only one third of the crop.

In the older portions of São Paulo, particularly in the mountain sections that encircle the Paraíba Valley, the second type of *parceria* is found. Here, in return for 20 or 25 per cent of the product, landowners permit the *parceiros* to make their *roças* on their holdings. This system differs little, if at all, from that of *agregados* and *moradores* on large estates described elsewhere.⁶¹

Data supplied by the Departamento Estadual de Estatística of São Paulo throw additional light on the renting of agricultural lands in São Paulo. These data were compiled from a register kept by that agency of the rural properties in the state. Probably they are not complete, for the total number of properties (farms) registered in 1939-40 is only 170,462, whereas the state census of 1934 counted 274,740 agricultural properties, and the national census, in a preliminary statement, reported 246,862.⁶² However, the register does include a large percentage, and at least for comparative purposes the data are not entirely without value.

According to a special tabulation made of the rural properties included on the register, a total of 33,628 of them were operated by renters. This is 20 per cent of the total. With such statements as the one by Carlos

⁶¹ *Ibid.* Extremely interesting is the evolution of *parceria* in São Paulo. Early in the nineteenth century Paulista *fazendeiros* were experimenting with substitutes for slave labor. Naturally the legal basis of their operations was in Portuguese law. This defined *parceria* as "a society which participates in renting. The *parceiros* are farmers who work under conditions similar to those of renters on plots of ground divided from the great properties." But in São Paulo the land of the *fazendas* was not divided, the *fazendeiros* merely divided the labor among the first *colonos*, and "the *parceiro* thus remained in the condition of one who had leased his services, subject to the administration of the *fazenda* and remunerated by the division of the product, which he planted and harvested, and which was later processed [i. e., threshed or husked] by the proprietor." When disputes arose between the imported *colonos*, or workers, and the *fazendeiros*, naturally the lawyers found a fertile field for arguments as to whether or not *parceria* was involved. Finally Sr. José Vergueiro, son of the senator on whose *fazenda parceria* was first established, substituted a system similar in many ways to that which prevails so widely today. He described it as follows: "The *colonos* receive the coffee trees they are able to cultivate; they harvest the berries; they receive per *alqueiro* from 300 to 600 *reis*; they receive designated lands for their own plantings, lands which are given gratis by some proprietors and for a small rent by others. . . ." Finally it appears that in São Paulo "the system of rural economy generally adopted under the name of *parceria* . . . is nothing if not *metayage* by which the proprietor furnishes land and livestock, the *colono* furnishes the work and the product is divided in halves." Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brazil*, 261-65. The last of the quotations had in turn been quoted from a work by Jules Duval.

⁶² The complex question of how to classify the varieties of *parceiros* (sharers), *meieiros* (half-hands), and *moradores* undoubtedly has much to do with these fluctuations. Schmidt indicated that *parceiros* were included for the first time in 1939-40 when the number of cotton farmers in the state rose to 111,541 from a level of 63,101 in 1938-39. Even a slight modification of practice may change the figures on the number of farms, size of farms, percentage of tenancy, as is also the case in our own Southland.

Borges Schmidt summarized above, this indicates that the leasing of lands has attained significant proportions in the state.

As might be expected, there are great variations from place to place, or município to município, in the relative importance of rented properties among all farms. Renting hardly has a place on well-managed coffee fazendas; although, as in the Cotton Belt of the United States, it is found on some of those that are not so well managed. On the other hand, if a fazenda includes both the table lands of terra-roxa soil so well suited to coffee, and the more loamy bottom lands, a combination frequently found in western São Paulo, the latter may be rented to small cotton farmers. This is particularly the case in such municípios as Marília. To a very considerable extent the small operators who rent the cotton land are Japanese.

Since the data in the register are compiled by municípios, it is possible to construct a map of the state showing the variations in the proportion of renters among all operators. (See Figure 16.) Although the results at best

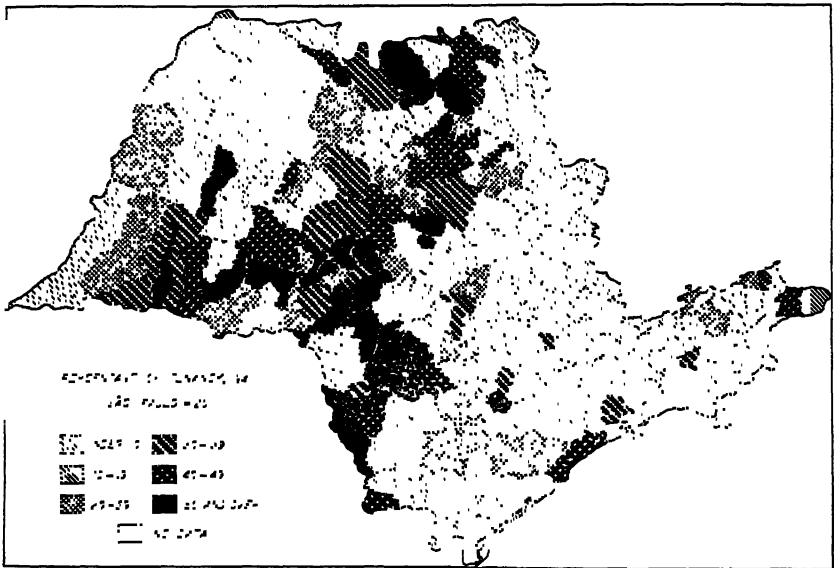


FIGURE 16. Percentages of Renters Among All Farm Operators in São Paulo in 1941, by Municípios.

are only approximate, they do serve to bring out associations hypothetically established on the basis of observations gained in traveling through the state. Tenancy seems definitely to be associated with Japanese inhabitants, and the growing of cotton. It finds little place in coffee production; nor does it prevail in older sections of the state, such as the Paraíba basin, through which coffee has already passed on its westward course, and to

which migrants from Minas Gerais are moving with their pastoral economy.

Finally, a few words must be said about the varieties of farm laborers employed on São Paulo's coffee fazendas and sugar usinas. These probably constitute the bulk of the agricultural workers in the state, and certainly the ones whose labor contributes most directly to making São Paulo's agricultural exports such a large share of the nation's total. In general São Paulo laborers may be divided into two categories, colonos and camaradas. This omits, of course, the parceiros, considered above, many of whom certainly are not farm operators and therefore must be classed as laborers. The distinction between the colono and the camarada is well defined in a small booklet published by the São Paulo Secretaria de Agricultura for the information of persons who were contemplating going to São Paulo in search of employment. This little tract states that

The farm worker is contracted as a colono or as a camarada.

The colono is the worker who obligates himself to work, by a one-year contract, in the care and obligatory harvest of a certain number of coffee trees or of a certain area of cotton or of other crops such as cane, oranges, rice, and beans.

The camarada is the worker who obligates himself to perform the tasks specified at the time of the contract; these labors may be the making of roças, the clearing of pastures, clearing grass and weeds from the plantings, harvesting, or whatever other services may become necessary in farming.

As colonos, preference in contracting is given to the chiefs of families that contain at least three persons (wife, children, or agregados above 12 years of age), who can aid in the services agreed on.

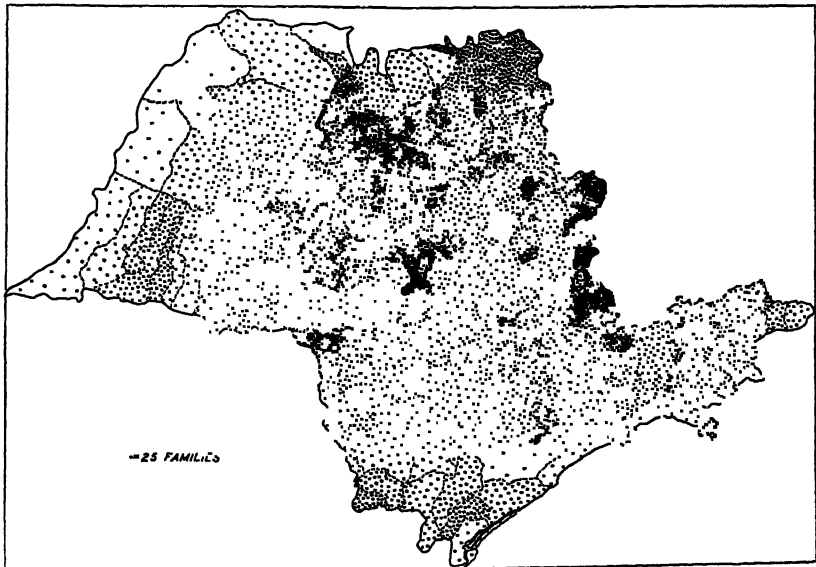


FIGURE 17. The Distribution of Colonos in São Paulo, 1941, by Municípios.

As camaradas are contracted those persons who come alone or with a small family (with children or agregados of less than 12 years of age), or else those who prefer to work for a fixed wage, in place of contracting.⁶³

As indicated by this quotation, colonos are used extensively on the coffee fazendas, and also to some extent on the sugar plantations. In Chapter IV the arrangements under which they work have been described. Their distribution in São Paulo is shown in Figure 17. Camaradas are the more "casual" workers; they hire themselves to work by the day. They may be found on estates of all types, including citrus and banana plantations. Their distribution is mapped in Figure 18.

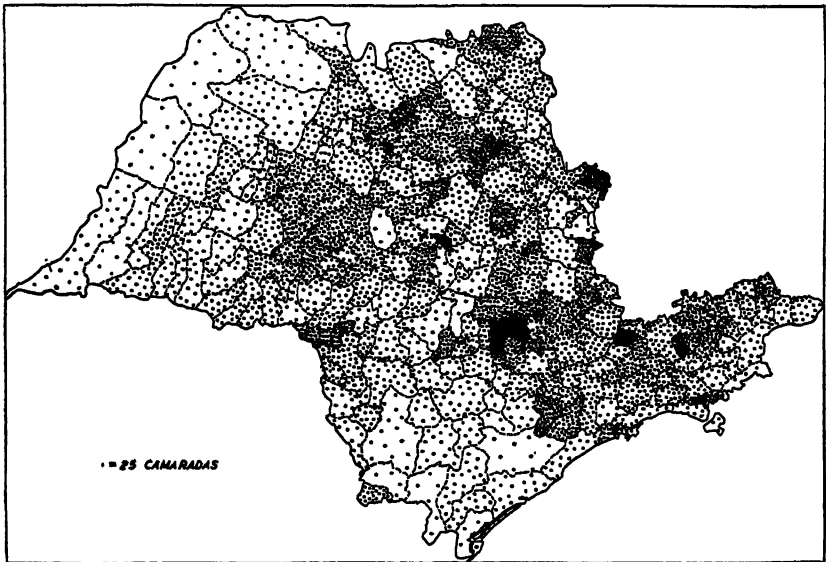


FIGURE 18. The Distribution of Camaradas in São Paulo, 1941, by Municípios.

⁶³ *Informações Úteis Sobre o Trabalho Agrícola no Estado de S. Paulo* (São Paulo, 1935).

THE SIZE OF HOLDINGS

THROUGH A relatively long period spent in the study of rural populations and rural society the writer has become convinced that the size of agricultural holdings, the concentration of landownership, or the distribution of landownership and control, is the most important single determinant of the welfare of the people on the land. With a widespread distribution of property ownership and control go (1) the maximum propensities to steady work and habits of thrift, (2) relatively high average standards of living, (3) minimum class distinctions, the relative absence of caste (inherited social position), and as a result, relatively little class struggle, (4) a fairly high degree of vertical social mobility, (5) comparatively high average intelligence and a minimum range of intelligence, and (6) the most well-rounded personalities in the rural population. In brief, this type of land system produces citizens of an exceedingly high average level. The opposite of this, the concentration of the land in the hands of a few and the reduction of the masses of the people to the position of landless agricultural laborers, is accompanied by (1) a comparatively low average standard of living, although the elite landowning class may live in a fantastic luxury, (2) great chasms of class distinctions between the favored few of the upper class and the masses who lack rights to the soil, (3) a comparative absence of vertical social mobility so that this chasm is perpetuated by caste barriers even though offspring of the lower classes may in some cases be possessed of rare combinations of biological endowments, (4) a low average intelligence of the population because the high abilities and accomplishments of the few people of the upper class are greatly outweighed by the ignorance and illiteracy of the masses, and (5) a population skilled only in the performance under close supervision of a very limited number of manual tasks, and lacking completely training and practice in managerial and entrepreneurial work. Therefore, much significance attaches to the almost universal existence in time and space of the large estate in Brazil. One should try to understand why it is that Brazil, a colony of Portugal, largely a country of small farmers, never knew the family farm for the first three or four hundred years of its history, and then received it from other Europeans, not the Portuguese.

INTRODUCTION AND DIFFUSION OF THE LARGE ESTATE

The system of landownership and control established by the Portuguese colonists in Brazil represented a very sharp break with the traditional small-farm agricultural pattern of Portugal. This is only one of the many aspects of rural social organization that underwent radical changes in the colonization of Brazil. Before the establishment of its colonies in America, Portugal had developed the *sesmaria* as an institution for seizing concentrations of landed property and distributing them among persons who would cultivate the land. In this way it had preserved, for the most part, a system of small farms. From this tradition, the land system established in Brazil represented a decided departure. Says Oliveira Vianna relative to the introduction of and role played by the large estate in Brazil:

In our country . . . agriculture had its beginning in the large estate. The Romans evolved the large property from the small. . . . Other peoples developed in a similar manner. In contrast with this we have been since the beginning a nation of *latifundia*: among us the history of the small farm can be said to go back only a century. All the long colonial period is one of the splendor and glory of the immense territorial property. In this period it alone appeared and shone; it alone created and dominated; it is the central theme interwoven throughout the entire drama of our history for three hundred fecund and glorious years.¹

The same writer, after pointing out that the region of northern Portugal from which the colonists came was then, as now, one of small farms, analyzes the reasons for the break with the traditional cultural pattern. He emphasizes the importance of two factors: (1) The colonists were not ordinary citizens (*homens do povo*) but adventurers from the lower and even the upper segments of the nobility who migrated in order to restore depleted fortunes. For the most part plebeians came only in later years, after the discovery of gold and diamonds and the economic development of the country had made a place for small manufacturing and trading enterprises. (2) Lands were granted only to persons who could convince the authorities that they were from "good" families and that they had the slaves, finances, and other requisites to develop sugar plantations and mills.² Even those members of the lower classes who reached Brazil and sought lands were careful to represent themselves to the authorities as coming from old established families and possessed of ample means for developing the concession.³

But the establishment of a sugar plantation and mill required a con-

¹ Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, I, 282.

² *Ibid.*, 284-85.

³ *Ibid.*, 284.

siderable amount of capital, and it was not always possible for the impoverished noble or aspiring plebeian to borrow this from the Jewish moneylenders of the coastal towns.⁴ But the establishment of a curral for cattle surrounded by vast acreages of pasture lands was much less costly. Hence many who could not obtain the coveted social and economic status of the sugar planter turned their steps inland and carried the pastoral enterprises to the interior—the curral preceded the fazenda and the sugar plantation.⁵ Although it took less capital, the development of a curral, later a fazenda, for cattle also served to diffuse the large estate throughout Brazil. Whereas it was considered necessary to have a grant of at least two leagues (some eight miles) square in order to have sufficient land for a sugar plantation, an extension of 10 leagues, or about 40 miles, on each side was the customary size of the sesmaria that was granted for purposes of raising cattle. And even those who were unable to secure concessions of land and rented the areas on which they grazed their cattle leased areas at least one league square.⁶

The diffusion of the large landholding throughout Brazil proceeded very rapidly. Along the entire coastal area the sesmaria was the instrument for the spread of the large estate devoted to sugar production. Few persons of the farmer class gained a foothold there. Nor did small farms develop in the hinterland to constitute a "shelter belt," protecting the plantations from the natives, as was the case in the southern part of the United States. Owing in a large measure to the intrepid Paulistas of the seventeenth century, the menace of Indian attacks from the interior was largely eliminated and the lands themselves appropriated in extremely large tracts for the purposes of cattle raising. Accompanied by their numerous slaves and agregados, these Paulista bandeirantes went on long exploring and Indian-hunting expeditions; but they also drove their herds of cattle before them in a species of "combined operations," and upon this economic base they established nodules of settlement, throughout the entire length and breadth of Brazil. One can hardly over-stress the contribution of the small handful of adventurers from São Paulo. They pushed south through what is now Paraná and Santa Catarina to the great plains of Rio Grande do Sul; they spread westward into Mato Grosso and northwest into Goiás; they introduced their particular variety of European civilization, or, better, the new American variety, based on pastoral activities, into Minas Gerais, pushed on down the São Francisco

⁴ For a discussion of the role of the Jews as moneylenders in the colonies, see Freyre, *Sobrados e Mucambos*, 39–43, *passim*.

⁵ Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brazil*, 1920, I, 288.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 284.

through Bahia, and then spread out onto the areas of the great sertão in Pernambuco, Ceará, Piauí, and Maranhão.

Furthermore, they were just as bold in asking for lands in sesmaria as they were in penetrating new areas and enslaving the Indians. As a rule they petitioned for grants of the maximum size, asking them not only for themselves but for all the members of their numerous families. No doubt they felt entitled to the possession of vast expanses of territory by virtue of being the explorers, the first to reduce the natives, the founders of the settlements, and the owners of the herds which formed the economic basis of the economy. Oliveira Vianna cites the case of Brito Peixoto, who was not content with a sesmaria for himself, but requested His Majesty the King to grant one to each member of his family.⁷ In the mining regions the royal letters confirming the possession of the owners ordered that the lands be distributed to the discoverers and their associates. From the south a governor reported that there were families in possession of 15 and 16 leagues of land, "the fathers have three leagues, and the sons, still living with the father, have secured the remainder."⁸

The valley of the São Francisco River formed a center of dispersion for these Brazilian stockmen and frontiersmen. Here they established strongholds, built up their breeding stock, and then continued their migrations, so that this great valley served as a second point of irradiation in the conquest of Brazil. From here in 1590 Christovão de Barros opened Sergipe for the Portuguese; from here other sertanistas, driving their herds before them, and supported by their warriors, made their way along the Rio São Francisco to near the place where Cabrobo, Pernambuco, now stands, and then spread out over the interior parts of Pernambuco, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Piauí, and Maranhão. "For the most part, the villages existing in the high sertões of the northeast, from Bahia to Maranhão, have for this reason their origins in former cattle fazendas," says Oliveira Vianna.⁹ Even today, as has been mentioned elsewhere, "Bahiano" is a synonym of "countryman" in the cattle-grazing portions of Maranhão and Piauí.

The manner in which the large concentrations of grazing lands came into private possession, the vicissitudes through which some of the large estates passed, and the central fact that there was no tendency for them to be broken up as one generation succeeded another is brought out in the following quotation:

⁷ Oliveira Vianna, *Populações Meridionais do Brasil*, 118.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁹ Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil*, 1920, I, 298.

Domingos Jorge, a Paulista, and Domingos Affonso, from Maffra, in Portugal, were the first persons who began the conquest of this province (Piauí). Towards the year 1674, the latter possessed a fazenda for breeding cattle on the northern side of the river St. Francisco. The great injury which he there sustained from the central Indians, and the desire of augmenting his fortune with similar possessions, urged him to undertake the conquest of the northern country, for which object he assembled all the people he could accumulate, and having passed the serra of Dois Irmaos, (Two Brothers), towards the north, he, fortunately for himself, encountered the Paulista before mentioned, who was in the progress of reducing Indians to captivity, and they afforded mutual succour to each other. Having ultimately captured a considerable number, and caused the remainder to retire, the Paulista returned to his country with the greater part of the captive Indians, and the European remained the master of the territory. Other companies made similar entries into this district, the said Affonso always remaining supreme captain of the whole, and the vast possessions thus acquired by the entrance of various parties, received the denomination of Certam. It is said that he established above fifty fazendas for the breeding of large cattle, and that he gave away and sold many during his life. It is however certain, that at his death, he left thirty, and appointed the Jesuits of the College of Bahia administrators of them, ordering the revenues of eleven to be appropriated for dowries to young virgins, to the clothing of widows, and to succour other necessities of the poor. With the rest they were to augment the number of fazendas, but it is said that they only established three more. With the extinction of this sect, the whole passed under the administration of the crown, and are preserved in the same state by the inspection of three administrators, each having eleven fazendas in his jurisdiction, with three hundred milreas of salary. They occupy the territory through which the rivers Piauí and Caninde flow, from the boundary of the province to the north of the capital, in the vicinity of which there are some principal ones. The privilege of forming establishments within their lands is not granted to any one, where the slaves of the fazendas work alone for their subsistence and clothing. The cattle arriving at a certain age are conducted by the purchasers principally to Bahia and its reconcave. Those of the northern district descend to Maranhão, others are driven to Pernambuco.¹⁰

The literature is filled with other references to and descriptions of Brazil's tremendous landed properties. At the opening of the nineteenth century one of these in the province of Paraíba, and belonging to the Albuquerque do Maranhão family, was said to extend 14 leagues along the road leading from Natal to Recife. "Besides this prodigious property the owner possessed estates in the *Sertão*, which were supposed to be from thirty to forty leagues in extent, . . . such leagues as, if measured by time, are each three or four hours' journey."¹¹

¹⁰ Henderson, *A History of the Brazil*, 425-26. Some fifty years later these fazendas are mentioned as being utilized in an attempt to create a colony for liberated slaves. In 1873 the colony numbered about 800, of whom 300 were minors and 100 invalids. It was established in order to prevent the privation and misery that would result in the formation of criminal bands. Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brazil*, 127-31.

¹¹ Southey, *History of Brazil*, III, 768.

In the concentration of landownership that prevailed in Brazil, however, there is a distinguishing feature—the role played by the Church was a very modest one. Never did the Church become famous in Brazil, as it has elsewhere, for the control of broad acreages. At most, some of the priests were said to have transferred to mulatto offspring a number of the best *engenhos* in such provinces as Bahia. In fact, in Brazil the chapel usually seems to have been an adjunct to the *engenho* or the *fazenda*, and the priest to have been there at the sufferance of its aristocratic owner. Only the lay brotherhoods were noted for their extensive holdings. The key to this situation, so different from that in Spanish-American countries such as Mexico, is to be found in a royal letter of February 23, 1711, which stipulated that "in the concessions of land in the State of Brazil there shall always be the condition of it never passing by any title to the dominion of Religions."¹²

THE SITUATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By 1800 Brazil was already cut to the pattern of the large estate.¹³ Although there were few landholders, there were not many unclaimed acres. This point needs emphasizing because of the tendency to think of Brazil as a young country. It is not; its cultural patterns are deeply rooted in tradition and in a tradition that grew out of the social relationships of the large landed estate. Brazil's coastal fringe was dotted with sugar plantations and most of its vast interior was thinly veneered with a pastoral culture long before our thirteen colonies gained their independence. However, this culture merely occupied the country; it did not settle it. And Brazil is still engaged in the process of settling its vast territory.

After the first century or so the settlement process proceeded, and the density of population was increased by the development of new *fazendas* in established districts, rather than by the occupation of more territory. Early in the nineteenth century, John Mawe described the process of opening a new *fazenda* in the state of São Paulo.

When he [the farmer] has made choice of a situation, he applies to the governor of the district, who orders the proper officers to mark out the extent required, generally a league, or a league and a half square, sometimes more. The cultivator then purchases as many negroes as he can, and commences his operations by erecting habitations for them and himself, which are generally miserable sheds supported by four posts, and commonly called *ranchos*. His negroes are then directed to cut down the trees and brushwood growing on the land, to such an extent as he thinks they will be able to manage. This done, they set fire to all

¹² The letter is quoted in Silva Rocha, *Historia da Colonização do Brasil*, I, 158.

¹³ Even though a royal letter of June 15, 1711, had forbidden the granting of more than one square league to a person. *Ibid.*, I, 158.

they have cut, as it lies on the ground. Much of the success of his harvest depends on this burning. If the whole be reduced to ashes, he expects a great crop; if, through wet weather, the felled trees remain only half burnt, he prognosticates a bad one. When the ground is cleared, the negroes dibble it with their hoes and sow their maize, beans, or other pulse. During the operation they cut down any thing very much in the way, but never think of working the soil. After sowing as much seed as is thought requisite, they prepare other ground for planting cassada, here called mandioca, the root of which is generally eaten as bread by all ranks in Brazil. . . . When enough has been planted for the entire consumption of the farm, the owner, if he is rich enough, prepares means for growing and manufacturing sugar. He first employs a carpenter to cut wood and build a mill with wooden rollers for crushing the canes, by means of water if a stream is at hand, if not, by the help of mules. While some of the negroes are assisting the carpenter, others are employed in preparing ground in the same way as for mandioca. Pieces of cane containing three or four joints, and in length about six inches, cut from the growing stem, are laid in the earth nearly horizontally, and are covered with soil to the depth of about four inches. They shoot up rapidly, and in three months have a bushy appearance not unlike flags; in twelve or fifteen months more they are ready for cutting. In rich virgin soil it is not uncommon to see canes twelve feet high and astonishingly thick.

.....

In no branch of husbandry are the farmers so defective as in the management of cattle. No artificial grasses are cultivated; no enclosures are made; nor is any fodder laid up against the season of scarcity. The cows are never milked regularly; they seem to be considered rather as an incumbrance to a farm than a valuable part of the stock. They constantly require salt, which is given them once in fifteen or twenty days, in small proportions. The dairies, if such they may be called, are managed in so slovenly a manner, that the little butter that is made becomes rancid in a few days, and the cheese is good for nothing.¹⁴

The concentration of landownership, resulting from the grants of sesmarias, had already reached a high degree in 1822, when Brazil gained her independence. Ruy Cirne Lima states that the results have never been summarized better than by Gonçalves Chaves, who wrote anonymously at the time of the independence:

1. Our population is almost nothing in comparison with the immensity of the territory which we have already occupied for three centuries.

2. The lands are almost all divided and there are few left to distribute, except those subject to invasion by the Indians.

3. The monopolists possess up to 20 leagues of land and rare are the times that they consent for any family to establish itself on any part of their lands, and even when they do consent, it is always temporarily and never by a contract which would permit the family to remain several years.

4. There are many poor families wandering from place to place, following the favor and caprice of landowners and always lacking the means of obtaining some ground on which they could make a permanent establishment.

¹⁴ Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 78-80.

5. Our agriculture is as backward and unprogressive as is possible among any agricultural people, even the least advanced in civilization.¹⁵

Similar generalizations about the high concentration of landownership, unused lands, and the consequent loss to the nation are abundant in other writings. In perusing this literature one soon comes to appreciate the special Brazilian flavor given to the term "latifundium," that the principal element in the concept is the withholding from productive uses of extensive tracts of land. An official report to the Minister of Agriculture made in 1873 described the manner of giving lands in sesmaria that once prevailed and then added:

From this amplitude of liberty it resulted that all the lands about the cities and important villages on the coast fell into private ownership, with the result that today it is not possible to find in the populous cities close to the markets and along the great lines of communication a single palm of land that belongs to the state and could be converted into a nucleus of colonization or distributed to immigrants. Since the owners do not possess the necessary means of cultivating such vast extensions of land, much of it remains uncultivated and lacking in villages or houses.

From this concentration of property in the hands of a few comes the abandonment of agriculture in the country districts, the stagnation or lack of development in urban constructions, the poverty and dependency of a large part of the population, who do not find a field for their activity nor means to become proprietors, and finally the difficulties that today surround the public administration in offering immigrants a commodious and appropriate location. . . .¹⁶

Gilberto Freyre has done much to delineate social development among the aristocratic families of the northeast. In his works are presented a wealth of material dealing with the latifundium in Pernambuco. Not of least significance are some extracts from Recife newspapers and periodicals which he has reproduced. Particularly important for those interested in the land system are such articles as one by A. P. Figueiredo published in 1846 in *O Progresso* of Recife.

The major part of the land in our province is divided into great properties, remains of the ancient sesmarias, of which very few have been subdivided. The proprietor or the renter occupies a part of them and abandons, for a small payment, the right to live on and cultivate the other portions to one hundred, two hundred and sometimes to four hundred families of free mulattoes or blacks, of whom he becomes the protector but from whom he demands absolute obedience and over whom he exercises the most complete despotism. From this it results that the guarantees of the law are not for these unfortunates, who compose the greater part of the population of the province, but for the proprietors, of whom three or four, united by the ties of blood, of friendship, or of ambition,

¹⁵ Cirne Lima, *Terras Devolutas*, 43-44.

¹⁶ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brazil*, 308-309.

are sufficient to annihilate, in a vast expanse of territory, the forces and influence of the government.

It is essential that people of slight means shall be able to obtain lands and cultivate them with the certainty of enjoying the products, conditions which do not exist today, because the senhores de engenhos or fazendas obstinately refuse to sell any portion of their lands, source and guarantee of their feudal power, and because the unfortunate morador who takes the risk of planting remains at the mercy of the proprietor, who may expel him from the land inside of twenty-four hours.¹⁷

Even more detailed and caustic is another and longer article published by Figueiredo, under the pseudonym Abdalah-el-Kratif, in the *Diario de Pernambuco*, March 24, 1856.

What destiny has the continued increase of population in the interior? Will they come to be employed in agriculture? No; the best elements will leave for Recife to seek their fortune, to solicit a ridiculous employment; the remainder will move to the vilas and other population centers to pass a life of misery, because we have no industry which offers the free worker steady work and regular pay.

This is the source of those masses of men without secure means of subsistence which in certain blocks feed the politics of the parties and in the inferior parts of society practice robbery in all of its varieties.

What is the reason that these grossly dissolute families do not engage in agriculture instead of entering into the precarious careers in public services? Why, instead of leaving to be tailors, masons, and carpenters, do not the sons of families little favored by fortune return to the interior; why also do they not become agriculturists? Why do the inhabitants of the forests not cultivate the soil if they are not forced to do so? Why do their children seek out the vilas? For all of this we do not see more than a single answer, and disgracefully it is fully complete.

In the social state in which we live, the means of subsistence of a father of a family do not increase in proportion to the number of children with the result that, in general, the children are poorer than the parents and possess less capital. Now agriculture is encircled by a barrier that makes it inaccessible for the man of modest means; for all those who do not possess a certain number of contos de reis. However, she is the productive function par excellence, the mother (dead soul) of the nations, and it is here that reside the vital interests of our country; but since it is found encircled by a barrier, it is necessary that this barrier fall, cost what it may.

And what is this barrier? The great territorial property. This terrible entity which has ruined and depopulated . . . [illegible] and many other countries.

This region which includes all the littoral of our province and extends to a depth of ten, twelve, and sometimes fifteen or eighteen leagues into the interior, is found divided into engenhos or properties whose dimensions vary from one fourth of a league square to two, three and even four and five leagues square.

Here because cane growing demands a quantity of certain soil which is not found everywhere, it follows that, besides the cane lands, the woods that they

¹⁷ The article was reproduced in Freyre, *O Nordeste*, 153-54.

must have, and the lands which they require for their oxen and for planting mandioca, indispensable for feeding the slaves, the greater part of the engenhos possess vast extensions of unopened lands, lands that would be eminently suited for small farming, and which, were they cultivated, would be sufficient to furnish an abundance of mandioca flour, beans, and corn to all the population of the province and neighboring provinces, and even for export.

The proprietors refuse to sell these lands and even to rent them. If one possesses thirty or forty contos de reis, then he may buy an engenho; but if you are poor and would like to buy or rent a few acres of land you will not find them.

This is what produces the unproductive population of the cities, the class in search of public employment that increases every day, that makes the crimes against property become more frequent every day, and the country poorer day by day, because of the increased number of consumers while the number of producers remains stationary or at least increases at a slower rate.

But the large proprietors say, we are far from refusing poor people the land they need to cultivate; let them come, and for a modest charge, and sometimes even for nothing, we will give them, not only lands to plant, but wood to build houses. Very well; but this enjoyment only lasts at the pleasure of the large proprietor.

However, whenever they do not please the landowner, because of some small capriciousness, or because they refuse to vote for his candidates, or for failing to comply with an order, they are ejected without recourse. How can these unhappy ones be brought to plant if they are not certain of harvesting? What incentive is there to induce them to improve land of which they may be dispossessed at any moment?

On the lands of the large proprietors, they do not enjoy any political rights, because they have no free opinion; for them the large proprietor is the police, the courts, the administration, in a word, everything; and outside the right and the possibility of leaving him, the condition of these unhappy ones differs in nothing from that of the medieval serfs.¹⁸

Sugar estates, whether in Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, or São Paulo, were very much of a kind. It is not necessary to multiply instances to show the concentration of land that prevailed in the areas producing cane. But elsewhere the evidences of concentrated ownership are similar. Cattle estates, fazendas or estâncias, occupied even greater acreages than the sugar engenhos, and, because of the extensive nature of the enterprises, cattle sections were also much more sparsely populated. Nineteenth-century visitors to Rio Grande do Sul even hesitated to report the size of the estâncias they found, for fear their veracity might be challenged. John Luccock, who traveled throughout the province on horseback, wrote: ". . . indeed, the reported extent of farms in this part of the American Continent can scarcely be mentioned with boldness, by one who has himself little doubt of the truth of the accounts. The smallest are stated at four

¹⁸ The *Diario* article account was reproduced *ibid.*, 246-49.

square leagues, or more than twenty thousand acres; the largest are said to reach to a hundred square leagues, or near six hundred thousand acres. To each three square leagues are allotted four to five thousand head of cattle, six men, and a hundred horses. . . ."¹⁹

An official source, dated 1904, says:

These plains are divided up into "Estancias" or "Fazendas," the medium superficial area of an "Estancia" being 1 square League (4356 Hectares or 10,760 Acres), many of them however being 3 to 6 times that size. Wherever possible, natural limits were chosen in the division, such as rivers and brooks, which, besides avoiding all questions and doubts as to the boundary lines, serve as natural fences for keeping in the cattle. Where this has not been possible, strong wire fences serve now almost everywhere the same purpose. Internally the "Estancias," are divided into various enclosures called "Invernadas," to separate the breeding cattle from that to be fattened for sale. The house of the proprietor, more or less modest and simple, according to his means, generally stands on some elevation, near the center, overlooking the surrounding country, and around it are the huts or "ranchos" of the "peons." Agriculture on these estancias is as a rule conducted only to the extent of supplying the wants of the owner and his vassals.²⁰

A similar pattern of concentration in landownership prevailed throughout most of the interior of Brazil, including the western portions of Santa Catarina, Paraná, and São Paulo; much of Minas Gerais; Mato Grosso and Goiás; all except the coastal fringes of the states from Bahia to Maranhão; and even the populated portions of the Amazon Valley. (Of course in all of these, collecting and mining activities competed for the available labor, but they did little or nothing to affect the concentration of landownership.) One of the most extreme cases encountered is reported from the state of Paraná by the English engineer Bigg-Wither.

A few more such fazendas as the Forteleza, . . . would turn the whole province of Paraná into a desert. . . .

The whole estate occupies no less than 340 square miles of the zone or belt from whence, as I have shown, all the prosperity of which the province can boast has been primarily derived. Yet its owner will neither use it himself, except to an insignificant extent, nor will he sell any portion of it to others. On both sides, . . . it is flanked by the chief agricultural districts of the province, supporting between them a large population, while itself, it supports just a dozen persons, eight of whom are slaves.²¹

Bigg-Wither, always concerned with the chances of successful English colonization in this part of south Brazil, thought this estate ideally situated

¹⁹ Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the Southern Parts of Brazil*, 216.

²⁰ Eugenio Dahne, *Descriptive Memorial of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil* (Pôrto Alegre, 1904), 24. This publication was organized by "order of the president." It has been thought unnecessary to preserve several obvious typographical errors in the original. Also it should be pointed out that by this time in the "colonial" parts of the state a prosperous class of small farmers was rapidly coming into being.

²¹ Thomas P. Bigg-Wither, *Pioneering in South Brazil* (London, 1878), II, 243-44.

for a colony of his compatriots. He believed that the problem of the latifundium in Brazil might be solved by "the imposition of an Imperial land-tax, to be levied on all estates whose extents reach above a certain minimum. Such a tax would at once break up all large, idle estates, increase the productive power and consequently the prosperity of the province, and lastly, add a good round sum to the annual revenues of the empire."²²

Even in Minas Gerais, one of the states in which subdivision of land early made some headway, some estates remained of enormous size. Burton in 1867 described the Fazenda Jaguará and supplied a brief account of how it came into being. "Half a century ago, a certain Colonel Antonio de Abrêu Guimarães amassed a large fortune with 750 slaves, and still more by forgetting to pay the government dues on diamonds exported from Diamantina and other places. He held an enormous property of 36 square leagues (427,504 acres), which was afterwards divided into seven great estates." One of these, the Mello, at the time of Burton's visit was being surveyed for transfer to the emigrants who had left the southern United States following the Civil War. This estate contained 63 sesmarias, each of which in this district generally contained one half of a square league.²³

Fifty years earlier Luccock, through inquiries and observations on the land system of the state, wrote:

These people furnished me with several particulars respecting the state and condition of Minas Geraes. In those parts, they said, which are the most populous, the estates are generally a league broad and as much in depth, or contain sixteen English square miles. On so wide a space there commonly reside no more than about twelve persons, whom alone it supplies with subsistence. They allowed that estates of half a square league, or one-fourth of the former size, are more productive in proportion to their extent, because capital is wanting among the planters to manage more ground, and said that on such estates cattle are kept in larger numbers; but, they added, "with so little land what can we do with our children when they grow up? We shall have no land to spare for them."²⁴

Except in the south, where the program of colonization was making real headway, Brazil entered the twentieth century as a nation in which the large estate ruled supreme.

THE SITUATION IN 1940

By far the most comprehensive data concerning the distribution of landownership in Brazil are those secured and tabulated by the 1940 census. These will be superseded only by the completion of the tabulations

²² *Ibid.*, 244.

²³ Burton, *The Highlands of the Brazil*, II, 23-24.

²⁴ Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the Southern Parts of Brazil*, 425.

now being made of the materials gathered in 1950. With due allowances for the nature of the trends and the factors responsible for them, the 1940 data shed much light on the land system in Brazil as it is at present. Table XLIII gives for each state and the nation as a whole the acreages of land

TABLE XLIII
Acreages and Forested Lands in Farms, 1940, by States *

State	Area in farms (Hectares)	Percent of the state's area	Percentage of farm land in forests
Brazil	197,720,247	23.2	24.8
North	25,497,423	7.1	70.3
Acre	6,914,709	45.1	88.3
Amazonas	8,500,687	4.7	72.8
Pará	10,082,027	7.4	55.9
Northeast	28,608,794	29.4	20.9
Maranhão	3,008,576	9.0	18.3
Piauí	4,811,438	19.5	23.8
Ceará	8,605,954	56.2	26.6
Rio Grande do Norte	3,321,486	62.6	12.0
Paraíba	3,548,285	63.0	15.4
Pernambuco	3,875,789	39.9	15.1
Alagoas	1,437,266	50.4	32.4
East	53,166,685	42.1	16.7
Sergipe	870,654	41.3	13.9
Bahia	13,408,150	23.8	28.4
Minas Gerais	33,475,881	57.5	11.1
Espírito Santo	1,988,231	48.6	28.6
Rio de Janeiro	3,316,043	77.9	19.5
Distrito Federal	48,578	35.8	9.9
South	50,136,418	60.7	18.2
São Paulo	18,579,827	75.2	21.9
Paraná	6,252,480	31.1	24.1
Santa Catarina	4,862,296	51.5	29.3
Rio Grande do Sul	20,441,815	72.4	10.5
West Central	40,310,927	21.7	17.7
Goiás	19,603,521	31.5	17.8
Mato Grosso	20,707,406	16.4	17.7

* Sources of the basic data: *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano X, 1949 (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), 5-6; and "Sinopse do Censo Agrícola, Dados Gerais," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940*, (Rio de Janeiro, 1948), 1.

in farms and estates, the proportion this is of the total land area, and the percentage of the farm land that is in forest. Table XLIV shows the num-

TABLE XLIV

Number of Persons Employed in Agriculture and Number of Workers per Farm, 1940, by States *

State	Number of farms	Number of persons employed in agriculture	Number of workers per farm
Brazil	1,904,589	9,453,512	5.0
North	81,079	264,167	3.3
Acre	1,047	7,287	7.0
Amazonas	21,897	68,932	3.2
Pará	58,135	187,948	3.2
Northeast	476,682	2,598,217	5.5
Maranhão	95,228	312,975	3.3
Piauí	32,496	209,454	6.4
Ceará	93,382	515,078	5.5
Rio Grande do Norte	34,392	212,084	6.2
Paraíba	65,137	403,082	6.2
Pernambuco	123,266	695,306	5.6
Alagoas	32,781	250,238	7.6
East †	644,695	3,424,498	5.3
Sergipe	34,579	134,637	3.9
Bahia	226,343	1,053,384	4.7
Minas Gerais	284,685	1,651,949	5.8
Espírito Santo	41,919	204,568	4.9
Rio de Janeiro	48,386	342,398	7.1
Distrito Federal	7,994	18,878	2.4
South	636,203	2,866,758	4.5
São Paulo	252,615	1,529,055	6.1
Paraná	64,397	301,431	4.7
Santa Catarina	88,469	279,880	3.2
Rio Grande do Sul	230,722	756,392	3.3
West Central	65,930	299,872	4.5
Goiás	55,908	215,372	3.9
Mato Grosso	10,022	84,500	8.4

* Sources of basis data: "Sinopse do Censo Agrícola, Dados Gerais," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948); and "Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940*, II, (Rio de Janeiro, 1950).

† The totals for this region include the data for the region of the Serra dos Aimorés, in litigation between the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo, data which are not included in the state totals.

ber of farms, the number of persons employed in agricultural pursuits, and the number of workers per farm, all three for each of the states and for the nation. Tables XLV and XLVI should be analyzed in conjunction with the two that immediately precede them. The first of these helps make clear the extent to which the operation of the nation's land is concentrated in a

few hands, and the second shows how the degree of this concentration varies from one part of the nation to another.

Observation of Table XLIII indicates that in 1940 less than one fourth of Brazil's area was accounted for by the land included in the rural properties enumerated. Even though the census may have missed a considerable number of establishments, there can be little doubt that the greater portion of the nation's land surface still lies without the boundaries of its farms and estates. However, more than one half of this, or about 328,500,000 hectares out of a total of some 653,900,000 outside farms, was found in the three states of Amazonas, Pará, and Maranhão, hence, mostly in the Amazon Valley. If the unpatented lands in Mato Grosso, Goiás, and Acre were included, this total would be still further swelled. However, in some of the states, and particularly in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, and Rio Grande do Norte, a relatively high proportion of the total area was included within the rural establishments enumerated in the census. Table XLIII also shows that forested lands comprised almost one fourth of the land in farms. In Acre this proportion reached 88.3 per cent of all land in farms, in Amazonas 72.8 per cent, and in Pará 55.9 per cent. But care must be taken in interpreting these figures, for the percentage of 11.1

TABLE XLV

Percentages of Farm Operators with Farms of Stated Sizes and Percentages of Land in Farms or Estates of Stated Sizes, in Brazil, 1940 *

Size of farm or estates (Hectares)	Per cent of operators with farms of stated size	Per cent of land in farms or estates of stated size
Under 1	2.1	†
1-4.9	19.7	0.6
5-9.9	12.6	0.9
10-19.9	16.6	2.3
20-49.9	23.9	7.2
50-99.9	10.8	7.2
100-199.9	6.5	8.8
200-499.9	4.7	13.9
500-999.9	1.6	10.9
1,000-2,499.9	1.0	14.4
2,500-4,999.9	0.3	9.3
5,000-9,999.9	0.1	7.6
10,000-99,999.9	0.1	13.3
100,000-over	†	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0

* Source of basic data: Sinopse do Censo Agrícola, Dados Gerais," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).

† Less than 0.1 per cent.

for Minas Gerais means not that this state leads in the clearing up on farm lands but that much of its area originally was composed of grassy plains.

A study of the data given in Table XLIV indicates that of the rural properties enumerated in 1940, in total 1,904,589, about 53 per cent were in the states of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, and

TABLE XLVI

Percentages of Farm Operators with Farms of Stated Sizes and Percentages of Land in Farms or Estates of Stated Sizes, 1940, by States *

State	Farms of less than 100 hectares		Estates of more than 10,000 hectares	
	Per cent of all farm operators	Per cent of all land in farms	Per cent of all farm operators	Per cent of all land in farms
Brazil	85.7	18.2	0.1	16.9
North				
Acre	54.1	0.2	19.7	91.7
Amazonas	75.6	3.1	0.4	31.9
Pará	86.7	9.8	0.1	34.7
Northeast				
Maranhão	94.6	17.6	0.1	3.7
Piauí	71.7	11.6	0.2	6.3
Ceará	80.5	23.1	0.1	3.5
Rio Grande do Norte	81.1	20.4	†	6.6
Paraíba	90.3	30.9	†	4.3
Pernambuco	94.1	36.2	‡	‡
Alagoas	93.9	24.7	†	5.8
East				
Sergipe	95.5	37.7	‡	‡
Bahia	90.0	28.9	†	24.7
Minas Gerais	78.3	20.0	†	7.3
Espírito Santo	91.4	60.5	0.0	0.0
Rio de Janeiro	86.6	29.7	†	1.5
Distrito Federal	99.6	83.1	0.0	0.0
South				
São Paulo	88.1	27.9	†	7.2
Paraná	83.6	25.0	†	6.2
Santa Catarina	91.4	41.1	†	2.5
Rio Grande do Sul	88.4	23.2	†	2.9
West Central				
Goiás	54.3	4.0	0.3	13.7
Mato Grosso	26.0	0.4	4.0	52.1

* Source of basic data: "Sinopse do Censo Agrícola, Dados Gerais," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948).

† Less than 0.1 per cent.

‡ Data not tabulated separately.

Bahia. Minas Gerais alone contained 15 per cent, São Paulo 14 per cent, and Rio Grande do Sul and Bahia 12 per cent each. The number of workers per farm, one of the more valuable indicators of the degree of concentration in the ownership and control of the land, is highest in Mato Grosso, followed closely by Alagoas.

Analysis of Table XLV brings out some facts of considerable significance about the concentration of control over the land. In this connection it should be recalled that the materials presented in the chapter on land tenure indicated that not more than one out of three of the rural families in Brazil is headed by a person who could be classified as the operator of a farm, even though the squatters who are so numerous in Maranhão and some of the other states are so considered. Even if the comparisons are limited to the minority who are classed as farm operators, however, the data in Table XLV indicate that more than one fifth have to use in their farming operations (as owners, renters, administrators, or merely as squatters) only tracts of land that are less than 5 hectares (or about 13 acres) in extent. An additional 40.5 per cent have between 5 and 50 hectares, and a total of 85.7 per cent have farms that do not exceed 100 hectares in size. Altogether, this 85.7 per cent of the farmers have the use of only 18.2 per cent of the land. On the other hand, the 0.5 per cent of the operators who have acreages of 2,500 hectares or more together control the use of 24.5 per cent of the land in farms and estates.

The materials in Table XLVI help make it possible to identify the states in which the control of the land is most widely distributed among the rural population and also those in which there is the greatest concentration of such control. In Espírito Santo, Santa Catarina, Sergipe, and Pernambuco, it will be noted, farms of less than 100 hectares account for the largest proportions of the farming lands; and in Acre, Mato Grosso, Pará, and Amazonas the huge landed properties are most prevalent. As shown by the 1940 census the landed estates of 100,000 hectares or more numbered 37 and were distributed among the states as follows: Acre, 8; Amazonas, 6; Pará, 7; Bahia, 1; Minas Gerais, 2; Paraná, 1; and Mato Grosso, 12.²⁵ It should be remembered, however, that these data refer to operation and not to ownership. It is entirely possible that a single owner is the proprietor of more than one of the nation's largest latifúndia.

²⁵ The following data from an article in *Estado de São Paulo*, June 12, 1941, are informing concerning this statement and the enormous size of landholdings in Mato Grosso. Unfortunately, the data are not confined to the holdings of foreigners, and they are not strictly up to date, some companies having sold and bought lands after the figures were assembled. This article appeared about the time the federal government expropriated the holdings of the Brazilian Land and Cattle Company.

The net impressions gained from a study of these data indicate that in 1940 large, sparsely populated Brazil was far from settled although most of it was occupied. It was still the preserve of the large estate introduced three hundred years previously by the Portuguese. In the sugar sections of the coast large farms in terms of area were also large as indexed by number of workers. In the interior sections devoted to pastoral and collecting pursuits, immense tracts of land, peopled by few inhabitants, made for farms large in terms of area but not so big when measured in terms of average number of workers. Already in 1940 the nation's efforts to develop a small-farming class were bearing fruit in the modern states and in Espírito Santo.

TRENDS BETWEEN 1940 AND 1950

Changes in the number and size of farms in Brazil can only be analyzed adequately after the definitive reports of the 1950 census have been prepared. However, advance information from that census makes it possible to learn a little about some of the changes that have taken place. The available data for the various states have been assembled in Table XLVII. Several years are likely to elapse before any more detailed materials on the subject will be available. Several observations on the reported changes are in order.

The reported increase, 8.9 per cent, in the number of farms during the decade under consideration fails by a large margin to keep pace with the changes in the period 1920 to 1940. In that 20-year period the number of farms in Brazil tripled, increasing from 640,153 at the close of the first World War to 1,904,589 shortly after the outbreak of the second World War.

In six important states, including São Paulo and Minas Gerais, the number of farms decreased between 1940 and 1950. This sort of change may very well figure in several of the other states in the near future. When

<i>Name of Company</i>	<i>Area of Holdings in Hectares</i>	<i>Municípios in Which the Lands Are Located</i>
Brazil Land and Cattle Company	1,858,974	Campo Grande, Cáceres, Corumbá, Paranaíba, Três Lagoas
Brazilian Meat Company	566,010	Aquidauana, Campo Grande, Três Lagoas
Fazendas Francesas	418,808	Corumbá, Miranda
Miranda Estância Company	219,000	Miranda
Água Limpa Syndicate	549,156	Corumbá
Sud-America Belga S.A.	117,060	Corumbá
Sociedade Anon. Fomento Agrícola	1,001,077	Corumbá
Cia. Mate Laranja	345,026	Bela Vista, Dourados, Ponte Porã

THE SIZE OF HOLDINGS

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TABLE XLVII

Numbers of Rural Establishments Enumerated, 1940 and 1950, by States *

State	Number of farms		Percentage increase
	1940	1950	1940 to 1950
Brazil †	1,904,589	2,074,133	8.9
North			
Acre	1,047	1,701	62.5
Amazonas †	21,897	15,538	-29.0
Pará †	58,135	60,338	3.8
Northeast			
Maranhão	95,228	95,214	-0.0
Piauí	32,496	34,119	5.0
Ceará	93,382	87,199	-6.6
Rio Grande do Norte	34,392	34,392	0.0
Paraíba	65,137	69,458	6.6
Pernambuco	123,266	172,306	40.0
Alagoas	32,781	51,960	58.5
East			
Sergipe	34,579	42,770	23.7
Bahia	226,343	258,685	14.3
Minas Gerais	284,685	266,253	-6.5
Espírito Santo	41,919	44,130	5.3
Rio de Janeiro	48,389	40,602	-16.1
Distrito Federal	7,994	5,261	-34.2
South			
São Paulo	252,615	222,858	-11.8
Paraná	64,397	89,415	38.9
Santa Catarina	88,469	110,456	24.9
Rio Grande do Sul	230,722	286,758	24.3
West Central			
Goiás	55,908	63,889	14.3
Mato Grosso	10,022	16,558	63.4

* Source of basic data: preliminary material supplied in mimeograph form by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística.

† The total for Brazil includes the data for the area in litigation between the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. The 1950 data for the territories of Rio Branco, Amapá, and Guaporé are included in those for Amazonas, Pará, and Mato Grosso, respectively, the states from whose territory they were formed subsequently to 1940.

the more complete data are available it may be found that the increases in some of the states were accomplished only by a subdivision of farms that already were small in relation to the needs of the families cultivating them. The excessive subdivision of the land into a system of minifundia may shortly replace the problem of the latifundia in many parts of Brazil.

In some of the states, and especially in Paraná and Goiás, the increases in the number of farms no doubt reflect a healthy development of new farms in rich pioneer zones. Since 1940 both have experienced an inrush of settlers from older and more depleted sections of the country. Their rich lands have been developed into farms that have added considerably to the balance of the nation's economy. To a certain extent the same is true of new settlements in the southern part of Mato Grosso.

INHERITANCE AS A FACTOR IN THE SUBDIVISION OF LAND

As has been indicated, the introduction of immigrants and their establishment on the land in small farming communities or colonies is having an important effect in modifying the land system of Brazil. It has increased the number of holdings, decreased the size of farms, and most important of all, has done much to diffuse the system of farming in which a single man (the farm operator) performs the functions of laborer, capitalist, and manager.²⁶ Another factor that is of considerable influence in increasing the number of holdings and decreasing their average size is that of inheritance. Because it is such an important determinant of changes in the Brazilian land system and because the operation of the system is not checked by other factors as it is in countries such as the United States, Germany, or Great Britain, it is essential to analyze in some detail the manner in which the inheritance of land in Brazil is contributing to the subdivision of landed estates.

First, it must be indicated that in Brazil surely there is no effective differential fertility and mortality that results in a higher net rate of reproduction among the members of the lower classes. Differentials there may be; but if so, it is the average member of the upper classes who leaves a larger number of legitimate descendants than his fellow citizens of the lower social and economic levels. That he also leaves many illegitimate offspring, although frequently asserted, is more difficult to establish. Since the general rate of natural increase is very high in Brazil, this means that the average Brazilian landholder leaves a considerable number of heirs, and frequently these are distributed among two, and even three succeeding generations—children, grandchildren, and sometimes great-grandchildren. Grandchildren and great-grandchildren usually are a complicating factor only if one of their parents is deceased.

It must also be pointed out that Brazil resembles the United States in lacking an institution, such as the English system of primogeniture, which keeps the property intact and passes it on to a single heir. In Brazil, as

²⁶ For a discussion of the relation of such a development to the emergence of a genuine middle class, see, Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, 386-88.

in the United States, each heir is entitled to a share of the land. But Brazil differs from the United States in that it has not undergone a rapid industrialization and urbanization.²⁷ In the United States since the passing of the frontier, the cities have absorbed the lion's share of the natural increase of population in the rural areas—the farm population has remained about stationary in number for the last thirty or forty years. As a rule the heir who remained on the farm, most often the first-born son, bought out the other heirs, kept the farm intact, and in this manner prevented the equal sharing of the heirs in the inheritance from greatly reducing the average size of the farm. Had it not been for this migration from the land, the equal inheritance on the part of all the heirs would have pulverized the already comparatively small landholdings of the United States. In Brazil, on the other hand, where there is no system of primogeniture or rapidly expanding commercial and industrial population, the process of inheritance has brought about a very considerable subdivision of landed estates. Of course, Brazilian landowners were few, estates very large—in many cases unbelievably large—and much division could take place without creating properties that were small.

Throughout Brazil, and especially in Minas Gerais, São Paulo and Bahia, and the northeastern states, subdivision through inheritance has been going on for some time and has already had noticeable effects. It also bids fair to continue. But it is important to remember that the mere subdivision of a large fazenda among the numerous progeny of a deceased owner does not result automatically in the change from a system of large-scale agricultural exploitation to a well-rounded system of small farming. In the terminology ordinarily used in Brazil, it does not by itself bring about a change from monoculture to polyculture. On the contrary, such a manner of subdivision is likely merely to mean that each heir receives insufficient land to enable him successfully to carry on the type and scale of agricultural enterprises with which he is familiar, to live in the manner that he feels is the right of a member of his family and social class, and in a word, to carry on the type of rural life that he considers to be the mainstay of the nation. Subdivision of land brought about in this manner merely reduces the amount of land available to the farm operator; it does not alter his fundamental values and attitudes, inculcate new habits and skills, develop new motivations, or most of all, make it socially acceptable for the owner and manager of the land also to perform manual agricultural labor. Thus, because inheritance operates upon the land, and not upon the man and the system of social relationships, the reduction in size of holdings

²⁷ Such a process is getting well under way however, especially in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul.

through inheritance may merely result in the decadence of the old system. This takes place because the units are no longer economically adjusted to the enterprises attempted and because there may be endless bickerings, misunderstandings, working at cross purposes, and conflicts among the heirs. The net result may be anything but the development of a healthy system of family-sized farms.

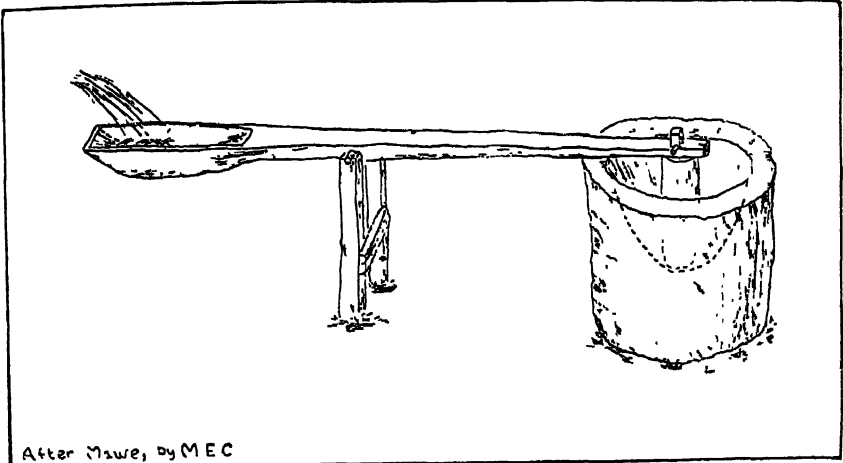
The results of subdivision by inheritance were already apparent in 1873 when Wells described the situation on the Fazenda Motta, in the central part of Minas Gerais, near the present location of Belo Horizonte.

F— had made his own private apartment fairly comfortable; whitewash and a liberal use of broom and water will effect wonders, even in an old abandoned Brazilian fazenda. I learned that there were then so many descendants of the last occupier, each having a greater or lesser share in the estate, that it became impossible for any one or more to utilize this neglected property (even if they possessed individually the capital necessary to work it) without the other shareholders claiming a division of the results of the energy and labours of the more industrious; at present they utilize, to limited extent, the lands, by each one cultivating on a small scale, or a few in combination, large fields of maize, beans, &c. The state of affairs produced by the abandonment of this farm, is primarily caused by the forced distribution of property amongst a numerous family, and then subdivided into smaller interests amongst the descendants of each of the original heirs. It is what can be seen in any day's march in any direction in Minas Gerais, and the curious anomaly is produced of increased poverty following the increased population of a new country.²⁸

The longer-settled portions of São Paulo also contain many areas in which the subdivision of lands through inheritance has proceeded to the point that the farm is too small to produce a living for the family which occupies it. For example, in the município of Taubaté this division has developed a situation in which many families have insufficient lands. Some of them may be employed by the prefeitura on road work, and other municipal projects, but many of them resort to seasonal work on the citrus-growing properties of the Companhia Brasileira de Frutas in the coastal município of Caraguatatuba, north of Santos. However, it is said that a large proportion of the workers contract malaria during their three or four months' stay in the lowlands and require months to recuperate after their return to the upland valley.

Not always are the lands actually subdivided and each heir given his portion; they may continue as single estates, while the operation of the vital processes and inheritance produces tier after tier of additional *donos*

²⁸ James W. Wells, *Three Thousand Miles Through Brazil* (Philadelphia, 1886), I, 127; cf. James Wetherell, *Brazil: Stray Notes from Bahia* (Liverpool, 1860), 139-40; and E. D. Brandão, "A Sucessão da Propriedade Rural," *Ceres* (Rio de Janeiro), VIII, No. 48 (1951), 374-94.



After Maswe, by MEC



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directoria de Publicidade Agricola

Upper. THE MONJOLO. Lower. EXTERIOR VIEW OF MONJOLO

or owners. Thus there are properties lying in southeastern São Paulo whose owners are legion. The purchaser of one of these tracts would have to treat with numerous persons now employed as shopkeepers or governmental employees in the towns and small cities of the area, white-collar workers in São Paulo, and federal functionaries in Rio de Janeiro. In addition, a few of the heirs remain on the land, operating patches of it as best they can under the extreme difficulties created by the impossibility of reaching an understanding with the other heirs and the uncertainty of the future.

Such a condition is by no means new in Brazil. For many years the multiplicity of heirs, no one or small group of whom could undertake improvement of the property without the liability of sharing the benefits with numerous others who had contributed nothing, has plagued other parts of the country. One of the more striking accounts available describes the situation in the great interior portions of Bahia. Here cattle raising long has been unnecessarily precarious because there are not enough small reservoirs or tanks to supply water during the periodic droughts which beset the sertões. The report of the survey for the railroad, which was later built from the capital to Joãozeiro, points out clearly how multiplicity of heirs has prevented the necessary construction of these water-storing facilities.

It is very difficult to discriminate the unoccupied lands of the sertão of Bahia because the occupied areas have no determined limits.

In colonial times there were given to some Portuguese fidalgos some grants of tens of leagues square in these parts.

With these titles, which were never established over the land, were effected the first sales of lands on which the first Portuguese established themselves and fazendas for growing animals.

On the death of these proprietors the fazendas came to be divided among the heirs and so on successively until today there exist many properties or possessions of land which count with more than 500 co-owners, having shares represented by insignificant amounts.

All of the co-owners having full right to introduce on the land as many cattle of their own or of their relatives as they please, evident is the disorder resulting from this state of affairs and the considerable barrier to the development and perfection of breeds of animals.

Everyone knows that in the sertão of Bahia the irregularity of the rains constitutes the primary obstacle to the development of these areas and that reservoirs or artificial lakes are the only means of curing the evil. But in the conditions in which presently is found the ownership or occupation of the land it is almost impossible to expect the development of these artificial lakes in the necessary quantities, without the intervention of special legislative dispositions.

Each present co-owner, expecting that the others will make these necessary improvements and that he will enjoy the benefits without assisting in any way

for the conservation of the land, appears to be more of a destroyer than proprietor.²⁹

In 1945 the author personally participated in a reconnaissance survey of this part of Bahia in connection with proposals for more fully utilizing the power potentials of the Paulo Afonso Falls in the São Francisco River. At that time the failure to subdivide the land legally as one generation of heirs had succeeded another had gone on to the point that virtual communal ownership prevailed in large parts of the region. As indicated elsewhere, the original grants had been large and ill-defined. In general they fronted on the river, for as many as 40 leagues in some cases, and extended back from it indefinitely. As generations came and went the large families of the settlers and the equal division of property rights among the heirs greatly reduced the number of acres claimed by any one person. The land was too low in value, however, to pay for the costs of surveys, records, and physical markings of the property lines, and, as a result, as one generation was added to another each fazenda merely acquired a new tier of owners. Today it is not unusual to find an estate whose ownership is vested in hundreds of persons representing as many as five generations. And even this is not the extreme. In parts of the area the stage has been reached in which definite claims based on occupation extend only to the area immediately surrounding the house and corrals; the rest of the land is regarded as communal property. A native of the area merely selects a location no one else is occupying, or buys the claim of another, and then proceeds to pasture his goats, sheep, and cattle as he pleases.³⁰

Although small farms are still a recent development in Brazil, already there are areas in the German, Italian, and Polish settlements in the south where inheritance has brought about excessive subdivision of the land. Unless migration from the farming areas is heavy, such cases will increase rapidly, for these peasant families are large. Already considerable numbers of the young folk are finding their way to the towns and cities, or pushing the agricultural frontier forward in their native states, or moving to northern Paraná and western São Paulo. Willems, who knows some of these German colonies intimately, says:

In the District of Guabiruba, in the Município of Brusque (Santa Catarina), the division of the property has come to the point that the *sítios* no longer can sustain the large families, making it necessary for the children to seek work in the local factories. The fragmentation of holdings accompanied by erosion and economic, physical and moral impoverishment of the population is slowly but

²⁹ A. M. de Oliveira Bulhões, *Estrada de Ferro da Bahia ao S. Francisco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1874), 53-54.

³⁰ See Smith, "Notes on Population and Social Organization in the Central Portion of the São Francisco Valley," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, I (December, 1947), 51-52.

irresistibly proletarianizing hundreds of rural families. And this is taking place in a region with immense reserves of virgin land.⁸¹

Brazil's high fertility of population and equality of inheritance, unless accompanied by industrialization and migration to the cities, will rapidly increase the number of farms in the country. But unless this is accompanied by widespread education and diffusion of agricultural skills, and in many cases by a willingness of offspring to lower their standards of living to attainable levels, the mere division of the lands will not bring lasting benefits. A most encouraging factor is the presence in this country of several millions of native-born Brazilians who have inherited from the peasant backgrounds of their European ancestors the skills, aptitudes, and attitudes of the farming class. Unfortunately, until recently few measures were taken to prevent the exploitation of certain of these peasants by schemers in the old countries from which their fathers, grandfathers, or great-grandfathers came. But the program of Brazilianization now under way, combined with their fullest use in the development of the nation's agricultural possibilities, can result in their full incorporation into the nation to which they owe so much. They and their children are one of the chief hopes for Brazil's development. Their attitudes, skills, and mode of living can help to extend the progress of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul to other parts of Brazil.

THE CONCENTRATION OF LANDOWNERSHIP IN THE SUGAR AREAS

Few more significant changes are under way in Brazil than the current trend towards a greater concentration of landownership and control in the sugar-producing sections of the country. This trend is probably characteristic of all the cane-growing areas of the immense country, but it has produced the most acute problems in the northeast, and particularly in the states of Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Paraíba. The consolidation of agricultural holdings that is under way in the sugar areas is not merely that which takes place through the development of another plantation unit by buying up and placing under a single management a number of small farms, such as occurred in Louisiana at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Rather, it is the absorption of already large plantation units, the old *engenhos*, into the immense holdings of the central sugar companies, the *usinas*. This has the effect of concentrating the production of cane in the hands of those who also grind it into sugar; it is also either eliminating the *senhores de engenho*, the aristocratic element that has shone so brightly throughout four centuries of Brazilian history, from their ancestral lands or else reducing them to a condition of dependency upon the sugar companies.

⁸¹ Willems, *Assimilação e Populações Marginais no Brasil*, 43.

From an elevated position as the master of broad acreages of sugar lands, the patriarch of a numerous clan of near relatives and hundreds of dependent workers, and the proprietor of the old type mill in which the cane was ground, the monarch of his own little kingdom, the *senhor de engenho* has been reduced to a mere *fornecedor* of cane for a central sugar factory. In fact, during the most recent years he has lost control of the land altogether and now is either permitted to stay merely as a renter, or has been forced to abandon the soil altogether. A social system that has endured for hundreds of years is falling apart. With it goes much of which Brazil has been justly proud, and much that few will regret to see pass. The process deserves a careful study. Only the outlines can be traced in the following paragraphs.

These sugar areas have long been the home of Brazil's most aristocratic families. For more than three hundred years a limited number of them, the class of *senhores de engenho*, maintained their position at the top of the Brazilian social pyramid. The patriarch of each of these families was supreme in his own little social world, and together they maintained power in the nation. Each of them was an industrialist as well as a planter, grinding his own cane and that of the farmers dependent upon him. Without being extremely wealthy, he was among the most distinguished men in the province. "Who," asked Dé Carlí, "amounted to more than a *senhor de engenho*?"⁸² Brazil's distinguished historian, Rocha Pombo, has described the status of these rural aristocrats.

The populations of the colony now [seventeenth century] were divided into masters and serfs, great families and the degraded masses. Treating of the great colonial proprietor, the author of *Cultura e Opulencia do Brazil* wrote: To be *senhor de engenho* is a title to which many aspire because it carries with it being served, obeyed, and respected by many. And if he should be, what he ought to be, a man of means and authority, it may well be estimated that in Brazil to be a *senhor de engenho*, is estimated as equal to possessing a title among the *fidalgos* of the Kingdom. It was still more than this. In general, the *senhor de engenho* has political importance and is a figure in the government of the land. This is to say that he directs authorities and functionaries. In his *fazenda*, in the surrounding areas of fields and forests which constitute as it were genuine brims of his patrimony, he orders and rules without opposition. For him, there in his dominions, it may be said there is no law superior to his will. His people, in relation to him, remain in a more humble subordination than that of the most inconsequential subject in relation to his king. Of his people one cares to say only—his slaves; but it includes also the multitude of his dependents—*agregados*, renters, share farmers, superintendents, clerks, skilled and unskilled workers in the sugar mill.⁸³

⁸² Dé Carlí, *O Processo Histórico da Usina em Pernambuco*, 5.

⁸³ Rocha Pombo, *História do Brazil*, V, 515-16.

For more than three centuries, or until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the pattern of life that had prevailed since the middle of the sixteenth century continued with slight changes in the sugar areas. As indicated in the above quotation, surrounded by his relatives, slaves, and *agregados*, each *senhor de engenho* continued to live as the monarch of his own little world. Like his neighbors, who were generally his kinfolk, he paid scant attention to any pressures from the outside. On his own lands with his own slaves and share hands⁸⁴ he produced the cane which was transformed to sugar in his own mill. An idea of the social status of the great man who headed such a rural clan can be gleaned from the observations of Koster:

I frequently visited the plantation of Amparo, which is conducted in the manner which I had attempted at Jaguaribe; but here it was performed with more system. The owner of this place employed constantly great numbers of free workmen, of all castes; but the Indians formed the principal part of them. . . .

One of these Indians was selling crabs at Pasmado, when a purchaser began to pick out those which he preferred; but the Indian stopped him, saying "Don't begin to pick my crabs, for I belong to Amparo." Thus even the crabs which were caught by the dependents of this great man were to be respected.⁸⁵

The extent to which the *senhores de engenho* as a class controlled the lands of the state, and the relations of this aristocratic element to the lower classes in society, are both brought out in the quotation from Figueiredo previously mentioned. Few were the occasions on which their supremacy was even challenged. True, for a time following the removal of the court to Rio de Janeiro, when Portugal was ruled from the New World, the migrant nobles outweighed the Brazilian-born *fidalgos* in importance. The eclipse was temporary, however, and the landowning class of Brazil soon became dominant at the court and received all the necessary titles. Otherwise they seem to have continued almost without competition. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that the position of these ruling classes became insecure, and the forces were set in motion that ruined them economically and socially and concentrated their lands in the hands of large companies.

⁸⁴ Koster, who for a time at the opening of the nineteenth century operated a sugar *engenho* at Jaguaribe near Recife, may have been one of the first to use free laborers along with the slaves. He explains that because he lacked enough slaves to perform essential work he "collected free labourers for the purpose; and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, moved on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. There were Indians, Mulattoes, free Negroes, and slaves working together; a motley crew." Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 222.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 268.

The beginning of the end came late in the nineteenth century, when the slave system was already reeling and when the days of the empire were numbered. At this time many rural senhores became heavily involved with the banks and moneylenders. Then they lost the bases of their power, although for some time they managed to keep up appearances. Social status is seldom threatened until one cannot avoid the *appearance* of poverty. Out of this indebtedness came a time of sharp conflict between the merchant, banking, and professional classes in the towns and the rural aristocrats on the plantations. Power was shifting to the city, but the country did not give up without a struggle, nor was it quickly overcome. To a considerable extent internal family struggle entered into the town-country enmity. Ofttimes one brother who had quarreled with another migrated to the city and went into business or took a degree in law or medicine, frequently abroad; then he became a city resident and carried on the fight from the town. This struggle between the commercial and professional classes in the city and the masters of the land resulted in the downfall of some of these families, but on the whole the family and the system maintained themselves and at least the appearance of their old grandeur. Freyre has analyzed the decay of the power of the senhores de engenho in face of the growing power of the cities and described the conflict that destroyed the economic bases of the former aristocracy.

A survival from the seventeenth century was the antagonism between the activities of the colonial cities and the isolated *casas grandes* of the fazendas and engenhos. The power of the cities developed, but the rural nobility preserved, almost intact, most of its privileges, and principally the decorative elements of its grandeur, until the end of the nineteenth century. This element, with all of the ritual, all of the social liturgy, is known to have had an extraordinary capacity to prolong the grandeur of life, or the appearance of life already wounded to death in its sources.³⁶

Although the rise of cities such as Recife and the indebtedness of the planters brought about a loss in the relative importance of the senhores de engenho in Brazilian affairs, they nevertheless retained an important place on the national scene and were dominant in rural affairs³⁷ until two other developments began to affect the economic situation. These were the introduction of the central sugar factory and the freeing of the slaves. Then the collapse of the old system and the leveling of the ruling element was sudden and almost complete. In the sixty years that have elapsed since

³⁶ Freyre, *Sobrados e Mocambos*, 36.

³⁷ As late as 1869 Burton wrote: "In the Northern Provinces of the Empire, the Fazenda is called Engenho, . . . especially where it is a sugar plantation, and the owner is Senhor de Engenho, one of the local aristocracy, and not to be confounded, unless you want shooting, with the lavrador or farmer." *The Highlands of the Brazil*, I, 45.

the new factors came into action all but the vestiges of the former grandeur of the *senhores de engenho* has disappeared.

The city had gained an important victory in its campaign for reducing the *casa grande* when its debt collector could invade the premises of the "great house" with impunity.

The *engenhos*, holy places where in other days no one came near, except humbly and to request something—to ask asylum, to ask a decision, to ask for a girl in marriage, to ask a contribution for the celebration at the church, to ask for a meal, to ask for a cup of water—came to be invaded by these debt collectors, representatives of an arrogant city institution, the Bank, almost as destructive of the prestige of the majesty of the manor houses as the police were of the Count of Assumar in Minas, or of the president, Chichorro da Gama, in Pernambuco.³⁸

The weak financial position of the planters was made still more acute when the slaves were freed, without reimbursement, and when most of the freed Negroes fled the estates for the city.³⁹ But most important of all was the appearance on the scene, in these decades of crisis, of the central sugar factory, later called the *usina*. It is to this aspect of the subject that the attention of Gileno de Carli has been devoted. For him, the moving force in the debacle was the establishment of the central sugar mill or *usina*. Perhaps this is merely the cause of the immediate collapse of a system long losing its vitality in the manner described by Freyre. In any case, the old system disintegrated rapidly with the establishment of new factories.

Interestingly enough, the introduction of the central sugar factory, the step in this process that has ultimately led to the dispossession of many of Brazil's most aristocratic families from their lands, was an attempt to separate the cane-growing agricultural functions in sugar production from those of sugar manufacturing, a goal the very opposite from the actual result.

There had been a crisis in the sugar industry. The government stepped in to aid the sugar planter at a time when Brazil was almost shut out of the international sugar market because of her outmoded system of sugar grinding. The crisis came just on the threshold of the complete abolition of slavery. Under these circumstances it is not strange that the central government had to offer its support to guarantee a return on capital; nor is it unusual that the local governments had to make loans. "All of this prepared a climate for the introduction of new methods of work in Pernambucoan fields."⁴⁰

It was the intention at first to make the factory responsible solely for the manufacture of sugar. The first decrees seem to have envisioned sub-

³⁸ *Sobrados e Mucambos*, 49.

³⁹ Carneiro Leão, *A Sociedade Rural*, 119-20.

⁴⁰ De Carli, *O Processo Histórico da Usina em Pernambuco*, 5.

stituting modern machinery, with the financial aid of the state and central governments, for the antiquated grinding equipment of the engenhos. At the same time it was the clearly expressed purpose to transform the engenhos into purely agricultural enterprises, each of them continuing the production of cane on the same scale and selling all of it to the central factory. The engaging of sugar companies in the production of cane was contrary to the charters of the first usinas.⁴¹ Under these new arrangements the first four new factories in Pernambuco got under way in 1884, receiving cane from the old engenhos. That year the obsolete grinding machinery of the old mills went unused.⁴² But such a division of labor did not last long. The company was not content to confine its activities to the manufacturing process. It was only a few years later, in 1890, that new legislation clearly authorized the usina to own and plant cane lands. Then, with its power to determine the prices to be paid for the cane purchased from the fornecedores, the usinas had the senhores de engenho at their mercy. The reduction and elimination of the old aristocracy was only a matter of time.

Of course there were questions as to the rules to be followed in contests between the usinas for ownership and control of cane lands. For example, there was the matter of zoning. Were the central mills to be left free to compete with one another for cane, to extend their railway lines on a strategic plan that would secure the cane they wanted, cut rivals off from possible supplies, and leave some engenhos isolated, to fall into their hands later like ripe plums? It is clear that at first a system of zoning was contemplated. In 1890 there was federal legislation to provide that in municípios where factories had been established with governmental assistance, no new factories could receive "equal or greater favors" from the government. The next year the principle of zoning was clearly stated when the government prescribed in connection with a new central mill that "the factory shall be constructed in Sant' Ana do Morro do Chapéu, município of Queluz, and from there as a center will enjoy the privilege of a zone of an area limited by a circumference whose radius is equal to 15 kilometers."⁴³ However, this provision was also soon suffered to fall into disuse. When it was gone, the rivalry between the usinas had nothing to serve as a check. Dé Carlí is of the opinion that had the principle of zoning been maintained, much of the conflict that ensued might have been forestalled; the usina would not have been so interested in weakening the proprietor who furnished it with cane, would not have been forced to map out and

⁴¹ For some time before the introduction of the central mill such a division of functions had been urged, but then it was the farmers (lavradores) urging this upon the engenhos. For extracts from an address proposing such a separation made before the Agricultural Congress in Recife, October, 1878, see *ibid.*, 47-48.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 6-9.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 17. Similar measures were being applied in São Paulo and Minas Gerais.

execute a long campaign, to go to such desperate lengths to see that the lands and woods it needed did not come under the influence of the rails from a rival factory. But the checks were removed, the rivalries grew more intense, "the immediate interest of the usina was that pauperism should strike the furnisher so that he would soon sell his property in order to close the zone."⁴⁴ Under these circumstances, a bitter struggle ensued between the usinas for the possession of the land. First to be gobbled up were the lands in the engenhos adjacent to the new modern mills. But as soon as the lands of the original furnishers were annexed,

the usinas fell upon the near-by *banguês* [smaller, older and more primitive mills than the engenhos]. One by one they fell. Overcoming the engenho, the railroad came to tie one more property to the growing usina. Then occurred a curious phenomenon: the small usina bought new lands, and, in order not to suffer from indigestion from so much excess land, it enlarged the factory. With the rollers increased in size, they could crush more cane than the lands could produce. There was only one remedy: it was to buy more land in order to care for the needs of the usina. Thus they grew, sacrificing not only the old banguê, incapable of resistance, but bringing families traditionally agriculturists to the supreme sacrifice of transferring the property rights to lands that had been in their hands for more than a century.⁴⁵

Barbosa Lima Sobrinho shows how, with the growth of the usinas, and the struggle between them for lands, the senhor de engenho was powerless to resist. He was faced with three alternatives, namely, to sell his land and abandon farming, to become an administrator on an estate, or to become a furnisher of cane. This authority maintains that the usinas were not interested in the complete elimination of the fornededor.⁴⁶

Others seem to be of a different opinion. According to documents quoted by Dé Carli it became the expressed intention of the sugar companies to eliminate entirely the class of owner-operators who produced cane for sale to the mill. When the old João Alfredo property at Goiana was transformed in 1891 into the Companhia Industrial Pernambucana, this company set as its fundamental program "to go forward immediately, carrying on the operation of the Usina Goiana, developing the thought originated by the early company of acquiring lands for the direct cultivation of cane, liberating it from exclusive dependency on the furnishers." Later it was stated by the historian of this usina that "in the course of 17 years, this program has been gradually executed."⁴⁷ Only periodic crises in sugar

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 18-19. For a full description of the banguês and their role in the Brazilian society, see Manuel Diégues Junior, *Banguê nas Alagôas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1949).

⁴⁶ Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, *Problemas Econômicos e Sociais da Lavoura Canavieira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), 14-15.

⁴⁷ Dé Carli, *O Processo Histórico da Usina em Pernambuco*, 19.

which prevented the accumulation of enough reserves to make all the desired purchases of land prevented the complete attainment of this purpose. There was in fact during the early years of the twentieth century, an important period in which the process of concentration was practically stopped, when the usina did not cultivate the lands it had attained from the former senhores de engenho with its own labor squads, but let them out to small farmers in return for 50 per cent of the crop; some larger farm operators who leased the lands of the former engenhos likewise used this system, subleasing to small farmers, and taking 50 per cent of the cane as rent.⁴⁸ But later the process in all its vigor proceeded to complete the reduction of the senhores de engenho, to consolidate the victory of the city and its commercial classes over the old patriarchal rural ruling class.

By 1928 the Association of Furnishers and Planters of Cane in Pernambuco were memorializing the state's House of Deputies for help, "the independent agricultural property is disappearing from the state. The soil which grows its most traditional and most prominent crop has become the land of the usinas." Furthermore it was asserted that these large sugar companies "expulse the former proprietors from their engenhos and put in their places temporary renters" who were said to be less apt and also less interested than the former owners of the land. The association asked the House to authorize the governor of the state to establish a new and more favorable schedule of prices for the cane supplied by the fornededores.⁴⁹ The same year an article published in the *Diario* of Pernambuco warned the government against "this odious thing which is taking place in Pernambuco and probably already in Alagoas: the exodus of the old agriculturists, descendants of the old and traditional masters of the lands, from the profession from which they have lived until now, by the greediness and monopoly of the usinas."⁵⁰

During the 1930's the process of eliminating the proprietor of the land who sells cane to the mill neared its completion. For these final stages the data are more plentiful and more quantitative. The 35 usinas for which Dé Carlí was able to secure records for the 1929-30 to 1938-39 period bought cane from 888 furnishers, and in the crop year 1931-32 the figure rose to 943; but at the close of the decade, 1938-39, the number had fallen off to 798. Furthermore, average deliveries of cane by these fornededores had fallen from 1,920 tons per furnisher in 1929-30 to only 1,483 in 1938-39; during the drought in 1936-37 it was only 682. Whereas in 1929-30 the usinas bought from fornededores 75.7 per cent of all cane ground in their factories, in 1938-39 the percentage had fallen to 47.6.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 33-35.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 171-73.

The fact that the number of *fornecedores* fell very little, while the proportion of cane furnished by this group fell so sharply means that a large share of the former *senhores de engenho* had lost their lands and even their position in the class of *fornecedores*, and that their places had been taken by renters operating small acreages.

In the late 1930's what had happened was clear to all. From this time date the novels of Lins do Rego, which describe so well the process of decay and replacement, the decline of the *engenho*, the rise of the *usina*.⁵² From those years also dates Freyre's introduction to the memoirs of an old *senhor de engenho* from which the following extract is translated:

The *usina* separated the great proprietor not only from the workers—who were a second family of the *senhor*—but from the landscape and the rivers, formerly so closely linked to the lives of men and today mere sewers into which the factories discharge the hot refuse. It finished the life in the *casas grandes*; it put an end to the festivals; it extinguished the moral assistance of the chaplains, some of them, it is true, fat and lazy priests, but always serving and helping the people of the *engenhos* in their needs and sufferings; it developed absenteeism; it substituted for the houses of the *engenhos* the little palaces of Recife, of Maceió, of Boa Viagem. Out of it came a new form of relations between the patron and the worker; between man and the land. The social distance between them became greater. It became immense.⁵³

Perhaps the most expressive summary of this development is to be found in the writings of some of the last survivors of the old pattern of life, of the *senhor de engenho* who held on while all about him his fellows were going down. From the memoirs of one of these, Julio Bello, the following extracts are translated:

Today how different is the life of the *engenho*! In less than a quarter of a century, how the life of the country has been transformed! Industrialized lands in the possession of commercial firms in Recife, how it has saddened the earth!

Today when one goes along the magnificent stretch of highway, of such beautiful and marvelous views, that leads from here to Recife and comes to the grounds of Sant' Amaro and of Serinhaem, of the ancient and well-named "beautiful villa of serinhaem," from the height he has in view all of the valley of the river and the *engenhos* which were the domains of such outstanding families, above all, of the illustrious Wanderleys: those of Rosario, of Canto Escuro, of Coelhos, of Burinhaem, of Palma, of Anjo, of Sibiro, of Trapiche, of Água Fria, and so many others. Where are those Wanderley Chaves, the Lins Wanderleys, the José Netos, the Wanderleys of Coelhos, those of Fontes, those of Peres? All are dispersed. All, almost all, emigrated from the land and the profession of their elders. What remains from those happy beehives full of

⁵² Cf. the romances of Lins do Rego dealing with the cycle of sugar. They include *Menino de Engenho*, *O Moleque Ricardo*, *Banguê*, *Doidinho*, and *Usina*.

⁵³ Gilberto Freyre in his Preface to Julio Bello, *Memorias de um Senhor de Engenho* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), xi.

life and enchantment on the margins and in the vicinity of the great river? The voyager traveling the road for wheeled vehicles for 50 kilometers stops now at one point, then at another, close to the old ruined chapels, near the abandoned ruins of the old type sugar mills, he stops and asks: "who owns this engenho now?" The reply is invariably: "It belongs to the usina."

The usina is great and anonymous—for all it is the commercial firm in Recife. I, in the half fantasy with which oftentimes I consider, thanks to God, the things of life, give body and form to this monster as if it might be a species of Empress Catharine, insatiable conquistador of lands and terrible deporter of colonel Mujiks, senhores de engenho. In my fantasy I consider it as a living person, as a movement of its own in the social drama. For me the usina is not as it is for all Firm A or Firm B. The usina which conquers the lands and scatters and degrades their old masters, is one being. It is not one person or a group of persons who unite together in a commercial body. It is a sentiment. It is monopoly, the force which shuts others out from the lands, almost lacking in tolerance for the distribution, itself only slightly equitable, of the gains from agriculture made by the old class that had cultivated the soil for hundreds of years. It is almost the spirit of avarice.

.....

In the *casas grandes* of the old mills, where the old colonels ruled in masterly style during the last century, melancholy and ridiculous caricatures of them, the administrators, inspectors and supervisors of the usina, vegetate today.⁵⁴

The present size of the holdings in the sugar area in the coastal cane-producing section of Pernambuco has been the subject of researches by Gileno de Carlí of Brazil's Institute of Alcohol and Sugar. Although by necessity this investigator had to rely upon estimates, he did have the great advantage of ready access to all of the records, and of a personal acquaintance with most of the larger establishments. We may be sure that his figures are a close approximation of reality. According to this authority, the sugar cane lands of the state total some 693,149 hectares. Of these, 166,400 hectares remain in 636 old style engenhos, making an average of 261 hectares per establishment of this type. Sixty usinas own or control the remainder of the sugar lands, the area owned amounting to 395,062 hectares, an average of 6,584 hectares per mill. The remaining acreage, 131,687 hectares, is in the hands of operators who sell their cane to the usinas. Thus, if complete control of the sugar lands of Pernambuco is the goal of the usina, its work would seem to be 57 per cent complete. But in the meantime it dominates 19 per cent more of the cane-producing area, leaving only 24 per cent to the old type mills. The largest of the usinas is Catende with an area of 27,574 hectares, followed by Cachoeira Lisa with 21,284, and Tiama with 20,000. Seventeen of the 60 each contain 10,000 hectares or more, the joint holdings of these few mammoths alone account-

⁵⁴ Julio Bello, *Memorias*, 60-61, 191.

ing for a total of 243,620 hectares or 35 per cent of all the sugar lands in the state.⁵⁵ The first central mill was established in 1884. In a little more than half a century the usinas owned or controlled all but 24 per cent of the cane lands. It hardly need be added that the lands of the usinas are the cream of the lot. If the engenhos remaining are a fair sample of those eliminated, which is probably not the case, 2,650 senhores de engenho have been eliminated in the single state of Pernambuco. All through the sugar-producing areas this process has been going on; in Alagoas, Sergipe, and Paraíba the story has been very much the same as in Pernambuco.

EFFECTS OF THE CONCENTRATION OF LANDOWNERSHIP

Brazilian scholars have not failed to recognize the economic and social problems that have risen out of the concentration of landownership and control in the country. In fact, the adverse effects of the latifundium is one point on which Brazilian scholars seem to be in most complete agreement. The following paragraph from the writings of Dr. Oscar Penna Fontenelle, describing the situation of rural workers in the state of Rio de Janeiro, will have a familiar ring to those well acquainted with the heritage of the plantation in the most fertile areas of the southern United States. It was written at a time when questions of obtaining more and better agricultural laborers were of public concern and when the desirability of imitating São Paulo in the introduction of Japanese workers was being debated in the state legislature.

With the present regime [on the fazendas] it is impossible to obtain better colonos than those we have and we are marching towards still worse days. The agricultural worker in the state vegetates in a dismal hut; suffers from malaria and worms; is badly fed and poisons himself with tobacco and cachaça; receives for his work script which may only be used at the commissary of the fazenda owner in which he may make purchases; he does not send his children to the school, which, situated as a rule in the urban centers, serves only the children of the fazendeiro families and those of the tradesmen of the locality; in a word, he is a poverty-stricken unfortunate, limited in his knowledge of the world to the surrounding few miles, the area through which he is accustomed to travel in his rounds from one fazenda to another, in following a neighboring fazendeiro who has lured him away from his former location, in order to flee from the compliance with some obligation at a fazenda where he was and which he was obliged to pay with certain services, or simply through the pleasure of wandering, because there is nothing to attach him to the land he cultivates.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Dé Carli, *O Processo Histórico da Usina em Pernambuco*, 56-59.

⁵⁶ Oscar Penna Fontenelle, *Problemas Economicos do Estado do Rio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), 112.

Similar descriptions could easily be secured for other areas; many of them have already found a place at one point or another in this volume. Brazilians clearly recognize that the concentration of landownership and the numerical preponderance of the landless class which it brings is largely responsible for the poverty of the country. For a hundred years now they have been struggling to change the system. Among the most adequate analyses available is one by Nelson Werneck Sodré which has reference to the situation in the far west, to Mato Grosso, a sparsely populated land where cattle raising is the basis of livelihood and the estates are of almost unbelievable extent.

In the west inheritance is the only force bringing about a subdivision of properties. But there are frequent cases in which the dispersed portions are regrouped, one of the heirs acquiring the holdings of the others and reconstituting the latifundium along the old lines. The laws relating to the sales of land by the state should bring about subdivision of land, but they are frequently evaded. The large proprietors maintain that pastoral enterprises pay only if they have free land.

The concession of immense domains to foreign concerns is a force working against the subdivision of the land. A large part of the western lands belongs to foreigners who are merely holding it, awaiting a favorable opportunity to sell.

Because of these factors small farming exists only in the areas surrounding urban nuclei. Here it is carried on mainly by foreigners, particularly the Japanese. The Brazilians are divided into a small handful of proprietors and an overwhelming majority of pauperized laborers who are bound in one way or another to the pastoral regime.⁵⁷

According to this same authority entire municípios, although in the west they have extensions comparable with those of states, "have their lands, their possessions, their riches divided, not in a descending scale, but among a half-dozen grand proprietors—and poverty-stricken grand proprietors. They are grand only in the extension of the lands which they possess." The results of this are disastrous for the welfare of the region and the nation. Paradoxically, in the west, where there seems to be only land, there is no land for distribution. This apparent contradiction is explained by the facts that (1) the pastures are in large and almost inalienable properties, (2) the lands owned by the state are leased to foreign organizations, in concessions, or even sold so as to constitute new latifundia, and (3) those that remain are either under water or lacking in

⁵⁷ Werneck Sodré, *Oeste*, 128-30.

water. Werneck Sodré estimates that of 250,000 persons in the southern part of Mato Grosso, only 3,500 are landowners.⁵⁸

The withholding of lands from productive uses by large landholders so that they might have ample to distribute among their numerous heirs, is the aspect of this question that has received most attention from Brazilian writers. The absence of a land tax, a reform so strongly urged by João Cardoso de Menezes e Souza,⁵⁹ facilitated this "dog in the manger" policy that has been so bitterly attacked by Brazilians and visitors alike. The Brazilian conception of the latifundium, as a large holding of unused lands, undoubtedly had its origin in this practice.

Brazilians have clearly pointed out in many of the paragraphs quoted in this chapter and others having to do with the relations of people to the land the human erosion brought about by the concentration of land-ownership and control. The long-continued fight for the development of a middle class of farmers and the valorization of the Brazilian caboclo also has its base in a correct appraisal of the effects of land concentration in the hands of the few. Finally, the fact is beginning to gain wider recognition that the physical deterioration of the soil, as well as the man, is being brought about rapidly by absenteeism and poor management on estates operated by administrators, and by the soil mining practiced on portions of the estates that are let out to renters. To the large estate and the slovenly methods of agriculture perpetuated wherever slave labor was employed, Burton, an observant traveler, attributed the exhaustion of the soil about Entre Rios in the state of Rio de Janeiro. Already in his day (1867) every stream was a "sewer of liquid manure, coursing to the Atlantic, and the superficial soil is that of a brickfield."⁶⁰ Later, upon passing through the Parahybuna Valley where the land was divided into farms he said, "houses and fields became more frequent, and the curse of the great proprietors is no longer upon the land." To this he added the following footnote: "Their effect is that which has been in France, which was in the southern states of the Union, and which is in Great Britain. When will the political economist duly appreciate the benefit derived from the subdivision of land?"⁶¹

Today, the slaves are gone, but many persons still living were once held in bondage. It would be interesting, however, to have the comments of the same experienced world traveler after he had passed through the newly opened cotton districts of western São Paulo. Here, a few short

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 173-74. For a listing of the areas controlled by large companies, with a map, see pp. 174-76.

⁵⁹ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brasil*, 307-15.

⁶⁰ Burton, *The Highlands of the Brazil*, I, 42.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 47.

years of cotton growing with share hands, or by colonos paid a fixed amount for "making the crop" on an alqueire of land and a fixed amount per arroba for picking it, or by Japanese on rented lands, already has wrought havoc with the soil.

The preceding paragraphs summarize a few of the more direct results of the large size of Brazil's agricultural holdings. Still others, some direct and others more removed, need to be mentioned. The high degree of social stratification prevailing in most of the country, although existing from the very first settlement of Brazil, nevertheless owes its persistence to the continued presence of the large estate. As the small-farm pattern continues to overspread Brazil, this social stratification will become less pronounced, or at least the social pyramid will attain new layers. The social classes will no longer be limited to a handful of the elite at the peak, supported by a great base of agricultural laborers—nearly always the most disadvantaged class in any society—the inevitable result of a society overwhelmingly rural and land possessed by the favored few.

The comparatively low standard of living that prevails throughout most of Brazil also is to be attributed to the concentration of landownership, and the class system that it has preserved. This matter has already received attention in another chapter; here it is necessary merely to add that the sections where the land has been subdivided are the ones where the levels of living are highest, where general education has made the most headway. It is no accident that public records in the southern states are far superior to those in the other sections of Brazil. The condition of these records is no doubt positively and closely associated with the general level of intelligence of the population. This level in turn has certainly been determined more largely by the degree of concentration of landownership than by any other factor. Brazil's present efforts to develop a much larger class of farm operators is a large stride in the valorization of her people.

Finally, it should be pointed out that in Brazil the large estate, and the slavery that went with it, did not set the sections of the country at one another's throats as in the United States. This deserves a few words of explanation. In contrast with the situation in our own country, in Brazil concentration of landownership and control and the slave system were characteristic of every region in the nation. Whereas in the United States on the eve of the liquidation of slavery the states with few slaves sold Negroes to the states with many, in Brazil, the process was reversed and the result was a universalizing of the problem. This has meant that the long list of social problems growing out of the system, and that are still with Brazil, are not mainly confined to certain regions of the country as is the case in the United States. Brazil as a whole must attempt to cope with them be-

cause they are present almost universally, even in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul. This makes all Brazilians cognizant of these problems and all equally sensitive on the subject. The majority of Brazilians cannot pass it off with the superior, holier-than-thou attitude that is the escape mechanism used throughout a large portion of the United States; nor is one section of the country constantly on the defensive because of the institutions its people have inherited from the long past. In Brazil, regional differences are not greatly amplified by a social heritage from the time when it was part free and part slave, or by the socially inherited bitterness of a war for liberating the slaves and a still more tragic reconstruction period. Whatever the effects of the large estates and slavery may have been, their mark is on national, and not merely on regional, character.

AGRARIAN REFORM

Since the close of World War II talk of agrarian reform has occupied a prominent place in Brazilian newspapers and magazines, on the radio, and in the halls of Congress. Proposals have been many and varied, and it seems fairly certain that legal measures of one kind or another will be forthcoming in the not too distant future. At the core of most of the agitation is the idea of fundamental modification in the size of land holdings in Brazil. More specifically, the general proposal is the elimination or least reduction of the importance of the *latifundia*, the large holdings that are deliberately withheld from agricultural production. For the most part the expropriation and subdivision of such large holdings, especially those in areas near the great centers of consumption, are the measures most commonly suggested. In fact they are the only devices many persons, even the leaders of thought and action, have in mind when they speak or write of the *reforma agraria*. Others, however, see the whole problem in much larger perspective, and recognize the necessity of dealing in any fundamental reform with man as well as land. They would accompany any distribution of land with fundamental instruction of the Brazilian rural population in methods of farming and other basic aspects of rural living.

Just what lines the agrarian reform will take, it is still too early to predict with any degree of certainty. It probably will be considerably different in the various parts of the nation. Some states no doubt will resort to expropriation of some of the large estates and the distribution of small pieces of them among the rural population. The federal government is likely to place restrictions upon the size of farms and the use of the soil in the areas benefited by its irrigation and drainage projects. It is hardly realistic, though, to expect that certain other fundamental measures will be taken. As yet there is no evidence of any attempt to restrict the sale of

public lands to speculators, a practice that is likely to create a dozen new latifundia for every one eliminated. Nor is it likely that a land tax will be utilized as a means of effectively forcing the utilization of the huge unused tracts. For years to come speculators in public lands will likely operate with little or no interference, and land will continue to remain in fact an asylum for capital.⁶²

⁶² The literature on agrarian reform is voluminous and varied. Among the basic materials that deserve consultation are the following: Serviço de Informação Agrícola, *Reforma Agrária no Mundo e no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952); José Arthur Rios, "Rumos da Reforma Agrária," *Arquivos de Direito Social*, X (1952); Vicente Chermont de Miranda, "A Reforma Agrária e a Experiência do Estatuto da Lavoura Canavieira," *Revista Forense* (Rio de Janeiro), CXL (1952); Afrânio de Carvalho, *Lei Agrária: Anteprojeto* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948); and Sociedade Nacional de Agricultura, *Reforma Agrária* (Rio de Janeiro, 1947).

CHAPTER XVII

COLONIZATION AND SETTLEMENT

FUTURE HISTORIANS may well decide that the establishment of a class of small farmers in parts of the Brazilian territory was the most important development in the New World during the last half of the nineteenth century. That it was an extremely important development even now is not subject to question. This chapter on colonization and settlement is an attempt to give some of the more salient features of this important series of undertakings. More details will be found in the other chapters in this section devoted to the relations of people to the land.

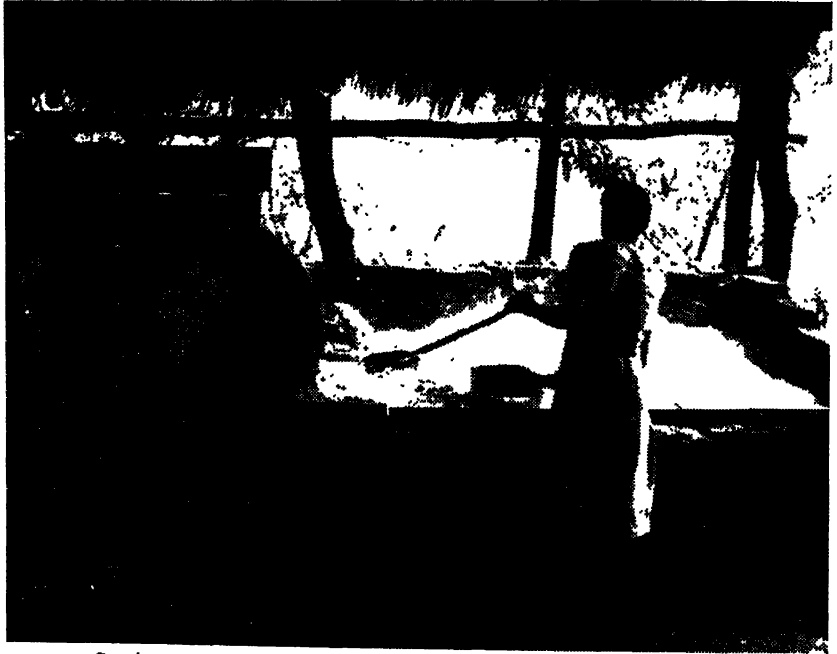
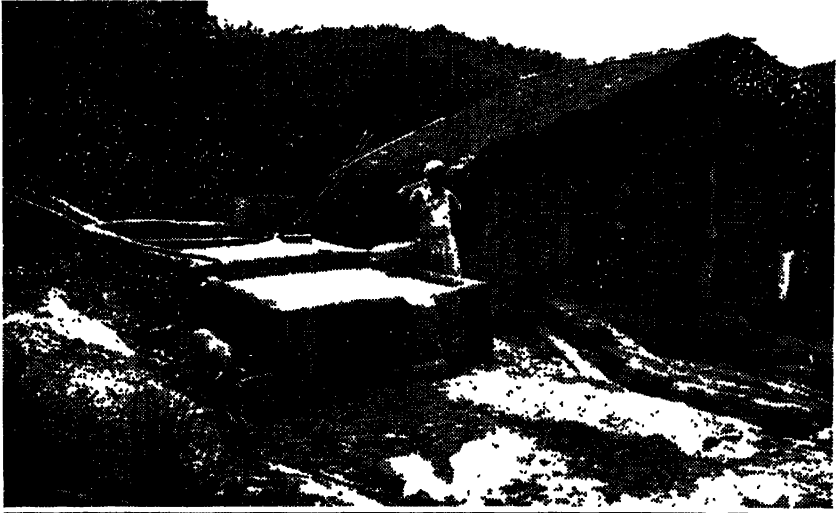
A few words are necessary concerning the specific connotations of "colonization" and "settlement" as these expressions are used in this chapter. They do not have the meanings usually attached to them in English writings, but are intended to denote the more specific concepts prevailing in Portuguese and Spanish America. Thus "colonization" as used here refers not to the establishment of the original settlers in Brazil, but to the activity programs or projects by which governmental and private agencies are subdividing large properties; placing families on the farm plots so created; and extending aid, assistance, and supervision in an attempt to establish communities of small farmers on the land. "Settlement" has a similar but broader application. It includes the more independent or spontaneous developments by which the small-farming classes acquire control of the land, the density of population is increased, and large tracts of unused or slightly used lands—the latifundia of the Brazilians—become the seats of numerous firmly established neighborhoods and communities. Together the terms "colonization" and "settlement," used with reference to twentieth-century Brazil, include all the processes by which a class of small farmers is securing possession of the land.

The mounting importance of the small-farming class of population in Brazil can hardly be overemphasized. However difficult it may be, because of the unavailability of the statistical data that one might desire, to measure the progress by which the agricultural civilization based on small farms is pushing forward and submerging the old latifundia and their thinly spread cattle culture, there can be little doubt as to the lasting importance of the movement. The population changes in south Brazil themselves are

evidences of what is happening, a trend that may be verified by passing through the interior portions of the country and talking with the inhabitants. From nuclei on the east central part of the plateau of Paraná, in the valleys of the Itajaí and Tubarão valleys in Santa Catarina, and in the hills that lie to the north of Pôrto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul, the swarming process is rapidly spreading the small-farming system. Liberalization of the land laws and other factors are having a similar effect in western São Paulo. Northern Paraná is the seat of a remarkable colonization enterprise being carried on by a private company. Along the railroads, too, through all of the states mentioned, and in Mato Grosso, Espírito Santo, and Minas Gerais, significant developments have taken place. Many old-style large estates have been cut to the small-farm pattern. Some of these efforts are the colonization projects of state and federal agencies, others are those of private individuals, but even some of the railroads are attempting to get additional business by subdividing fazendas for sale to small owners. Around the cities, too, the development of the small-farming class is taking place at a rate that would probably have seemed impossible to those who visited Brazil one hundred years ago.

The significance of this development is not to be measured solely in terms of the greatly increased production of foodstuffs and raw materials and the substitution of diversified agriculture for monoculture that it brings about. These are all tremendously important, but probably even more so is the rapidity with which a middle class is being created in Brazilian society. The children from these farm families are leading the industrialization that is progressing on a small scale through the small towns and cities of south Brazil, and on a considerable scale in cities like São Paulo and Pôrto Alegre. They have already become a force in business and in government, both in the states and in the Federal District. Although the building of a middle class stems largely from the establishment of small-farm society in Brazil, it has already resulted in profound changes in the class structure of even the largest cities.

One of the most significant effects in this more widespread distribution of landownership and control has been a rise in the general level and standard of living in the areas affected by the innovations. A glance at trends in production figures for the various regions in Brazil shows that during the last three decades a static and even decadent situation in much of the north has been accompanied by tremendous expansion along nearly all lines in the south. But this is only one aspect. Educational progress and the determination to build a better Brazil also find their bulwarks in the southern area.



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directoria de Publicidade Agricola

Upper. TANKS FOR FERMENTING CORN, BEFORE IT IS POUNDED BY THE MONJOLO. Lower. TOASTING, THE FINAL STEP IN THE PREPARATION OF FARINHA DE MILHO, OR CORN FLOUR

One might multiply the details, but it would all add up to the fact that the development of a class of small farmers, with the consequent rise in the proportion and strength of the middle classes in south Brazil, is one of the more significant forces now pushing Brazil to the front among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. It should be called to mind, however, that the recent political and governmental changes in Brazil have come from the south. Furthermore, these developments represent a change in kind; they are not merely revolutions that substitute one clique of rulers for another of the same type. Whether one is for or against Getúlio Vargas and his administrations, it must be admitted that the last two decades have seen a great consolidation of the nation. *Municípios* are no longer little worlds apart, independent in the ordering of their affairs; the states are no longer feeble confederations of these smaller units; nor does the nation remain an extremely loose union of states similar to our own country under the Articles of Confederation.

By degrees the influence of the central government is making its way into the most remote parts of the national territory. The nation and the states are concerning themselves with the welfare of Brazil's people, even those in the most remote parts of the country. Under the empire, great movements, such as abolition, spread from the north to the south. Since the development of powerful small-farming classes in the south, the tendency is for the important social reforms to move in the opposite direction. One may now meet in interior cities and towns in such states as Piauí, or Ceará, functionaries sent out by the central government to establish health centers, to assist in the development of safeguards for supplies of drinking water, to help initiate other sanitary measures. He may meet in Goiás or Mato Grosso federal inspectors eyeing school buildings and curricula in cool appraisal. Since Lampeão was killed in 1938, no new bandit chief powerful enough to defy state and federal law enforcement agencies has arisen. The law is no longer absent from the *sertão*. And in the Amazon one may see a far-reaching program to bring under control and to the service of man, through the safeguarding of life and health in the region, the unused resources of the great area. Never should it be forgotten, as one reflects upon such significant changes, that the moving force, or at least one of the more important of a combination of forces, has been the expansion of small-farming settlements in the south.

Many are the forces that have been in operation and varied are the ways in which a small-farming class and settlements of small farmers have been developing in Brazil. The more important of these may be summarized under six headings: (1) attempts to establish the aborigines in small farming communities, (2) colonization, in the sense of establish-

ing planned settlements, (3) legal restriction on the amounts of public lands that might be sold to one person, (4) subdivision of land by inheritance, (5) grants to ex-soldiers of limited tracts of land, and (6) a miscellaneous setup of circumstances and developments that perhaps can best be described as "spontaneous."

CHRISTIANIZING THE INDIANS

From early times attempts to Christianize the Indians by gathering them together into small communities, teaching them more about agricultural processes, and attempting to instill settled habits of living, have gone on in Brazil. Perhaps this type of work never attained the significance it did in some of the Spanish-American colonies, notably Paraguay, but it has been of considerable importance. In treating this aspect of the subject it is necessary to go back beyond the nineteenth century, for most of the energetic attempts were made earlier. However, the work with the Indians has been a continuous one and is still going on today. Its story is one of the most interesting in Brazilian history.

In the early days this work with the Indians was undertaken chiefly by the Jesuits. As early as 1570 these clerics had succeeded in obtaining a decree from the Lisbon government prohibiting the enslavement of any Indians except those taken as prisoners of war. This act was generally disregarded for a long time. A few years after it was issued, a considerable part of the settlements in Brazil came under the control of the Dutch. Shortly after the expulsion of the Hollanders in 1661, the attack upon Indian slavery was renewed and with rather marked success. According to João Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, about this time "200,000 Indians who lived in the territory occupied by the planters were established in villages and placed under the direction of the Jesuits."¹

Southey gives many of the details of this variety of colonization. He cites a second law decreed in 1587 which provided that the Indians who worked for the Portuguese were to be regarded as free laborers and not as slaves; another of 1605 which stated that no Indians should be held as slaves except those taken in hostilities that had been ordered by the king; and one of 1609 which provided that Indians should in no case be held as slaves. The latter was modified two years later to allow for enslavement of captives, after the details had been approved in Lisbon.

This law provided also for the freedom of the reduced Indians: In every one of their villages there was to be placed as Captain for three years, a person of good substance and good extraction, especial care being taken that there should be no Jewish blood in his family. He was authorized to go into the interior,

¹ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brasil*, 135.

and persuade the natives to return with him, and to live under the protection of the laws: in these expeditions he was instructed to take with him a Jesuit, if there were one who would accompany him, and in default of a Jesuit, a religious of any other Order, provided he spoke the Tupi tongue. The Indians thus reclaimed were to be settled in villages, consisting of about three hundred houses, at such distance from any *Engenbos*, and woods of the Brazil-tree, that there might be no danger of their injuring them. Lands were to be allotted for their use, and a church built in every village, which should be given to a secular priest conversant in their tongue; if none such were to be found, a Jesuit was then to be preferred, and if there were no subject of the Company, then a regular priest of any other Order might be appointed.²

This same author gives an extensive biography of the Jesuit, Vieira, champion of the Indian's cause in Brazil, describes the process of enslaving the Indians in the middle of the seventeenth century, and then sets forth the situation of the Indians who resided in the villages that had been established as it was in 1653.

But in this general system of wickedness, none were more wickedly treated than those who had submitted to the Portuguese, and living apart in villages of their own, were called free Indians, and as such contemplated by the law. These people were in a more cruel state of servitude than those who were actually slaves; the Governor or Capitam Mor for the time being, regarding them as cattle in whose preservation he had no interest, and by whose labour he was to enrich himself as much as possible during the three years for which he held this office. They were chiefly employed in raising and preparing tobacco, which was accounted for severest labour in Brazil: and many resenting the injustice of their treatment more keenly than those who having been originally taken in war, whether justly or unjustly, resigned themselves to its consequences, died of grief and indignation. The men thus employed, were left no time to raise produce for their families, who were left to starve, . . . and the women also taken from their husbands and children, and distributed among such Portuguese as had interest to obtain them from the Governor. Some ruffian of half or whole blood, was placed in the villages of these Indians as Capitam, to be the instrument of this oppression, and oppress the miserable inhabitants himself, . . . and thus the work of depopulation went on. This state was so much worse than actual slavery, that some Indians voluntarily went from their villages to live with the domestic slaves, marry among them, and share their condition, thinking it better to become slaves where some rest was allowed, and some humanity experienced, than to endure this inhuman and unremitting tyranny.³

It was against these abuses that Vieira launched himself, first in sermons so powerful that they even had temporary effect upon the oppressors, and second by going secretly to Portugal and laying the case before his friend John IV. In 1655 he obtained a decree that placed all the Indian settlements in Maranhão under the Jesuits, made Vieira director

² Southey, *History of Brazil*, II, 454.

³ *Ibid.*, 471-72.

of all expeditions to the interior, and authorized him to settle the Indians in the places he judged best.⁴ Armed with this decree, he returned to Brazil and again took up the fight which ultimately gave him, and his order, control over the Indian settlements throughout the northern and eastern parts of the Portuguese colonies. However, the struggle to protect these charges was unceasing. There was constant conflict with the planters, a struggle destined to close only when the Jesuit order was expelled from Portuguese America. However, by the time of Vieira's death (1696) according to Southey:

The laws had now done much in favour of the Indians; and more perhaps had been effected in behalf of this long injured people, by introducing in greater number a hardier, and if possible a more injured race, from Africa. Throughout all the old Captaincies, with the single exception of S. Paulo, an Indian was declared free if he demanded his freedom, even though he might have served from his cradle, and his parents before him, provided there was no wooliness in his hair, to indicate a mixture of Negro blood.⁵

Southey also describes the condition of the Jesuit villages in Maranhão and Pará in the middle of the eighteenth century. At that time registers were kept, and all Indians between thirteen and fifty who were capable of service were allotted to the Portuguese settlers for six months' service each year. During the other half year they were free to do as they pleased. At the proper time the chief person of the Indian village went with the other Indians to determine which of the village lands should be used that season. That selected was then apportioned among the families in proportion to the number of members in each, but "the Missionaries had great difficulty in inducing them to cultivate their portions, and were sometimes obliged to use compulsory means. When the produce was gathered in, the master of every family was compelled to reserve an ample allowance for the whole household. . . ." Indians who had just been brought to the villages were allowed two years for instruction and for preparing their fields, before becoming subject to the compulsory half year of work. The law also allowed the Indians to stipulate that they never "at any time be required to perform personal service, . . . if it was not found possible to persuade them to settle in the *Aldeas* upon any other terms." No Portuguese were permitted to live in the villages, or to go there for the purpose of hiring the Indians without special written permission from the governor. However, it was specified that the inhabitants of the surrounding farms were to attend Mass in the villages.⁶

Then came Pombal and his suppression of the Jesuit order. Theoretically the plan seems to have been that the natives were to be immediately

⁴ *Ibid.*, 496.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 368-71.

incorporated into the Portuguese community. The Indians were declared free; the Jesuits were deprived of their temporal power; the *aldeias* were ordered converted into towns and hamlets; and an elaborate code for governing the conduct of the Indians was promulgated. Among other things it was stipulated that the lands adjacent to the former villages were to be divided among the Indians as their property and that of their heirs.⁷ Finally, in 1759 all the Jesuits in Brazil were expelled. "The Indians, . . . [looked] upon their successors as mercenary interlopers," and immediately "insurrections against the system took place; some Indians were cast into prison, others took to the woods; and here also the immediate effect of the sudden and violent change was to thin the *Aldeas*, and corrupt the remaining inhabitants."⁸

Thus came to an end the chief chapter in the attempt to make agriculturists of the native Indians of Brazil. Late in the nineteenth century an official report said of the results of this measure: "It is certain that the extinction of the Company of Jesus was highly prejudicial to the colonization of Brazil and especially to the peopling of the interior regions." Following the expulsion of the Jesuits many of the "Indian villages which the padres of this company had founded and where the savages, already domesticated, engaged in the cultivation of the land, daily calling new families from their tribes to these agricultural nuclei . . . were dispersed and destroyed; there commenced again for these people, who fled from the oppression of the colonists, the vagabond life of the forests with the renewed predominance of ferocious instincts."⁹

But not all the efforts to get the Indians to adopt sedentary habits and live the life of cultivators ended with the Jesuits. One cannot read far in the reports of travelers, after it became possible for a foreigner to visit the interior, without encountering references to villages of Indians or settlements that had their origin in such villages. Of Pernambuco, Southey, following Padre Manoel Ayres de Casal's *Corographia Brazilica*, after mentioning the last wild Indians in the province, relates that the remnants of the four tribes "were persuaded to settle each in an *Aldeia*, and cultivate

⁷ *Ibid.*, 514.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 543-44. Just how many villages were affected is not known with exactitude. Southey mentions three score in Maranhão and Pará, seven in Pernambuco, including Paraíba and Ceará, nine in Bahia, five in Rio de Janeiro, and six in São Paulo. *Ibid.*, 515 and 543. However, Dr. Francisco Vicente Vianna stated: "In consequence of this order [the Royal Charter of May 8, 1758, ordering the Jesuits back to Portugal] were created the villages of Trancoso, Villa Verde, Olivença, Barcellos, Santarem, Soure, Pombal, Mirandella, Pedra Branca, Abrantes, and some others, all of them quite uninteresting up to the present time." *Memoir of the State of Bahia* (Bahia, 1893), 663. Rocha Pombo says that most of the villages founded by the padres came to be vilas, or towns, and that they were numerous in the south at the end of the nineteenth century. He lists the names of the first ones to be established in São Paulo. *Historia do Brazil*, V, 146.

⁹ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brazil*, 144.

the ground: nor was any fault imputed to them in their domesticated state, except that, retaining their old passion for the *chace* [*sic*], they could not easily be made to understand, that the sheep and cattle of the neighboring *Fazendas* were not fair game." ¹⁰ The same authority refers to six or seven small aldeias, recently established near Ilhéus in Bahia, and mentions "the Indian town of Olivença . . . a large and populous place. . . ." ¹¹ In describing Porto Seguro, today part of Espírito Santo, he speaks of Villa Verde "in a fruitful country, inhabited almost entirely by civilized Indians, who exported wood and cotton" and of Belmonte, "formerly an *Aldea* under the missionaries." ¹² Thomas P. Bigg-Wither, writing in 1878, stated that there were then "nearly seventy of these Indian colonies scattered about in the various provinces, each being under the directorship of a monk or Frade who is generally of the 'Capuchin' order." ¹³ Today, North American priests of the same order are directing a considerable number of Indian settlements in Mato Grosso and Paraná.

Ever since the time of the Jesuits most of the attempts at civilizing the Indians has included giving them plots of ground on the outskirts of towns and cities, or lands for the establishment of a village and farms. That this was of considerable importance is revealed by the fact that most of the states, following the adoption of the republican constitution which gave the public lands to them, laid claim to the lands once included in these grants to the Indians. ¹⁴

Cardoso de Menezes e Souza in his report on colonization, written in 1873, strongly urged the incorporation of the indigenous population into the effective working force of the nation by converting them into tillers of the soil. He endorsed the technique used in a school for Indian children that Dr. Couto de Magalhães had established on the Araguaya, as a method of attracting the parents. He also described the work being undertaken in the village of Urubá, Pernambuco, where 1,500 Indians had been gathered into a settlement by the Director General of Indians in that province. Finally he urged the necessity of making the forts and military colonies, the points on the lines of communication into centers, in which Indians would be trained in agriculture and the domestic arts, and from which these civilizing influences would radiate into the surrounding sertões. ¹⁵

¹⁰ Southey, *History of Brazil*, III, 788. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 805.

¹² *Ibid.*, 809-10.

¹³ Bigg-Wither, *Pioneering in South Brazil*, II, 314.

¹⁴ See for example Gregorio Gonçalves de Castro Mascarenhas, *Terras Devolutas e Particulares no Estado de S. Paulo* (2d ed.: São Paulo, 1912), 11, for the articles in the Law of January 5, 1900, claiming for the state the concessions set aside for Indian agriculturists and those included in the extinct Indian villages.

¹⁵ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brazil*, 146-59.

Brazilians who owned large areas of land sometimes have provided in their wills for a part of their possessions to be used as patrimonies for the Indians of the country. One such case occurred in São Paulo where the Barão de Antonina donated large tracts of land on the borders of São Paulo and Paraná for the use of the Indians. Today this is the site of one of the state's colonial nuclei, it being stated that the Indians had all departed from those lands. The state, in an accord with the heirs of the Baron, agreed to cede lands to the Indians in the município of Baurú, where they were living, in exchange for the lands originally left to them. "In this manner the desire of the donor, which was to secure to the Indians the propriety rights to the land on which they lived, did not fail to be carried out."¹⁶ Even today the work of protecting the Indians from the encroachments of the civilized population, of assisting them in making the transition to a more established, sedentary agricultural life is the concern of an important federal agency. Some of the states also give special attention to the Indians. For example, the Directoria de Terras e Colonização of the state of Rio Grande do Sul has as one of its functions the assistance of the Indian villages and protection of their lands. According to the reports, ten such villages of semicivilized Indians have received attention from the service.¹⁷ The establishment of colonies for military purposes, for posts on telegraph lines and routes of travel, drawing on Indian groups for the settlers and workers, is still not entirely without significance in parts of Brazil.

COLONIZATION

Colonization is by far the most significant of the ways by which a large number of independent, self-reliant, middle-class farm families, practicing diversified agriculture have been established in Brazil. It may have contributed the greatest number of small farmers; certainly it has supplied those best equipped materially, physically, and culturally for the multiple tasks involved in the successful operation of genuine farming establishments.

Organized colonization attempts in Brazil got under way early in the nineteenth century, faltered along for some fifty years, spurted ahead as the movement leading to the emancipation of the slaves gained force, got strength from the improved methods that grew out of experience in coloniz-

¹⁶ "A Colonização Oficial em São Paulo e o Núcleo Colonial 'Barão de Antonina,'" *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 2, p. 11.

¹⁷ Ramos, "Terras e Colonização no Rio Grande do Sul," *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano I, No. 4, pp. 749-50.

ing activities, received a great impetus when the public lands became state possessions at the time the republic was declared, and came into their own in the first half of the twentieth century. In them Brazil today has a tested and perfected technique for bringing about further radical transformations in her land system and for developing her long-neglected, latent agricultural resources.

The importance of what has already been done, viewed as the establishment of a foundation on which to build and to perfect skills and techniques for use in the process, can hardly be estimated too highly. After 400 years in which such a large share of the earth's potential agricultural lands have either gone almost entirely unused or else been subjected to the most wasteful and primitive agricultural processes, the prospect that they are to be brought under man's control and into his service is encouraging. That this process is operating along evolutionary rather than revolutionary lines is also praiseworthy. Only in a few parts of Brazil has the class struggle over land produced the visible effects that indicate a revolt is seething among the lower classes.¹⁸ In Brazil one rarely gets the impression that he is standing on a volcano of agrarian revolt, likely to erupt at any moment, such as he does when visiting some of the other countries of the Western Hemisphere. This must be attributed in a large measure to the colonization attempts begun early in the nineteenth century, greatly perfected in the last quarter of that century, and now being carried on in an attempt to bring to the rural masses native to Brazil some of the privileges of landownership, independent living, and opportunity for advancement that previously have been extended, at considerable expense, to peasant masses from Europe and even Asia.

First Attempts. Colonization, or the attempt to establish planned settlements of small farmers, was begun in Brazil early in the nineteenth century. The moving spirit seems to have been the prince regent, later Dom João VI, who in 1812 led the founding of a colony of immigrants from the Azores at Santo Agostinho, later Vianna, in the province of Espírito Santo.

It was about this time that von Spix and von Martius sought to look ahead into Brazil's future, predicting the manner in which settlement would proceed, outlining the many difficulties to be faced by the settler, especially the colonist from lower European social classes, and forecasting eventual successes. A significant paragraph from the valuable work of these analysts follows:

¹⁸ Amado, *Caráú* and other works by this author are expressions of such incipient class struggle.

But before Brazil shall have attained this period of civilisation, the uncultivated land may yet prove a grave to thousands of adventurers. Attracted by the constant beauty of the climate, the richness and the fertility of the soil, many leave their native land, to seek another home in a foreign atmosphere, and in a quite different climate. However true the suppositions are on which they found the expectations of a happy result of their enthusiastic enterprise, it is far from realizing the hopes of the emigrants, especially those from the north of Europe; and how shall the inhabitant of the temperate zone, suddenly removed as a cultivator of the soil to Rio de Janeiro, or perhaps even to the shores of the Amazons, to a foreign climate, a foreign soil, a new mode of life and subsistence, surrounded by Portuguese, whose language he neither understands, nor easily learns, how shall he be happy and maintain himself in this country? And what in particular must people of the lower classes feel, without general education and aptitude for a new language, mode of life, and climate, when even strangers of superior condition, provided with every means of guarding against inconvenience, alarmed at the disagreeable circumstances attending the climate, complain of the few resources, the poverty and the plagues of the country, of which we have latterly heard so much? If the poor colonist who has come from a northern climate does not meet with a fellow-countryman as his guide, who, acquainted with the mode of life and the cultivation of the soil, kindly assists him in word and deed for the first few years, he is exposed to perish of hunger, even in this rich country, and from the feelings of repentance and longing after home which ensue, becomes a victim to his experiment. He, however, who has happily passed over the first trials, who has secured a settlement in the beautiful country of Brazil, and accustomed himself to the tropical climate, will most willingly acknowledge it for his second home; nay, if he has again visited Europe, he will with increased attachment, wish himself back again; and, notwithstanding the doubts generally entertained of the habitableness of the torrid zone, will celebrate Brazil as the fairest and most glorious country on the surface of the globe.¹⁹

The second colony seems to have been the settlement in 1818 of some Swiss immigrants at Leopoldina on the banks of the Peruhibe River in the state of Bahia. This colony prospered because, it is said, the newcomers soon acquired slaves, which, however, "gives it no right to be considered an European agricultural establishment. . . ." ²⁰

Also in 1818 two private individuals interested in land speculations secured some ground at Ilhéus in Bahia, where four years later they settled 161 Germans. In the unsettled conditions accompanying the separation from Portugal, most of them were dispersed throughout the country. To a few who remained, Pedro I gave some assistance in settling in a small colony called São Jorge dos Ilhéus, where they engaged in the production of cocoa. They were rapidly assimilated into the Brazilian population.

¹⁹ Von Spix and von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, I, 261-62.

²⁰ Francisco Vicente Vianna, *Memoir of the State of Bahia* (Bahia, 1893), 200; cf. Silva Rocha, *Historia da Colonização do Brasil*, I, 136.

Nova Friburgo. In the meantime, in 1819, the famous settlement of Swiss at Nova Friburgo, in the high mountain valleys of the province of Rio de Janeiro, was commenced. This originated in an offer of the Swiss canton of Friburg, through Sebastian Nicolas Gachet, to establish a colony of Swiss in Brazil. The proposal was "to recruit and transport to the Port of Rio de Janeiro, 100 families of Swiss colonists, men, women, and children of both sexes, together with their household goods and agricultural instruments, for the price of 100 Spanish pesos per person, excepting children who have not attained the age of three years who will come free of charge."²¹ On January 6, 1818, a royal letter accepted this proposition for establishing a colony of "Swiss Roman Catholics in the Kingdom of Brazil" and designated the fazenda of Morro Queimado in the distrito of Cantagallo as the location for the settlement.²² The terms of the contract entered into for this initial venture are worth consideration. Among the concessions to the colonists were the following: (1) full titles to the land (one of the rare instances in which lands were given freely), (2) the granting of livestock and seeds, (3) exemption from taxation for twelve years, except for the usual levies on merchandise and contracts, and (4) assistance in returning to the fatherland if it were desired. In this case, however, one half of the repatriated colonist's goods were to be left behind for the colony. The colonists in turn were obliged to establish a city and two vilas, and to set aside for each of these population centers sufficient land to care for the necessities of their future administration. Individually they were required to become subjects of the king, to present certificates of good conduct and health, and to prove that they were acquainted with Portuguese law and the contract of colonization. In July, 1819, the first colonists, 1,085 in number, sailed for Brazil.²³ In 1820, by two special decrees the colony was made into a special parish or *freguesia*, at that time a division in the undifferentiated administrative and religious organization of the province, a judge was nominated, and legislative and administrative machinery established in the seat of the colony, Nova Friburgo.²⁴ In all, about 2,000 of these colonists were established at Nova Friburgo. In the course of time their descendants have been rather completely acculturated and incorporated into the Brazilian population. But in terms of the purpose for which the settlement was established it was a failure; the colony did not serve as a focal point for infecting the empire with small-farming habits and practices. In fact, some of the colonists, who could obtain the means to do so, hurriedly bought up surrounding lands, purchased slaves, and

²¹ This is quoted in Silva Rocha, *Historia da Colonisação do Brasil*, I, 137.

²² *Ibid.*, 138.

²³ *Ibid.*, 139.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 174-76.

became planters. This was foreign to the entire philosophy back of their introduction. Nevertheless, some new crops and practices were introduced.²⁵

Early German Colonies. Following the establishment of the empire, Dom Pedro I interested himself in the importation of German colonists, and turned his attention to Rio Grande do Sul as the place in which to settle them. This was in 1824. São Leopoldo was selected as the site of the colony. The culture contemplated was flax; the holdings were to measure 500 braças; and forests on navigable streams and near the coast were to be reserved.²⁶ This colony was among the most successful of all the early settlements, serving as a center of attraction for other Germans, including a large number of the soldiers who, after serving in the war against Rosas, settled in São Leopoldo. By 1889, according to Eduardo Prado, this settlement had multiplied from the original 126 to some 40,000 inhabitants.²⁷ Three years after the founding of this colony, or in 1827, the emperor's Minister of Interior was instrumental in bringing another group of Germans, this time from Bremen. These immigrants were established in an agricultural colony at Rio Negro in Paraná, which then formed part of the province of São Paulo. In the course of a few years some 600 persons were located in this settlement.²⁸ Between 1827 and 1829, despite the trouble in Pernambuco, the emperor founded another colony of Germans in Brazil, this time in the Province of São Paulo, at Santo Amaro, very near the capital city. Some 400 settlers made up this contingent.²⁹

In 1829, also, the first German settlement in Santa Catarina was begun at São Pedro de Alcântara, a poor site that was afterwards changed.³⁰ Later Santa Catarina came to be more completely dominated by the German element than any other state in Brazil.

Opposition to Colonization. In the meantime, in 1828, Bahia again entered the spotlight in colonization matters when 222 Irishmen, formerly soldiers in the employ of the emperor, were established as a colony at Santa Januária, on the Engenho River near the village of Taperoa. The former soldiers seem to have proved unsuccessful as colonists.³¹ Other attempts in

²⁵ Eduardo Prado, "A Imigração no Brasil," *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 4, p. 101.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.

²⁷ *Ibid.* The English editor of the *Standard* of Buenos Aires visited São Leopoldo in 1871 and was greatly impressed with the rapid growth and prosperity of the colony. Despite the tribulations of war and disputed land titles, 43 colonies had already "radiated" from the original. Mulhall, *Rio Grande do Sul and Its German Colonies*, 129.

²⁸ Departamento Estadual do Trabalho, *Dados para a História da Imigração e da Colonização em São Paulo*, 6.

²⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁰ Oswaldo R. Cabral, *Santa Catarina* (São Paulo, 1937), 116-17.

³¹ Vianna, *Memoir of the State of Bahia*, 201.



Courtesy of Carlos B. Schmidt and the São Paulo Directorate of Publicidade Agrícola

PRESS FOR EXPELLING THE POISONOUS JUICE FROM MANDIOCA, SÃO SEBASTIÃO, SÃO PAULO

Bahia about this time appear to have met with little success. One of them is particularly interesting, however, because it was an attempt to introduce "a system of partnership" into the operation of the sugar plantation, the Engenho Novo. About 110 Portuguese settlers were brought in for the purpose, but soon they all left, leaving behind, it is said, their unpaid debts.³²

In Espírito Santo, a province later to figure greatly in colonization efforts, the first of the agricultural colonies dates from 1830 when 400 Pomeranians were introduced. They came under the terms of a contract made between a Mr. Henrici and the Imperial Government on November 12, 1829. These first German colonists were established at Borba, and set to work on a road leading from Itaciba to Minas Gerais.³³

After these first few attempts, colonization was stifled for a while owing to bitter conflicts and dissensions within the immense, gangling, segmented empire, and specifically to a law of September 15, 1830, prohibiting any governmental expense from being incurred in connection with the colonization of foreigners in any of the provinces of the empire.³⁴ This put a stop to German immigration, the source of these first colonists. This immigration ceased entirely in 1830, and was not resumed until 1838.³⁵ In 1830 the emperor abdicated in favor of his six-year-old son, who became Pedro II. Even then it was several years before working relationships between the various factions were sufficiently well established for colonization efforts to go forward. Of this period of confusion Lourival Câmara has written, "Antitheses succeeded one another and paradoxes reproduced themselves: pro-immigration propaganda was disseminated in Europe, but here in Brazil any expense whatsoever for the colonization of foreigners was prohibited."³⁶

Provincial Projects. During this period of turmoil, immigration and colonization both were almost at a complete standstill. The province of Santa Catarina led the way for future developments by removing the colony previously established at São Pedro de Alcantara to a better site at Itajaí, near the mouth of the river of the same name—the first colony in this the most colonized valley in Brazil today.

This and other undertakings of the provincial government seem to have amounted to the circumventing of the law of the empire which practically eliminated immigration and colonization. A state law dated May 5, 1835,

³² *Ibid.*, 202.

³³ Antonio Marius, *Minha Terra e Meu Município* (Rio de Janeiro, 1920), 23–24.

³⁴ Lucas Alexandre Boiteux, *Primeira Página da Colonização Italiana em Santa Catarina* (Florianópolis, 1939), 25.

³⁵ Prado, "A Imigração no Brasil," *Boletim do Serviço Imigração e Colonização*, No. 4, p. 102.

³⁶ Câmara, *Estrangeiros em Santa Catarina*, 18.

established two colonies of nationals and strangers at Itajaí. Soon other forms of promoting colonization were developed, the province granting concessions of land to private companies (although theoretically these belonged not to the province but to the empire!) and passing a law, Number 49 of June 15, 1836, that permitted "colonization by business or by company." The law then proceeded to establish all the details of the undertaking, including provisions that the sites might be chosen from any unused or vacant lands, that each single man should receive 200 braças of land, a married man with three children or less, 350 braças, and a married man with more than three children, 450 braças. All holdings were to be 1,000 braças in depth.⁸⁷

With these impulses from provincial sources, immigration again got under way on a reduced scale in 1836, the date of the founding of the first Italian colony, Nova Itália, in Santa Catarina. The colonists for this settlement actually landed in March, 1836, before the adoption of the law mentioned above, and apparently were transported by the firm of Demaria & Schutel. Their number was 186, mostly Italians from Sardinia, of whom 140 were established in the colony. A few Brazilian families also were included among the first settlers of Nova Itália.⁸⁸ However, the more significant attempts at colonization had to await the outcome of a policy struggle in Brazilian political circles.⁸⁹

Immigration and Colonization Policy. During Brazil's history as an independent nation there seem to have been two questions uppermost in the minds of the country's directing officials: first, whether or not it was desirable to spend public funds for the purpose of subsidizing immigration, and second, whether efforts in colonization should be directed towards obtaining immigrants of the farmer class and establishing them on the land as farm operators, or towards securing agricultural laborers to work for wages or on shares on Brazil's large estates. In the decade of indecision and debate following 1830, the decision seems to have been reached on the first question. It was to the empire's interest to encourage immigration. On the second point the provinces disagreed. São Paulo developed a policy of recruiting agricultural laborers; the states to the south of it, and especially Rio Grande do Sul, adopted one of establishing colonists on the land as independent farmers. There was also a third question under discussion at this time—whether immigration and colonization should be promoted

⁸⁷ Boiteux, *Primeira Página da Colonização Italiana em Santa Catarina*, 28.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

⁸⁹ In part the lapse during these years is to be attributed to the fact that many Brazilians "did not feel strongly the necessity . . . of an immigration of free men, when the clandestine traffic in Africans that persisted until the middle of the century, furnished to farming the slave hands that it preferred," Vieira Ferreira, *Azambuja e Urussanga* (Niterói, 1939), 36.

by private initiative, of course with the assistance of liberal grants of land to the companies engaging in the formation of the settlements, or conducted by governmental agencies. This was never entirely resolved; and during the last century, the federal, state, and local governments, and a wide variety of private companies, all have made a contribution in the establishment of the small-farming class now so prominent in southern Brazil.

As early as 1840 private initiative was engaged in promoting immigration, although it must be indicated that its major objective seems to have been to secure a labor supply superior to slaves. Senator Vergueiro of São Paulo that year made over the system of operations on his coffee fazenda, paid the transportation expenses of ninety Portuguese families, and established them as half hands on his estate. However, since this sharing, or *parceria*, as practiced in the New World had quite different aspects from that of Portuguese tradition and law, considerable misunderstandings and difficulties arose. (See the chapter on Land Tenure.) Later the senator brought over eighty German families and set them to work on a similar share-wage arrangement. His example seems to have been widely followed, and it reported that in the decade 1847 to 1857, "private initiative created in São Paulo more than sixty colonies in which were located more than 60,000 immigrants, almost all Portuguese."⁴⁰ Undoubtedly "colonies" as used by the authors of this report refers to the village-like groupings of houses for laborers on the coffee fazendas, for Henrique Doria de Vasconcellos states that only fourteen colonial nuclei were established in São Paulo during the entire period 1850 to 1889.⁴¹

Pedro II and Efforts at Colonization. Dom Pedro II now came of age, and became emperor in his own right. For the next four decades this liberal ruler and statesman had an important part in colonization activities. The years at the middle of the century, when the young emperor was ob-

⁴⁰ Departamento Estadual do Trabalho, *Dados para a Historia da Imigração e da Colonização*, 7; cf. Silva Rocha, *Historia da Colonização do Brasil*, I, 272-73.

⁴¹ Doria de Vasconcellos, "Alguns Aspectos da Imigração no Brasil," *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 3, p. 13. Cf. the *Relatorio da Comissão Encarregada de Examinar as Colonias Martyrios e S. Lourenço* (Rio de Janeiro, 1874), where the nature of these "colonies" of laborers contracted between 1850 and 1890 is clearly brought out. Mulhall stated that São Paulo "counted 40 colonies so far back as 1859, all of which were established by Brazilian planters, except Nova Germania founded by Karl Kruger. . . . Some of these afterwards burst up, the colonists alleging with much truth that they had been grossly deceived, and that their condition was little better than that of the slaves. As the minister of Agriculture says in his report to the legislature, it is culpable to bring out Europeans to work in Brazil unless on their own ground, and the sweat of their toil should never be turned to the advantage of speculators or traffickers in labour. He adds that the conduct of the São Paulo planters not only disgusted the Imperial Government, but damaged so much the name of Brazil abroad that emigration was greatly checked." *Rio Grande do Sul and Its German Colonies*, 191-92.

taining his maturity and marrying an Austrian princess, were ones during which some of the most noteworthy colonies in Brazil were established. Petropolis, located on grounds that were once part of the emperor's private possessions, where his summer palace was located, in the high serras overlooking Rio de Janeiro, dates from 1846. Other German settlements which were established about the same time are Senhora de Piedade in Santa Catarina and Santa Isabel in Espírito Santo, both founded in 1847, and Santa Cruz in Rio Grande do Sul begun in 1849.⁴² Santa Isabel, originally a colony of 163 German inhabitants, was "emancipated" in 1866. It was the first colony, in the Brazilian sense of the word, in Espírito Santo, but others were soon founded, Rio Novo in 1854, and Santa Leopoldina in 1857, the latter with Swiss immigrants.⁴³

The emperor also promulgated a law in 1848 conceding to each of the provinces of the empire an area of land six leagues square to be used exclusively for colonization. This indicates the growing concern with this phase of the immigration problem. The land selected might be in one block, or distributed in several places; it was specifically forbidden that any of it should be cultivated by slaves (to prevent developments such as those in the early colonies in Bahia and at Nova Friburgo in Rio de Janeiro); it was not to be deeded permanently to colonists until they were shown to be effectively cultivating it; and it was to revert to the province if the colonists did not comply with the cultivation requirement within five years.⁴⁴

The year 1850 is to be remembered as the date of one of the most important laws in the history of the Brazilian land system, that which made sale the only legal method of alienating public lands. In 1854 came the regulamento making the new decree effective. That same year the government made it perfectly clear in a relatório that the immigrants were not being introduced to provide labor gangs for the fazendas, by stating that "the government has not assisted the importation of colonists that came to be employed on the fazendas, on parceria, or for wages."⁴⁵ Four years later, after a bitter struggle with the fazendeiros who kept insisting that federal and provincial resources should be used to subsidize the importation of agricultural laborers to work on shares or for wages, Minister Teixeira stated the government's position very clearly:

This system [colonial nuclei] in which all are soon called to be proprietors, presents not the single advantage of attracting more quickly and in larger numbers, spontaneous habitants for our soil and cultivators for our fields. Colonial

⁴² Silva Rocha, *Historia da Colonização do Brazil*, I, 254.

⁴³ Marius, *Minha Terra e Meu Município*, 24-25.

⁴⁴ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brazil*, 274.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 276; see also 277, 279, and 287.

nucléi satisfy necessities of various orders. They are established to overcome deserts, to secure the occupation of lands, to open roads and make secure those that lead to already prosperous centers of population. They are established to open and protect the navigation of rivers, to defend frontiers, to augment the production of supplies that are scarce, and, finally, even to direct the activities of certain classes. Colonization so considered includes various forms and makes use of diverse elements: military colonies and forts, villages of Indians, colonies of nationals, of foreigners imported for the purpose, of spontaneous immigrants, and of foreigners who are already in the country.⁴⁶

Colonization efforts during the decade 1850 to 1860 were limited to the establishment of a few new settlements of Germans in the south. Nine new colonies were founded in Rio Grande do Sul. There were no new colonies in Espírito Santo nor in São Paulo; ⁴⁷ in Paraná some Germans from Santa Catarina began the first of numerous farm communities near Curitiba.⁴⁸ In Santa Catarina was begun what has undoubtedly been the most highly publicized and probably the most important German settlement in all Brazil. This is Blumenau, in the Itajaí Valley, up the river from the earlier colony to which the settlers had been transferred from São Pedro de Alcântara. Settlement was begun on September 2, 1850, with 17 immigrants; ten years later the inhabitants already numbered 947.⁴⁹ The following year D. Francisca, today Joinville, was established by the Hamburg Colonization Society.⁵⁰ Mucury, the first colony in Minas Gerais, begun by a navigation company and afterwards taken over by the Imperial Government, dates from 1852. Colonies were also projected in some of the northern provinces in this decade, with Portuguese or national settlers, but they seem not to have been carried very far. Finally, a large number of colonists were brought over and established as colonos on the coffee fazendas of São Paulo.⁵¹

The establishment of these colonies of German share hands on Paulista coffee fazendas was a severe setback for the colonization of Germans in south Brazil. The half-share basis gave rise to so many complaints that on November 3, 1859, the famous Heydt rescript was promulgated. This was a Prussian ministerial decree later adopted by other German states, forbidding the emigration of Germans to Brazil. Later, in 1896, it was re-

⁴⁶ Teixeira is quoted, *ibid.*, 295.

⁴⁷ Doria de Vasconcellos, "Alguns Aspectos da Imigração no Brasil," *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração*, No. 3, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁸ Romário Martins, *Quantos Somos e Quem Somos* (Curitiba, 1941), 60.

⁴⁹ José Ferreira da Silva, *Blumenau* (Florianópolis, 1939), 9-10. Cabral, *Santa Catarina*, 134, gives 1852, the date of the first sale of farm plots, as that of the establishment of the settlement.

⁵⁰ Cabral, *Santa Catarina*, 152-53; Mulhall, *Rio Grande do Sul and Its German Colonies*, 189-90.

⁵¹ See the *mapa* in Carvalho, *O Brasil*, Appendix.

voked for Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná.⁵² Although the number of Germans entering Brazil was as great during the 1860's as it had been previously, undoubtedly more colonies would have been founded at this time had it not been for the decree, and especially the unfavorable publicity accompanying it.

The decade 1860 to 1870 was one of various attempts to get settlers for Brazil, including the one in which a considerable number of Southerners from the United States established new homes in Brazil, particularly in São Paulo and near Santarem in Pará. Coupled with the prohibition of emigration for Brazil in Prussia and other German states, the war with Paraguay brought the establishment of German colonies in Rio Grande do Sul almost to a standstill, but the work of colonizing immigrants from Germany continued in Santa Catarina. The very successful Imperial colonies of Theresopolis, Itajahy-Brusque, Angelina, and Dom Pedro, all were begun during this decade. Two new colonies were founded in São Paulo and further attempts were made in Bahia.

The Critical Years—the 1870's. The 1870's, however, should always be reckoned as the critical years in Brazil's colonization program. This was the time when an accounting had to be made for the haphazard manner in which colonization activities had proceeded, when thorough investigations of the existent colonies were called for in order to satisfy criticisms at home and to combat adverse publicity abroad. Investigations were made, reports were published, many improvements in planning and administration were recommended, and the nation was launched on the program that brought settlers in greatly increased numbers. The investigations included one of relations between fazendeiros and colonos on São Paulo coffee fazendas,⁵³ where the German laborers were raising severe protests; another of the colonies in southern Bahia,⁵⁴ and a third investigation of the German settlements in the province of Santa Catarina, including Blumenau and D. Francisca.⁵⁵ However, most important of all the studies was one that resulted in the report to the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works, entitled "Theses About Colonization in Brazil," a volume of 429 pages plus Appendixes A to I. This study examined in a systematic manner the deficiencies in Brazil's program of colonization and made recommendations for its improvement. The analysis is very enlightening. After noting that Argentina and the United States were more

⁵² Benjamin Franklin Schappelle, *The German Element in Brazil* (Philadelphia, 1917), 16.

⁵³ *Relatorio da Comissão Encarregada de Examinar as Colonias Martyrios e S. Lourenço.* Cf. Mulhall, *Rio Grande do Sul and Its German Colonies*, 191-92.

⁵⁴ Nascentes de Azambuja, *Relatorio Sobre as Colonias Ao Sul da Provincia da Bahia.*

⁵⁵ Albuquerque Galvão, *Relatorio Sobre Blumenau, Itajahy, Principe D. Pedro, e D. Francisca.*

successful than Brazil in attracting immigrants, it sets forth the defects in Brazilian colonization theory and practice and then proceeds to a detailed analysis of each.

I. The lack of liberty of conscience; the nonexistence of civil marriage as an institution; imperfections of education; ignorance and immorality of the clergy; the ambition of the Brazilian Episcopate for temporal power, transformed into a struggle improperly called—*the religious question*.

II. Lack of educational institutions and principally the absence of agricultural and professional instruction.

III. The small number of institutions of credit, especially of banks designed to aid small farming and industry.

IV. Restrictions and hindrances placed upon industrial freedom by legislation and public administration, destroying rather than developing individual initiative.

V. Defects in the law concerning contracting of services and share contracts with foreigners; defects in and failure to execute the public land laws and the lack of land tax upon lands lacking buildings and cultivation.

VI. Lack of transportation systems and ways of communication, that would link the center and the interior of the Empire to consumer and export markets.

VII. The creation of colonies far from markets on sterile, unprepared land, as well as the lack of facilities for receiving immigrants and colonists in the ports of the Empire and for their permanent establishment in the colonies of the State, or on the plots of land that they buy.

VIII. The failure to make Brazil known in the countries from which the emigration which we need proceeds, and to refute, by all the means of a readily understood publicity, and by ready and disinterested pens, the writings by means of which in those states we are depreciated, our errors in relation to the emigrants exaggerated, and hateful calumnies raised against us.⁵⁶

Undoubtedly this study and report had much to do with improvements in Brazil's immigration and colonization policies. Some efforts were made to correct almost every one of the indicated deficiencies. Therefore it is not surprising the migration of colonists from the old sources, Germany and Portugal, was revived. From the recorded immigration⁵⁷ of only six Germans in 1870, a mere drop in the bucket compared to 4,037 who came in 1862 or the 3,779 who entered Brazil in 1868, the entrance of new colonists moved back to its old levels. A total of 3,530 Germans immigrated in 1876, and their numbers averaged well over 2,000 per year during the following four years. The entrance of Portuguese also moved up to some 7,000 per year from a previous level of 5,000. Of course the Portuguese always moved readily to Brazil, but they participated to a limited extent in the formation of agricultural colonies. Two other major

⁵⁶ Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses Sobre Colonização no Brazil*, 31-32; cf. Carneiro, *Imigração e Colonização no Brasil*, 12-14.

⁵⁷ For these immigration data see the *Boletim Commerciativo da Exposição Nacional de 1908*, 82-85.

and several minor currents of migration to Brazil also got under way during this decade. The major streams of immigrants were those from Italy and from the fragments of dismembered Poland. Both of these have had far-reaching consequences in Brazilian colonization efforts. The minor new elements included Volga Germans from Russia, whose colonies were a dismal failure, some English, and a few Swiss, French, Spanish, and Scandinavian colonists.

From this time on, the Italians came in swarms. As early as 1877 the number attained 13,582, a figure above the total annual immigration in any year previous to 1872, except for a short period from 1856 to 1862 when the German and Portuguese immigrants were relatively numerous. Furthermore, during these early years the Italians who came were established on small farms in what have since developed into some of the most prosperous farming communities of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, and Espírito Santo.⁵⁸ The Italian colonists who came in the closing years of the empire proved one of the most valuable contingents ever added to Brazil's population.

Also extremely important was the influx of Polish farmers that got under way at this time. The immigration of Poles has been almost entirely to the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul and almost exclusively confined to persons who came for the express purpose of securing farms of their own. The "father" of this Polish colonization was Edmund Wos Saporski, who after studying the situation, in an endeavor to help his harassed fellow countrymen, in 1869 presented a plan of colonization to the emperor of Brazil. The first of the Polish peasants arrived in 1869, and were dispatched to the coastal districts of Santa Catarina. But the Poles preferred the cooler climate of the *planalto* and in 1871 moved to Paraná and established their first colony at Pilarzinho near Curitiba. After this the Poles flocked to Paraná and spread out over the states.⁵⁹ Later settlers were established in colonies in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina. In 1937 the Central Union of Poles in Brazil reckoned the numbers of the immigrants and their descendants as 217,000. Polish statistics account for the immigration of 36,159 persons between 1919 and 1935, indicating that the migrants still form a considerable part of the total. Romário Martins calculates the total immigration of Poles and Ukrainians to Paraná as 67,003 for the period of 1871 to 1934, of whom 19,272 were

⁵⁸ For experiences with some of the first Italian colonists, their lack of experience in coping with the wilderness, the wise administration of a Brazilian leader, and eventual success of the colonists in two Santa Catarina settlements, see Ferreira, *Azambuja e Urussanga*. Considerable data on the Italian and Polish colonies in Paraná will be found in Martins, *Quantos Somos e Quem Somos*.

⁵⁹ For much of the data on Polish settlers in Brazil, I am indebted to the Polish Consulate General in Curitiba.

Ukrainians.⁶⁰ The Polish data relative to the number of Poles and their descendants in the various states in 1937 are as follows: Paraná, 92,000; Rio Grande do Sul, 83,000; Santa Catarina, 28,000; São Paulo, 12,000; Espírito Santo, 1,500; and other states, 500. In the author's own travels throughout Brazil, small groups of Poles were encountered in Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso, probably more than enough to make the 500 allowed to "other states" in the figures just quoted. The overwhelming proportions of these Polish-Brazilians, 80 per cent according to the Polish data, are in agriculture and on small farms. In the state of Paraná, their influence has been tremendous. In Brazil the largest contingents are to be found in the municípios of São Mateus, União da Vitória, Araucária, Campo Largo, and Iratí in Paraná; Erechim, Encruzilhada, and Getúlio Vargas in Rio Grande do Sul; and Canoinhas and Itaiópolis in Santa Catarina. A fitting expression of the debt of gratitude that Brazil owes the Polish colonist for his introduction of European skills, agricultural techniques, and managerial practices is a monument to the Polish sower in Curitiba.

It seems that attempts to establish colonies with other nationality groups never were very successful. North Americans and English colonies never equaled expectations, although the former did contribute materially to agricultural progress in the Campinas section of São Paulo, and Englishmen have directed several very significant colonization enterprises. Nor were the settlements of French of any particular significance.⁶¹ However, all of these attempts were on a comparatively small scale. That of the North Americans could hardly be called colonization in the true Brazilian sense of the word.

There was one other colonization venture entered into on a comparatively large scale and with high hopes, that seems to have failed most miserably. This was the attempt to transplant the Volga Germans to Paraná. The objective of this endeavor, undertaken in 1878, was to seat 20,000 of these people on the plains of Paraná. Only 3,809 came, most of whom (2,440) were sent to Ponta Grossa, to Palmeira (798), and to Lapa (327). After a few years, more than 3,000 of them left, going first to Hamburg and later to the state of Nevada. Those that remained in Paraná engaged mostly in transportation, serving a useful function with their teams and wagons. The Brazilian reaction to this attempt is set forth in the relatório of the provincial president of Paraná, Rodrigo Otavio, for

⁶⁰ Martins, *Quantos Somos e Quem Somos*, 63-68.

⁶¹ The interested reader will find some of the details about these ventures in Bigg-Wither, *Pioneering in South Brazil*, and other data in Martins, *Quantos Somos e Quem Somos*. José Arthur Rios, "Assimilation of Immigrants from the Old South in Brazil," *Social Forces*, XXVI (December, 1947), 145-52, is a highly important sociological study of the North American settlers and their descendants.

1878, who describes them as "extremely ignorant, fearful, lazy, envious, and, in spite of being extremely religious, lacking in the sense of true charity." Martins quotes the following from the same relatório:

They knew only the culture of wheat; but having to plant corn and beans, they sowed the seeds and afterwards went over the ground with primitive plows, brought from Russia, which were drawn by three pairs of oxen. Confronted with the unsuccessful production they excused themselves and blamed the land. They harvested oranges by cutting down the trees. They burned the fences of their plots and made dikes along the lines, being accustomed to communal land-holding, and then complained about the invasions of neighbors' animals in their plantings. They requested and obtained permission to construct their own houses, the government giving them the precious materials and the money that it would have paid to the building contractors—but they burned the planks furnished to them and constructed pits for their dwellings, alleging that in Russia their habitations were of that type. They complained that the lands would not produce without manure and then used this to make fires, although woods in which they could gather firewood were near by, but that required more work.

In general, when they were sick they preferred the priest to the colony doctor, saying that "God is the one who cures and kills." When one of them died while they were traveling (as occurred in São Luiz and in Graciosa) they abandoned the body in the road.⁶²

The 1870's also saw other developments of great significance for the colonization of Brazil. The sentiment in favor of the abolition of slaves reached the point that a law was promulgated (No. 2,040 of September 28, 1871) providing that all children born subsequently were to be free. Naturally, this marked a definite milestone in the abolishment of slave labor on the plantations, and set some of the provinces, notably São Paulo, about endeavors that would help to guarantee an ample labor supply for the fazendas. Perhaps this writing on the wall was even the motivation that led to the examination of the existing colonies, an improvement in their administration, and active efforts to combat the very unfavorable publicity that Brazil was receiving in Europe. In any case from 1880 on, the importation of agricultural laborers became the dominant aspect of Brazilian immigration and the attraction of colonists was relegated to a secondary position. Whereas, in the previous years most of the newcomers came as colonists upon terms which assured them of land in a private, provincial, or Imperial colony, in the future the larger proportion of the immigrants were destined to be placed as laborers on the fazendas. In fact, those who came after 1880 were to go, for the most part, to help fill the ever-recurring vacancies in the labor force of São Paulo, to help satisfy its long-continued cry of *falta de braços*. Important contingents

⁶² Martins, *Quantos Somos e Quem Somos*, 156-57.

of Germans, Italians, and Poles did find their way on to the developing colonial settlements of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, and Espírito Santo. However, most of the German, Italian, Spanish, and other immigrants who came after this decade went to São Paulo as agricultural laborers. The data on this phase of the movement will be found in the chapter on immigration.

Colonization Since 1880. Colonization efforts in Brazil after 1880 may be summarized under the following five headings: (1) the continued immigration of farmers, (2) the rapid reproduction rates in the old settlements and the "swarming" of the colonies, (3) extensive colonization activities by private agencies, (4) the introduction of Japanese colonists, and (5) the perfection of state and federal colonizing policies and practices. Naturally each of these can be treated only in summary fashion.

(1) *Immigration of Farmers.* After the 1870's the story of colonization attempts ceased to be the history of immigration to Brazil. The importation of agricultural laborers to replace the slave workers became the dominant note in Brazilian policy. Whereas in the first three quarters of the century São Paulo's share of the immigrants was a very modest one, after 1885 she began taking the lion's share of the newcomers and this she continued to do until the outbreak of World War II stopped immigration. Although this movement was overshadowed by the immigration of farm laborers for the fazendas, colonists continued going in considerable numbers to Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná.

For the most part they were Germans, Italians, and Poles, although considerable numbers of Spaniards seem to have used the status of *colono* on the coffee fazenda as a steppingstone towards ownership of a small farm. In these southern states they added to the strength of the old settlements, joined with those who had been there longer in the "swarming" process by which new settlements were established, furnished a portion of the settlers for privately sponsored colonization projects, and in every way contributed to the prosperity of the region.

(2) *The "Swarming" Process.* As one reads the history of south Brazil he sees ample evidence that new colonies were being established as offshoots of old ones, a process resembling the swarming of a hive of bees. For example, Santa Felicidade in Paraná was an offshoot of Nova Itália; "spontaneous colonists," descendants of the Poles and nationals, are credited with establishing eleven settlements in the município of Lapa, Paraná, one of which (Contenda) is described as "a great farming center" of "around 15,000 inhabitants, all prosperous and proud of their productive lands and of the advanced and industrious community or social

order that they constitute"; Santa Barbara, Paraná, is described as consisting of 5,500 plots of 10 alqueires each, "being rapidly occupied by descendants of Italians coming from Rio Grande do Sul"; the município of São Mateus in addition to large colonies of Ukrainians, Poles, and Russians, also "possesses other spontaneous colonies such as Canoas, Iguazú, and Taquaral."⁶³ In Rio Grande do Sul, this swarming process began very early. Mulhall, who visited the German settlements in Rio Grande do Sul in 1871, reported that "now every year hundreds of young men leave San Leopoldo for the districts of Triunfo, San Jeronimo, Taquary, Bocca-do-Monte, forming new settlements which radiate in all directions."⁶⁴ Later he gave more of the details of the new settlements already established by the sons of the colonists in São Leopoldo who

soon spread themselves and formed the following new settlements, at short distances from San Leopoldo:

Capibary-Schneitz	14 farms,	distance	12 miles
Sommer-Schneitz	63 "	"	20 "
Picada Demanda	45 "	"	20 "
Picada Solitaria	40 "	"	30 "
Picada Voluntaria	30 "	"	30 "
Morro dos Bois	50 "	"	12 "
Costa Cahy	18 "	"	25 "
Padre Eterno	200 "	"	12 "
Larangeiras	100 "	"	20 "
Santa Maria or Bocca do Monte	100 "	"	200 "

But even before these were Tomba Grande, New Hamburg, Costa da Serra, Bom Jardim, Dos [*sic*] Irmaos, Baumschneitz, Campo Bom, Achtundveirzig, Caffee-Schneitz, Picada Hortense, Cuatro [*sic*] Colonias, and Picada Feliz: these twelve settlements are very prosperous and count no fewer than 23 churches and 46 schools, the latter attended by 1,045 boys and 697 girls: 31 of these schools are maintained by the colonists, and 15 by the State.⁶⁵

It has been estimated that the natural increase of the "colonial" population in the state of Rio Grande do Sul is now 30,000 per year. With much justification it has also been stated:

This total of 30,000 souls, consisting of the descendants of Luso-Brazilian, Teuto-Brazilian, Italo-Brazilian, and Polish-Brazilian agriculturists, living in the old colonies of the state, is composed of native Brazilians and constitutes the best element that can be used for colonization, whether considered from the ethnic point of view or that of productive capacity. Their location on Brazilian

⁶³ Martins, *Quantos Somos e Quem Somos*, 148, 149, 156, 162, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Mulhall, *Rio Grande do Sul and Its German Colonies*, 125.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 132-33.



Photo by Courtesy of Carlos E. Schmidt and the Sao Paulo Directoria de Publicidade Agricola

NEIGHBORHOOD STORE, MUNICIPIO OF REDENÇÃO, SÃO PAULO

soil, therefore, is a question that interests not only Rio Grande do Sul, but the nation.⁶⁶

In 1940 it was also estimated that there were still 90,000 hectares of state-owned lands that might be used for colonization. However, the largest part of this was "occupied by native 'intrudors' who have maintained possession with houses and cultivation for many years."⁶⁷ The pattern of population distribution is being changed very rapidly by the heavily populated farm settlements that are coming into being in the northwestern parts of the state.

Nearly all immigration to Paraná has been that of small farmers. The list of colonies established includes almost 300 names, most of which have developed into permanent settlements.⁶⁸ In Santa Catarina the German settlers and their descendants forged up the valleys leading into the Itajaí until in 1930 the município of Blumenau was a little "state within a state," dominating state politics. It has since been divided into six municípios.⁶⁹ Nowadays one may find numerous descendants from these German, Italian, and Polish colonists in north Paraná in the extensive settlements being established there, in western São Paulo where the state's policy at last is favorable to the establishment of small farmers on the land, and in parts of southern Mato Grosso.

(3) *Private Colonization Projects.* Reference is made frequently in this volume to the activities of private colonization companies. The work of one of the most notable of these, the North Paraná Land Company, an English concern which built the railroad from Ourinhos in São Paulo to the company's seat in Londrina and considerably beyond in the direction of Paraguay, has already received some attention. The company has helped establish some 8,000, perhaps more, colonists in the land. It is continuing its colonization activities. But there are many other agencies, including some railroads, engaged in similar projects on a more modest scale.

The activities of one of these companies are related by the International Cotton Mission.

Our main object in visiting Biriguy was to become acquainted with the work of colonization undertaken by the "*Companhia de Terras, Madeiras e Colonização de São Paulo. . .*"

The Company acquired first some 19,000 "Alqueires" but as the land was taken by settlers, they bought an additional area with the profits. So far, 32,000 "alqueires" (179,200 acres) have been sold and these are under cultivation;

⁶⁶ Ramos, "Terras e Colonização no Rio Grande do Sul," *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano I, No. 4, p. 753.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 750-51.

⁶⁸ Cf. Martins, *Quantos Somos e Quem Somos*.

⁶⁹ Cf. Mennucci, "A Subdivisão do Município de Blumenau," *Geografia*, Ano II, No. 4.

the Company has a similar area, in forest land, practically all rich soil, on a high level. Land is sold in lots from 5 to 100 "alqueires" (1 "alqueire"—5.6 acres) the average holding being 15 "alqueires" or 84 acres.

At the time of our visit, 1,763 lots had been sold, but some families have two and three lots. One can say that about 1,700 families have settled on the land since 1912 when the Company started operations. So far, all profits have been used for extension purposes and no dividend has been paid.

The general rule is for the new-comer to pay 30 per cent. of the purchase price of the land in cash and the remainder he pays out of his profits. Practically all have been able to do this within three years.

The land belongs to the settler from the day of the first payment. The company has no right to dictate as to what crops are to be grown or to whom the produce has to be sold. The colonists are entirely free agents.

As everywhere in São Paulo, one meets here too a cosmopolitan crowd; the composition of the colonists as to nationality is as follows:

40 per cent	.....	Italians
30 " "	.....	Japanese
25 " "	.....	Spaniards

The rest consists of Germans (three families), Poles, Austrians, French, Americans, Portuguese, and one Brazilian.

The average prices at which land has been sold are:

1913-1917	.....	100\$00	per alqueire (5.6 acres)
1918	.....	150\$00	" "
1919	.....	200\$00	" "
1922	.....	250\$00	" "

Out of the 1,700 families, only one has given up possession of the land—got the money returned and left. Three other families have left the district, but have let the land to their friends. This is a good sign and speaks well for the management and the fertility of the land.

.....

The cost of clearing the land, burning down forests, and getting it ready for cultivation is here estimated to be 200 milreis per "alqueire"; this work is generally carried out by natives from the State of Bahia who have specialized in it for many years.

The settlers build their own houses, using the wood of the trees they have felled; there is a saw-mill at the station. Some use nothing but bamboo and clay. The cost of a small dwelling of a primitive kind is 700 milreis.

The method of cultivation is a rough-and-ready one. . . .

.....

The Company does not buy the produce of the settlers. They sell to small merchants and these again sell to larger merchants in the city.

The railway freight of coffee and cotton from this place to Santos is very high indeed. The freights are a severe handicap and were it not for the enormous fertility of the soil the new settlers would not be able to compete.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Pearse, *Brazilian Cotton*, 85-88.

(4) *Japanese Colonies.* Numerous colonies of Japanese have been established in São Paulo since 1908 when the first members of this race were introduced, and a few have been established in recent years in the adjoining states. Undoubtedly the Japanese settlers have contributed to the agricultural production, particularly of cotton and vegetables. They also soon learned the coffee business and got control of some of the coffee fazendas. Prior to the second World War they rapidly were making themselves masters of the land along all of São Paulo's principal railroads, and in addition establishing their small truck-farming settlements along most of the railways in Minas Gerais, Paraná, Rio de Janeiro, and Mato Grosso. Furthermore, the official agency of the Japanese government which was doing the colonizing and carefully shepherding the colonists seemed able to secure as many settlers as would be admitted. Perhaps in the long run Brazil may gain by their presence, especially if vigorous methods are taken to disperse the Japanese among the population and ensure that Portuguese becomes the mother tongue of their Brazilian-born descendants.⁷¹ In any case, the establishment of these Japanese colonies has greatly extended the small-farm system in Brazil. It also has done much to promote co-operatives in Brazilian agriculture, particularly in the area about the city of São Paulo.

(5) *Improvement of Colonization Policies.* An official publication which appeared in 1916 gives basic information concerning the colonization projects of the state and federal governments as of the year 1912. A summary of this information shows developments since 1880, and serves as a point of departure for a discussion of subsequent developments. (See Table XLVIII.) In interpreting the data in this table it is important to keep in mind that the Brazilians "emancipate" a colony as soon as it is running smoothly, so that a great many ventures undertaken after 1880 do not appear in the tabulation.

Finally, it should be pointed out that in the last fifty years or so the state and the federal governments have learned a great deal about colonization methods. They now have the experience, and apparently also the will, to spread a family farm system much more widely in Brazil. Even São Paulo, which for many years was reluctant to adopt legislation favorable to the development of small farming, and long held out for the policy of limiting efforts to the importation of farm laborers, now is devoting much more attention to the small-farming classes. Especially noticeable is the proffer of assistance towards farm ownership for each worker who has served a minimum of two years as a laborer on one of the state's fazendas.

⁷¹ In this work of assimilation and acculturation the Brazilian's relative lack of racial prejudice should prove of great value.

TABLE XLVIII

Basic Facts about the Government Colonies in 1912 *

Name of colony	Auspices	Year founded	Principal nationalities of settlers	Population in 1912
<i>Minas Gerais</i>				
1. Adalberto Ferraz	State	1899	Italians	100
2. Affonso Penna	State	1899	Spanish and Italians	175
3. Americo Werneck	State	1898	Italians and Spaniards	292
4. Barão de Ayuruoca	State	1910	Italians, Austrians, and Portuguese	341
5. Bías Fortes	State	1898	Italians	249
6. Carlos Prates	State	1898	Italians	352
7. Conselheiro Joaquim Delfino	State	1912	—	—
8. Constança	State	1910	Italians, Germans, and Portuguese	446
9. Francisco Salles	State	1898	Italians and Spaniards	284
10. Inconfidentes	Federal	1910	Germans, Italians, and Spaniards	939
11. Itajubá	State	1907	Italians, Portuguese, and Russians	220
12. João Pinheiro	Federal	1908	Germans, Italians, and Austrians	552
13. Major Vieira	State	1911	Italians and Portuguese	109
14. Nova Baden	State	1900	Italians and Austrians	387
15. Rio Dôce	State	1911	Italians	71
16. Rodrigo Silva	State	1888	Italians	1,675
17. Santa Maria	State	1910	Italians and Austrians	375
18. Vargem Grande	State	1907	Portuguese and Italians	244
19. Wenceslau Braz	State	1912	Italians	237
<i>Paraná</i>				
20. Apucarana	Federal	1912	Russians	764
21. Cruz Machado	Federal	1910	Russians and Poles	2,686
22. Iraty	Federal	1908	Poles and Russians	2,172
23. Itapará	Federal	1908	Poles	1,455
24. Ivahy	Federal	1907	Austrians, Russians, and Germans	3,535
25. Jesuino Marcondes	Federal	1907	Austrians	351
26. Senador Corrêa	Federal	1907	Poles and Russians	2,172
27. Tayó	Federal	1908	Russians, Austrians, and Germans	362
28. Vera Guarany	Federal	1909	Austrians and Russians	4,219
<i>Rio de Janeiro</i>				
29. Itaiaya	Federal	1908	Portuguese, Germans, and Spaniards	334
30. Visconde de Mauá	Federal	1908	Germans, Austrians, and Russians	492
<i>Santa Catarina</i>				
31. Anitapolis	Federal	1907	Germans and Austrians	1,755
32. Esteves Junior	Federal	1910	—	—
<i>São Paulo</i>				
33. Bandeirantes	Federal	1908	Germans, Portuguese, and Austrians	934
34. Campos Salles	State	1898	Germans, Italians, and Austrians	1,101
35. Conde de Parnahyba	State	1911	Italians, Germans, and Spaniards	809
36. Gavião Peixoto	State	1907	Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese	1,248
37. Jorge Tibiriçá	State	1905	Italians, Germans, and Russians	1,210
38. Martinho Prado Jr.	State	1911	Spaniards and Italians	134
39. Monção	Federal	1910	Italians, Germans, and Spaniards	957

TABLE XLVIII *Continued*

Name of colony	Auspices	Year founded	Principal nationalities of settlers	Population in 1912
40. Nova Europa	State	1907	Germans, Russians, and Italians	1,751
41. Nova Odessa	State	1905	Russians and Italians	976
42. Nova Veneza	State	1910	Italians, Russians, and Spaniards	468
43. Pariquera-assú	State	1861	Austrians, Poles, and Germans	2,605
44. Visconde de Indaítuba	State	1911	—	—

* Source: *Annuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Anno I (1908-1912), I, 172-81.

Article 5 of Law No. 7,369 of August 3, 1935, reads as follows: "Only those immigrants who were introduced after this date through the medium of the Department of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce and who have filled regularly the contract of two years, at a minimum, in coffee farming shall enjoy the preferences and privileges conceded by this decree in the concessions of plots in the official colonial nuclei of the state."⁷² Even though aid in setting up as a farm operator is made contingent upon two years of service as an agricultural laborer, it is significant that such assistance has been offered.

Another piece of publicity circulated by the state for the purpose of attracting workers includes in bold face type the promise: "After working two years in Paulista farming, every worker has the right to buy a plot of ground by paying for it in small monthly installments, over a period of 10 years."⁷³

With the establishment of the Estado Novo, the federal government immediately began a much more vigorous participation in and control of colonization activities. Since 1890 most of the responsibility for these activities had been in state hands, and the policy followed had been one of extreme *laissez faire*. After 1937 the federal government quickly gathered the reins into its own hands. It had become convinced that the presence of millions of unassimilated colonists and descendants of colonists in the southern states represented a genuine threat to national security. The reason for the difficulties were of course seen in the fact that the immigrants had been permitted to settle in their nationality and foreign-language groups, live unto themselves, have their own press, maintain with state and federal financial assistance their own schools, and in the case of some of the German colonies, follow Evangelical ministers selected in, sent from, and responsible to Berlin. Also there became an increasing uneasiness

⁷² *O Trabalho Agrícola e o Amparo ao Trabalhador* (São Paulo, 1936), 14.

⁷³ *Informações Úteis Sobre O Trabalho Agrícola no Estado de S. Paulo*.

over the activities of the numerous tourists, professors, and other visitors from Germany who journeyed among the German colonies, participated in the meetings of the settlers, warned of "Yankee Imperialism," constantly reminded the Teuto-Brasileiros of the precious heritage of German blood that flowed through their veins, and influenced them to believe that they were also citizens of the Reich.

Law No. 406 of May 4, 1938, decreed that no colonial nucleus could be constituted of foreigners of a single nationality. Furthermore, it authorized the Conselho Nacional de Imigração e Colonização to prohibit the "concession, transference, or renting of lots to foreigners of a nationality whose concentration or preponderance in a nucleus, center, or colony, now being founded or emancipated, might be injurious to the ethnic or social composition of the Brazilian people." In addition, this law provided that there should be a minimum of 30 per cent Brazilians and a maximum of 25 per cent of any other single nationality group among the settlers in all colonies, whether private or official.⁷⁴ This law represented an important progression in Brazilian colonization policy. The attempt to help undo some of the errors of the past was made a few months later when Law No. 1,545 of August 25, 1939, made the use of the Portuguese language mandatory in all schools, closed the foreign-language press, and laid the basis for a strict supervision of political activities in the communities that had developed from the agricultural colonies of south Brazil. These restrictive activities are well known; less has been said about the active manner in which the federal government has proceeded in the establishment of additional agricultural colonies throughout Brazil.

Just how far the national government has gone in its policy is indicated by the following summary of the more significant provisions of a law regulating national agricultural colonies which was approved on February 14, 1941.

1. The purpose is clearly stated to be the establishment of Brazilians, of limited resources but possessed of aptitudes for agriculture, as proprietors of farms. In exceptional cases foreigners who have special qualifications will be admitted as settlers.

2. The location for each colony is to be carefully selected with reference to climate, soil, streams, or sites for reservoirs, and possibilities of producing electricity.

3. Lots may range in size from 20 to 50 hectares, 25 per cent of each being preserved in forest. Other forest reserves are to be maintained about the colony.

⁷⁴ Cf. "A Colonização Oficial em São Paulo e o Núcleo Colonial 'Barão de Antonia,'" *Boletim do Serviço de Imigração e Colonização*, No. 2, p. 15.

4. Educational institutions to be established in each colony include facilities for instruction in rural crafts, including work in iron, wood, and leather, in addition to a primary school for all children.

5. Breeding stations for the improvement of livestock are to be established in each colony.

6. The colonists are to be organized into co-operatives for production, marketing, and buying.

7. Lots are to be given free of charge, along with seeds and the most urgently needed implements. In the beginning the grant is made for use only, but after a trial period full property rights pass to the colonists.

8. Candidates having five or more children and residing in the locality in which the colonies are established are to have preference in the distribution of farming plots. Lots will be given only to those 18 years of age or more, who are not landowners, who have aptitudes for agriculture, and who agree to reside on the concessions. In exceptional cases foreigners possessed of special agricultural knowledge may receive lots. No federal, state, or município employee may receive a concession.

9. Colonists are to receive the following assistance: work at wages or piece work during at least the first year, free medical services and medicines until the "emancipation" of the colony, loans of agricultural machinery and instruments during the first year, and transportation to the seat of the colony from the station or port.

10. The colonist's plot, crops, vehicles, machinery are to be exempt from state and local taxation until after the colony has been emancipated.

11. Each colonist must clean all drainage channels passing through his land to a width of two meters, and maintain the roads that pass through his holding to a width of seven meters.

12. Colonists may be expelled and their rights revoked if it is proved that they failed to cultivate the land during the established period, unless it can be proved that they were hindered by a superior force, if they depreciate the land by destroying the timber without subsequent use of the soil, or if they constitute disturbing elements in the colony.⁷⁵

This law, or rather the determined efforts of the same persons who secured its adoption, bids fair to extend more attempts at colonization into the northern and western states. Large colonies are already under way in Maranhão, Goiás, and the Amazon Valley. These efforts, along with a still later law providing for agricultural industrial colonies, and the

⁷⁵ This is the basic legislation under which national colonization projects in Brazil still operate. For the text of the law and also that of the decree of December 16, 1943, which regulates agricultural colonies, see Fabio Luz Filho, *Cooperativismo, Colonização, Crédito Agrícola*, 275-93.

founding of the first of these on the São Francisco River in Pernambuco⁷⁶ largely through the efforts of a former Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Apolonio Salles, should do something to overcome the feeling in the northern and northeastern states that they have been entirely neglected in colonization matters. Typical of the complaints on this score, formerly very widespread, is a protest contained in an official publication of the state of Alagoas, *Alagoas em 1931*. It is quoted in full because of the light it sheds on the colonization desires in the northern states, and the manner in which former national policies have affected these regions:

Unhappily still victorious is the opinion that to the north of the parallel 16° south latitude "there should not be attempted permanent collective establishments of strangers."

This opinion has been one of the reasons why the north lives exclusively from national labor, its lands unpeopled, as good as they may be. Alagoas has suffered the effects of this governmental error. She never had the assistance of foreign hands in the conquest of her lands and in the development of her riches. She has lived to herself, of her own forces, of her own work.

In 1892 immigration for the north was sought. For this end a commission was named of which the president was the major of engineers, Gabino Besouro, governor of Alagoas. This commission studied in detail the various agricultural zones into which the state is divided; the hydrographic system, its conditions of navigability as ways of transportation; the hydrometric condition of the lands watered by the principal water courses, the vegetation which the same produced, and the crops for which they were suited. It made also studies of the orographic system, the geological character of the soil, the classification of agricultural lands, —in short, of all that was necessary for a complete service of propaganda of immigration and colonization in the state.

The commission charged with this service in Alagoas made excursions in the valley of the Paraíba, in the valley of the Mundaú, to Riacho Dore, to Atalaia, Pilar, and Alagoas, to the valleys of Camaragibe and Jacuípe, to the valley of São Francisco, in a word, it traveled throughout the entire state, publishing fully the results of its observations and scientific studies.

A project of regulations for immigrant colonies in the state was drawn up; a chorographic map of the state was made and a description of Alagoas was published in Portuguese, Italian, and French. Then the commission was dissolved and never more were the governors, federal and state, occupied with the matter.⁷⁷

Of all the colonization projects that have been undertaken by the national government the Colonia Agrícola de Goiás is by far the most

⁷⁶ *Diário Oficial*, July 24, 1942, contains the text of this law, which provides that the federal government, through the Ministry of Agriculture, will collaborate with the states in the establishment of agro-industrial settlements destined to stimulate the rationalized practice of agricultural industries and contribute towards the stability of the rural family, through the preparation of an environment favorable to the development and perfection of its aptitudes for combating economic adversities. See Chap. IV for observations by the author on the occasion of his visit to this colony.

⁷⁷ *Alagoas em 1931*, 21.

noteworthy. There near the center of the state, not far from the location that is heralded as the site of the future capital of the nation, several thousands of families already have been established on small farms. In 1945 on the occasion of my visit to this colony, I was deeply impressed by this effort to get some of Brazil's vast territory into the hands of the people who till the soil. Since that time the growth of the colony has gone on apace. The experience gained there is of the utmost importance for national and state colonization policies.⁷⁸

SALE RESTRICTIONS ON LAND

Perhaps restriction on the amounts of land sold to one person has not been particularly effective as a method of bringing about the development of a class of small farmers; nevertheless, it was a device that was widely resorted to by the states when the public lands came into their possession following the adoption of the republican constitution. Undoubtedly it has had some effect, particularly in making it more feasible for children and grandchildren of colonists to secure land for carrying on their own farming operations. Usually the procedure was to set legal limits on the amount of terras devolutas that could be purchased by one person.

For example, soon after the immense western state of Mato Grosso received authority over the public domain it took measures designed to help fill, with persons of the small-farming class, its tremendous solitudes. From an official publication, printed in English, one can get an idea of the inducements offered. Among the materials presented is a translation of Law No. 149, of April 14, 1896. In its several articles this law provided that the executive power was authorized to grant lands to Brazilians and foreigners "that may wish to settle in this State as farmers, unappropriated lands in lots of 50 hectares." (It will be kept in mind that prior to the establishment of the republic in 1889, land could be legally obtained only by purchase.) If an applicant had a family he might receive an additional 50 hectares for each four persons. A definitive title was promised after a person had dwelt upon and effectively cultivated the portion allotted to him for one year; if the settler did not comply with requirements after one year the land was to revert to the state and the grantee to have no right to indemnification. Lands were to be surveyed at the cost of the grantees. The previous year another law, that of July 10, 1895, had pro-

⁷⁸ For more details about the colony, see Conselho de Imigração e Colonização, *Goiás, uma Nova Fronteira Humana* (Rio de Janeiro, 1949), 187-89; and Virginia Prewett, *Beyond the Great Forest* (New York, 1953). Miss Prewett's experiences should be read by all who are interested in Brazil's future. They reveal clearly that the basic "conquest of Brazil" involves a remodeling of the institutional patterns, and not merely the overcoming of forests and jungles as is so generally, so blithely, and so naïvely assumed.

vided for the granting of land in the band of territory lying within 60 kilometers of the national boundaries. In this area 200 hectares were to be given when cattle raising was to be the principal enterprise, the petitions were to go to the administrator general of the district, instead of to the governor of the state, and five years were allowed as the period within which the land might be surveyed and marked.⁷⁹

The two summary paragraphs of the small publication indicate the nature of the consideration leading to the adoption of such laws. They read as follows:

The State legislation relating to public lands protects the small farmers, banishing from its territory the *latifundia regime*, limiting the sale of its lands to lots of 3,600 hectares, 900 and 450 hectares, according to their fitness for breeding, for agriculture, or for extractive industries.

This propensity for peopling the land and subdividing it into small properties, the liberal disposition of its political organization and administration, the provision of its laws and their strict observance by those charged with their execution, are means for the development of public credit and of the material prosperity, most indisputably warranted by its natural riches—in the vegetable, mineral and animal kingdoms.⁸⁰

Unfortunately, the situation in the present decade indicates that these good intentions hardly became solidified into practice. The data given in another chapter indicate that Mato Grosso's lands passed rapidly into the hands of a few large holders, some of whom possessed well over a million hectares each. In 1941 the government expropriated one of those that contained almost two million hectares. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that it was once contemplated to cut the state's land to the small farm pattern.

São Paulo also placed restrictions upon the amounts of state lands that might be purchased by a single buyer. As established by the law of January 5, 1900, of those lands considered suitable for agriculture one person was not to be allowed to purchase more than 500 hectares; of the prairie land, considered suitable only for grazing, the limit was established at 4,000 hectares; and for suburban lands, a restriction of 50 hectares per person was established. The same purchaser might not buy contiguous areas if their totals exceeded these limits.⁸¹

SUBDIVISION OF LAND BY INHERITANCE

The details of the subdivision of land by inheritance have already been presented. (See Chapter XVI.) Here it is necessary only to emphasize that

⁷⁹ *Brief Notice on the State of Matto-Grosso* (Rio de Janeiro, 1904), 33-39.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

⁸¹ Gonçalves de Castro Mascarenhas, *Terras Devolutas e Particulares no Estado do S. Paulo*, 70.

this has resulted in the creation of many thousands of small farms in Brazil. Perhaps it is the factor that is responsible for the development of the majority of all such establishments. However, it is extremely important to bear in mind that farms created by this process do not acquire operators with attitudes and skills equivalent to those transmitted socially in the family farm heritage.

The child in a fazendeiro's family inherits the standard of living of his progenitors, all the mind set as to what the members of his class properly may do, but only a fraction of the land necessary to maintain a level of living that is the equivalent of that standard. Rather than a terrain from which to draw an abundant living, his small fragment of the fazenda may be merely a badge that advertises his poor economic condition, makes it the more impossible to avoid the appearance of poverty. This manner of subdividing lands probably has been one of the most powerful demoralizing forces in operation during the evolution of Brazilian society.

GRANTS TO SOLDIERS

Although the granting of lands to former soldiers was less important in Brazil than in the United States, nevertheless it was one of the elements by which subdivision of land and the development of middle-class farmers were facilitated. Originally, such a reward for voluntary service in the empire's armed forces was decreed a law of January 2, 1865. It would be difficult to determine the extent to which the soldiers took advantage of its provisions, or to which they actually established themselves on the lands so granted. However, for years afterwards, it was an item to be reckoned with. When the states got the land following 1889, many of them had to take into account the possibility of having public lands claimed under the provisions of the old law. Thus São Paulo provided that any of the veterans residing in that state, who had not as yet received their allotment, might receive free concessions of 20 hectares of terras devolutas.⁸²

OTHER WAYS

The miscellaneous ways in which small farming groups have become established on the land cannot all be identified. One discovers settlements of these *sitiantes* scattered about throughout Brazil as he travels through the country, but oftentimes the people themselves do not know how the settlements came into being. Some of them have been there for a long

⁸² *Ibid.*, 20-21.

time. One does not see much difference, for example, between the small *sítios* growing coconut trees along the beaches of Pernambuco and Bahia and those described by Koster over 100 years ago.⁸³

Also one wonders how the riverbank settlements throughout the Amazon Basin got there, how the people obtained possession of the land, and how long they have been established on it. In the mountainous section between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and elsewhere along the valleys in the tops of the Serra do Mar, he encounters *sitiantes* who are told by neighboring *fazendeiros* that they are the owners of the land on which the *sitiantes* live and that it came into their possession by inheritance. If the title were ever contested one does not know how the case would be determined. At the present time the people themselves do not know how they came to be on the land.

Occasionally, travelers have informed us concerning the motivations for dispersing into the out-of-the-way spots. For example, von Spix and von Martius have described how the desertion of members of the militia during the struggle with the Spanish settlements at the mouth of and to the west of the Paraná had much to do with dispersing population throughout the more remote portions of São Paulo and Minas Gerais.

The Paulista, it is true, is distinguished above most of the inhabitants of Brazil for obedience to the government; but the greatest dissatisfaction could not fail to be produced by a war, which in the eyes of the multitude was not carried on for urgent reasons, but rather in compliance with the opinions of a few, and to which the farmer, who till then had never been used to war, remained wholly indifferent, till he was roused on finding it required the sacrifice of the lives and domestic happiness of many of his fellow-countrymen. Accordingly a great part of the militia deserted before they marched away, and fled sometimes with their whole families, either into the remote wilderness of the capitania of S. Paulo, or to Minas Geraes, where they settled, and from which province, though demanded back, they were not given up, according to the privileges enjoyed by each capitania.⁸⁴

No doubt some of the small farming settlements in Brazil owe their origins to this type of dispersal. Other foreigners have been privileged to observe the settlement process at work, to catch one of these small farming settlements of the spontaneous variety in the making. Of a particularly well-situated and prosperous one in the state of Paraná, an English writer, Bigg-Wither, has left the following account:

I must introduce the reader to a veritable prairie phenomenon—for so it seemed to me—lying immediately beneath my feet, comprised in a compact little area of about ten square miles. On this little tract of prairie all the signs

⁸³ Cf. Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 229; and *Conceito de Povoado*, 7-9.

⁸⁴ Von Spix and von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, I, 319.

of a thriving and well-to-do population were manifested. *Chacaras* and other small houses were thickly sprinkled about it. Gardens and orange orchards, cultivated patches of potatoes and *mandioca*, green paddocks in which mules and cows were grazing, struck the eye, offering altogether a sight so uncommon in the province of Paraná as to excite something more than ordinary surprise and wonderment.

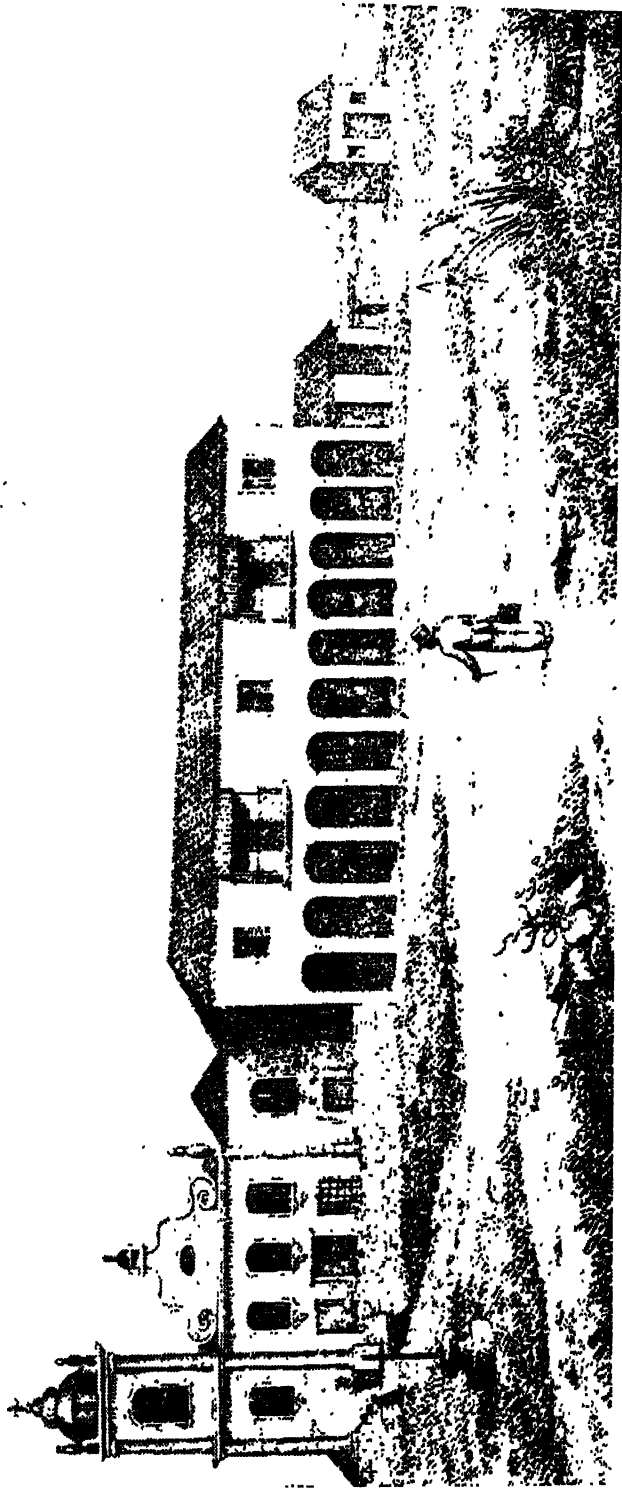
With me was an Englishman, named Mercer, who, though having only lately settled in the district, had prospered so well that he was about to become a son-in-law of one of the wealthiest *fazendeiros* of the neighbourhood. The phenomenon in question Mercer explained to me thus. The *chacaras* and houses had formerly been the habitation of miners. After the abandonment of the mine . . . these men had, contrary to usual experience in Brazil, found it profitable to remain where they were, merely to cultivate the soil, so marvellously fertile was it, as compared with other prairie lands, and moreover, so convenient was its situation with respect to other essential requirements.

This situation, indeed, was perhaps the most important element in insuring the prosperity of this little handful of colonists, for such they really are. Its advantage lay in the fact of its being in close proximity to the Forest, but yet, at the same time, not actually within its borders. Each of these little farmers had his garden and his paddock of twenty or thirty acres on the prairies, close to his house, on which he kept his mules, his cows, and his pigs, while at the same time, within an hour's walk or ride, he had his forest rocas, where he could grow corn and beans, without which his mules would not work, his pigs would not fatten, and he himself could not live. While the prairie enables him to keep his half-dozen mules or so with profit, the forest was the reservoir from whence, by means of his beasts of burden, all his chief necessities of life were drawn. The surplus produce of his rocas he was able in like manner to convey profitably to the neighbouring markets of Ponta Grossa, Castro, and Curitiba, where fair prices were always obtainable.

Here, then, was a case of the vexed problem of colonization in Brazil solved. A class of small proprietors had sprung up, without petting or nursing either by government or by well-meaning enthusiasts such as Dr. Favre [who was responsible for the establishment of the ill-fated French colony at Thereza in the same state], and the evidence of the prosperity to which they had attained was there before our eyes.⁸⁵

The quilombos, or settlements of runaway slaves who established communities in the forests, undoubtedly gave rise to other groups of what are now small-farming families. Despite the vigilance of the *capitães-do-mato* (captains of the forest), a special police, usually composed of mulattoes whose job was to trace down runaways, these Negroes made frequent raids on the fazendas and engenhos, carrying away both booty and female slaves. Sometimes they stole women from the Indians, and on other occasions affiliated themselves with groups of the natives. The largest and best known of these quilombos was Palmares, or Palm Forests, in Pernambuco, established at the time of the conflict with the Dutch. This Negro settle-

⁸⁵ Bigg-Wither, *Pioneering in South Brazil*, II, 207-209.



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IN COLONIAL BRAZIL THE CHURCH OFTEN WAS AN ADJUNCT TO THE CASA GRANDE. HOME OF THE SENHOR DE ENGENHO DA TORRE, NEAR RECIFE

ment became as strong and powerful as a small kingdom, and even carried on offensive warfare against the Portuguese.⁸⁶ However, there were numerous others in most of the provinces, "quilombo" surviving today in many place names scattered throughout Brazil's interior. Furthermore, some of these settlements are known to exist to this day in parts of the Amazon⁸⁷ and are said to be present in the northern part of Maranhão.

THE PROCESS OF SETTLEMENT IN SÃO PAULO

The process of settlement as it is now under way in western São Paulo provides a fine opportunity to observe the establishment of small farms in a new and fertile area. Recent developments in this part of the country have made the westward march of settlement, the opening of new lands, the creation of new trading and market centers, and the establishment of new governmental units all a very real part of contemporary rural life in Brazil. The writer has had the opportunity of studying this process at firsthand.

In the western parts of São Paulo tremendous and rapid advance is being made in the carving out of the forests new farms, in establishing thriving towns and cities based on trade, and in creating new municípios. These newly opened areas are rapidly becoming the centers of production of such staple commercial crops as cotton, coffee, and tobacco. Interestingly enough, these areas are also the localities where the greatest break with tradition is occurring and the small-farm system making the greatest competition for the established systems of large-scale exploitation. In other words, in the new settlements of western São Paulo as in northern Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, and Espírito Santo, the family farm is vying with the fazenda for dominance in the production of Brazil's commercial crops.

As was the case on the United States' frontier, speculation in lands plays a very prominent role in the opening and settlement of these new lands. Professor Pierre Monbeig, formerly of the University of São Paulo, has thrown some interesting light upon this development in the western portion of Brazil's richest state.⁸⁸ According to this authority speculation in land may take various forms but it is always present in the opening of new settlements in the state. Generally the course of procedure is as follows. An individual or family group will acquire title to lands that are

⁸⁶ Cf. Southey, *History of Brazil*, II, 23, for details; and Edison Carneiro, *O Quilombo dos Palmares, 1630-1695* (São Paulo, 1947).

⁸⁷ Cf. Ernesto Vinhaes, *Aventuras de um Repórter na Amazônia* (Pôrto Alegre, 1939).

⁸⁸ Monbeig, *Ensaio de Geografia Humana Brasileira*, 25-28, *passim*. See also the same author's *Pionniers et Planteurs de Sao Paulo* (Paris, 1952), *passim*.

far beyond the pale of civilization. These are then held for future gain. Unoccupied and forested, they may receive very little attention for a long period, the principal precautions necessary being those involved in ensuring that unauthorized squatters do not settle on the lands, open small clearings, and through residence acquire a species of squatters' rights to the land. Sometimes rather severe struggles are required to keep such undesirables out, or to expel them once they have established a foothold. This is one of the risks the propertied class takes.

When the frontier has moved to within a couple of hundred miles of the lands in question, the proprietors and the owners of the surrounding lands take the next step. Each of them sends a small squad of workers from the older areas, headed by an administrator, to open a fazenda on the property. This calls attention to the new area that is being opened for settlement, and the owners soon begin to receive offers from those who desire to buy lands in the newly opened areas. These offers come from the families who have worked as colonos on the established fazendas, workers who have husbanded their savings until the time should come when they might purchase lands of their own; or they may come from some of their own employees who were sent ahead to open the fazenda. At this stage of the process the owners of the land must play a wise game—selling enough land to keep interest alive, but holding enough to dispose of later at the increased prices that denser settlement and greater demand will bring.

Thus the process of settlement proceeds. Little capital and slight planning are involved. But the risks are great and the prospective profits are large. The land speculator must take his chances on the tide of settlement turning his way. If it moves in another direction, his chances for a large profit may be lost for a considerable time to come. The projection and completion of the railroad are major factors in determining the direction in which settlement goes and the speed with which it progresses. These affect the value of any particular piece of land. But there are also other chances that must be taken by the speculator. In general he knows only the limits—the streams, or divides—that surround his lands, and little if anything about the nature of the topography and soil on the tract.

Monbeig describes in some detail the case of Marília, now a thriving small city on the Alta Paulista Railroad, boasting paved streets, brick and tile houses, movies, electric lights, a bustling business, cotton gins, a cottonseed oil mill, and numerous other accouterments of the thriving Paulista trading center. In 1914 this zone was all virgin forest belonging to Companhia Pecuaria e Agrícola Campos Novos. At this time the state

government opened a trail starting at Platina near the Alta Sorocabana Railroad, some forty miles to the south of the present location of Marília, and leading in the direction of the "Noroste" zone to the north of Marília, an area which was then in the process of settlement. The same year the company opened a large fazenda containing some 20,000 acres, lying on both sides of the trail. The first enterprise was the rearing of swine, followed in 1915 by the planting of some 100,000 coffee trees. This was designed to establish definitely the private possession of the soil. However, the coffee plantings and the swine-rearing enterprises were soon abandoned; the forest reconquered the entire area. Only some years later a new buyer of lands began to subdivide and sell portions of his holdings. Then the company also began to divide and dispose of its property. Clearings, at first widely separated, spread rapidly, and soon adjoined one another. When in 1922 the construction of a new railroad was announced, notice was given of the subdivision of all the forest lands in the vicinity. The city of Marília itself was founded in 1928, and since then it has grown with unparalleled rapidity. In 1919 it was a land of unviolated sertão, unknown and covered with forest. But where in 1920 the Indians hunted, there was in 1940 a município with 80,000 inhabitants, of whom 20,000 were in Marília, a city of 4,000 homes.⁸⁹ When the writer was there in 1942 Marília had already lost most of its "western" characteristics. All frame buildings had been relegated to the city's outskirts, the streets were paved and well lighted, and in every way Marília was a modern Brazilian town. One had to go farther west to Tupã or California to see pioneer centers in formation.

Naturally the price of land increases rapidly as settlement thickens. In 1914 the basic price for land in the Marília district was 25\$000 per alqueire. In 1929-1930, land in the large Japanese settlement, Fazenda Bastos, which is nearby but away from the line of the railroad, sold at 250\$000 per alqueire; by 1939 it was selling at 800\$000 per alqueire.⁹⁰

Similar were the developments at Santa Anastacio and Indiana, both located along the route of the present Alta Sorocabana Railroad. In this case the first penetration of settlement accompanied the construction of a roadway or, more exactly, a cattle trail opened for driving cattle from Mato Grosso. Following 1917 when sharp rises in the prices of rice, beans, and corn occurred simultaneously with the inability to dispose of coffee, the situation of the colonist was relatively good in comparison with that of the fazendeiro. Accordingly, at this time many fazendeiros subdivided

⁸⁹ Aristoteles de Lima Camara and Arthur Hehl Neiva, "Colonizações Nipônica e Germânica no Sul do Brazil," *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, Ano II, No. 1, 47-48.

⁹⁰ Monbeig, *Ensaio de Geografia Humana Brasileira*, 28.

their properties and sold tracts of land to the colonos.⁹¹ Today the process continues unabated. In these western portions of São Paulo one may see hundreds of new farms and homes, stumps stills standing in the fields, villages just laid out in the hope the projected railroad will pass their way, and all the other aspects of a frontier region.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

CHAPTER XVIII

LOCALITY GROUPS

MAN IN his relationships with his fellows divides the earth's surface into areas of common living, mutual aid, and human association. In addition to the family, which is the smallest group occupying a definite locale, there are always larger areas of association, definite portions of the earth's surface that make up the orbs of larger groups known as neighborhoods and communities. These three are the fundamental cells and tissues out of which the State and the Great Society are composed.

Few aspects of societal structure are worthy of more careful study than the locality groups, particularly the neighborhood and the community. The first of these is the smaller of the two, being the first group of significance beyond the family, an area of face-to-face social relationships, and frequently the circle in which mutual aid prevails. The second, the community, is larger. Its members need not all be in face-to-face contact with one another. Generally it is composed of more than one neighborhood, and is large enough that nearly all the needs of its members may be satisfied within its limits. In the last analysis the nature of the neighborhood and the community determine the nature of a society, for, along with the family, they are the cells out of which the larger unit is built. Although any one neighborhood, or any one group of neighborhoods clustered into a community, may be relatively unimportant, in the aggregate they constitute the whole society. It is an aphorism to say that as the family or the village (community or neighborhood) is so will be the society. It is probably even more valid to say that the customs of the community and the neighborhood become the primary determinants of the habits of the individual. For, most important of all, it is on the family, the neighborhood, and the community levels that the individual gets his personality.

These facts make a knowledge of society's natural groupings of considerable moment. There are also other reasons for the study of locality-group structure. As the world moves farther into the phase in which rural affairs are the concern of national and state governments, a knowledge of the natural areas of association becomes of more and more consequence. Neighborhoods and communities cease to be merely local areas of association, and come to be the fundamental social units that may be

utilized in the purposeful organization of institutions and agencies. A school system, a health program, social security, a directed agriculture, any activity of the greater society organized on a representative basis, draws strength from the natural groupings of society when their areas of activity are delineated in terms of neighborhood and community boundaries. Use in turn serves to invigorate the society's cellular units, so that the neighborhoods and communities thrive as new functions are added to their roles. For these reasons the general nature of Brazil's neighborhood and community pattern is analyzed somewhat in detail.

OFFICIAL CLASSIFICATION

Brazil is one of the few nations, if not the only one, in the world that has an official definition and classification of its locality groups, although Peru has made considerable progress along these lines. The classification and accompanying definitions are contained in Resolution Number 99 adopted by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística on July 25, 1941.¹ It seems to have been adopted as a result of a study made in Pernambuco for the purpose of determining the nature of the povoado, or small center of population other than a seat of a *distrito de paz* or the seat of a município. The resolution is as follows:

Be it resolved:

Art. 1.—There is defined as a locality [*localidade*] every place in the national territory where there is a permanent agglomeration of inhabitants.

Art. 2.—The Council establishes, for its use, the following classification and correlated definitions of localities:

Capital, Federal—The locality where the National Government has its seat, with its executive, legislative, and judicial powers.

Capital—A locality where a political unit of the Federation has its seat of government, with the exclusion of the Federal District.

Cidade—The seat of a município, that is a locality having the same name as the município of which it forms a part and where the respective prefeitura [government of the município or county] is situated, excluding municípios containing capitals.

Vila—The seat of a distrito de paz, that is a locality having the same name as the distrito of which it forms a part and where the district authority is situated, excluding the districts containing seats of municípios.

Povoado—A locality which is not the seat of an administrative division, but where there is an agglomeration of residences, generally a religious cohesion about a church or chapel, a commercial function expressed in a fair or a market, and whose inhabitants exercise their economic activities not as a function in the interest of a single proprietor of the soil, but of the group itself.

¹ Only recently has the term *comunidade* been used in Brazil to apply to a social group living in a specific area. At present, however, its usage is becoming widespread.

Propriedade Rural—A locality which is not the seat of an administrative division and where private dominion is manifested exclusively. [This would apply to a village or a hamlet composed of the homes of workers on a fazenda or usina.]

Núcleo—A locality which is not the seat of an administrative division where inhabitants are grouped together under a special regime. [This would apply to various colonies established by federal and state governments.]

Lugarejo or Local—There will be designated in this manner the place, that does not fall in any of the previously mentioned classes, whether it contains inhabitants (when *lugarejo* applies) or not (when *local* is correct), as soon as it possesses a name by which it is known.

Art. 3.—It is the duty of the regional Offices to classify in each type of locality here defined the synonyms in common usage in its territory and to send them to the Central Office inside the space of six months.²

It only needs to be pointed out that the differentiation according to single or multiple ownership of the area inhabited by the locality group is quite different from our practice and that more stress is placed upon nucleated settlement than has been the case in the United States.

SIMILARITY OF LOCALITY GROUPS IN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES

Because Brazil, like the United States, has used the single farmstead in arranging its population on the land, its locality-group structure shows little affinity with Old World patterns. For the same reason, it does not compare closely with the pattern prevailing in most of the Spanish-speaking countries of America. Upon close observation, both the smaller neighborhood and the larger community of Brazil reveal many characteristics similar to those of the corresponding social groupings in the United States and Canada. In fact, in their essential features all of the locality groupings of Brazil—farms, neighborhoods, communities, and municípios—show more similarities with those of the United States than with those of any other country. Along with our own territorial groupings they bear indelibly the stamp "made in America."

The preceding sentences should not be interpreted to mean that Brazilian neighborhoods and communities and those of the United States are identical. There are differences between North American and Brazilian locality groups; and it is also true that the rural social organization in Brazil has many features in common with that of its Spanish-American neighbors. For example, Brazil, like Mexico, Chile, and Peru, hardly knew the family farm until the nineteenth century; even today Brazil's typical agricultural unit, the fazenda, is large and in itself more closely resembles the Spanish-American hacienda, the Argentine *estância*, or the Southern

² For Portuguese text, see *Conceito de Provoado*, Appendix.

plantation, than the Midwestern farm; in Brazil there is a great chasm separating the social classes in agriculture, a degree of social stratification considerably greater than that in the plantation sections of our own South, and comparable only with that in Peru, Chile, Argentina, and other of Brazil's neighbors; and the Brazilian Indian, like the native of Mexico and Cuba, was reduced to slavery and made to work the estates of his European masters and not killed off or driven away, as were the natives of North America. All these facts have had a bearing on the nature of locality groups, have brought about differences between the social organization of Brazil and the United States. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, in Brazil these social groupings are more similar to those of the United States and Canada than to those of her Spanish-American neighbors.

As is suggested by these facts, Brazil's locality groupings are more similar to those found in the South than to the ones distributed throughout the other parts of the United States. Like Brazil, our Southland originally was cut to the plantation pattern; it inherited all the multifarious ills that are socially bequeathed by the system of slavery; it continues to this day to be characterized by sharp class and caste distinctions among the rural population, a situation in which a person is born to a certain estate and can scarcely hope to rise above it. In addition to the important factors which have made for general similarity between North American and Brazilian locality-group structures, these elements have served to make Brazil's neighborhoods and communities more like those of the South than those in other parts of our country.

LOCALITY GROUPS IN THE NEW WORLD AND IN THE OLD

In both Brazil and the United States the contemporary rural community is considerably different from European types of agricultural settlements. At the time of the colonization of America the farm in Portugal and England, as well as throughout most of the rest of Europe, consisted of a home and a garden plot located in a small hamlet or village, plus several pieces of arable land scattered about in the fields that surrounded the cluster of homes. Communal rights to the use of pasture and woodlands were also a common feature. In other words, the farm, the smallest locality group, was not a well-differentiated territorial unit, but was fused with the neighborhood or the community. It did not stand out as an entity as does the cattle fazenda of Minas Gerais or the Iowa farm.

The European neighborhood, on the other hand, was much more clearly distinguishable than its American counterpart. It consisted of a number of families living closely together in a hamlet or small village, and surrounded by the farming, pasture, and woodlands which they used.

There might, indeed, be difficulty in distinguishing the neighborhood from the rural community which was constituted in the same manner and differed only by being larger and more completely enveloping all the activities of its members. Although it would probably be difficult to classify accurately Portuguese and English locality groups of the sixteenth century into neighborhoods and communities, this does not obscure the essential nature of these social units. In both cases social differentiation had proceeded very little and had not reached the degree in which any considerable number of occupations, other than agriculture, were represented in the hamlet or village; rather, the farming families themselves also performed most of the work that later came to be specialized activities of the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker. Both Portugal and England knew the large estate and were burdened with a landed aristocracy, but in spite of this the village and hamlet communities and neighborhoods were inhabited by families who enjoyed a considerable degree of independence and self-direction in the agricultural activities and their social relationships with the others of their class. In many cases, they resembled the village community of free cultivators in all respects except that they owed certain obligations and dues to the lord of the manor.

There have been changes of course in the European community and neighborhood, but these have not altered their basic structural features. In most of Europe, although not in England, the rural community still remains a clear-cut, well-defined, closely integrated entity. The village continues to be mainly a residential center for the farm families who till the surrounding lands, nonagricultural occupations being very scantily represented in the small center. The village and its tributary fields are identical with the community.

Observation of the locality-group structure of Brazil and the United States has served to show how great has been the change from such Old World patterns. In these New World countries, nucleated settlement patterns are not the rule; they are to be found only in the workers' quarters on the large estates. The cultivators live scattered about on the land. The farm or fazenda stands by itself as a fundamental unit, clearly distinct, and the families who manage its business and till its lands live amidst the fields or pastures and not in a village or hamlet center.³ As a result,

³ As a matter of fact, both in Brazil and the United States the village or town was often an "afterthought"—not, however, when settlement was being pushed by a railroad—or a spontaneous aggregation that arose to care for the multiplying needs of the settlers. This seems to have been even more true in Brazil than in the United States, partially because of the role of the upper classes in colonizing activities. Where the lord of the manor was able to provide on the fazenda itself the church for all classes and the school for children of the upper strata, there was less need for the village. "The rural senhor was at the same time chief of the family and work, head of the government, judge, and chief of

the Brazilian rural community is not readily visualized and defined; the village is by no means identical with the community; in pre-Galpin days the Brazilian countryman might have been called "the man without a community."

The neighborhood in Brazil and the United States also differs sharply from the type that is predominant in European countries. In both of these New World nations it is not as a rule composed of the families who live together in a nucleated center. Even when this is the case, the tiny village or hamlet is composed of the homes of workers on a plantation or ranch, and is not a collection of the dwellings of freeholders who till the surrounding lands. But in general in Brazil, as in the United States, the neighborhood consists of a small number of families who live on adjacent farms, whose members frequently come into face-to-face contact with one another, and who have established a system of mutual aid amongst themselves. Brazilian neighborhoods owe their integration to a wide variety of causes: to the visiting and mutual aid among families who live near one another; to the pooling of efforts in order to secure and maintain a church or a chapel or a school; to a mutual dependence upon a landed proprietor, a sugarmill, a cotton gin, a gristmill, a co-operative marketing association, a creamery or cheese factory, a railroad station, or some other economic agency; to the grouping together in close proximity of farm families who are intimately knit together by ties of kinship, national origins and language, and religion; or to the fact that a few families have been thrown into close and constant contact among themselves, and isolated from the larger world, by establishing their residences in a small mountain valley or cove, a fertile and watered area in the midst of a barren region, on a small island, or even on a large fazenda or plantation.

THE COMMUNITY IN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES

Unlike the old village communities of Europe, Asia, and much of Spanish America the rural community in both Brazil and the United States consists of two distinct parts. The first of these is a village or town nucleus whose principal function is not that of providing a location for homes of agriculturists. Rather it serves as a residence for tradesmen, men skilled in the professions, moneylenders, and workmen of all types; and as

police. He was accompanied to his lands, to his latifundium, by the chaplain for the religious cult and the school master for his own children, those of his relatives, and those of his dependents. The villages, towns, and small cities which were founded near the fazendas and engenhos, were at first parasitic upon these rural senhores, remaining frequently subordinate to their prestige and their will. Long is the history of irregularities in the municípios of the matutos and sertanejos whose chiefs were always the tools of the nearest or most powerful rural senhor." Carneiro Leão, *A Sociedade Rural*, 107. However, in many cases the fazenda itself developed into a village, town, and even city.

a center for schools, churches, and recreational institutions. In this village or town center all the social and economic institutions converge. The second indispensable part of the community consists of the farm families who live in the surrounding area, who make the village their trading and social center, and, particularly in the case of Brazil, a location for their "town houses." "Going to town" in Brazil is *ir ao comércio* (go to business). The fact that the primary functions of the village or town are those of trading, manufacturing (mostly small industries), education, government, religion, and recreation, and that these are carried on largely as a service for the population living in the area surrounding the center, definitely aligns the Brazilian rural communities with those of the United States and Canada. The same factor also sets them sharply apart from those European, Asiatic, and Spanish-American countries in which the rural village is chiefly a residential center for farm families. Summarizing briefly these points and adding other essential community characteristics it may be said that the modern Brazilian and North American rural community is: (1) a geographic area consisting of a village trade center and some surrounding farms and neighborhoods, (2) an area within which there is a general consciousness on the part of the people of belonging together, or at least of identifying themselves with the neighborhoods in which they live, and the larger community within which their farms and their neighborhoods lie and of which they constitute integral parts, and (3) a consensus of opinion among the group of people living in this contiguous area which forms the community's locale that the fortunes of each individual in the locality are closely affected by the welfare of the community as a whole.

Viewed in neighborhood terms, the rural community consists of the village center and the cluster of neighborhoods that are tributary to it. Each of these in turn is made up of a small number of families whose members are in constant, intimate, and face-to-face contact. The community attachments of these neighborhoods may be weak or strong, but the inhabitants of each of them are in more frequent contact with, and have a greater attachment to, the particular service center that forms the community nucleus than to any other service center. The fact that Brazil's rural communities are made up of constellations of neighborhoods also helps make them basically similar to those of the United States.

In Brazil and the southern part of the United States, the village-centered rural community envelops large estates—fazendas or plantations—which of themselves may be almost large enough and self-sufficient enough to stand alone as communities. In both countries also, it is not unusual to find a family of the landed aristocracy possessed of a "town house" in

the community center in addition to the *casa grande* or "big house" on the land, and dividing its time between the two. In both countries, too, the social horizons and contacts of the landowning aristocracy or elite are far different from those of the laboring classes. Since the attachments of this extremely influential group transcend local neighborhood and community lines in Brazil as in the plantation South, the nature of the rural community is considerably changed from the type prevailing in our own Midwestern and other family farming areas. The landowning aristocracy reaches out and attains attachments and loyalties on a national or even international scale—their lives cannot be contained within the limits of a small piece of rural territory. Deprived of the interest, singleness of purpose, and frequently the residence of its leading elements, many rural communities and neighborhoods atrophy.

There is also a progressive tendency in both Brazil and the United States for the local governmental unit, the *município* and the county, to function as a larger rural or rurban community. Rather rapidly the county seat in the United States is becoming the economic and social center, as well as the political center, for the numerous smaller towns, villages, and hamlets, the communities and neighborhoods embraced within the county limits. Automobiles and good roads, aided by the elaboration and centralization of governmental function, are rapidly bringing to the fore this revised form of what Dr. Charles J. Galpin designated the rurban community.⁴ Rural Brazil lacks the automobiles and good roads, but in many parts of the country and particularly in São Paulo and Minas Gerais the tendency for the *município* as a whole to become a rurban community, centered in and about the *cidade* which constitutes its seat, is even stronger than the corresponding development in the United States. In spite of the lack of cars and roads people do get to the center; it may be on foot, by horseback, or in the numerous *jardineiras* but many of them, especially the men, do manage to spend Saturday night and Sunday, or at least Sunday, in town. Where the *município* is limited in area, as in southern Minas Gerais and São Paulo, this means in the *sede* of the *município*.

One significant difference between Brazil and the United States, a factor that also is extremely important with respect to town-country unity, is that Brazil does not know the village, town, or city incorporated separately from the surrounding rural area. Even though the lion's share of the tax money may be spent on improvement within the *sede* of the *município*, the rural people have a right to consider the public facilities as belonging to them also; and the authorities who spend the money and direct the public services are legally obligated to realize that their responsi-

⁴ Cf. Charles J. Galpin, *Rural Social Problems* (New York, 1924), 75.

bility is to the entire município. Consequently, if a small Brazilian city or town becomes an urban "cist" in the midst of a large rural population it does so contrary to the spirit of law, and not with its aid and abetment, as frequently is the case in the United States.

There are also several other differences between Brazilian and North American communities that need to be pointed out. First it may be indicated that in Brazil the role of the village as a church center is relatively more important. In the days before administrative and judicial boundaries were carefully delineated it was customary, in counting the populations of Brazilian centers, to include all persons within the *toque do sino* (sound of the church bell).⁵ This seems to be an indication that the community area was then delimited in terms of the service area of the church. In those days the boundaries of communities in the United States were best described by the limits of the "team haul." Today, although the Brazilian village or town may contain a number of churches, they are usually all of the same denomination, Roman Catholic. Furthermore, one of them is the mother church and the others its affiliates. If there are chapels or *oratórios* on the surrounding fazendas, they too are subordinate to and serviced by the mother church or *matriz*. Because of this homogeneity in religious affairs the boundaries of the religious community coincide rather closely with those of the general community.

A second difference that must be indicated is that ethnic and racial heterogeneity do less to confuse community and neighborhood patterns in Brazil. Within the limits of the same community there are not many places where overlapping neighborhoods of whites and Negroes may be distinguished, as is so generally the case in the southern parts of the United States, i.e., those portions of our country in which Negroes live in open-country areas. Today as when Koster wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "it is surprising, though extremely pleasing, to see how little difference is made between a white man, a mulatto, and a Creole negro, if all are equally poor and if all have been born free."⁶ Where persons of different colors live within the limits of the same community there is no great tendency in most of Brazil for the complexity of the locality-group structure brought about by class and other differences to be further complicated by lines of cleavage that follow color lines. True class

⁵ Cf. Burton, *The Highlands of the Brazil*, I, 81.

⁶ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 317. However, "conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked him if a certain *Capitam-mor* was not a mulatto-man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now.' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a *Capitam-mor* be a mulatto-man?' *Ibid.*, 391. He also comments as follows about the color of officers in the military: "In the white militia regiments, the officers ought to be by law white men; but in practice they are rather reputed white men, for very little pains are taken to prove that there is no mixture of blood." *Ibid.*, 392.

differences are closely correlated with color shades; and any generalization about lack of race discrimination is less valid for São Paulo and the three states south of it, than for the other parts of Brazil. Nevertheless, the comparative lack of constellations according to color, combined with the religious homogeneity, make the internal structure of the Brazilian community much less intricate than that of the typical one in the United States.

Finally, there are great differences between the communities of the two countries in the importance of the commercial function and the manner in which it is organized. In the United States, trade is the principal function of the village which forms the community's center, whereas in Brazil the religious function may occupy first place. There may be exceptions to this rule, but in general it will probably hold true.

The organization of business in the trading centers of the two countries also is different. In the United States there is little remaining of the old type "market" or "fair," an economic institution which provides that on a designated day of the week a certain village or town is the place to which buyers and sellers from a considerable area will resort for the purchase, sale, and exchange of produce and merchandise. Brazil has retained this ancient institution as a keystone in the business structure of its rural areas. Nearly every village or town has its public market, and many of them have their weekly "fairs" or *feiras*. One may read such descriptions as the following of the commerce carried on in the cotton and cane-producing município of Quipapa, Pernambuco: "Commerce consists of the local operation of weekly fairs, where the products of the region are sold, others which come from outside resold, such as dry goods, notions, liquids, utensils, and the goods being displayed in mercantile establishments or in temporary sheds."⁷ Or if one reads the descriptions of the *povoados* themselves he will find that Queimadas in the município of Bom Jardim is chiefly distinguished by the chapel constructed in 1879, and the weekly fair;⁸ or that Riberão on the "English" railroad, and near the *usinas* Riberão and Estrelliana, "has securely established 200 houses, and regularly others are being erected. It is commercial and the location of a weekly fair."⁹ While, on the other hand, Rosarinho in the município of Pau d'Alho, only five kilometers from the seat, the location of two small chapels, and a public school, is extremely poor, and although "founded long ago is without any commercial life and decadent."¹⁰

These fairs seem to be of least relative importance in the villages and towns of the south, and more important as one moves from Minas Gerais

⁷ Vasconcellos Galvão, *Diccionario Chorographico, Historico e Estatistico de Pernambuco*, III, 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 495.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 507.

into Bahia, Pernambuco, and the other northeastern states.¹¹ In a signed article published in the *Correio da Manhã* of Rio de Janeiro, May 26, 1942, Vasconcelos Torres described in some detail this important social institution. He began the article by saying that the "fair is a complement of rural life in the north. It comes once a week and its occurrence is equivalent to a holiday. From all sides arrive persons who have come to secure provision for the period of a week. They carry baskets and sacks, and oftentimes travel several leagues in order to reach the market place." Some of the fairs have great renown, among them that of Sant' Ana, Cachoeira, and Santo Amaro in Bahia; Propriá, Estância, and Itabaiana in Sergipe. It is popularly believed that goods are cheaper in the fairs. Farinha occupies an important role in the trading; the rural workers will give a kilo of charque for 20 liters of this staff of life. The day is also one of recreation, a popular amusement being that of listening to the folk tales narrated in song by blind singers. Many of the verses are printed in small booklets¹² and sold. After the outbreak of war the fair naturally became a center for fifth columnists. A favorite bit of their propaganda warned the rural people that they might have to leave their homes and go to other countries from which they would never return. This had an adverse effect. "Rural police, which already exist in the state of Rio, would be the proper ones to eliminate these who would disturb the well being of the countryman."¹³

VILLAGE AND OPEN COUNTRY RELATIONSHIPS

Although one may quickly determine the nature of the Brazilian rural community by traveling and residing in the rural districts of the country, he must search carefully to find descriptions of its essential features. The following interesting description of a village in Minas Gerais on a Sunday morning helps to indicate the role of the village nucleus in the Brazilian village-centered community.

After breakfast we all rode over to the village of Tableiro Grande, about one mile away, some of our friends intending to put in an appearance at mass. It was a pleasant ride over good roads in pleasant company. The village is very prettily situated on an elevated plain, surrounded by serras, and contains about 600 inhabitants. The houses are detached and form the sides of a square, and the streets leading from it; in the middle of it, is a small, neat, and clean church,

¹¹ For information about the fairs in the various municípios of Bahia, see Vianna, *Memoir of the State of Bahia, passim*.

¹² I made a small collection of those that recount the life of the famous outlaw Lampeão, which seem to be among the most popular. Already this notorious bandit, although dead only a little more than a decade, is immortalized among the sertanejos as a virtual Robin Hood.

¹³ Vasconcelos Torres, "O Trabalhador Rural e a Feira," *Correio da Manhã*, May 26, 1942.

amidst a grove of palmetto palm-trees. At one of its corners is a little structure somewhat resembling in form the theater of Punch and Judy, but a closer inspection showed it to be a belfry. Adjoining the church was the canvas booth of a traveling circus, and as the bell of the church ceased its clatter on the termination of mass, the bell of the circus commenced ringing, so that the devout went from the church doors to the neighboring equestrian performance. What a heterogeneous crowd it is that one sees on a Sunday morning in an ordinary thriving Minas village! There are important *fazendeiros* (country squires), white and whitey-brown, on prancing steeds; well-clad farmers, white and brown, also well mounted; *matutors* [*sic*] and *sertõeneijos* [*sic*] (labourers from the woodlands and cattle districts), some mounted, some on foot; the wives, daughters, mothers, and sisters accompanying their male relations either on horseback, or pillion-fashion, or on foot. . . .

Amidst the turmoil of noises produced by the hammering of the church bell, the beating of the big drum of the circus, and an occasional bang from a rocket, the proprietor shouted his invitations to "Walk up, gentlemen, walk up, just about to commence," making the scene anything but suggestive of a Sunday morning; the people take their diversions very quietly, even apathetically; those that cannot afford to enter the circus, wander listlessly to and fro, with less animation than afternoon loungers at a seaside esplanade, the females of each family marching solemnly in front of the male friends, the latter jealously watchful of any possible signals of intrigues with the opposite sex. We stand at the door of a large store, and as the crowd pass by, all salute our friends, each according to his kind. . . .

Nearly all the men and women wear boots or shoes, but they look unaccustomed to their use, as they really are, for the walk from home is always performed barefooted, until the village is approached when the shoes are put on, or a treasured fine ribbon is carefully unpacked and fastened to a dress; for it is quite a common sight to see them completing their toilettes by a roadside stream ere entering amidst the "povo."¹⁴

With minor changes to allow for the presence of an automobile or so in the village, and the use of this twentieth-century machine by some of the *fazendeiros* who live nearby, this description fits 1954 as well as 1873.

Wells also reported on the change which came over the *fazenda* when on Sundays everyone went to spend the day in the village center:

But on a Sunday all work ceases, there is a general tubbing and cleaning up of a week's dirty faces, the young men appear in clean cotton shirts, trousers, and home-made coats of striped thick cotton, straw hats, and spurs on shoeless feet. It is a sight to see their hair; it is combed and then plastered thick with beef fat, both by the young men, young women, and girls. Old Joaquim also appears smartly dressed, even to long yellow leather boots and silver spurs, and the harness of his horse is studded with silver mountings; the elder ones all mount horses and ride off to mass at the village of Capella Nova. The old blacks saunter about, or sleep, or beg of me a piece of tobacco or a comforting dram of *cachaça*, which is never refused to the poor old souls.

¹⁴ Wells, *Three Thousand Miles Through Brazil*, I, 215-17.

Whenever I remain at the fazenda on a Sunday old Joaquim hurries back, otherwise he spends his day at the village with his gossips.¹⁵

Saint-Hilaire seems to have been the observant traveler who took most interest in such aspects of community structure. He frequently specified that a good share of the houses in a village or town belonged to fazendeiros who operated agricultural establishments in the surrounding area and visited the little centers only on Sundays and feast days. Thus he says, "The inhabitants of Mogí are, in the majority, agriculturists, who come to the city only on Sundays."¹⁶ After complimenting Franca for the polished manners of its inhabitants he added: "With the exception of a small number of laborers and dealers in foods the remainder were all agriculturists, who, according to the custom, possessed houses in the seat of the *comarca* only in order to pass Sundays in them, houses which, during the other days of the week remained closed, because their respective proprietors reside on their fazendas."¹⁷ The same author made similar observations concerning numerous other villages and towns in the interior of Brazil.

The reports of other observers are in accord. "The city of Itú," wrote Dr. Gaston about Itú, São Paulo, "is made up to a large extent by the residences of parties who own planting interests in the country around, and many of them owning houses here spend most of their time upon their fazendas, so that the population is not usually proportionate to the number of houses."¹⁸ Dr. George Gardner, who traveled extensively through the states of Ceará, Piauí, Goiás, Bahia, and Minas Gerais about 1840, says of Parnagua in Piauí: "The Villa . . . contains in all about a hundred houses, but not more than one-half of them are inhabited, as many belong to fazendeiros who only occupy them during the festival times."¹⁹ And Burton entered the following item about Santa Lucia, Minas Gerais, in his account: "To judge from the streets, prostitution is the most thriving trade; but all assured me that it was outdone by Cruvello [Curvello?] a city further north, and ten leagues to the west of the main artery. Both of these are 'church towns,' visited by the planters on Sundays and holidays."²⁰

This practice of maintaining a town residence for use on festive occasions is widespread throughout other parts of Brazil also. Of Goiana in Pernambuco, Koster, an Englishman interested in trade and commerce, said: "In the vicinity are many fine sugar plantations. I suppose that some

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 164-65.

¹⁶ Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem à Provincia de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1940), 143.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹⁸ Gaston, *Hunting a Home in Brazil*, 278.

¹⁹ Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 220. See also 265, 277, 280, 315.

²⁰ Burton, *The Highlands of the Brazil*, II, 10.

of the best lands in the province are in this neighbourhood. The proprietors of these occasionally reside in the town and as daily intercourse often creates rivalry among wealthy families, this necessarily increases expenditure, and the town is in consequence much benefited by the augmented consumption of luxuries."²¹

Even Gardner, who rarely gave any details about the ecological arrangement of towns or cities, or the managerial practices followed on the fazendas, commented as follows about a small place in Piauí.

The Villa de Santa Anna das Mercês, or as it is more commonly called Jaicóz, is situated about five leagues to the west of Boa Esperança, and contains about seventy or eighty houses built in the form of a large square, but only three sides of it were then completed; in the centre of this square there is a very handsome small church. The outskirts of the town contain many huts belonging to the poorer classes, chiefly constructed of the stems and leaves of the Carnahuba palm, which grows abundantly in the neighbourhood; a few shopkeepers and tradesmen, such as tailors, shoemakers, &c., reside constantly in the town, but the greater number of the houses belong to the neighbouring fazendeiros, who only occupy them during the Christmas and other festivals.²²

Thus not infrequently in Brazil the upper-class family maintains two residences, one in the town—the trading and political center—and another on the estate which lies at some distance. In many cases this has resulted in the wife spending most of her time in the town house, while her husband spent his time on the land. The prevalence of this practice and its effects were commented upon by von Spix and von Martius.

The director of the nearest aldeas of the Coroados does not live in the Presidio de S. João Baptista, though he has a house here, but on his plantation (*rossa*), about a league distant, from which he came on the following day to visit us. This custom of residing for the greater part of the year in a remote country-seat at a distance from the more populous places, prevails throughout Brazil. It has the most injurious consequences on morality and domestic happiness, because the man and wife frequently live separate for months together, which gives occasion to many irregularities.²³

More recent descriptions of the villages' functions are also to be had, although this aspect in the study of Brazil's natural groupings is still in its infancy. According to Luís Amaral, who has written a three-volume work on the history of Brazilian agriculturè, the Brazilian countryman infrequently goes to the town or the city; few are the festive occasions in which he participates in village- or town-centered activities. One of these is the Sunday mass, more or less obligatory, and which is also profoundly

²¹ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 31–32.

²² Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, 187.

²³ Von Spix and von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, II, 219.

interesting to him. On Sunday morning he is up early, preparing the animals for the fazendeiros to ride—the laboring classes go on foot. He fortifies himself with a heavy breakfast of fried eggs and corn meal, and also bacon, in addition to the customary coffee with milk. On the way to the center the fazendeiro leads the way, followed by his wife and the other members of his family. They go on horseback. Behind follow the agregados or camaradas and their families, men in front, women following, and children bringing up the rear. The party takes along a host of parcels and packages, containing eggs, fruits, vegetables, fowls, and pigs. Those which belong to the fazendeiro are designed as presents for people living in the center, but mainly for the godmother of the children in the family at whose home they will take lunch, and where the fazendeiro's children stay while they are attending school. The packages belonging to the camaradas consist of produce that is being carried in for sale at one of the village stores or in the market place.

Funerals are another occasion on which the country people visit the center. Each person has the sacred duty of attending the last rites for a deceased neighbor. If the one who has passed away belonged to the lower classes, the landowner on whose place he resided is obliged to stand treat to everyone at the *venda* nearest the cemetery. According to Luís Amaral, "the sadness is not soon overcome, this requiring large portions of cachaça. On these occasions even the abstemious partake, because it is a ritual." He also reports that some of the participants are unable to make their way home until the hours by the wayside have enabled them to sleep off the effects of the alcohol. On occasion I have observed the same phenomenon, although Brazil's people are by no means heavy drinkers.

Visits of church dignitaries and the great religious holidays are occasions on which the people from the country may pass several days in the village or town center. These are the times when the fazendeiros open up their town houses for their own use, to assist in sheltering their friends, and also to provide lodging for their most esteemed camaradas.

When there is a marriage of fazendeiros the village or town center again takes on the aspect of a religious holiday. Ostentatious displays of foods and sweets are brought forth and everyone in the community (village and surrounding area) feels entitled to participate, to betake himself to the house that serves as the headquarters in order "to make an idea of those who do not appear." If one of the families of the fazendeiros concerned does not possess a house in the community center the wedding procession is organized at the home of one of the godmothers. It proceeds from there to the church. The procession is organized as a file of couples, the bride in white and the "little father" (the person who gives away the

bride) in black heading the line of marching, followed by the groom and the "little mother"; then come other pairs of adults, and finally the children two by two, boy with boy and girl with girl. On the way to the church the tortuous procession must pass the gauntlet of curious eyes and endure the same on the return. A few Sundays later the young couple, this time alone, must go up to the presbytery, where they hear mass and, kneeling side by side, receive the nuptial blessing.

Other than on such occasions the country folk rarely frequent the center. Even then, according to Luís Amaral, they are always in haste to return to the country. A principal motive which he assigns for this is the lack of sanitary facilities in the small centers, and the consequent discomfort and embarrassment entailed in caring for the physiological necessities of the body. Toilets being absent, men and women alike must resort to the gardens in the back of the houses. But to reach this area of relative seclusion entails passing through the dining room before the eyes of all, going through the patio which always stimulates a great deal of barking by the dogs, and perhaps the disturbance of the guests who have previously made their way to the back of the garden.²⁴ In the country there is less difficulty and embarrassment involved in attending to nature's needs, and the country folk are relieved to be outside the confines of the village or town. Even now, country folk in the United States are not entirely satisfied with such provisions for their comfort made by the tradesmen in town, although, of course, the modern filling station has done much to alleviate distress. Before the coming of the automobile it was quite a different thing.

Inhabitants of the village also spend part of their time visiting friends and relatives in the fazendas that surround the center. Unless the stay is an extended one, as it frequently is, Sundays are popular occasions for such visits, the townfolk going early to the fazenda and spending the entire day. Visiting back and forth between upper-class families of the towns and the fazendas is still very common. As yet townspeople have not affected "city airs" to any great extent, and so little town-country conflict has arisen on this score.

Village people also go into the open country areas for commercial reasons. The village not only functions as a trade center to which the country people come to buy and sell, but also as the headquarters of numerous peddlers who make regular visits to the surrounding fazendas. In former times especially, the women depended largely upon these traveling *mascates* for dress goods, fineries, and other articles of conspicuous

²⁴ The materials for the preceding paragraphs were taken from Luís Amaral, *Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira* (São Paulo, 1939), I, 39-41.

consumption. Today nearly every cidade, vila, and even povoado is the home, or at least the headquarters, of some of these hawkers. Koster wrote about this feature of the social organization of the Brazilian rural community:

the place forms a convenient break between Goiana and Rio Grande for the travelling peddlers, a useful, industrious, and, generally honest set of men, as their resting-place and headquarters; from hence they make daily excursions to the plantations, at a little distance, and return here to sleep.²⁵

Of another village the same author said: "Bom Jardim is a great rendezvous for the hawkers who are proceeding to the Sertam, and for others who merely advance this far."²⁶ Improved means of communication, since he wrote, have changed the mode of travel in many instances, but in Brazil, as in south Louisiana, the village continues to function as the hub for numerous small trade routes over which movable merchandising units dispense goods throughout the surrounding farms or fazendas.

THE NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES

The number of communities in Brazil is of course not known with any exactitude. Nevertheless these relatively complete social units, more self-sufficient, too, in Brazil than in the United States, certainly are very numerous. Undoubtedly each seat of a município is the nucleus of this type of locality group; together with the families living in its trade, school, and church zones, it is entitled to be classed as a community. In 1950 there were 1,894 of these. A few of them rank as metropolitan communities, others have a small city as a nucleus, i. e., each consists of a small urban center plus the surrounding dependent rural territory. But probably more than one half of them would in the United States be classed as strictly rural, since the population center itself would have less than 2,500 inhabitants. Thus in 1950 a total of 837 of the cidades had less than 2,000 inhabitants, and an additional 605 of them fell in a population category of 2,000 to 5,000.

In addition to the cidades, many vilas would classify as nuclei of communities, a few as urban, but most of them strictly rural. There were in 1950 a total of 3,482 vilas in Brazil, including six of more than 20,000 inhabitants. Ten others had populations between 10,000 and 20,000, 28 were in the 5,000 to 10,000 category, and an additional 102 had more than 2,000 but less than 5,000 residents. The bulk of them, however, or a total of 2,920, were less than 1,000 in population, and another 416 fell in the group of from 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants. Allowing for the fact

²⁵ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 60.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 201. See also Freyre, *Sobrados e Mucambos*, 63-64.

that a good many small population centers have not yet attained recognition as political centers by being designated as vilas, it is probable that the total number of communities in Brazil is about 6,000.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The role of the neighborhood seems to be a more important one in Brazil than in the United States. In many parts of Brazil rural society is still in the neighborhood stage. This is to say that the areas of acquaintance and association are small,²⁷ that the person's social relationships are mostly confined to a small circle of families living near one another; that relationships are intimate and enduring; that contacts outside the small intimate circle of acquaintances are of relative unimportance; that many goods, services, and types of association which cannot be provided by or for a small cluster of families must be done without; and that the person and family are closely identified with and bound to the life of the immediate vicinity, and only remotely conscious of and infrequently in contact with the activities of the larger and more complete area of human interaction such as the community. In this respect, the importance of the neighborhood as compared with the community, Brazil also is more like the southern portion of the United States than other parts of our country.

Since neighborhood is a concept applied to all locality groups involving more than a family or two which are not large enough and complete enough to circumscribe the lines of its members, it follows that Brazilian neighborhoods are of varying degrees of size and complexity.²⁸

VARIETIES OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Just as for the United States, in this discussion every social group having a territorial basis larger than the family and smaller than the community is called a neighborhood. This concept includes groupings all the way from those in which territorial proximity and face-to-face relationships are the sole integrating factors, to those which provide practically all the essential goods and services, and are entitled to be called communities. In the analysis that follows, the attempt is made to allow for this variety. Analysis begins with a discussion of the neighborhood status

²⁷ As indicated above, this statement is not applicable to members of the upper class, whose contacts frequently extend to the largest metropolitan centers.

²⁸ For example, one may find the following description of the functions of those in the Pernambuco municipio of Escada, in the *Anuario do Nordeste Para 1937* (Recife, 1937), 353: "The city [Escada] is decadent, because all the life is concentrated in the engenhos and usinas, which form genuine villages with schools, churches, and commerce, in short an intense development, in contrast with the city which decays from day to day, justifying more as time goes on the phrase of the great Tobias Barreto, who lived there many years: "This is an *Escada* [i. e., a stairway] only for descending.'"

of the social groupings that are generated on large agricultural holdings—the fazendas; it continues with some reference to the groupings composed of independent family groups; and concludes with a short analysis of small population aggregations, where institutions for commerce, education, and religion serve as ties, along with residential propinquity.

Generally speaking, each Brazilian fazenda may be said to constitute a genuine neighborhood, although, as is the case with some plantations and ranches in the United States, some of them have enough people and come so near circumscribing the entire life of their inhabitants that they might well be classified as communities. As a rule the coffee fazendas and the sugar usinas are the largest and come nearest to supplying all of the services enjoyed by their residents. Some of the largest of these approach the community level on the locality-group scale. The agricultural operations in coffee and sugar are on a relatively intensive basis, the density of population is fairly high, the village pattern of settlement prevails, a chapel and perhaps a school are present on the plantation, and usually the workers are obliged to do most of their purchasing at the management's commissary.²⁹ Thus, for the laboring classes the coffee fazenda or the sugar usina frequently constitutes a little world—if it did not lack political functions it would rank as a community.

The cattle fazenda, on the other hand, at best ranks as a neighborhood. Frequently, however, it is a closely knit neighborhood, composed of the proprietor and his large family, perhaps a few relatives, and his numerous retainers—agregados and vaqueiros. To the highly integrated small group of persons residing on a cattle fazenda, Brazilian writers, such as Oliveira Vianna, Nelson Werneck Sodré, and A. Carneiro Leão, are prone to apply the name "clan." This practice alone is strong justification for considering the small nodules of settlement which are the cattle fazendas as neighborhoods. These are widely dispersed throughout Brazil's vast interior, and each fazendeiro's home and the six to fifty or even one hundred casebres (huts) clustered about it are the centers from which radiate a network of trails that fade out as one moves away from the small social nucleus at the center. That some of these trails finally attain another fazenda headquarters miles away indicates that these neighborhood groups are not entirely unrelated; and that some of the paths fuse with others on their way to an occasional village or town demonstrates that they are not completely lacking in community attachments.

Similar is the situation on the cattle estâncias of Rio Grande do Sul. One Brazilian has applied the "clan" concept to these locality groups.

²⁹ Cf. Fontenelle, *Problemas Economicos do Estado do Rio*, 112.

In the Rio Grande social fabric the *estâncias* were always the true cells. The *estanceiros*, their families, and their peons constituted a unity that had something of the Celtic clan and of the patriarchal organization without being identical with either of them.

It had neither the aristocratic aspect of the former, nor the predominant degree of relationship that distinguishes the latter.

The solidarity which was formed within the fazendas, about the chiefs of the same, is explained by the inexistence, after a certain time, of the small property; those that had no land came to live as *agregados* to the masters of the *latifúndia*. Between the chiefs and employees, by the nature of the friendly ties which united them, are encountered much of the character of patriarchal life, where the patron engages with his subordinates in the work of the community. Because it binds into an equal unity persons who are unrelated by lines of kinship, we see in it something of the organization of the clan, without, however, it presenting a cohesion so great as is noted in the complete type of this collective form.³⁰

Neighborhood groups composed of *moradores*, *sitiantes*, and other classes of the *povo* who have not been brought under the influence and partial control of a *fazendeiro* and transformed into his *camaradas* or *agregados* are of almost endless variety. Sometimes several families of these are clustered together in a mountain cove, strung along a beach under the coconut trees, established in a line on the natural levee of a stream, or grouped about the center of a small clearing in the forest that resembles an auger hole in the tropical jungle. The small valleys of the Serra do Mar from Rio Grande do Sul to Espírito Santo, contain thousands of neighborhoods whose boundaries are set by the mountain walls. Others, similar in form, will be found in the coves that cut into the highlands bordering the São Francisco River in Bahia, or almost anywhere in the longer settled and more densely populated areas of mountainous terrain. Those that are established on the seacoast, amid the coconut palms, are most conspicuous north of Rio de Janeiro, and especially on the Atlantic boundaries of Bahia and Pernambuco.³¹ Settlements of the neighborhood

³⁰ Jorge Salis Goulart, *A Formação do Rio Grande do Sul* (2d ed.: Pôrto Alegre, 1933), 28; cf. Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil*, 1920, I, 291-92.

³¹ Of these settlements Koster, who knew them well in the years just preceding Brazil's independence, wrote: ". . . indeed wherever the surf is not violent the sea-shore is well-peopled, along the whole extent of coast between Olinda and the bar of the river Goiana; in many parts the low straw huts are united, or nearly so, in long rows for half a mile together. Whitewashed cottages with tiled roofs are frequently interspersed; churches and chapels have been built, and few intervals of much extent remain unpeopled. The lands are planted with the coco-trees, which is the most profitable plant of Brazil. . . . These coco groves through which the eye can see for miles, with the hovels composed entirely of the leaves of these trees spread among them, form in some parts very picturesque views; and if, as frequently occurs, the cottage is situated upon the border of a wood, just where the cocos end, and the dark green foliage of the forest trees is seen behind, then the view is even romantic. . . ." *Travels in Brazil*, 229.

type are to be found lining many of the natural levees for short distances on the many distributaries of the Amazon, or its tributaries, and also on stretches of the Uruguay, the Paraguay, the Paraná, and their branches. It is in Maranhão, among the multispiked forests of the babassú palm, and from the air, that the physical expression of the nut collectors' neighborhood is most clear. There, from six to twenty huts of thatch succeed one another at intervals along a rough trail, in appearance resembling a series of knots on a cord. Each of the "knots" is a small nodule of settlement, a neighborhood, and it has its counterpart in many other forested parts of the nation.

In addition to the thousands of Brazilian neighborhoods on its fazendas, and the other thousands of the simplest types in which territorial proximity, face-to-face relations, and frequent kinship are the ties which give cohesion to the group, there remain to be considered the thousands of small population centers, povoações and povoados which also are of the neighborhood species. These range all the way from what would be called hamlets in the United States to villages. They may consist of anything from the smallest congregation of houses about a venda or trading post, to villages that fail to qualify as communities only because they lack the political function. Some of them in fact are larger and more complete as service centers than others which have been elevated to the status of a seat of a distrito de paz or vila, or even a seat of a município and therefore a cidade.

Recently there has been an official attempt to analyze and clarify the concept of povoado, followed by the official definition of locality groups of all types. The definitions arrived at have already been given. Here it is important to summarize the significant information pertaining to the structural features of the coastal type of neighborhood as described in the little study.³² Eight povoados were visited, seven of which are found in the município of Igarassú and one in São Lourenço. The following paragraphs give in a condensed form, with explanations interspersed, a free translation of the more significant parts of this report.

Six of the neighborhoods studied are located on the Isle of Itamaracá.³³ They are strung along the coast in a manner that gives all the families ready

³² *Conceito de Povoado.*

³³ This island was one of the first places in Brazil to be settled. It was given to Pero Lopez de Souza, who occupied it in 1531. In Koster's day it was the most populous part of Pernambuco, except for the immediate vicinity of Recife. At that time (1814) it contained three sugar plantations "well stocked with Negroes," and also many free persons resided on plantations. In addition there were "other considerable tracts which are subdivided among and owned by a great number of persons of small property. The shores of the island are planted with coco-trees, among which are thickly scattered the straw cottages of fishermen; and oftentimes are to be seen respectable white-washed dwellings which are possessed by persons whose way of life is frugal, and yet easy." By 1814 the island had already lost much of its former importance, its chief center had already lost its

access to the coconut groves, to the ocean, and to the pearly beach. The latter functions as a road to link the povoados. Fresh water is abundant on the island in pits, wells, and streams. The inhabitants also know how to cut a coconut tree so that rain water, which runs down the trunk, will be siphoned into their large, narrow-mouthed water jars. Oysters and other shellfish, which thrive in the brackish water, are collected for domestic use and for sale. Some salt is produced by evaporating sea water, and wood is cut for fuel and for construction purposes. Roads are poor, consisting mainly of tracks cut into the sandy soil by the vehicles as they wind along amid the coconut trees. There are on the island only one large bridge, "Getúlio Vargas," two small ones of reinforced concrete, and one of wood, in a ruinous state, which spans the Casado River near Vila Velha. Some 6,000 people live on the island. The little population centers of Vila Velha, São Paulo, and Forno da Cal have very stable populations, while Rio do Ambar, Baixa Verde, and Jaguaribe, which are served by a more passable road, have a seasonal influx of visitors during the summer period.

In each of these settlements the ownership of the land is divided among numerous families. There is said to be an infinity of "small coconut farms" (sitiozinhos) which extend in narrow bands "from the beach to the swamp," "from the beach to the river," or "from the beach to the woods." If one desires to build a house "permission is asked of the landowner, to whom no rent is paid, possession of the soil being gained in this way by consent. In some povoados, such as Jaguaribe and Baixa Verde, a fee is paid to the município if the house is covered with a tiled roof."

Coconuts are the principal crop, although some mangoes are grown. When coconuts fall of their own accord they belong to the one who gathers them. In Vila Velha and Jaguaribe, some cereals (corn, beans among them) are planted, mostly for home consumption. Livestock raised include a few pigs in Rio do Ambar, some sheep and goats in São Paulo, one or two milch cows in Jaguaribe, and chickens. São Paulo, where the sheep are found, has better pastures and no stock restrictions such as are to be found in Jaguaribe. In São Paulo there are around thirty houses of thatch and a population of about seventy persons.

Merchandising on the island is limited to a few small *bodegas* (canteens) and vendas, the first dealing largely in drinks and the latter in eggs, poultry, shellfish, fish, fruit, grains, and fishing tackle. Products exported from the island include fish, shellfish, fruit, coconuts, coconut

rank as a town (vila), and, Koster said, "the only mark which Conception still possesses of its former importance, is the obligation by which the magistrates of Goiana are bound to attend the yearly festival to the Virgin at the parish church." *Travels in Brazil*, 259-64.

palm leaves, which are sent to Recife, wooden spoons made in Jaguaribe, salt, and bricks. Imports are limited to a few items of prime necessity.

Most of the men follow several occupations, because even fishing does not always guarantee security. There are persons who fish and cut coconuts, others who cut and transport logs from the woods, some who extract meat from the coconuts and work in the fields, those who plant grains and cut coconut fronds, men who work at the production of salt and labor in the lime kilns, and those who keep store and make sails for small boats.

The investigators failed to find on the island many popular festival and recreational activities such as *bumbas-meu-boi*, *maracatús*, and *pastoris*. One carnival club was found in Rio do Ambar.

There were no schools in Vila Velha and São Paulo, and since these settlements were at considerable distance from the others, the children in those places did not learn to read and write.

Most of the inhabitants are Catholics. It is said that there is nearly always a festival at one of the churches, a "bandeira de São João," a novena, or some other religious function. A few Protestant families and some spiritualists are also living on the island.

On the mainland the investigators visited the settlement of Ramalho, where the land all belonged to a Sr. Chacon and the Companhia Paulista. Otherwise it resembled those on the island.

In the município of São Lourenço they visited Itapema, a povoado very different from those on the island. It is located on the lands of the Engenho Refresco, whose proprietor also owns three houses in the small population center. A well-traveled road passes through the locality, where there are 33 houses, all with tiled roofs, and 103 inhabitants. Water is supplied by a little stream, not always running, which passes nearby, and by a well on a neighboring engenho.

Nearly all the families in Itapema live in their own homes, only four or five residing in rented houses. The rent never exceeds ten milreis (fifty cents) per month. Each proprietor pays an annual fee or tax to the landowner (senhor de engenho) of ten milreis and of \$930 (a little less than five cents) to the município. Three small bodegas are the only business establishments; however, chickens and eggs are bought and sold, and one peddler, who does business on the neighboring engenhos, resides in the povoado. Itapema exports nothing because the settlement, as distinguished from the engenho on which it is located, has no agriculture, industry, or handicrafts except one seamstress. The men who do not live by trading live by work, "rented work," on the engenhos or in transportation. There are thirteen horses in the povoado which are used to pack fuel from the



SETTING OFF ROCKETS IS A FEATURE OF MANY RELIGIOUS CELEBRATIONS IN RURAL BRAZIL—BOA VENTURA, MUNICIPIO OF ITAPERUNA, STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Photo by the Author

woods on the engenhos to the sugar factories. There is no church in the locality; the inhabitants must go to mass in nearby Chã de Alegria and Glória do Goitá. There is a school operated by the município in the settlement.

Following their study of these eight little population centers the authors laid down six criteria, in addition to the lack of the political function of seat of município or distrito, as essential in the concept povoado.

1. Permanent population. This distinguishes the locality group in question from the *arraial* or camp.
2. Ownership of land in various hands.
3. Ownership of homes in various hands. On engenhos, usinas, and fazendas they all belong to the owner of the large rural property.
4. The manner of contracting for the houses. In the povoado one makes a contract for the location or use of a house, while on the plantation or in the camp his services are contracted for and he is permitted to use a house.
5. Liberty of work, commerce, industry, art, and profession. The individual is free to do as he will in the povoado. Such is not the case on the fazenda, engenho, or usina.
6. Presence of free internal and external trade or commerce. In each povoado business may be carried on freely, whereas on the engenho, usina, or fazenda it is monopolized by the commissary, is the privilege of one.

Other studies of Brazil's locality-group structure are hard to find. Several of the states have published lists of povoados, showing the manner in which they were connected with the seat of the município where they lie. For example, the state of Alagôas included such a list totaling 230, in a volume got out for publicity purposes in 1932.⁸⁴ There is also an increasing interest in trying to clear up the confusion in regard to place names—a necessity that becomes more acute as the jardineira extends the postal services of the nation. Reminiscent of Kolb's identification of Wisconsin neighborhoods by discovering names the inhabitants called the locality, is a little publication by the Santa Catarina Departamento Estadual de Estatística.⁸⁵ In this booklet are listed alphabetically some 3,000 localidades found in the state, in addition to the vilas and the cidades of this commonwealth. A check shows that the sum of the populations of these "localities" is the same as the population of the state, making it evident that every individual lives in a place with a name. Naturally, a considerable number of the localidades are called by the same name, but

⁸⁴ *Alagôas em 1931*, 37-43.

⁸⁵ *Localidades Catarinenses* (Florianópolis, 1940), No. 16.

this publication by placing them according to distrito and município should do much to assist the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística in its efforts to limit the population centers having the same name to one per state. It also suggests the need to learn more about the structure, function, and class of these small locality groups.

Emílio Willems, who is rather intimately acquainted with these Santa Catarina settlements, has described the general characteristics of these small places.

There are also "chapels" with local names, a conglomeration of twenty to thirty houses, more or less, situated about a little church. These little places are active only on Sundays, at the time of religious services and later for the game of football, for the "*domingueiras*" [dances], the horse races, the meeting of a co-operative or agricultural association, for conversations and drinking in the little canteens, for the *kermesses* and the political meetings. During the remainder of the week, the place remains dead, the life of its inhabitants differing in no way from that of the isolated *sitiantes* in the surrounding area.³⁶

A list of *povoados* is also available for the state of Ceará. I passed through many of these and was able to ascertain that they often have all the physical characteristics of a neighborhood well on its way to becoming a community. Such characteristics include a nucleus of houses, often grouped near a chapel, a small *venda* or two, and possibly a school. Additional evidence that these *povoados* of Ceará represent real neighborhoods, many of them developing rapidly into communities, and not merely place names, was secured by checking the list against one giving the locations of Catholic churches and chapels in the state.³⁷ This comparison indicated that about 65 per cent of the *povoados* listed are locations for churches or chapels. On the other hand, 95 per cent of the *vilas* in Ceará contain one or more churches or chapels.

WHY BRAZIL REMAINS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD STAGE

In Brazil, as in the United States, the trend is towards larger locality groups. The neighborhoods are coming together into larger unities. This process of community integration in the two countries shows many similarities, although it is by no means complete in either country. In the United States, even in the Midwest, the neighborhoods have not entirely lost their identities in the larger community. Even where the development has proceeded farthest, in Iowa and the surrounding states, the rural areas still are but gradually passing from the neighborhood stage of locality-

³⁶ Willems, *Assimilação e Populações Marginais no Brasil*, 67.

³⁷ The names and locations of churches, by município and locality, and the dates on which they were established, is given in *Organização Religiosa: Culto Católico* (Fortaleza, 1942).

group structures to one in which the larger community is the fundamental unit. In rural Brazil social evolution is retracing to a considerable extent the same lines in the gradual incorporation of the neighborhoods into the community, but the process is still less far along than in most parts of our country. In other words, the Brazilian rural community today is in an amorphous state reminiscent of that prevailing in midwestern United States until around 1890, and in the South until about the time of World War I. But, whereas in the United States the open country church and the one-room school were the primary elements promoting neighborhood consciousness and loyalty, in Brazil there seem to be other factors which serve to perpetuate the closely knit neighborhood group and to delay its more complete incorporation into a large territorial unit.

Probably the most important of these factors is the system of transportation and communication. In general, Brazil has still to develop road and telephone systems throughout most of its vast interior. Except in selected portions of a few of the southern states, and in the northeast, where roads have been constructed as drought-relief measures, Brazil's roads are still in the formative stage. The country is not in the horse-and-buggy stage. A country cannot remain where it has never been; this form of transportation was never known in Brazil. Nor was the farm wagon introduced in Brazil, with very minor exceptions, until the German and Polish colonists brought it in the nineteenth century. Since then it has diffused slowly, and even now four-wheeled wagons are never seen except in certain portions of the south and at a few of the army posts. Elsewhere the main reliance for transportation is placed upon the oxcart, the pack animal, and the shoulders (or more properly, the head) of man or woman. Brazil does remain in the stage of the oxcart, the saddle horse, the pack mule, and the *carregador*. On the whole, the oxcart is most prevalent in the south; it gives way to the troops of pack animals as one passes north into Minas Gerais; and this mode of transportation in turn gives first place to the human being in the northeast. In the Amazon region, of course, small boats are the chief reliance for travel and transportation, and small watercraft are also widely used throughout most of Brazil. Nevertheless, in general throughout the vast interior portions of Brazil the *fazenda* headquarters is the hub of oxcart and animal trails and footpaths that lead off in all directions.

However, throughout all parts of Brazil many of the *fazendeiros* possess cars. In São Paulo and parts of Minas Gerais this is rather general.³⁸

³⁸ South of Juiz de Fora in Minas Gerais I have even seen trucks picking up milk cans on the road in front of farmers' homes, as is done in the dairying sections of the United States, and the same is taking place on a considerable scale in the Paraitinga Valley and other parts of the São Paulo "milkshed." See Carlos Borges Schmidt, "Rural Life in

They use them to reach village and town centers where there are other cars, mostly taxis. But there are not many automobiles in Brazil, and it can be said with assurance that the reliance upon the oxcart, the saddle horse, the back of the mule, and the head of man for transportation does much to keep Brazil's locality-group structure in the neighborhood stage.³⁹

Another factor important in the persistence of the small locality group in Brazil is the kinship basis of many neighborhood groups. In many cases the Brazilian neighborhood is composed of a closely knit group or clan. For example, in many municípios of Minas Gerais an immense area formerly was held by a single owner in one tremendous estate or fazenda. Today, in many cases, this vast terrain has been divided among numerous descendants, whose families maintain a very intimate neighborhood life among themselves. These landowning families also keep the laboring classes rather permanently established on their places. Together they form a closely knit neighborhood; and not infrequently the rural clan will maintain open and long continued conflict with the nearby center.⁴⁰ This situation is widely duplicated throughout rural Brazil. Wherever the rural neighborhood is constituted of the territory occupied by a kinship group or clan, it tends to retain a high degree of vitality. In other words neighborhood ties are strong, those of the community weak.⁴¹

Another reason why the Brazilian rural community remains in a more amorphous state than that in the United States is the greater retention of essential services within the household and the neighborhood. Household and fazenda enterprises continue to process the great bulk of the products consumed by the people. The gristmill has now largely disappeared from

Brazil," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 186-87. These cases, however, are by far the exceptions and not the rule.

³⁹ This statement is based partially on personal observation and partly on the state statistics on automobile registrations.

⁴⁰ Cf. Werneck Sodré, *Oeste*, 164 ff.

⁴¹ Freyre has described the closely knit locality groups once formed by the families of the planter class along the principal streams which water through the sugar-growing littoral of Pernambuco: "On the Brazilian cultural landscape this *varzea* [flood plain] was the first to be populated, not by isolated, sporadic mansions, but by a genuine group of them, linked by the water of the river and the blood of the colonists, by means of the marriages with near relatives; later—here, as on the cape of St. Augustine, in the floodplain of the Ipojuca, in that of the Una, in the *Reconcavo* of Baía, in the Valley of the Parahyba, in *Santo Antonio dos Quatro Rios*—in the most complete endogamy, cousins marrying cousins, and nieces marrying their uncles. For this intensive endogamy of the whites and near-whites of the mansions of the same *varzea*, from which resulted the physical type so characteristic of the *engenho* aristocracy, from which resulted the family types of the northeast, so well defined in their features, in their faults, in their mode of speaking—Paes Barreto, Cavalcanti, Wanderley, Souza Leão—powerful aid was given by the waters of small rivers, making many families one, and of various *engenhos* a single social and sometimes a single economic, system. Genuine clans developed sometimes on the margins of small rivers, dominated by the patriarch of the largest mansion, more master of the river, of the water and the plain, than the others." *O Nordeste*, 47-48.

our countryside, but tens of thousands of them continue to grind or pound the corn which occupies such a prominent place in the daily diet of the Brazilian. Thus, for example, as one travels through Minas Gerais he will see every few miles along the stream one of these water-driven devices for grinding corn meal. At each of these the miller grinds the corn of his neighbors, giving back a sack of meal for a sack of corn and keeping the increase for his trouble. Even more widely diffused is the monjolo, another water-driven device for processing corn. This primitive machine, of which there are tens of thousands in daily operation throughout Brazil, pounds or bruises the corn into a meal-like substance. As yet there has been little or no tendency for milling and similar food-processing services to be concentrated in the towns and villages. Likewise, the preparation of mandioca flour, the cleaning of rice, the making of charque (beef cut up, dipped in salt water, and sun dried), and the necessary processing of other food continue to be done for the most part on a household, fazenda, or neighborhood basis. Closely clustered about each of these small rural industrial units is a small number of families living in the immediate vicinity. All of this is favorable to a retention of the neighborhood as the basic locality group. The neighborhood will retain its vitality as long as it retains this economic base.

Similar is the situation in the ginning of cotton, the grinding of sugar cane, the cleaning of coffee, the processing of mate, and the coagulation of rubber. All are done for the most part on the fazenda, or other large rural estate, which in most cases itself constitutes a neighborhood unit. However, in cotton, large firms such as Anderson-Clayton are locating oil mills and gins in commercial and transportation centers. These modern establishments are absorbing the business of smaller processing units and forcing them to shut down. In the sugar areas, too, large usinas are crowding out the thousands of small engenhos and still smaller *engenhocas* which once ground nearly the entire crop.

It would require too much space to give details about all these local industrial units. Only one, the processing of mandioca, is chosen for illustrative purposes. The preparation of mandioca flour is especially significant because of its importance in the Brazilian diet. Mandioca flour for the most part is prepared from the yam-like tubers in small hand-operated factories or mills. Usually one of these consists of a large shed where there is sufficient space for performing the following processes: (1) grating the tubers, (2) pressing the grated mandioca between heavy weights to expel the juice, (3) applying heat to drive off the remaining moisture and leave the resulting flour, or "sawdust." The press and the ovens and pans used in the

firing process usually adjoin the shed, but together they all form integral parts of the small factory. Of these the state of Paraíba alone is reported to have some 3,000, making it evident that they are widely distributed throughout the various neighborhood groupings of the state.⁴² The state government is now attempting to stimulate the development of larger milling units for this all-important food product. In 1937 it purchased two mills and rented them to two corporations. But until the present the preparation of mandioca flour remains mostly a fazenda and neighborhood industry. From the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, the small sheds which serve as factories are important neighborhood institutions.

Nor has the transference of various services to the village or town center gone as far in developing interdependence of community parts in Brazil as in the United States. For example, such small business establishments as bakeries, laundries, and meat markets located in the centers receive very little patronage from Brazilian countrymen. In the first place, the rural working classes rarely eat bread, and when they do it is prepared at home. In the village as in the country the *lavadeira* does the washing by hand, at the spring, in the creek, or at the riverside, and spreads the clothes on the grass to dry. Even in the towns and cities there is little refrigeration for meat. Doctors, lawyers, and other professional men are located in many seats of municípios, but in much of Brazil the former are found only in the larger cities. Rural areas are largely lacking in medical services. The curandeiros and other practitioners of dubious quality are as likely to be scattered throughout the open country as resident in the centers. All in all, it is evident that medical and dental services are not as yet attracting rural people periodically to the small centers.

Finally, the relative unimportance of trade itself is a factor tending to keep Brazilian locality groups small. When one gets away from the coffee and sugar estates, he finds relatively little produced for the market. Conversely, few things are purchased. The level of living becomes largely a matter of what is both produced and consumed by the family itself. Sales of produce by many families are restricted largely to those carried in on the way to church, and purchases necessarily are limited to a few indispensables. Competition between trade centers, which does much to expand the horizons of rural folk, remains in a retarded condition. As self-sufficiency decreases, production for market gains in importance; as communication and transportation improve, Brazilian communities will grow and become stronger, her neighborhoods wealthier.

⁴² Mariz, *Evolução Econômica da Paraíba*, 141.

THE CLASS STRUCTURE AND LOCALITY GROUPINGS

In Brazil, as in the plantation South of the United States, there is a great difference in the locality-group attachments of the upper landowning classes and the families who live and work on the estates. The former have contacts with and attachments outside the neighborhood and local community, in the seat of the município, in the larger trade centers of the area to which airplanes make regular visits, and in the state capital. The latter are likely to live in a world whose horizon ends with the neighboring fazendas or the nearby village or town. The world of the small-farming classes who are crowded into the mountain coves, badly cut-up areas, or other poor lands is as restricted as that of the workers on the fazendas. The same is true of those assembled in small clearings in the palm forests of the north, strung along the coast amid the coconut groves, or settled along the natural levee of a river.

Probably even more than in our plantation South, the Brazilian landed family is in contact with affairs, not only in the local trade center which it helps to dominate, but in larger trade centers of the area, and in the state and national capitals. In former years a great many of them possessed both a town house and a casa grande on the fazenda; and this practice continues even after the automobile has become a possession of many fazendeiros. As indicated above, many such upper-class families spend part of each month, particularly the week ends, in the small city, the seat of the município in which their estates are located. They also make periodic visits to the cities—Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Pôrto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, Bahia, Recife. In the case of not a few absentee landlords this process is reversed and residents of the larger cities spend a little time on their rural estates. Today the airplane makes it possible to reach the larger centers much more quickly. However, the practice of taking along all members of the large families and immense quantities of baggage and extending the stay in the city makes travel by train and boat both popular and practical among members of the upper classes. I have spent many interesting and profitable hours conversing with fazendeiros who were on their way to or from São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Pôrto Alegre, Fortaleza, Recife, Belém, Manaus, and other important Brazilian centers. Not infrequently, such journeys involved several days of travel, including changes from one line to another, or from boat to train. Frequently they necessitated overnight stops at the hotels along the way.

This participation of the Brazilian landed aristocracy in the life of the larger centers has a long history. In colonial Brazil from the very beginning, a few persons gained control of vast landed estates, possessions

which put them on the way to a practical monopoly of social prestige and political power. This in turn made the members of the rural aristocracy dominating elements in local governmental affairs, even those of towns and cities; and in the nineteenth century, after the monarch established his capital in Rio de Janeiro, enabled the native rural elite to overcome, successively, the imported fidalgos who surrounded the throne during its first years in America and the commercial classes of the cities and towns. Eventually, the landed aristocracy gained undisputed control of national affairs,⁴³ a position they retain to some extent although the man of industry and commerce is now to be reckoned with.

In contrast with the broad radius of social participation characteristic of Brazil's landowning classes is the very narrow horizon of its numerous caboclos, camaradas, matutos, colonos. Their area of social participation is limited mostly to the neighborhood, with occasional visits to the vila or cidade in their home county or município. Then they go mostly on foot or on the back of an animal. The trail is the principal avenue of communication. Until roads are improved and the use of rapidly moving vehicles more general, Brazil's lower classes must remain shut in their own very small worlds. Their chief locality group will be the neighborhood.

Thus there has come about a great difference in the locality-group attachments of the various rural classes. While the slaves and agregados on the immense rural properties and the sitiantes in the mountain coves and other more isolated areas remained confined to their immediate surroundings, the landowning nobility became the first citizens of the nation. This league between the rural elite and the metropole was maintained, even after the establishment of the republic. In many instances it has resulted in absentee landlordism, the owner of the land rarely or never seeing the locality in which his domains are found; in others it has resulted in periodic visits to the estates; and in the remainder it has resulted in continued contact of upper-class families with the population centers, even though residence is maintained on the land.

⁴³ Cf. Oliveira Vianna, *Populações Meridionais do Brasil*, 29-40.

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PART SIX

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Society's principal institutions are those which have been evolved to regulate the domestic, educational, religious, and political aspects of life. One could write a bulky volume about marriage and the family, education and the school, religion and the church, or politics and government. Each of the four is a chapter subject of Part Six.

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CHAPTER XIX

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

VARIOUS PHASES of marital relations and family life are treated elsewhere in this volume. Chapter XII is devoted almost entirely to materials that might be given in connection with the family, and Chapters VI, VII, VIII, XI, XVI, and XVII also contain many paragraphs bearing on marriage and the family. But domestic institutions are of primary importance in all societies, and although the data leave a great deal to be desired, it is possible to bring out additional significant points with respect to the Brazilian family.

The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family always has been the most important of Brazil's social institutions. Rarely has this primary kinship group had to play a role secondary to that of the church, as so frequently has been true in Spanish-American countries; nor has its relative importance ever been seriously challenged by the school, as may be the case in a North American community. In colonial times such a large, closely knit group of relatives, acknowledging allegiance to the oldest living male, possessing many slaves, and carrying on the aristocratic tradition at its best, was the chief instrument employed in the occupation of Brazil. This was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the *conquistador* and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand *casas grandes*, seats of sugar *engenhos* and cattle *fazendas*, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan.¹ Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of

¹ Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 19, 22, 134-35, *passim*. Cf. Nestor Duarte, *A Ordem Privada e a Organização Política Nacional* (São Paulo, 1939); and Antonio Candido, "The Brazilian Family," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, Chap. 13.

course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.

Freyre also has indicated that Brazil's patriarchal, aristocratic, and slavocratic family was not merely transplanted from the mother country, but that many of its characteristics and functions were acquired in the New World. This was due in part to a complete change in occupation, for in Portugal a considerable number of colonists who eventually came to head Brazil's rural clans had been neither rich nor agriculturists. Probably the commercial-minded Portuguese would have preferred possessions which had already been more highly developed by the native peoples so that they could have devoted themselves to trading and commercial pursuits. But the physical conditions of the land and the cultural attainments of the inhabitants determined otherwise. "Live and absorbent organ of Brazilian social formation, the colonial family united upon a base of rich economic resources and slave labor a variety of social and economic functions."²

It is significant that nearly all of the functions of the family came to be performed in a distinctive manner in Brazilian society. Consider first the primary function of the family—the reproduction of the species. As has been brought out in other places, very few of the colonists were women, and mating between the Portuguese men and the Indian women began from the very first. The white men seem to have had few inhibitions about increasing the numbers of their followers and dependents by fathering the children of numerous concubines. On the other hand, the Indian women may have been excessively sensual and strongly attracted by the white men. In any case, they were impelled to give themselves to the whites by the patrilineal nature of native society. Says Capistrano de Abreu, as quoted by Freyre: "The mixture is explained by the ambitions of the Indian women to have children belonging to the superior race, for according to the ideas current among them importance was attached to relationship on the paternal side only."³ Whatever the causes may have been the fact is that very early the illegitimate children came to bulk large among the patriarch's retinue of companions and followers. They did their share to contribute to the power and prestige of the master of the big house. To the mores that were set in this colonial epoch must be attributed the fact that illegitimacy still swells the Brazilian population and that very little distinction is made between legitimate and illegitimate children.

The economic functions of the family also underwent elaboration and change. The *casa grande* became a self-sufficient little world of its own, producing and processing nearly everything used by the patriarch, the

² Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 22.

³ *Ibid.*, 59.

great family which he headed, the slaves, and the agregados. Says Oliveira Vianna:

Because of their extreme economic independence, . . . derived from their omniproductive regime, and owing to the extraordinary extension of their economic base, these small rural societies lived almost without relations with their neighbors . . . so that they formed truly autonomous nuclei, each having its own economy, its own life, its own organization. . . .⁴

Contributions from the New World were especially great in foods, food habits, and culinary practices. Because of the importance of Indian women in colonial society and because every agricultural effort was devoted to the production of sugar cane and not a food supply, even the master class of Brazilian society soon was eating native foods such as corn and mandioca prepared in the Indian manner.

The patriarchal, aristocratic, slavocratic family, or clan, also acquired functions rarely thought of in connection with its equalitarian counterpart. Freyre includes political power and control among these. He points out that "the rural family, or better, the latifundium family" early battled and eventually was successful against the attempts of the Jesuits to establish a theocracy, "a holy republic of 'Indians domesticated for Jesus' like those of Paraguay," where the caboclos would obey only the priests and there would be no individuality or autonomy of person or of family."⁵ The Jesuits were expelled and "in Brazil in place of the cathedral or church more powerful than the king himself would be substituted the casa grande of the engenho."⁶ Each patriarch maintained his own little army, composed of Indians and mixed bloods, and eventually the casa grande became so powerful that it could defy the state with impunity. Giving shelter and protection to men wanted by the law was a common form of demonstrating this power. "Dom Pedro II," we are told, "attempted to limit the omnipotency of the proprietors of engenhos, frequently the protectors of assassins."⁷ The banditry that continues to plague parts of Brazil, especially the northeastern region, probably is intimately associated with political powers possessed by the patriarchs of Brazilian rural clans.

Finally it is important to note the religious function of the great family in Brazil. As suggested above, during early colonial times there was keen rivalry between the landed proprietors and Jesuits for political power. The landowners won, the Jesuits were driven from Brazil, and the casa grande, not the church, became the dominant power in the colony. As a result Catholicism in Brazil became "a religion or cult of the family

⁴ Oliveira Vianna, "O Povo Brasileiro e sua Evolução," *Recenseamento do Brasil*, 1920 I, 291. Cf. Candido, "The Brazilian Family" in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 303-304.

⁵ Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 22-23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

more than of a cathedral or a church. . . ." ⁸ Against the counsel of the Jesuits, "the other clergymen and even monks, big and fat, accommodated themselves to the functions of chaplains, of teaching padres, of uncles, of godfathers to the children; to a comfortable situation as members of the family, persons of the household, allies and adherents of the great rural proprietors, in the eighteenth century many of them living in the same *casas grandes*." ⁹

MARRIAGE

As noted in Chapter VII, Brazil's population, to a lesser degree than the United States', lives in the marital condition. Since Brazil has not legalized divorce and since the proportions of the widowed are about the same in the two societies, it is clear that Brazilians are less apt to marry.

Also indicated in Chapter VII is the failure of church and state to recognize one another's marriage ceremonies, so that the Brazilian couple desiring to be married according to church prescriptions and also in a legal manner must have two ceremonies performed. Not all of them do so, and in fact the church marriages in Brazil are very much more numerous than the civil or legal marriages. (See Table XLIX.)

The most recent available data reveals that in the year 1936 the number of civil marriages reached its peak, the figure recorded that year being 155,110 compared with 143,534 in 1937, and only 132,404 in 1938. However, in 1936 the number of church marriages was 236,275, of which only 1,236 were performed by Protestant ministers. This total for Protestants is much too low, since data for Rio Grande do Sul, the city of Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais were not included in the tabulation. In spite of such omissions there were 152 ceremonies performed by the church for every 100 legal marriages.

Civil marriages outnumbered church marriages only in the Federal District, Espírito Santo, Rio Grande do Sul, and São Paulo. Large Protestant populations and the greater skepticism of urban populations may be cited as the responsible factors. On the other hand, only a small fraction of the weddings performed by the priests in the eastern and northeastern parts of Brazil have been legalized according to civil law. Bahia, Sergipe, Maranhão, and Paraíba stand out in this respect.

While I was traveling through the northern part of Brazil informants called my attention to some results of the failure of the church and state to recognize each other's marriage ceremonies. It was said that many men are prone to persuade their brides that the church ceremony alone is all that is necessary. This is probably a convincing argument since the women

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

TABLE XLIX

Marriages Reported by Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities, 1936*

States	Civil marriages	Church marriages	Ratio of church to civil marriages
Brazil	155,110	236,275	152
Federal District	11,952	7,247	61
Alagoas	1,748	6,102	349
Amazonas	325	1,051	323
Bahia	3,755	25,807	687
Ceará	3,886	8,274	213
Espírito Santo	3,093	2,392	77
Goiás	1,544	4,349	282
Maranhão	1,485	6,986	470
Mato Grosso	816	1,656	203
Minas Gerais	21,668	43,080	199
Pará	2,395	6,646	277
Paraíba	2,467	11,367	461
Paraná	3,556	7,223	203
Pernambuco	5,031	19,266	383
Piauí	1,696	5,917	349
Rio de Janeiro	6,238	7,308	117
Rio Grande do Norte	2,457	6,074	247
Rio Grande do Sul	18,080	15,747	87
Santa Catarina	3,574	7,682	215
São Paulo	58,498	37,524	64
Sergipe	698	3,604	516
Territory of Acre	148	973	657

* Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano V, 1939/1940, pp. 107-108 and 1166-68.

are generally religious. As a result, it was said, some of the men later feel themselves free to set aside their wives on the grounds that they have never been legally married. In a country where divorce is not permitted, such motivations may be much stronger than they would be where it is possible legally to dissolve the marriage bond. In any case, the differences in the number of marriages reported by the church authorities and those registered on the books of the civil authorities give some factual basis for lending credence to the stories of these informants. There is historical evidence, also, which lends validity to such assertions. Of Crato, Ceará, Gardner reported:

Scarcely any of the better class live with their wives: a few years after their marriage, they generally turn them out to live separately, and replace them by

young women who are willing to supply their place without being bound by the ties of matrimony. In this manner these people have two houses to keep up: among others who are living in this condition I may mention the Juiz de Direito, the Juiz dos Orfaos, and most of the larger shopkeepers; such a state of immorality is not to be wondered at, when the conduct of the clergy is taken into consideration, the vicar (*vigaro*), who was then an old man between seventy and eighty years of age, is the father of six natural children, one of whom was educated as a priest, afterwards became president of the province, and was then a senator of the Empire, although still retaining his clerical title. During my stay in Crato he arrived there on a visit to his father, bringing with him his mistress, who was his own cousin, and eight children out of ten he had by her, having at the same time five other children by another woman, who died in child-bed of the sixth. Besides the *vigaro* there were three other priests in the town, all of whom have families by women with whom they live openly, one of them being the wife of another person.¹⁰

An informal marital arrangement highly reminiscent of that prevailing among the Negroes in the southern part of the United States, must also be reckoned with in any discussion of marriage in Brazil.¹¹ A recent observer reported that "in the rural zones of Sergipe, I found a large number of '*ajuntamentos*.'" ¹² The *amasiados* [common-law unions] predominate and those truly married are united only by the church."¹³ Accurate reports from most other sections of the country would contain similar information, but there has been little systematic examination of the subject. However, in one terse paragraph Johnston has summarized this extralegal system of mating so common among the lower classes of rural Brazil.

The country negroes and many of those who dwell in towns do not trouble themselves very much about contracting a legal marriage. Negro men and women simply live together in what is called locally the *companheira* system. A woman with or without children simply takes up her abode with a man who pleases her and shares his home as his wife at the pleasure of both parties. Yet these unions are sometimes as permanent as if they were consecrated by the Church or contracted under the law. There is, however, a good deal of unrecognised polygamy, and many negroes are husbands of more than one wife.¹⁴

Others place less emphasis upon the stability of such common-law unions, or even on the durability of marriages contracted legally. Amaral did not limit the following generalization to any specific area.

¹⁰ Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (2d ed.: London, 1849), 141-42.

¹¹ See Pierson, *Cruz das Almas, A Brazilian Village*, 138-39; and René Ribeiro, "On the Amaziado Relationship and Other Aspects of the Family in Recife (Brazil)," *American Sociological Review*, X (1945).

¹² The social equivalent of the "tuk up" matings of the southern United States.

¹³ Vasconcelos Torres, "Aspectos da Vida Rural Sergipana," *Correio da Manhã* (Rio de Janeiro, April 17, 1942).

¹⁴ Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, 105.

The rural home has no attractions, does not hold the man, who flees and is entangled by perversion. It is more agreeable, or less disagreeable, or more tolerable, to spend the night gambling with friends than in trying to woo sleep in such an environment. As derivatives of gambling come bohemian digressions, unfaithfulness, conjugal discords, the death of affection, flight from the home, where, still the husband reappears from time to time, attracted by homesickness, and where he does the poor wife the disservice of leaving one more child.¹⁵

Seasonality. It is interesting to note several points relating to the seasonality of marriage in Brazil. December, not June, is the month of brides. Of course, December in the southern hemisphere is the equivalent of June north of the equator.

As is the case with so many subjects, the data on this also are fragmentary. Nevertheless, they probably are sufficient. One series is available for the city of Recife for the years 1925-1934 and 1935-1940. In each of these fifteen years, the number of marriages in December was greater than that for any other month, and that month alone accounted for 14 per cent of all the marriages during the years specified.¹⁶ The situation is similar in the city of Rio de Janeiro for which a short series of data is available. In 1937, 1938, and 1939, December was much more popular among brides than any other month, and accounted for 14.4, 15.2, and 15.9 per cent, respectively, of the marriages during those years.¹⁷ For Curitiba, capital of Paraná, data are available for the years 1940-1941. During this period 14.4 per cent of all marriages were contracted in December.¹⁸ São Paulo data are limited to the years 1940 and 1941, but fortunately they are available for the entire state and not merely the capital. This is important because, although December accounted for more than its share of all marriages in the city, in the interior June, July, and September were the months in which the larger numbers of marriages were consummated. Thus in the capital 11.7 of all marriages in 1940 and 13.0 of all in 1941 took place during December; in the remainder of the state only 8.0 and 8.7 per cent of the marriages in the two years, respectively, were contracted in this month.¹⁹ Also, in the extreme south, in Rio Grande do Sul, according to state-wide data which go back as far as 1910, December is not the month of brides. Not once between 1910 and 1937 were December marriages the most numerous; in fact, the month stood far down the list every year in the series. In the statistics for this gaúcho state there is a glaring lack of

¹⁵ Amaral, *Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira*, I, 37-38.

¹⁶ The data are given in *Anuário Estatístico*, Ano XI, 40; and *Anuario do Nordeste Para 1937*, 298.

¹⁷ *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano V, 1939/1940, p. 124.

¹⁸ Data assembled from *Boletim Trimestral de Estatística Demografo-Sanitaria, Município de Curitiba*, Curitiba, Anos I, II, and III, 1939-1941, Nos. 1-12.

¹⁹ The data were assembled from *Resumo do Movimento Demográfico-Sanitário do Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo, January-December, 1941.)

marriages during August and a relatively large number in the months which immediately precede and follow it. In the 28 years from 1910 through 1937, July's percentage of the year's marriages fell below 13 only in 1923 when it was 12.6 and in 1929 when it was 12.7. Year after year, about 11 per cent of all marriages are contracted during September.

August is shunned by brides and grooms. Here are some of the data: in 1937, only 4.4 per cent of the marriages in Rio Grande do Sul took place in August; in 1936, 4.5 per cent; in 1935, 4.3 per cent; in 1934 and 1933, 3.8 per cent; in 1932, 3.9 per cent; and in 1931, 4.7 per cent. During the 28-year period only 4.8 per cent of the marriages in the state were solemnized in the month of August.²⁰ The percentage would be even lower if the figures were as complete for the rural districts as they are for Pôrto Alegre.

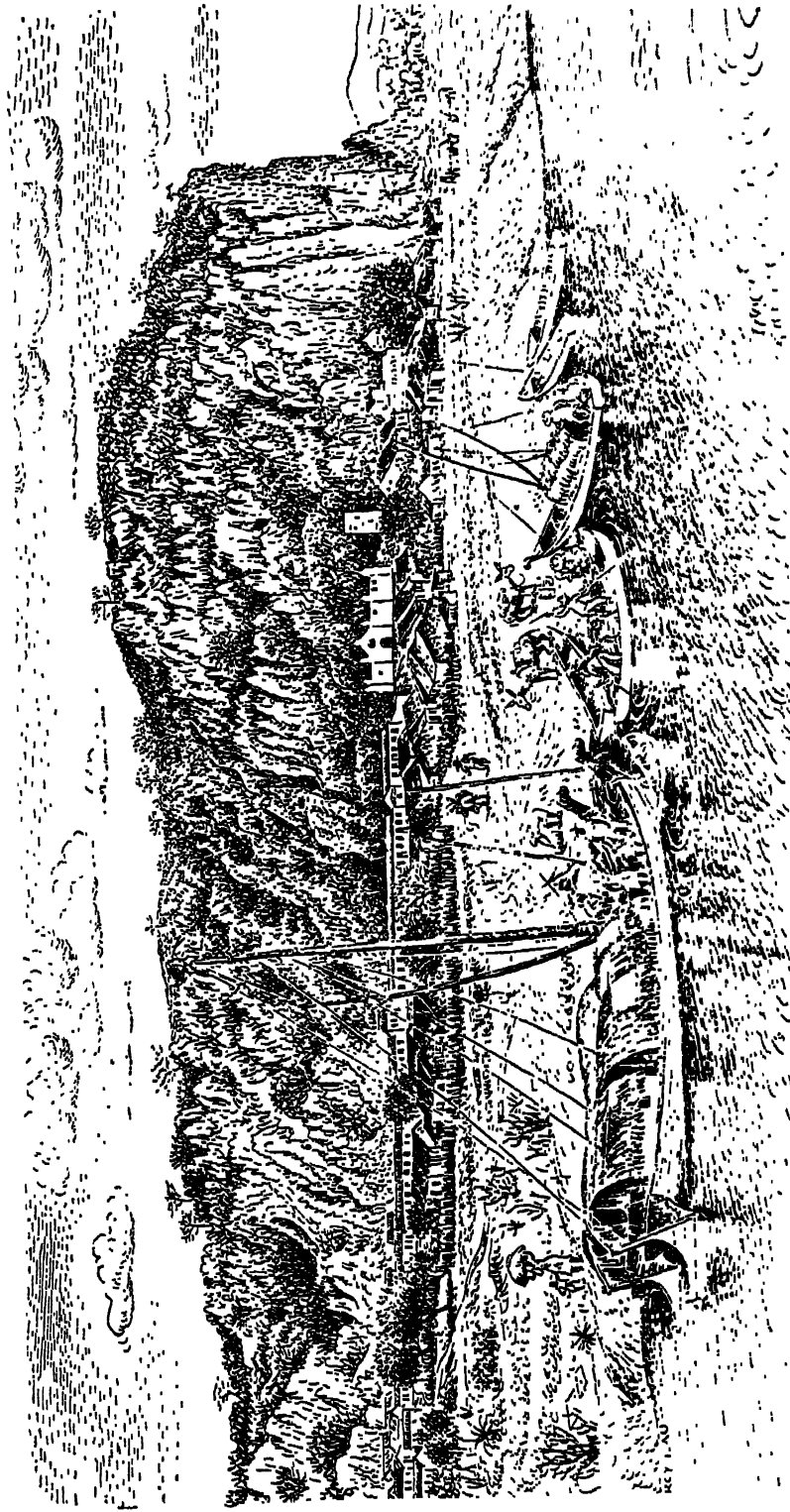
This avoidance, which is merely one expression of the Brazilian belief that August is an unlucky month for the initiation of any personal or business venture, is also strong elsewhere in the republic. During the years for which data are available as indicated above, only 2.4 per cent of the marriages in Curitiba, 5.2 per cent in Recife, 4.2 per cent in Rio de Janeiro, 3.4 per cent in the city of São Paulo, and 3.1 per cent in the remainder of the state of São Paulo occurred in August. Thus even fragmentary data are sufficient to prove that in Brazil "the month of December is the one preferred for establishing matrimonial ties, the smallest number falling in August suspected of being unlucky. Thus we see that superstitions leave their impress even upon the most important acts in the lives of the people."²¹

Age. There was a time when Brazilian brides were so young that the system verged on being "child marriage." Freyre says that "the custom for women to marry early, at twelve, thirteen, fourteen years of age, was general in Brazil. With an unmarried daughter of fifteen years in the house, the parents began to be uneasy and to make promises to Santo Antonio or São João. Before twenty years, the girl was an old maid. That which today is green fruit, in those days was feared to be spoiling of ripeness with no one to harvest it in time."²²

The modal age at marriage continues to be young, but not excessively so, in comparison with that prevailing in Western society generally. From the fragmentary data available it appears that the Brazilian bride is most likely to be about 20 years of age and the groom 24. In Rio Grande do Sul for the 28 years from 1910 through 1937, for which data are available, 47.3 per cent of all brides were less than 21 years of age, the median being

²⁰ *Anuario Demografico do Rio Grande do Sul*, Ano I, 1938 (Pôrto Alegre, 1939?), 92.

²¹ *Anuario do Nordeste para 1937*, 298. ²² Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 256.



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BOM JESUS DA LAPA, BAHIA

21.4, and the mode probably falling between 19 and 20. Among the grooms the modal age is 24.2, the median, 25.3 years.²³ Data also are available for seven of the capitals in south Brazil for the period from 1908 through 1912. At this time the median ages of the brides were as follows: Belo Horizonte, 20.3; Curitiba, 20.6; Rio de Janeiro, 21.9; Florianópolis, 21.1; Niterói, 21.2; Pôrto Alegre, 23.4; and São Paulo, 20.3. The mode in each case should be about a year or a year and a half less than the median, but it cannot be determined accurately since it is less than 20, and the data for all under 20 years of age was thrown together in the tabulations. In these cities the modal age at marriage for males was 23.3 in Belo Horizonte, 23.1 in Curitiba, 24.2 in Rio de Janeiro, 23.3 in Florianópolis, 23.4 in Niterói, 21.4 in Pôrto Alegre, and 23.0 in São Paulo.²⁴ Finally, there is information concerning the ages of persons contracting marriage in the Distrito Federal during the years 1937 and 1938. By this time the modal age of brides had risen to 22.2 years, the median age to 23.2. For males the mode was 25.8 and the median 27.7 years.²⁵ These data for Brazil may be compared with a mode of 22.3, median of 23.3 for brides; and a mode of 23.8 and median of 26.2 for grooms in the 28 states of the United States for which 1940 data are available.²⁶

SIZE OF FAMILY

In Brazil the stereotype of the family tends to include seven persons, two parents and five children. This contrasts greatly with the father, mother, and two children generally portrayed as the typical family of the United States. Furthermore, the statistical basis for the Brazilian stereotype is fully as adequate as that for the United States.

The 1920 census of Brazil centered considerable attention upon the domicile. It was found that the population of 30,625,331 lived in a total of 3,962,585 dwellings, an average of 7.73 persons per domicile. The only countries for which comparable data were available are Belgium with 3.73 persons per dwelling, Sweden with 3.67, Uruguay with 6.25, and the United States with 4.34. The average number of persons per domicile was highest (11.41) in Alagoas, followed by São Paulo (9.60), the Distrito Federal (8.90), and Mato Grosso (8.80). It was lowest in Sergipe (5.81), Maranhão (5.87), Paraíba (6.27), and Piauí (6.55).

²³ Data used for the calculations were taken from the *Anuario Demográfico do Rio Grande do Sul*, Ano I, 1938, p. 88, 90.

²⁴ Data for the computations are taken from *Anuario Estatístico do Brazil*, Ano I (1908-1912), 406-407.

²⁵ Data for the computations secured from *Anuario Estatístico do Brazil*, Ano IV, 1938, p. 143; and Ano V, 1938/1940, p. 125.

²⁶ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, XVII, No. 9 (1943), 86, 98.

Despite the concentration in the cities of hotels, orphanages, asylums, and other institutions which inflate the averages, the average number of persons per dwelling generally was considerably less in the capital than in the remainder of each state. For example, in Maceió, Alagoas, the figure was 6.03; in the city of São Paulo, 7.22; in Cuiabá, Mato Grosso, 6.53; in Aracaju, Sergipe, 5.39; in São Luís, Maranhão, 6.70; in João Pessoa, Paraíba, 6.83; and in Teresina, Piauí, 6.46. This list includes the two exceptions to the rule. It also indicates that even in the cities the average number of persons per family is high. Furthermore, there had been no decrease since the census of 1872, which reported 7.58 persons per domicile.²⁷ The 1940 data, however, indicate that a very substantial decrease occurred following 1920. According to the results of the 1940 census the total number of domiciles in the country was 7,949,768, which, for a population of 41,566,407, gives an average of 5.2 persons per domicile.²⁸ Even so the figure is probably considerably larger than that prevailing in most countries of the Western world.

A few special studies also reveal that the number of persons in daily interaction within the Brazilian home is relatively large. Thus Josué de Castro's survey of levels of living among 500 families in Recife showed an average of slightly over five persons per family,²⁹ and his study of 12,106 families in the city of Rio de Janeiro also yielded an average of five persons per family.³⁰

These data are in essential agreement with those gathered by my students in a seminar at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política in São Paulo during 1942. Information was secured from 62 rural families in the município of Martinópolis, 73 rural families in the município of Óleo, 79 families living in the small center of Ipé in the município of Rancharia, and 99 families in the decadent little vila of Taiassú, município of Jaboticaból. In Óleo the family averages 5.7, and in Martinópolis, 4.9 persons. In the villages it was smaller, 4.7 in Ipé and 4.5 in Taiassú. However, in all cases a large portion of the families were offering shelter to relatives and others not of kin, so that the household was even larger than these figures indicate. For example, the 99 families in Taiassú included 36 cases in which the household included persons other than the members of the immediate family. Most of these persons, who totaled 78, are relatives of one degree or another, but some of them are "guests" and

²⁷ *Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, IV, Pt. 6, x, xvii.

²⁸ "Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940*, II (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), 161.

²⁹ Castro, *A Alimentação Brasileira*, 135.

³⁰ Castro, *O Problema da Alimentação no Brasil*, 216.

boarders. Thus even though the data leave much to be desired, there can be no doubt that the Brazilian family is large.

These data refer to the family of parents and children, but there is much remaining of the old patriarchal family. Even in Rio de Janeiro, one may find entire apartment houses occupied exclusively by an elderly couple and their descendants. The building may house ten or twelve families of the children and grandchildren. In the rural districts an entire neighborhood will be made up of near relatives. Furthermore, not only is the Brazilian family of parents and children relatively large, but it remains closely tied into the larger kinship group headed by the patriarch of the clan.

FAMILY FUNCTIONS

In all societies the family is charged with the responsibility for performing certain necessary functions that are carried on not at all or only partially by other social institutions. These functions generally include (1) the reproduction of the race, (2) the care, sustenance, and rearing of children through the dependent ages, (3) the education and training of the young, (4) the induction of the members of the oncoming generation into the great society, and particularly establishing their status in the various social groups, (5) recreation, (6) mutual aid and protection of members from enemies and dangers of all kinds, and (7) the care of the aged and other incapacitated members and kinfolk. Several observations may be made concerning the manner in which the Brazilian family is carrying on these essential functions.

Reproduction of the Race. The population of Brazil is multiplying at a very rapid rate. (See Chapter VIII.) This means that the Brazilian family is performing this primary function in a manner that is equaled in few countries of the world. Nevertheless, the comparatively high rates of illegitimacy demonstrate that the family is not the exclusive agency for reproducing the race that it is in the United States and some other parts of the Western World.

It is not easy to determine the exact status of present-day Brazil with respect to illegitimacy, for the available recent data come only from Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, and the Distrito Federal, the most advanced portions of the nation, and it is difficult or impossible to secure the data for the eastern and northern parts of the country. Even at that it may be demonstrated that a considerable number of all Brazilians are born out of wedlock. The latest national summary is for the years 1931-1933, only, and those data are not very satisfactory. Of the 1,808,812 births registered

by January 1, 1940, for that four-year period, 193,895 or 10.7 per cent were classed as illegitimate.³¹

Other fragmentary materials are available for a few of the states. For the state of Rio Grande do Sul, data are available for the years 1910 to 1937, inclusive. The total births registered numbered 1,711,416, of which 173,814, or 10.2 per cent, were entered as illegitimate.³² For São Paulo, data are at hand for the years 1930 to 1939, inclusive, and for 1942. In this most advanced of all Brazilian states the percentages of illegitimacy varied from 5.2 in 1930 to 8.4 in 1942, being 6.5 for the eleven years taken together.³³ In the city of Rio de Janeiro, there were 34,620 births registered during 1940, of which 4,573, or 13.2 per cent, were classed as illegitimate.³⁴ Most of the other states, especially those in the east and the north, do not include data on legitimacy among the demographic materials published, but Amazonas is an exception. Records completed up to January 1, 1940, contain this information for 2,108 births registered during the years 1930 to 1933, inclusive. Of this total, 432, or 20.5 per cent, were illegitimate.³⁵ Most of these births undoubtedly were registered in Manaus, the capital. Were the data available for the outlying areas, the proportion of illegitimacy probably would be much higher. It would also be high if the record for the states north of Minas Gerais were accessible. For example, the city of Bahia contained nearly 300,000 inhabitants in 1920. In 1922 there were 763 marriages recorded in the city and 4,617 births. More than one half of the births, 2,432, or 53 per cent, were entered as illegitimate.³⁶ Prior to 1920 birth registration was confined mostly to a few of the larger cities in southern Brazil. The first issue of the *Anuario Estatístico do Brazil*, published in 1916, gave data on births for the years 1908 to 1912, inclusive, classified according to legitimacy, but only for the cities of Belo Horizonte, Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro, Florianópolis, Niterói, Pôrto Alegre, and São Paulo. During the five-year period the number of births registered in these seven cities totaled 196,286, a mere fraction of the actual number; of these 36,395 (18.5 per cent) were classed as illegitimate. In the various cities, percentages of illegitimacy were as follows: Belo Horizonte, 17.9; Curitiba, 11.1; Rio de Janeiro, 24.6; Florianópolis, 23.4; Niterói, 28.9; Pôrto Alegre, 22.4; and São Paulo, 6.9.³⁷

³¹ *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano V, 1939/1940, p. 121.

³² *Anuario Demográfico do Rio Grande do Sul*, Ano I, 1938, p. 80.

³³ The data are found in the *Resumo do Movimento Demográfico-Sanitário do Estado de São Paulo*, for the years 1930-1942.

³⁴ *Anuário Estatístico do Distrito Federal*, 1941, p. 43.

³⁵ *Sinopse Estatística do Estado do Amazonas*, N. 4 (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), 26.

³⁶ Mario Ferreira Barboza, *Anuario Estatístico da Bahia—1923* (Bahia, 1924), 399.

³⁷ *Anuario Estatístico do Brazil*, Anno I (1908-1912), I, 402-403.

Although recent data on illegitimacy are fragmentary, the census of 1890 contained an extraordinary tabulation which classified everyone in Brazil according to whether or not he had been born in wedlock. (See Table L.) It will be observed that nearly one fifth of all Brazilians at that time were of illegitimate birth and that in the north the proportion was almost two in five. On the other hand, Ceará and other parts of the northeast had low proportions of illegitimacy. Probably regional differentials today follow the same general pattern that they did in 1890. However, such agencies as the Serviço Social da Indústria are now helping to arrange large ceremonies, civil and religious, in which as many as 600 pairs are married in a single city in the course of one day.

Caring for Children. The high rate of reproduction and the numerous children mean that the care, sustenance, and rearing of children consume a comparatively large share of the time and economic resources of the family; at the same time, the high mortality rates, especially through infancy, poor diets, poor housing, and so forth, would seem to indicate that there are many needed improvements to be made in child care. In the lower classes a high proportion of the children are on their own responsibility from a very tender age. However, any very satisfactory information on this subject belongs to the future.

Educating the Young. Because of the lack of schools, the low percentage of children who are privileged to attend, and the shortness of the school period, Brazilian society must depend upon the family for educating and training the young, to a much greater degree than is general in Western society. Education acquired in this manner, by the boy's working with his father, the girl her mother, in the daily routine of living, is thorough. Rural Brazilians become excellent axemen, mule drivers, boatmen, craftsmen, fishers, hunters, and highly skilled with the hoe. Millions of them are able to live in situations where the average citizen of the United States or western Europe would perish of hunger and exposure. But education in the family contributes to maintaining the customary routine; it makes for very little change or progress. If the family lacks essential knowledge, habits, and skills, the deficiencies will be perpetuated generation after generation. Therefore, until Brazilian children can acquire a greater share of their mental luggage outside of the home there is small chance for great progress in agriculture, health and sanitation, transportation, industry, or any other field which the industrial revolution has changed. Without more education outside the family, there is small likelihood of sudden change in the mores of Brazilian rural society.

Establishing Social Status. There has been little or no study of the subject and so it is possible only from general observation to conclude that

TABLE I

Legitimacy of the Population, 1890, by States*

State	Of legitimate birth	Of illegitimate birth	
		Number	Per cent
Brazil	11,656,431	2,677,484	18.7
Distrito Federal	419,747	102,904	19.7
Alagoas	444,132	67,308	13.2
Amazonas	103,128	44,787	30.3
Bahia	1,431,227	488,575	25.4
Ceará	739,198	66,489	8.3
Espírito Santo	107,164	28,833	21.2
Goiás	184,225	43,347	19.1
Maranhão	252,299	178,555	41.4
Mato Grosso	56,243	36,584	39.4
Minas Gerais	2,703,227	480,872	15.1
Pará	210,343	118,112	36.0
Paraíba	415,224	42,008	9.2
Paraná	210,917	38,574	15.5
Pernambuco	907,086	123,138	11.9
Piauí	216,739	50,870	19.0
Rio Grande do Norte	241,497	26,776	10.0
Rio Grande do Sul	707,160	190,295	21.2
Rio de Janeiro	560,058	316,826	36.1
Santa Catarina	251,474	32,295	11.4
São Paulo	1,240,297	144,456	10.4
Sergipe	255,046	55,880	18.0

* Source: Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Sexo, Raça e Estado Civil, Nacionalidade, Filiação, Culto e Analphabetismo da População Recenseada em 31 de Dezembro de 1890* (Rio de Janeiro, 1898), 221.

the Brazilian family is highly efficient in determining the position its members are to occupy in the classes and groups of the great society. In fact, since Brazilian society is rather highly stratified, with a strong tendency for social position to be inherited (the caste element) and relatively little vertical and horizontal social mobility, the accident of birth is almost all important as a determinant of which groups a man will belong to and what is to be his position on the social scale. This is not to deny that there is some shifting from one group to another, some rising and sinking, especially in the cities of southern Brazil. But it is intended to point out that the family determines for the great mass of Brazilians the groups to which they are to belong and their position in the class structure.

Recreation. In recreation and all other social affairs the Brazilian family occupies a pre-eminent position. A very large part of all leisure time is spent in the company of the immediate family or near relatives. Even in Rio de Janeiro the married pair of middle- or upper-class status is obligated by the mores to dine at least once a week at the home of the husband's people and once a week with the wife's people. In the interior the visiting back and forth of relatives, both between those who live in the open country and between the farm people and their kinsmen in the towns and villages, is the chief type of social activity.

Mutual Aid and Protection. The highly segmented nature of Brazilian society, a revival of the feudal pattern of social organization, has made it necessary for the family to serve not only as the most important institution of mutual aid, but also as the principal agency for providing protection for its members. This is especially true of the upper-class family, the aristocratic possessors of the *casa grande* and the broad acreages surrounding it. The protecting arm of the patriarch is extended to all the members of his numerous clan; and the neighboring small farmer, along with the workers on the big estate, still finds it necessary to place himself under the protection of the master of the big house. Throughout much of Brazil, local history continues to be written largely in terms of the feuds between one of these clans and another. But with the passage of years it is becoming more and more difficult for one clan openly to defy state and national governments.

Caring for the Aged and Infirm. No one seems to have assembled data concerning the extent to which the Brazilian family serves as the social institution for caring for the aged and otherwise incapacitated members of society. However, from general observation it seems to have the principal part in this important social task. As one learns to know the rural communities and neighborhoods it is evident that a considerable number of the families are sheltering one or more grandparents, widowed sisters of the husband or wife, nieces or nephews, or other relatives. Many adopted children find places in Brazilian homes. A study would probably find that the Brazilian family continues to be highly important as an agency to care for the aged, the infirm, and for unmarried female relatives.

POSITION OF WOMEN

Since visitors began obtaining admission to Brazil early in the nineteenth century a large number of observers have recorded their impressions of Brazilian institutions. Most of the visitors were from the equalitarian families of Europe and North America, so it is small wonder that they were impressed by the status of women in Brazil and commented on the

subject. Although the reactions range all the way from extreme amusement to deep disgust, there is no disagreement concerning the factual situation.

The isolation of the woman from nearly all social contacts, especially those with strangers, is the point most frequently made. For example, Burton asserts that "in none but the most civilized families do the mistress and daughters of the house sit down to the table with the stranger; among the less educated the *déshabille* is too pronounced to admit of reception, without an almost total *toilette*."³⁸ Other accounts are in essential agreement. When Koster visited the *engenhos* of the northeast he noted the extreme and naive curiosity of the males, but the women did not appear.³⁹ And Saint-Hilaire reports that as he worked with the specimens of plants which he had collected "the women, according to habit in Minas [Gerais], push their noses through the door to see what I do. If I turn rapidly, I can catch a glimpse of a bit of the face which protrudes through the door and is hastily withdrawn. What I say here should be repeated on each page of this diary, for this little comedy occurs more or less daily."⁴⁰

Even as late as 1866 a traveler passing through Brazil and stopping overnight at its *fazendas*, who was permitted to converse with Brazilian women, thought the following incident of sufficient importance that it should be included in his report.

Before leaving Xiririca, there is a circumstance associated with this name that we deem worthy of mention. On our way up, the Sr. Guerra, this gentleman's wife, and a couple of daughters about grown, met us in the parlor, and soon engaged in conversation with us, asking us many questions about the manners and customs of our native country, and expressing a desire to have some American neighbors. We spent a pleasant evening, and, had it not been for the difference in language, might easily have imagined ourselves in an American family. In the morning, at breakfast, we all ate together at the same table. We mention this circumstance because it was the *first* time we had the pleasure of conversing with the Brazilian ladies.⁴¹

The extreme seclusion of Brazilian women also is recognized by Brazil's best scholars. Rocha Pombo says that in São Paulo "the home was rarely open to strangers" and "the wife left the house only to go to church or for a visit of great importance, always carefully guarded and veiled. . . . The girls almost never left the house."⁴² And to the "arabic isolation in which the dames of former times lived, principally in the *casas grandes* of the *engenhos*," surrounded almost entirely with female Negro slaves and with their "Mussalmanic submission to their husbands," Freyre attributes

³⁸ Burton, *The Highlands of the Brazil*, I, 408.

³⁹ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 58.

⁴⁰ Saint-Hilaire, *Segunda Viagem do Rio de Janeiro a Minas Gerais e a São Paulo* (1822) (São Paulo, 1932), 112.

⁴¹ Dunn, *Brazil*, 165-66.

⁴² Rocha Pombo, *Historia de São Paulo*, 95.

the sadistic tendencies which marred the character of so many of the women. "Sadists were, in the first place, the *senhores* in relations with their wives." ⁴³

This suggestion that the wife was the mere creature of her husband master is amply demonstrated in the pages of Freyre's books. The following quotation illustrates the fact that her vitality and life were rapidly sacrificed in the childbearing process.

Our patriarchal grandfathers and great grandfathers, almost always great procreators . . . insatiable *machos* securing from marriages with young girls all of a strange sensual savor, rarely had happiness of accompanying the same wife to old age. It was the women, in spite of being younger, who were dying; and the men were marrying the younger sisters or cousins of the first wife. They were almost Bluebeards. Extremely numerous are the cases of the old *senhores de engenhos*, *capitães-mores*, *fazendeiros*, barons and viscounts of the time of the empire, married three or four times, and fathers of numerous offspring. This multiplication of the population cost the sacrifice of the women, true martyrs in whom the generative force, consuming first youthfulness, soon would consume life.⁴⁴

Finally, no less flattering estimate of woman's position in the family could be given than the one by Saint-Hilaire. The noted botanist first observed that all the *fazendeiros* possessed a great many dogs, and that, contrary to the practice in Germany and France, the animals were badly treated. Given food only, with never a caress, they were beaten constantly, without the slightest reason for the abuse. "Surrounded by slaves, the Brazilian is accustomed to see only slaves among the beings over whom he has superiority, whether by force or by intelligence. The woman is, frequently, the first slave of the household, the dog is the last." ⁴⁵

In a footnote he quotes with approval the Brazilian, Antonio Muniz de Souza, who wrote: "I judge it to be my duty to declare that Brazilian women do not constitute a part of society; except in the large centers of population, they are generally treated as slaves. . . . The common man does not seek a companion; he marries in order to have a slave." ⁴⁶

There have been changes in the last hundred years, even in the last twenty. In comparison with colonial times the status of Brazilian women now is relatively good. But, as Nash has pointed out in his discussion of Brazilian domestic relations, ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny.⁴⁷

⁴³ Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 249. For a somewhat contradictory appraisal, however, see Candido, "The Brazilian Family" in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 295-97.

⁴⁴ Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, 268.

⁴⁵ Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem à Provincia de São Paulo*, 137-38.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁴⁷ Nash, *The Conquest of Brazil*, 311.

CHAPTER XX

EDUCATION AND THE SCHOOL

THERE IS probably little chance of being able to find or to present criteria for evaluating the objectives of any educational program that would be generally accepted in either Brazil or the United States. The problem is even greater when a citizen of one of the countries attempts to discover or formulate general bases that would make the educational system of one of the countries more intelligible to persons in another. Nevertheless, the following is an attempt to set forth certain minimum objectives of an educational system, which it is hoped will prove of use in the observation of Brazil's educational system and program. (1) The school should transmit the essential knowledge and develop basic skills which are presumed by modern methods of communication. This means that the three R's (reading, writing, calculation, and speech) must form part of any educational system. On this point there probably is little ground for differences of opinion. The others are not so certain. (2) The school should instill in the student those wants and desires which make for a fuller life and a well-rounded personality which may be realized in the community of which he is a part. This is closely related to the proposition now gaining headway rapidly in the United States, that the school should prepare the student for life in the community.¹ In any case, if anything more than mere creature existence is to be achieved, the school must assist the family in instilling new desires and wants in the developing child. If the family is settled into a routine existence, the school must assume an even larger share of the responsibility. But ill serves the school which merely succeeds in transferring to the student the thought that everything in his local community is of no import, that nothing of value may be achieved there, and that the essence of achievement is to be accomplished only by migrating to another place. Particularly in rural schools there is a likelihood that the substantial elements of rural life and welfare will be depreciated and gaudy aspects of city life held up in glowing colors, with the result that the rural child is stimulated only to leave the rural community for the urban world. (3) In addition to making felt the new wants and desires which stimulate further efforts, the school is

¹ On this point cf. A. Carneiro Leão, *Planejar e Agir* (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), 132-34.

obligated to instruct in the skills and techniques with which these new wants and desires may be satisfied. Through this process, education in the truest sense of the word, a broader base is given to life in the local community. Naturally, this involves considerable attention to training in manual skills and aptitudes.

EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION

The development of an educational system, the attempt to give the fundamentals of an education to any considerable part of the population, is relatively new in Brazil. Throughout the long colonial period there was very little instruction of a formal kind. Only towards the end of the eighteenth century were there any important educational improvements and then they came as a result of new laws issued by Pombal in Portugal. The situation in Bahia, probably fairly representative of the general state of affairs, has been summarized by Francisco Vicente Vianna in his *Memoir of the State of Bahia*.² According to this authority, in 1808, when the Prince Regent arrived in Bahia, there were only a very few primary and Latin classes in the province. Any persons seeking a higher education had to go to Portugal for their studies. Instruction was developed to some extent under the governorship of the Count of Arcos, who also was responsible for other improvements in the province. In the capital city of São Salvador, the four classes of Latin previously established enjoyed an increased attendance, and a private class was commenced; rhetoric, philosophy, geometry, drawing, and commerce also attracted more students. In 1811 a seminary of theological sciences was established, followed in 1815 by a medical college. About this time private classes in geography, French, English, music, and fencing were instituted by "several gentlemen, influenced by the beneficial direction taken by public instruction."

A few chairs were also established for the teaching of the vernacular language, Latin, geometry, logic, rhetoric, agriculture, and French in some of the villages of what was then a capitania. These were called the "higher classes"; they numbered 43 in the province at the time of independence, 1822. There were also a few primary schools.

Following independence, the central government took charge of educational matters in the provinces and undertook to increase the number of primary schools. The constitution of the empire guaranteed free primary

² The most complete account of educational developments in Brazil is Fernando de Azevedo, *Brazilian Culture*, translated by William Rex Crawford (New York, 1950). See also, A. Carneiro Leão, "The Evolution of Education in Brazil," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, Chap. XIV; and Manoel Bergstrom Lourenço Filho, "Education," in Lawrence F. Hill (ed.), *Brazil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1947), Chap. IX.

instruction to all citizens (Article 179, Paragraph 31) but "at this time . . . there was neither plan nor method of teaching."³ In this period, that of the empire, the manner of securing the teachers has been described as follows:

As soon as one of them [the chairs] was vacant, the *juiz de fora* . . . issued an edict whereby the chair was put up for competition. The examination of the candidate was trusted to two teachers, who gave him a book, such as, for example, the *elementos de civilidade* (elements of civility), where he was to read a few periods; some common phrases were afterwards dictated to be written by the candidate, who was also obliged to make several addition, subtraction, multiplication and division accounts, and, at length, to answer a few questions on portuguese grammar and christian doctrine. The written proofs were then directed to the archbishop or his substitute, to speak his opinion about the candidates, after which the municipal council appointed the teacher.⁴

In 1836 the responsibility for primary and secondary education in Brazil was transferred to the provinces. At this time a lyceum was established in the state capital and the "higher classes" began to be extinguished. Only 26 of them remained in 1838, and by 1860 they were all gone. But the lyceum did not seem to be very successful. Less than ten years after its establishment "it was considered quite useless."⁵

That popular education had made almost no progress up to this time is indicated by data available for 1871. (See Table LI.) At a time when there were more than 10,000,000 people in Brazil, less than 10,000 were receiving secondary instruction and less than 150,000 were attending elementary schools. There were still nearly 1,700,000 slaves in the empire. In none of the provinces was the showing good, although, on a relative basis, instruction seems to have been less retarded in the northeast and north than in the central and southern parts of Brazil.

The rude awakening seems to have commenced when Rui Barbosa and other leading statesmen began to compare the situation in their own country with that in other parts of the Western world. Particularly significant was the report of a commission, headed by Barbosa, presented to the national Senate on September 12, 1882.⁶ Much of Barbosa's information was secured at the Philadelphia exposition. The facts he assembled led him to say: "The report of our commission cannot fail to leave us grief-stricken for the state of our primary instruction."⁷ The commission could discover in all of Brazil for the year 1878, only 5,661 primary schools

³ M. P. de Oliveira Santos, "Instrução Publica," *Diccionario Historico, Geographico e Ethnographico do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922), I, 401.

⁴ Vianna, *Memoir of the State of Bahia*, 237.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁶ The report was reproduced under the title "A Lição dos Números Sobre a Reforma do Ensino," *Revista Brasileira de Estatística*, Ano II, No. 8 (October–November, 1941), 927–1024.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 927.

TABLE LI

Registration in Schools and Number of Slaves, 1871, by States *

States	Total enrollment in		Number of slaves
	Secondary schools	Primary schools	
Total	9,389	147,621	1,683,864
Amazonas	84	971	1,000
Pará	884	6,569	30,000
Maranhão	850	6,509	80,000
Piauí	41	1,400	20,000
Ceará	309	14,520	20,000
Rio Grande do Norte	117	2,805	20,000
Paraíba	145	3,545	30,000
Pernambuco	1,049	13,443	250,000
Alagoás	285	6,311	50,000
Sergipe	241	4,817	50,000
Bahia	619	13,560	260,000
Espírito Santo	113	1,414	18,772
Rio de Janeiro	604	10,880	300,000
Distrito Federal	3,262	14,426	50,092
São Paulo	42	11,562	80,000
Paraná	138	1,621	10,000
Santa Catarina	—	4,150	15,000
Rio Grande do Sul	144	12,139	80,000
Minas Gerais	314	13,949	300,000
Goiás	99	1,998	15,000
Mato Grosso	49	1,032	4,000

* Source: João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira, *Relatorio e Trabalhos Estatísticos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1872).

with 175,714 students, "one school for 198.6 children of school age" and "one student [enrolled] per 3.57 individuals of school age. . . ." ⁸ Even in the federal capital the showing was more than seven times worse than in the best cities of the United States, and more than 3.4 times worse than in the North American cities whose schools were the most inadequate. ⁹

The ferment at this time was soon followed by the abolition of slavery and the establishment of the republic. In 1890 a decree of the provisional government declared primary education to be free, gratuitous, and secular, but the republican constitution made primary education a responsibility of the state governments. ¹⁰ Thereafter educational advances were slow,

⁸ *Ibid.*, 939, 941.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 949.

¹⁰ Oliveira Santos, "Instrução Publica," *Diccionario Historico, Geographico e Ethnographico do Brazil*, 402-403.

but progress did take place. When Getúlio Vargas came to power the central government again began pushing educational programs. Recent trends are discussed in another section of this chapter.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS

The quality of a population probably is related more closely to its educational status than to any other determinant. The level of education a people attains is a true indication of the effectiveness of its educational institutions. Comprehensive recent data on this subject are available in the results of the 1940 census and that part of the 1950 enumeration that has been published. These sources supply invaluable information for determining the educational situation, for understanding the bases from which the recent movement for popular education has had to part and the inertia with which Brazilian educators have had to deal. Of all the materials pertaining to education presented in the census, two series are of prime importance for present purposes: (1) one which shows primary-school enrollment and attendance in relation to the population of primary-school age, and (2) another having to do with the educational attainments or status of the population as judged by the ability or inability to read and write. These may be supplemented with more recent data on school attendance.

According to the 1940 data there were in Brazil 10,842,614 children in the ages 6 to 15, inclusive. At that time a total of 2,916,244 persons of these ages were receiving instruction of some type, a proportion of 26.9 per cent. This figure was slightly higher for boys (27.5 per cent) than for girls (26.3 per cent). Daily school attendance averaged 81.1 per cent. Since there were great variations from state to state, the numbers of children of school age and the percentages receiving instruction, subdivided by sex, are presented in Table LII for each of the states in the confederation.

Observation of these data indicates that in 1940 the fundamental elements of an education were being made available to the children in the city of Rio de Janeiro to a much greater extent than to those who lived in the various states. In Pará, where a very high proportion of the children live in the capital (Belém), almost two fifths of the children were in school. Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro, Santa Catarina, and São Paulo followed closely in the order named. On the other hand, the children in Goiás were most likely to be entirely deprived of the privilege of education, with Paraíba, Piauí, Bahia, Ceará, and Alagoas, in the order named, competing most closely for that unflattering distinction. It is interesting to note that the lengthy litigation between the states of Minas Gerais and

TABLE LII

Children Aged 6 to 15 and Percentages Receiving Instruction, by Sex, 1940, by States *

States	Persons aged 6 to 15	Percentages receiving instruction		
		Total	Males	Females
Brazil	10,842,614	26.9	27.5	26.3
North	381,257	35.9	36.1	35.6
Acre †	20,066	26.4	24.8	27.9
Amazonas	117,626	30.5	30.1	30.8
Pará	243,565	39.3	39.9	38.6
Northeast	2,644,061	16.9	16.1	17.7
Maranhão	318,198	18.6	17.9	19.3
Piauí	224,457	13.7	13.2	14.3
Ceará	563,516	16.7	15.7	17.7
Rio Grande do Norte	196,758	17.8	16.3	19.3
Paraíba	374,760	13.6	12.6	14.6
Pernambuco	707,289	18.9	18.6	19.2
Alagoas	259,083	16.8	16.0	17.7
East	4,114,543	26.5	27.1	25.9
Sergipe	139,173	26.3	25.6	26.9
Bahia	1,035,954	16.0	16.0	16.1
Minas Gerais	1,856,073	21.8	22.7	21.0
(Serra dos Aimorés) ‡	19,767	3.3	3.7	2.8
Espírito Santo	214,312	29.6	31.0	28.3
Rio de Janeiro	496,725	36.2	37.5	35.0
Distrito Federal	352,539	67.3	68.6	66.2
South	3,367,132	35.2	36.1	35.6
São Paulo	1,828,952	36.2	37.5	35.0
Paraná	330,925	29.9	31.9	27.9
Santa Catarina	325,932	36.2	38.2	34.0
Rio Grande do Sul	881,323	37.8	39.1	36.5
West Central	335,621	17.3	17.6	17.0
Mato Grosso	110,576	25.6	26.0	25.2
Goiás	225,045	13.2	13.4	12.9

* Assembled and computed from materials in *Estudos sobre a Alfabetização e a Instrução da População do Brasil, Conforme as Apurações do Censo Demográfico de 1940* (2d ed.: Rio de Janeiro, 1950).

† Territory.

‡ In litigation between Espírito Santo and Minas Gerais.

Espírito Santo has the effect of depriving nearly all the children in the district known as the Serra dos Aimorés of any opportunity of attending school.

Inevitably, with a lag of a few years, the school enrollments are reflected directly in the educational status of the population. Mere percentages

of the population able to read and write long ago lost their significance in a society such as that of the British Isles, Scandinavia, Germany, or the United States, where the bulk of the population possesses far more than those elementary skills. But throughout much of the world, including Brazil, the proportion of literacy or illiteracy is still the most useful indicator for measuring the educational level of the population, or showing how it varies from place to place and group to group, and of indicating the nature and direction of the changes that are taking place. Enough of the data from the 1940 census have now been published to enable us to set forth the essential aspects about the educational status of the Brazilian population.

On this basis it has been possible to ascertain that 43.1 per cent of Brazil's population aged 10 and over were classified as able to read and write. The proportion of literacy was much higher among males than females, the percentages being 48.3 and 38.0, respectively. Among the various age groups, literacy was highest for males in the 30-39 year category in which 54.0 per cent were reported as able to read and write, whereas among those 20 to 29, inclusive, only 51.6 per cent were not illiterate. That the corresponding figure in the age group 10-19 is only 42.3 per cent hardly is flattering to the educational activities in the decade 1930 to 1940, for 50.8 per cent of those aged 40 to 49, 49.1 per cent of those 50 to 59, and 54.4 per cent of those aged 60 to 69 were classed as literate. Among females, however, the manner in which literacy varied with age is somewhat different. For the members of the weaker sex the maximum proportion able to read and write was 42.2 per cent in the age group 10-19, after which the percentage fell consistently with increasing age to 30.0 for women aged 50 to 59 and 27.5 for those 60 to 69. This, no doubt, reflects a growing improvement in the status of women in education, as reflected in the school enrollment figures, as well as in other matters.

As might well be anticipated, the educational status of the Brazilian population varies sharply from one part of the country to another. See Table LIII and Figure 19. The first of these gives the data for the various states classified so as to bring out the tremendous differences that prevail among the various categories in the population; and the second shows how the sex variations fluctuate throughout the nation. These materials make it abundantly clear that literacy reaches its maximum in the Distrito Federal, which is almost the same as the city of Rio de Janeiro. Among the states, however, Rio Grande do Sul, in which 61.2 per cent of those aged 10 years or over were classified as able to read and write, ranked first. São Paulo, strongly helped by its great capital city, ranked second;

TABLE LIII

Percentages of the Population 10 Years of Age and Over Classified As Able to Read and Write by Color, by States, 1940 *

States	Total	Percentage Able to Read and Write			Yellow
		Whites	Negroes	Mixed (Pardos)	
Brazil	43.0	52.7	20.9	29.2	65.6
North					
Acre †	39.9	46.8	26.2	35.3	—
Amazonas	46.0	60.0	33.5	40.3	—
Pará	52.5	60.8	35.7	48.2	—
Northeast					
Maranhão	26.6	35.6	15.9	22.6	—
Piauí	26.7	37.6	14.5	22.5	—
Ceará	32.1	42.1	16.8	24.9	—
Rio Grande do Norte	31.2	42.5	14.5	25.3	—
Paraíba	25.8	33.8	12.4	18.2	—
Pernambuco	30.6	37.2	16.8	26.0	—
Alagoás	23.2	28.8	13.0	17.5	—
East					
Sergipe	32.1	40.7	19.3	28.1	—
Bahia	31.9	48.3	18.6	28.0	—
Minas Gerais	43.4	51.5	24.1	36.9	60.1
(Serra dos Aimorés) ‡	23.2	26.5	12.0	—	—
Espírito Santo	52.8	61.8	34.0	42.6	—
Rio de Janeiro	53.6	64.6	29.6	45.0	—
Distrito Federal	86.7	90.6	63.9	82.4	80.0
South					
São Paulo	65.0	67.3	44.1	49.2	75.3
Paraná	55.8	58.4	32.6	40.9	68.0
Santa Catarina	61.2	62.8	34.9	44.6	—
Rio Grande do Sul	64.9	68.4	33.0	43.5	—
West Central					
Mato Grosso	50.5	59.6	31.2	43.3	64.1
Goiás	32.3	37.7	15.7	24.6	—

* Compiled from *Estudos sobre a Alfabetização e a Instrução da População do Brasil, Conforme as Apurções do Censo Demográfico de 1940* (2d ed.: Rio de Janeiro, 1950).

† Territory.

‡ In litigation between the states of Espírito Santo and Minas Gerais.

then came Santa Catarina, Paraná, and Rio de Janeiro, in the order named. Only slightly lower was Espírito Santo, and then came the three largest and most sparsely populated states in Brazil, Pará, Mato Grosso, and Amazonas.

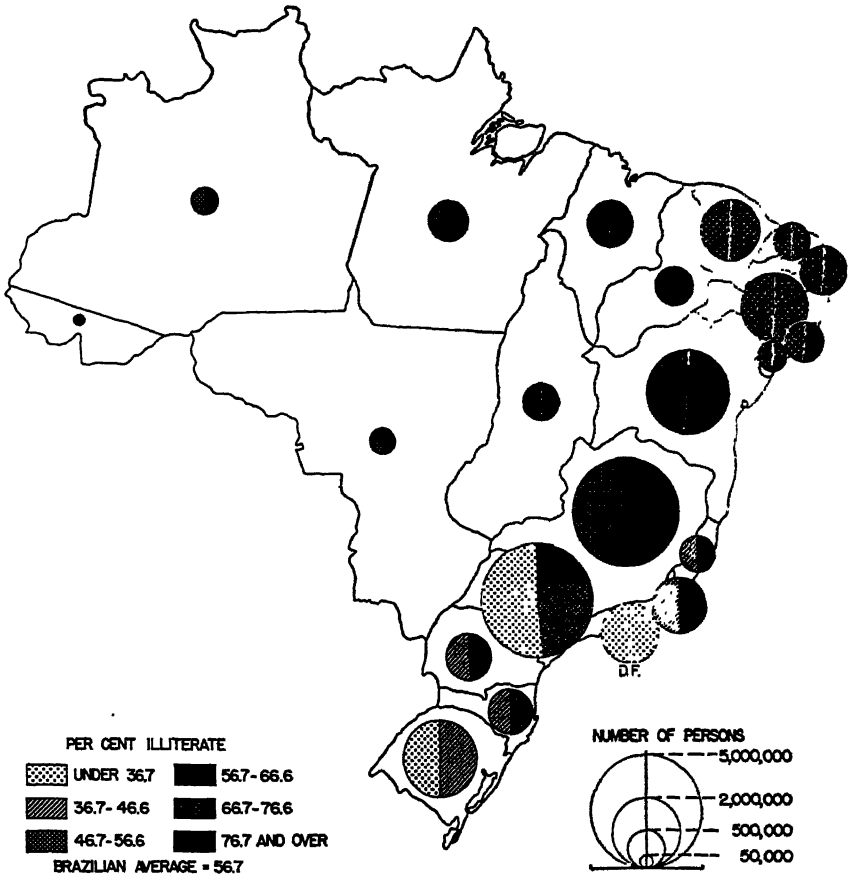


FIGURE 19. Variations in the Percentages of Illiteracy in Brazil, by Sex, 1940. (Starting at twelve o'clock on the circles and reading clockwise, the segments represent the male and female parts of the population, respectively.) From Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 321.

In 1940 illiteracy was most prevalent in northeastern Brazil; the state of Piauí where only 21.9 per cent of the population 10 years of age and over were able to read and write had the most unenviable position of all. It was closely rivaled, however, by Alagoás, Paraíba, and Maranhão.

The tendency for males to be given more education than females, already noted, prevails throughout most of the Brazilian territory, but the differences are likely to be eliminated within the next few decades. The racial or color differential, however, is much more substantial, and it is likely to prevail for many years to come. Those interested in the comparative positions of whites and Negroes and their crosses would do well to study Table LIII carefully.

Another important indicator of the educational status of Brazil's population is the absolute and relative importance of the graduates of pro-

fessional and technical schools and other institutions of higher learning. Data for examining this phase of the subject are available in the 1940 census, and they show a total of 106,496 persons holding degrees from all types of institutions of higher learning (*grau superior*). This is slightly less than 0.4 per cent of the population. In addition another 358,686, 0.9 per cent of the population, were classed as possessing diplomas from secondary schools (*grau médio*), roughly the equivalent of high schools in the United States.¹¹

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Because the state and the município have a large share of the responsibility for primary education, there is much variation from one part of Brazil to another in the length of the course. In general, primary education continues for three years or grades in rural territory, and for four years in urban areas. But there are many exceptions. The latest data on this aspect of school organization are for 1947 when there still were nineteen schools in Brazil which offered only one year of elementary school work. Twelve of these were in Mato Grosso and five of them in Alagôas. Another 1,083 schools offered only two years of training, and those of this type were most numerous in Maranhão (339), Mato Grosso (319), Piauí (263), and Rio Grande do Norte (144). Most numerous of all were the primary schools offering three years of work, numbering 22,526, or more than one half of the total (43,405) in the entire country. These were the prevailing type in the states of Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Alagôas, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Goiás. Schools in which the children were privileged to secure four years of elementary education were more numerous than those of any other type in the territories of Guaporé, Acre, and Rio Branco, and the states of Pará, Piauí, Paraíba, Sergipe, and Rio Grande do Sul. The Distrito Federal, the territory of Amapá, and the states of Amazonas, Pernambuco, and Bahia have already placed their elementary schooling on a five-year basis, and substantial numbers of such elementary schools also are found in Ceará, Paraíba, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Paraná. Of all the primary schools in Brazil in 1947 about 0.1 per cent offered only one year of work, 2.5 per cent offered two, 51.8 per cent three, 30.0 per cent four, and 15.6 per cent five years or grades of schooling.¹²

¹¹ These data are taken from "Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940, II* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), 30.

¹² Data are from *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, Ano XII, 1951*, pp. 422-23.

Stimulated by the improvements made under the able direction of Carneiro Leão, first in Pernambuco and later in Rio de Janeiro,¹³ there is a growing tendency for the larger cities to increase the duration of primary schooling to five years. But the struggle is not easy. As late as 1921 a legal attempt was made in progressive São Paulo to reduce the primary schools to two grades.¹⁴ Another such attempt is unlikely in that state, although constant pressure from Rio de Janeiro is necessary to keep some of the others from slipping back still further.

Administratively, the primary schools may be organized and conducted by the government of the nation, the state, or the município, or by private (generally religious) agencies. In the open country the *escola isolada*, the one-teacher, ungraded school, prevails. In the centers of population social organization is generally sufficiently advanced to provide a primary school with two or more teachers. The first grading is always by sex, boys together and girls together. If there are sufficient funds, teachers, and students, each sex may be graded by age. In any case the multiple-teacher school is called *grupo escolar*.

Number and Size of Schools. The latest available data, those for 1947, give 43,405 as the number of schools (*unidades escolares*) offering primary work. In these were registered a total of 3,616,367 students, an average of 86 per school. But a large portion of the students did little more than appear at one time or another so that the "effective matriculation" amounted to only 3,063,775, or 71 students per school. Average attendance was 71 per cent if based upon the total registration, or 84 if the effective matriculation is used. Of those whose matriculation was effective, 1,691,231, or 55 per cent, completed the work prescribed for the year and advanced one stage. Nearly a quarter of a million students, 242,645, or 7.9 per cent of the effective registration, graduated from the elementary-school course at the end of the year. This number of graduates considered in conjunction with the total matriculation and the length of the elementary course probably means that at least two out of three children who commence school fall by the way before completing the three- or the four-year course.¹⁵

¹³ For an account of the constant battle for a better educational system, see Carneiro Leão, *Planejar e Agir*.

¹⁴ Cf. A. Almeida, Jr., *Anuario do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo, 1935-1936* (São Paulo, 1937?), 111-12.

¹⁵ Those who do graduate range in age from 10 years upwards. One study of 2,353 students graduating from the four-year course in the grupos escolares of the city of Belo Horizonte in 1941 gave the following distribution: age 10, 5.8 per cent; age 11, 21.5 per cent; age 12, 26.0 per cent; age 13, 25.3 per cent; age 14, 15.1 per cent; age 15, 5.2 per cent; age 16, 0.7 per cent; and age 17, 0.1 per cent. Helena Antipoff, *Encaminhamento dos Alunos que Deixam a Escola Primária, para Escola de Nivel mais Alto ou para o*

The size of the school also is indicated by the number of teachers per unit. There were in 1947 a total of 93,288 teachers instructing in the primary schools, or an average of 2.1 per school. Each teacher had on the average 39 pupils if the total matriculation is considered, or 33 if only the effective registration is taken into account. Together these facts indicate that the schools are small, a very large share being one-teacher units. They also indicate that the pupil-per-teacher ratio is high.¹⁶ (See Table LIV.)

Administrative Dependency. Thirteen per cent of the primary schools are operated by private agencies, most of which are ecclesiastical bodies. (See Table LXV.) These privately supported schools employ almost 15 per cent of all the primary teachers and enroll 14.4 per cent of the children. They are somewhat larger than the public schools, averaging 78 students as compared with 69, and they have 2.4 teachers per school compared with 2.1 in the public primary schools. Private schools are of greatest relative importance in the city of Rio de Janeiro, and in Rio Grande do Norte, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Sul, Mato Grosso, and Alagoas, where 20 per cent or more of all the children secure a private primary education. On the other hand, private agencies have done very little to provide educational facilities in Acre, Piauí, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, Paraná, and Santa Catarina. (See Table LV.)

Of the 37,964 publicly supported elementary schools in Brazil in 1947, 21,655 (slightly more than 57 per cent) were financed by the states, 16,106 (42 per cent) by the various municípios, and 3 by the federal government.¹⁷

The Curriculum. An examination of the detailed program of work specified for the elementary schools greatly assists one in gaining an understanding of Brazilian educational institutions. For this purpose, it is convenient to use the plan of study recently established for the rural schools in Paraná, one of the more progressive of the states.¹⁸ This curriculum is less adequate than that of city schools generally, but is a considerable improvement over that used throughout a large portion of the rural territory. It probably approximates the mean of all elementary education in Brazil.

Trabalho, mimeographed (Goiânia, 1942) paper presented to the Octavo Congresso Brasileiro de Educação. For earlier but more comprehensive data, see M. A. Teixeira de Freitas, *O Que Dizem os Números Sobre o Ensino Primário* (São Paulo, 1937), 57, *passim*.

¹⁶ Data from *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XII, 1951, pp. 425-43.

¹⁷ *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XII, 1951, pp. 421-22.

¹⁸ Directoria Geral da Educação, *Programa para as Escolas Isoladas: Decreto No. 9592 de 26 de Fevereiro de 1940* (Curitiba, 1940), 5-19.

TABLE LIV

The Relative Importance of Private Elementary Schools, 1947, by States *

State and territories	Number of primary schools			Enrollment in primary schools ‡		
	Public	Private		Public	Private	
	Number	Number	Per cent	Number	Number	Per cent
Brazil	37,964	5,641	13.0	2,623,527	440,248	14.4
North						
Guaporé †	27	3	10.0	1,319	517	27.4
Acre †	114	8	6.6	6,015	516	8.2
Amazonas	267	33	11.0	17,127	3,930	18.7
Rio Branco †	12	1	7.7	638	92	12.6
Pará	1,092	69	5.9	74,910	7,879	9.5
Amapá †	45	0	0.0	3,044	0	0.0
Northeast						
Maranhão	658	79	11.1	39,071	5,568	12.5
Piauí	593	45	7.1	39,830	2,960	6.9
Ceará	2,016	250	11.0	98,124	16,392	14.3
Rio Grande do Norte	626	308	33.0	36,322	15,255	29.6
Paraíba	797	182	18.6	60,210	14,489	19.4
Pernambuco	1,681	702	29.5	88,990	41,453	31.8
Alagoás	515	152	22.8	32,623	9,506	22.6
East						
Sergipe	553	119	17.7	31,001	7,011	18.4
Bahia	2,094	232	10.0	124,391	17,597	12.4
Minas Gerais	6,312	457	6.7	485,305	35,350	6.8
Espírito Santo	1,160	50	4.1	62,780	3,294	5.0
Rio de Janeiro	1,472	169	10.3	126,904	13,312	9.5
Distrito Federal	235	664	73.9	114,748	76,779	40.1
South						
São Paulo	7,001	713	9.2	663,541	68,548	9.8
Paraná	1,441	84	5.5	80,811	9,337	10.4
Santa Catarina	2,869	55	1.9	149,701	7,429	4.7
Rio Grande do Sul	5,183	1,118	17.7	252,898	70,864	21.9
West Central						
Mato Grosso	411	60	12.7	23,182	6,245	21.2
Goiás	580	88	10.3	40,192	5,925	12.8

* Compiled and computed from data in the *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XII, 1951 (Rio de Janeiro, 1952), 421-22 and 431-32.

† Territory.

‡ Effective matriculation.

Subjects prescribed for the first year are Portuguese, oral and written; writing; arithmetic; drawing; geography; Brazilian history; civic, moral and social education; natural and physical sciences; hygiene; manual

TABLE LV

Number and Size of Primary Schools, 1947, by States *

States and territories	Number of schools	Pupils per school ‡	Teachers per school	Pupils per teacher
Brazil	43,405	71	2.1	33
North				
Guaporé †	30	63	2.8	22
Acre †	122	52	1.7	31
Amazonas	300	70	2.1	34
Rio Branco †	13	56	1.9	29
Pará	1,161	71	1.7	42
Amapá †	45	66	1.8	39
Northeast				
Maranhão	737	61	1.6	37
Piauí	638	67	1.7	40
Ceará	2,266	51	1.5	33
Rio Grande do Norte	934	55	1.3	42
Paraíba	979	76	1.9	40
Pernambuco	2,383	55	1.7	33
Alagoas	667	63	1.7	38
East				
Sergipe	672	57	1.4	40
Bahia	2,326	61	1.5	41
Minas Gerais	6,769	77	2.4	32
Espírito Santo	1,210	55	1.6	34
Rio de Janeiro	1,641	85	2.5	34
Distrito Federal	899	213	6.7	32
South				
São Paulo	7,724	91	2.7	33
Paraná	1,525	59	2.5	24
Santa Catarina	2,924	54	1.5	36
Rio Grande do Sul	6,301	51	1.9	28
West Central				
Mato Grosso	471	62	2.1	30
Goiás	668	69	2.1	33

* Compiled and computed from data in the *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XII, 1951 (Rio de Janeiro, 1952), 421-34.

† Territory.

‡ Based on effective matriculation.

exercises (as paper cutting and making of boxes, for the boys; sewing and crocheting, for the girls); singing; and physical education. The work specified for the second year consists of instruction in Portuguese, oral and written; arithmetic; geometry; drawing; geography; Brazilian history;

civic, moral, and social education; physical, natural, and agricultural sciences; hygiene; manual exercises; singing; and physical education. Finally, during the third year, the children study the same subjects, as in the second, except that writing again has a formal place in the program.¹⁹

The work to be done in each of the subjects is set forth in the decree establishing the curriculum. For example, it is prescribed that the first year of arithmetic shall include the following: work in counting and writing numbers to 1,000; addition, subtraction, division, and multiplication up to 1,000, providing "that in the multiplication and division the multiplier and the divisor shall always be simple numbers"; learning to find $1/2$, $1/4$, and $1/5$ of any number up to 50; and learning the first twelve Roman numerals. The second year's work consists of learning to read and write the numbers to the thousands; studying the tens, hundreds, and thousands; practicing the four fundamental operations; and learning the Roman numerals to 200. During the third year the program requires the students to make a complete study of the four fundamental operations, to learn the rudiments of simple fractions, to study the decimals, to learn the metric system of weights and measures, to do problems in the decimal metric system, to do practical work in simple proportions, and to do problems in simple interest.

In the sciences, during the first year, the students are to be taught the rudiments of the three kingdoms of nature, animal, vegetable, and mineral, along with the utility of each. The year following, when agriculture is included, they are to learn the bodies of nature, solids, liquids, and gases; elementary facts about the human body; the advantages of rational farming in comparison with the old routine, i. e., fire agriculture; to know the domestic animals and their uses; and something about agricultural instruments and how they are used. Finally, in the third year, it is prescribed that they shall be taught about the five senses; a little concerning digestion, respiration, and the circulation of the blood; elementary facts regarding air and water; the preparation and fertilization of the soil; seed selection; the planting of local crops; and the culture of *erva mate*, coffee, cotton, rice, wheat, and fruit trees.

Teachers' Responsibilities. The decree also indicates the duties of the teacher, and specifies certain things which he or she must not do. There are 29 positive requirements as follows: (1) to open the building at least 15 minutes before time for classes to commence, (2) to be zealous in cleaning and caring for the classroom and the equipment, (3) to main-

¹⁹ For a very similar set of requirements, spread over four years and used in the state of São Paulo, see Almeida, *Anuario do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo, 1935-1936*, 113-23.

tain the maximum of order and discipline in the classroom, (4) to take great care in maintaining the record, without erasures, deletions, or additions, (5) to prepare the lessons a day in advance, (6) to set an example in morality, politeness, punctuality, assiduity, and love of work, (7) to appear, if invited, at all school celebrations, civic educational gatherings, even though they occur on holidays, (8) to be present at educational and pedagogical meetings, if invited by the authorities, (9) to assume office during the legal period specified, (10) to notify the students of the opening of school, (11) to commemorate all national holidays, and to hold school celebrations on September 21 (Spring Day), and October 12 (Children's Day), (12) to supervise the playground during recess, (13) to fill in all the columns in the register and the roll book, (14) to correct the papers of the students daily, filing them away and returning them to the students at the end of the year, (15) to stay at the school during the official hours, (16) to keep a daily record of the schoolwork, (17) to execute faithfully all of the orders of the school authorities, (18) to use a duster while classes are in session and see that the students do the same, (19) to make every effort to secure from the students the maximum of assiduity and punctuality, (20) to post school hours in a prominent place and to comply with them faithfully, (21) to treat the students with tenderness, care, and politeness, (22) to compile the tabular report at the end of each month, with data faithfully transcribed from the roll book, to present it for the approval of the inspector of schools, and then to send it to the Director General of Education before the fifth of the month following, (23) to inform the authorities, officially, concerning the performance of teaching duties, the closing and reopening of classes, and the beginning and conclusion of the vacation, (24) in case of resignation or discharge, to make an inventory of school materials and to deliver them, in return for a receipt, to the proper official, (25) to record and send to the Director General of Education the facts concerning all visitors, whether they be school authorities or not, (26) to requisition essential supplies and equipment, (27) to inform the parents or guardians concerning the excessive absences or serious misbehavior of their children, (28) to sing the national hymn at the opening of school, and the hymn to the flag at the close, and (29) to inform the Director General of Education of the hours for class work at the beginning of the school year and to refrain from making changes in them unless officially authorized to do so.

The teacher is specifically prohibited from (1) residing more than three kilometers from the school, (2) failing to enter his absences in the monthly report, (3) using his own or the students' time during classes for noneducational activities, (4) omitting parts of the program or altering

the order of recitations, (5) changing the distribution of time among the various subjects, (6) permitting outsiders, even members of his own family, in the classroom, excepting visitors and officials, (7) leaving the students by themselves, either in the classroom or at recess, (8) administering physical punishment, (9) securing a substitute during his absences, (10) permitting students to carry books supplied by the state government to their homes, (11) giving students consent to leave the school grounds at recess under the pretext of going home for lunch, (12) permitting the use of the schoolhouse for entertainments or other noneducational purposes, (13) failing to assist the group of examiners, when designated to do so, and (14) sending his students, or appearing with them, in a group at funerals.²⁰

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

A very small percentage of Brazil's children are privileged to advance beyond the primary educational levels, attend secondary schools, and continue through the universities. This is largely because enough schools are not available and because the bulk of the population lives at a great distance from those that have been established. Thus in all of Brazil there were in 1947 only 1,524 secondary schools; and of 344 in the category called "superior" which includes everything from universities and colleges, to military schools, seminaries, and institutions for training public servants. More telling are the facts that only 311,887 students were registered in secondary schools of all types, and 30,715 in schools classed in the superior, or higher education category. That the lack of schools is the principal factor is indicated by the fact that 695 of the 1,534 secondary schools in the republic were located in the state and the national capitals.²¹ In the entire state of Pará, for example, a state with twice the territory of Texas, there was only one secondary school outside of Belém. In Amazonas, a state of approximately the same size, there were no high schools except the ten in Manaus. In Maranhão 11 of the 13 high schools in the state were situated in São Luís, the capital. In the southern states, of course, the family living in the municípios of the interior and desiring to give its children the advantages of a high-school education found the problem not as difficult as in the states before mentioned. Nevertheless, even in São Paulo, a state in which there were over 300 municípios in 1947 and 369 in 1950, 140 of the 412 secondary schools were concentrated in the state capital. Thus the fact is that even though a handful of people, less than 5,000 per year, may complete the curricula offered by national institutions

²⁰ *Programa para as Escolas Isoladas*, 5-19.

²¹ Data from the *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XII, 1951, pp. 399-400.

of higher learning and a few obtain the finest of training abroad, the great mass of the Brazilians are denied any learning beyond the three R's.

Furthermore, as suggested above, there are very great regional differences in secondary educational facilities offered in the municípios other than those containing the capitals. Statistical data on this subject have not been carried in the recent editions of the *Anuário Estatístico*; but in 1938, of the 401 municípios containing one or more secondary schools, 103 were in Minas Gerais, 82 in São Paulo, 38 in Rio Grande do Sul, and 32 in Santa Catarina. This left only 146 high-school centers in all the vast remainder of Brazil. In addition, São Paulo and Minas Gerais are states where the município is relatively small; elsewhere its territory may be enormous. Thus in Pará there were only two municípios whose schools carried the student beyond the elementary grades. Maranhão had only three such educational centers; Rio Grande do Norte, four; Espírito Santo, Piauí, and Sergipe, five each. The use of relative numbers shows Santa Catarina made the best showing of all since 73 per cent of its municípios contained facilities for secondary education. Acre, whose municípios each embrace the basin of a tributary of the Amazon, had such a school in 71 per cent of them. Rio Grande do Sul ranked next, with secondary schools in 43 per cent of its municípios, followed by Rio de Janeiro (38 per cent), Minas Gerais (36 per cent), São Paulo (30 per cent), Goiás (27 per cent), and Pernambuco (27 per cent). At the other end of the scale was Pará (4 per cent), followed by Maranhão (5 per cent), Bahia (9 per cent), Ceará (11 per cent), Piauí (11 per cent), and Sergipe (12 per cent). Thus the area from Bahia north, one of tremendous distances, was one in which only the favored few families who were wealthy enough to send their children far from home were able to provide them with a secondary education.²²

RECENT TRENDS

During the period 1932 to 1947 Brazil made considerable progress in the extension of the privileges and benefits of its educational system to larger proportions of the children of elementary-school age. The data are decidedly informing and the trends give cause for optimism with respect to the outlook for general education throughout the nation. Particularly encouraging is the extent to which educational facilities and opportunities are being carried beyond the influence of the large metropolitan centers and into the smaller cities, towns, and the rural areas.

Matriculation in all schools (*ensino em geral*) totaled 2,274,213 in 1932 and 5,198,872 in 1947. In sixteen years the number of students

²² *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano V, 1939/1940, pp. 712, 768.

increased by almost three million; the percentage gain was 124 per cent. Meanwhile the number of schools increased from 29,948 to 67,156, a gain of 37,208, or 124 per cent. In the period under consideration the number of teachers mounted even more rapidly, growing from 76,025 to 175,506, or a change of 131 per cent.

An encouraging aspect of the educational trend in Brazil is the improvement in the average attendance. For example, in the elementary schools the average attendance rose from 79 per cent of the effective matriculation in 1934 to 84 per cent in 1947. The teaching load, based upon effective matriculation, was 34 students per teacher in 1934, and 33 in 1947.

Improvements in education are coming more rapidly in some parts of Brazil than in others. (See Table LVI.) Considering several of the indexes in conjunction, the greatest progress is observed in the states of Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Ceará, and Goiás. With the exception of the last named, these states all fall in the northeastern region where the lag in educational development long was the most pronounced. In other words, most of these states are merely catching up a bit on the others. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to see that educational improvements are being made throughout the length and breadth of Brazil and that even the most advanced states are not satisfied with the prevailing educational program.

To a considerable extent present developments and trends in Brazilian education represent an extension to the smaller cities and rural areas of educational facilities and privileges more comparable with those previously enjoyed in the capitals, the larger urban agglomerations. To demonstrate this proposition, there are available data concerning the trends from 1934 to 1947. Consider first the number of schools in the basic *ensino fundamental: comun* category. In the nation as a whole the number of schools increased from 28,619 in 1934 to 43,405 in 1947, or nearly fifteen thousand. But of these new schools only 631 were in the city of Rio de Janeiro and the capitals of the various states, and 14,155 were installed in the smaller places and in the rural areas. On a relative basis the increase was only 18 per cent in the capitals and 56 per cent in the remainder of the republic. Whereas the capitals with 3,541 schools had more than 12 per cent of the nation's basic elementary institutions in 1934, by 1947 their 4,172 schools made up only 10 per cent of the total, in spite of the fact that the rate of population increase in the capitals exceeds that in the other parts of Brazil.

The situation is similar with respect to enrollment. Between 1934 and 1947 effective matriculation in the common schools of the capitals in-

TABLE LVI

Improvement in General Education, 1932-1947, by States*

States	Percentage changes in number of		
	Elementary schools	Teachers	Effective matriculants
Brazil	66	77	79
North			
Acre	45	66	64
Pará	-30	-3	49
Amazonas	79	80	76
Northeast			
Maranhão	22	4	64
Piauí	309	267	277
Ceará	159	152	146
Rio Grande do Norte	184	184	210
Paraíba	107	173	151
Pernambuco	41	69	48
Alagoas	40	78	110
East			
Sergipe	77	95	99
Bahia	36	35	60
Minas Gerais	91	77	82
Espírito Santo	67	103	80
Rio de Janeiro	12	66	44
Distrito Federal	22	27	75
South			
São Paulo	106	73	78
Paraná	38	123	98
Santa Catarina	95	150	130
Rio Grande do Sul	40	77	45
West Central			
Mato Grosso	111	143	114
Goiás	76	181	140

* Compiled and computed from data in the *Revista Brasileira de Estatística*, Ano II, No. 8, pp. 1337-42; and *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XII, 1951, pp. 411-16.

creased by only 44 per cent, from 446,838 at the beginning to 642,347 at the end of the period. In the meantime, effective matriculation in similar schools located outside the state and federal capitals mounted by 65 per cent, from 1,471,252 in 1934 to 2,421,347 in 1947. Whereas in 1934 the schools of the capitals enrolled 23.3 per cent of the nation's children studying in the general course, by 1947 the proportion had fallen to 21.0 per cent. Likewise the proportion of teachers employed in the schools of the capitals fell from 27 per cent in 1934 to 23 per cent in 1947. The

number of teachers in capital schools increased by only 43 per cent in the 14-year period in comparison with an increase of 78 per cent in the remainder of the nation.

The capitals' schools devoted to general education are considerably larger than those in the smaller places and rural areas, and the tendency is for the differential to increase. The former averaged 126 pupils in 1934 and 154 in 1947; the comparable figures for the latter are only 59 and 62. The number of teachers per school averaged 4.2 in 1934 and 5.1 in 1947 in the capitals. Outside the capitals it is much smaller, only 1.6 in 1934 and 1.8 in 1947. The ratio of students per teacher is also of interest, constituting as it does one of the most significant of all educational indexes. Based on effective matriculation, overloading is more pronounced outside the capitals than it is in the smaller centers, although there has been no important change. Thus in 1934 the average number of pupils per teacher was 30 in the capital schools and in 1947 it was the same. In the interior portions of the states, however, the index was 36 in 1934 and 34 in 1947.²³

PROSPECTS

The chances are that primary and even secondary education will continue making rapid progress in the larger cities and towns of Brazil. More people will receive the elements of an education. The training is likely to be better and spread over a longer period of time, so that smaller proportions will lapse back into an illiterate state because of failure to use their acquired abilities to read and write. Literacy will improve functionally even more than it will quantitatively. Urban Brazil is bound to meet more fully the educational standards of Western civilization.

In the vast interior the prospects for millions of young Brazilians are not so favorable. An outstanding Brazilian educator, A. Almeida, Jr., of São Paulo, keeps repeating: "There are still localities that are not ripe for the school. To ask that the teacher alone, without material or moral assistance, pull the neighborhood to the front, is to ask too much of the poor girl."²⁴ For the teacher, the majority of rural schools represent the "seven capital sins." Schools cannot go ahead of systems of communications. "Rarely does a school bring a road. Almost always it is the ease of access that makes possible the school."²⁵ The smaller and more backward the school, the greater the dependence of the teacher. In the more isolated sec-

²³ The basic data used in these computations were derived from the *Revista Brasileira de Estatística*, Ano II, No. 8, pp. 1337-42, and the *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XII, 1951, pp. 412-16.

²⁴ A. Almeida, Jr., "Os Sete Pecados Capitais da Escola Rural," *Revista Brasileira de Estatística*, Ano II, No. 8, p. 1215.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

tions, even the schoolroom is secured only as a very great favor, at the cost of the girl. All goes well as long as the teacher is *persona grata*, but "there are fazendeiros and farm managers who consider the teacher to be an employee of the fazenda under the orders of the master and subject to the general discipline of the laborers." To disregard this means trouble. On arriving the girl may be transported to the community; on leaving she may have to go afoot, carrying her suitcase. One day she may be seated at the table with the family, and "tomorrow, under the pretext that there is a sick relative, the door is closed in her face."²⁶ Frequently the girl must find shelter in the house of the caipira, where the "mistress of the house, although an excellent person, cooks the beans badly with no fat; cleanliness is unknown. . . . The teacher is given a room, with the walls full of holes, which is also used for keeping saddles and harness . . . water difficult; lack of sanitary installations."²⁷

These are only a few of the obstacles preventing the extension of schools into the remote areas, a task made all the more difficult by the nature of the class system. For a rural schoolteacher to make her home with a middle-class family is one thing, to become the servant of the fazendeiro or exist in the primitive hut of the caipira is quite another. "There are, then, localities immature for the school. Before naming teachers for them, give them roads, sanitation, a dwelling, and a school house. . . . The school plows and sows. Before it, however, should go the axe."²⁸

Another of Brazil's leading educators has proposed definite steps for remedying the situation. M. A. Teixeira de Freitas stresses the necessity of changing the settlement pattern of Brazil, of remedying the isolated and illiterate state in which a large portion of the rural population lives. As a technique for accomplishing the dual purpose of bringing the population into closer spatial relationship to one another and for educating them along the most necessary lines he has urged and continues to promote the idea of establishing "colony-schools."²⁹

Teixeira de Freitas presented his proposal for the establishment of these nucleated settlements to the nation's educators who assembled in Bahia in November, 1934. He began by pointing out the "notorious fact" that the rural population of Brazil has an "unbelievably low index of social and economic 'worth.'" This he attributed to a threefold incapacity of the Brazilian countryman, who "neither knows how nor is able to care for his health, nor productively orient his work, nor give to his life the values of civilization." For this reason, "our primordial attempts at progress should

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1216.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1217.

²⁹ This thesis was presented to the I Congresso de Ensino Regional, held in Bahia during November, 1934. Some of its essentials were also published in Teixeira de Freitas' article, "Educação Rural," *Revista Nacional de Educação*, Nos. 18-19 (March-April 1934), 54-80.

be in the direction of integrating our nationality by the elevation of the sanitary, economic, and social level of the populations living in the sertões and along the beaches." Before considering how this might be done, the speaker gave an analysis of the reasons for such deficiencies. He contended that there was a "fundamental deficit of 'socialization' " because of dispersion and lack of education. Therefore, he reasoned very logically, it is possible to phrase the problem of Brazil's rural civilization in terms of social gravitation: gravitation on the material level, or the condensation or aggregation of the demographic mass, and gravitation on the spiritual level, a point of departure for the interlacing of desires, intelligences, and sentiments. "The solution of such a problem, then, is nothing more than to provoke an adequate social centripetency, a centripetency which, harmoniously balancing with an antiurban centrifugation will give to Brazil in a short time a true agricultural organization differentiated from the metropolitan structure, but firmly articulated with it in the structural equilibrium of a well-equipped social organism."

Many attempts, he assures, have been made to achieve such ends, including "superficial and extensive literacy campaigns; enormous educative effort in the rural schools; generalized sanitary assistance; intensive promotion of rural activities; extending to the maximum the network of communications; the fixation, in colonies, of the dispersed rural inhabitants; and there are other such remedies already thought of and tried." But all of them have been defective in their approach. All have had "a unilateral action. The isolated employment of each of the measures mentioned will always be innocuous, because the weight of the negative factors, left unmodified, always will outweigh the beneficial action of the one that is being modified."

To bring about a convergence of all the forces necessary to change substantially the situation in rural Brazil, this eminent authority proposed that the work of colonization and that of education be undertaken simultaneously and in conjunction with one another. To do this, he proposed the establishment of "colony-schools." These should bring together for a year or so of intensive education and training all of the members of all of the families in an area. They would live in the clean, healthy, and properly constructed homes of the colony-school, in a locality where necessary sanitary and preventative health measures were all taken. Each would have a small plot of ground on which to learn through practice, and each would be supplied the best of instruction and advice on all the technical, industrial, commercial, and administrative problems of the colony. The families themselves would perform most of the activities required to maintain the

colony as a healthful place in which to live. The teaching of co-operation and the instruction of the young would be stressed.

Nearby would be selected an area for permanent settlement to which the families could graduate. After completing satisfactorily a period in the colony, each family would be entitled to buy a small tract of ground in the area at a low price and on easy terms. Credit would be furnished, and the agricultural instruction and orientation continued. Great emphasis would be placed upon assisting the families in the new settlement to maintain it as a healthful place for living. Schooling for their children would be continued, they would be closely tied into all essential social and economic services, and every effort made to develop a real "social and civic life in the new community."

Since the close of the second World War many Brazilians of considerable mental stature, including many members of the clergy, have been concerned with another attempt to make some headway against the mass of illiteracy and related social problems in the interior of Brazil. They are actively pushing a rural welfare program known as the rural missions. A rural mission consists of a team, including specialists in rural education, medicine, nursing, home economics, social work, geography, and agriculture. One or two other specialists also may be included. It is dispatched by the federal government working in co-operation with the state. The members of the team spend about six weeks in a rural area, and may return periodically thereafter. They visit the fazendas offering services, counsel, and demonstrations; they work closely with the teachers in the local schools. If possible they help organize social centers and co-operative associations. Demonstrations in agriculture, pest control, and home economics and the organization of agricultural clubs for boys and homemaking clubs for the girls are fundamental types of activity in their programs. By means of films and demonstrations they attack health and other problems at the adult level of education. In every way they seek to press the battle against ignorance, poverty, disease, lethargy, and the host of problems confronting the people in the remote districts.³⁰

It is certain that rural missions are greatly improving the situation in the areas in which they work. Probably they also are helping to create the environment in which rural schools will have better chances of success and to arouse the interest that will lead to the organization of more and

³⁰ The literature on the subject already is extensive. Among the most informing titles are Serviço de Informação Agrícola, *Missões Rurais de Educação: A Experiência de Itaperuna* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952); J. V. Freitas Marcondes, "As Missões Rurais e a Sindicalização Rural," *Arquivos de Direito Social*, X (1952); and Escola de Serviço Social do Paraná, "Amparo ao Homem do Campo no Paraná," *Serviço Social*, Ano XII, No. 65 (July-September, 1952). These also show the variety of interests which are promoting rural missions of one type or another.

better schools. They are not, however, an adequate substitute for the schools that are so desperately needed in many parts of the Brazilian territory. Brazil's great problem—and her great opportunity—still remains the organization of at least one elementary school in every rural community and the establishment of at least one secondary school in each unit of national territory that is permitted to enjoy the status of a município.

CHAPTER XXI

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

CATHOLICISM WAS the official religion in Brazil while it was a colony and continued to be so all during the period of the empire. Nevertheless, there was a freedom of religion and worship in Brazil that contrasted sharply with the severe restraints imposed in Spanish America.¹ With the declaration of the republic in 1889 and the adoption of the constitution of 1890 there was a separation of church and state and the official establishment of full freedom of religion. Then it was that Brazil came to be juridically secular. The republican constitution of 1891, by its Article 72, provided that "all individuals and religious confessions may exercise their cult publicly and freely, associating together for these purposes and acquiring property in accordance with the dispositions of the common law" (Paragraph 3). It was further provided that no cult or church should enjoy a subsidy from the government, nor have "a relationship of dependency or alliance with the Government of the Union or of the States" (Paragraph 7). Finally it was stipulated that no Brazilian citizen should be deprived of his civil and political rights on account of his religious beliefs or functions (Paragraph 28).² This freedom of religion was reaffirmed in the constitution of 1937 by Article 122, Section IV, which reads as follows:

All individuals and religious sects may freely and publicly exercise their cult, meet for this purpose and acquire real estate, observing the provisions of common law and the requisites of public and good usage.

And it was perpetuated in the present constitution by paragraphs 7 and 10 of Article 141.

The liberty of conscience and belief is inviolate and the free exercise of religious cults is assured, except those which are contrary to public order or good usage. Religious associations shall acquire a juridical personality under the civil law.

¹ Cf. J. Lloyd Meacham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 305 ff. See also D. P. Kidder and J. C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), 143-44.

² See the chapter by Dario de Bittencourt, "A Liberdade Religiosa no Brasil: a Macumba e o Batuque em Face da Lei," in *O Negro no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940), 169-99. See also, Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, Chap. XV.

The cemeteries shall have a secular character and shall be administered by the município. All religious professions are permitted to practice their rites in them. Religious associations may, in accordance with the law, maintain private cemeteries.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Catholic Church in Brazil is organized into 20 ecclesiastical provinces, subdivided into 20 archdioceses presided over by archbishops, 66 tributary dioceses headed by bishops, 29 ecclesiastical prelaties, and one abbey. See Table LVII. The most recent data relative to the number of parishes and priests are not available, but they probably are not greatly different from the situation in 1939 when the number of parishes totaled 2,593, served by 2,512 *sacerdotes* of the secular clergy.³ In addition to the secular clergy there were 14 religious orders for males and 11 for females. The former included among their numbers 2,504 sacerdotes, 1,894 teaching brothers, and 832 teachers. The members of the orders were estimated to number between eight and nine thousand.⁴

TABLE LVII

The Catholic Dioceses of Brazil, 1953

- I—Província Eclesiástica da Bahia (1676)
- 1—Arquidiocese de Salvador
 - 2—Diocese de Amargosa
 - 3—Diocese da Barra do Rio Grande
 - 4—Diocese de Caetetê
 - 5—Diocese de Bonfim
 - 6—Diocese de Ilhéus
- II—Província Eclesiástica de São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro (1893)
- 1—Arquidiocese de São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro
 - 2—Diocese de Niterói
 - 3—Diocese de Valença
 - 4—Diocese de Barra do Pirai
 - 5—Diocese de Petrópolis
 - 6—Diocese de Campos
 - 7—Diocese do Espírito Santo
 - 8—Abadia Nullius de Nossa Senhora de Monserrato
- III—Província Eclesiástica do Pará (1906)
- 1—Arquidiocese de Belém do Pará
 - 2—Prelazia de Guama
 - 3—Prelazia de Marajó

³ Padre João Baptista Lehmann, *O Brazil Catholico, 1938* (Juiz de Fora, 1939?), 28-387.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 467, 560.

- 4—Prelazia do Xingú
- 5—Prelazia de Santarém
- 6—Prelazia da Ss. Conceição do Araguaia
- 7—Prelazia do Macapá
- 8—Prelazia de Cametá

IV—Província Eclesiástica de Mariana (1906)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Mariana
- 2—Diocese de Pouso Alegre
- 3—Diocese de Juiz de Fora
- 4—Diocese de Campanha
- 5—Diocese de Caratinga
- 6—Diocese de Leopoldina

V—Província Eclesiástica de São Paulo (1908)

- 1—Arquidiocese de São Paulo
- 2—Diocese de Jaboticabal
- 3—Diocese de Assis
- 4—Diocese de Bragança
- 5—Diocese de Sorocaba
- 6—Diocese de Rio Preto
- 7—Diocese de Santos
- 8—Diocese de Campinas
- 9—Diocese de Taubaté
- 10—Diocese de Botucatu
- 11—Diocese de Piracicaba
- 12—Diocese de Lins
- 13—Diocese de Lorena
- 14—Diocese de São Carlos
- 15—Diocese de Ribeirão Preto
- 16—Diocese de Marília

VI—Província Eclesiástica de Cuiabá (1910)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Cuiabá
- 2—Diocese de Cáceres
- 3—Prelazia do Registro do Araguaia
- 4—Prelazia do Guajaramirim
- 5—Prelazia da Chapada
- 6—Diocese de Corumbá
- 7—Prelazia de Diamantino

VII—Província Eclesiástica de Pôrto Alegre (1910)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Pôrto Alegre
- 2—Diocese de Santa Maria
- 3—Diocese de Pelotas
- 4—Diocese de Uruguaiana
- 5—Diocese de Caxias do Sul
- 6—Diocese de Passo Fundo
- 7—Prelazia de Vacaria

VIII—Província Eclesiástica de Olinda e Recife (1910)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Olinda e Recife
- 2—Diocese de Garanhuns
- 3—Diocese de Petrolina
- 4—Diocese de Nazaré
- 5—Diocese de Pesqueira
- 6—Diocese de Caruarú

IX—Província Eclesiástica do Paraíba (1914)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Paraíba
- 2—Diocese de Campina Grande
- 3—Diocese de Cajazeiras

X—Província Eclesiástica do Ceará (1915)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Fortaleza
- 2—Diocese de Sobral
- 3—Diocese de Crato
- 4—Diocese de Limoeiro

XI—Província Eclesiástica de Diamantina (1917)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Diamantina
- 2—Diocese de Arassuaí
- 3—Diocese de Montes Claros
- 4—Prelazia de Paracatú

XII—Província Eclesiástica de Maceió (1920)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Maceió
- 2—Diocese de Aracaju
- 3—Diocese de Penedo

XIII—Província Eclesiástica do Maranhão (1922)

- 1—Arquidiocese de São Luís do Maranhão
- 2—Diocese de Caxias
- 3—Prelazia de São José de Grajaú
- 4—Prelazia de Pinheiro

XIV—Província Eclesiástica de Belo Horizonte (1924)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Belo Horizonte
- 2—Diocese de Aterrado
- 3—Diocese de Uberaba
- 4—Diocese de Oliveira
- 5—Diocese de Guaxupé

XV—Província Eclesiástica de Curitiba (1926)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Curitiba
- 2—Diocese de Ponta Grossa
- 3—Diocese de Jacarezinho
- 4—Prelazia da Foz do Iguaçu
- 5—Prelazia de Palmas

XVI—Província Eclesiástica de Florianópolis (1927)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Florianópolis
- 2—Diocese de Joinville
- 3—Diocese de Lages

XVII—Província Eclesiástica de Goiás (1932)

- 1—Arquidiocese de Goiás
- 2—Diocese de Porto Nacional
- 3—Prelazia de Sant' Anna de Jataí
- 4—Prelazia de São José do Alto Tocantins
- 5—Prelazia do Bananal

XVIII—Província Eclesiástica de Manaus

- 1—Arquidiocese de Manaus
- 2—Prelazia do Rio Negro
- 3—Prelazia de Porto Velho
- 4—Prelazia de Juruá
- 5—Prelazia de Lábrea
- 6—Prelazia de São Peregrino Laziosi
- 7—Prelazia de Tefé
- 8—Prelazia do Rio Branco
- 9—Prelazia do Alto Solimões

XIX—Província Eclesiástica de Natal

- 1—Arquidiocese de Natal
- 2—Diocese de Mossoró
- 3—Diocese de Caicó

XX—Província Eclesiástica de Teresina

- 1—Arquidiocese de Teresina
- 2—Diocese de Parnaíba
- 3—Diocese de Oeiras
- 4—Prelazia do Senhor Bom Jesus do Piauí

The Brazilian Church now supplies three cardinals to the College in Rome. They are from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Bahia. Until recently, however, there was only the one from Rio de Janeiro. The primate of Brazil is the cardinal of Bahia, so that in some respects that city and not Rio de Janeiro may be considered as the religious capital of the nation.

There is little point in giving an exhaustive analysis of the Brazilian church, for its organization and functioning are much the same as that of Catholicism in other countries. A few features, however, seem to call for comment.

The Position of the Church. The Church seems never to have gained a control of Brazil that in any way approaches the absolute sway it exercised

in Mexico, Peru, and others parts of Spanish America. One hundred years ago, Kidder summed up the situation.

On few subjects do Brazilian writers, of all classes, express themselves with greater unanimity of opinion than respecting the state of religion in the country. People and ecclesiastics, officers of state, men of business, and politicians, all agree in representing the condition and prospects of religion as low and unpromising.⁵

Then he presented an interesting documentation for his generalization with a lengthy translation of the report of the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs for 1843 which reads in part:

The state of retrogression into which our clergy are falling is notorious. The necessity of adopting measures to remedy such an evil is also evident. On the 9th of September, 1842, the government addressed inquiries on this subject to the bishop and capitular vicars. Although complete answers have not been received from all of them, yet the following particulars are certified.

The lack of priests who will dedicate themselves to the cure of souls, or who even offer themselves as candidates, is surprising. In the province of Pará there are parishes which, for twelve years and upwards, have had no pastor. The district of the river Negro, containing some fourteen settlements, has but one priest; while that of the river Solimoens is in similar circumstances. In the three comarcas of Belem, the Upper and the Lower Amazon, there are thirty-six vacant parishes. In Maranhão twenty-five churches have, at different times, been advertised as open for applications, without securing the offer of a single candidate.

The bishop of S. Paulo affirms the same thing respecting vacant churches in his diocese, and it is no uncommon experience elsewhere. In the diocese of Cuyabá, not a single church is provided with a settled curate, and those priests who officiate as state supplies, treat the bishop's efforts to instruct and improve them with great indifference.

In the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro most of the churches are supplied with pastors, but a great number of them only temporarily. This diocese embraces four provinces, but during nine years past not more than five or six priests have been ordained per year.

It may be observed that the numerical ratio of those priests, who die, or become incompetent through age and infirmity, is two to one of those who receive ordination. Even among those who are ordained, few devote themselves to the pastoral work. They either turn their attention to secular pursuits, as a means of securing greater conveniences, emoluments, and *respect*, or they look out for chaplaincies, and other situations, which offer equal or superior inducements, without subjecting them to the *literary tests*, the trouble and the expense necessary to secure an ecclesiastical benefice.

This is not the place to investigate the causes of such a state of things, but certain it is, that no persons of standing devote their sons to the priesthood. Most of those who seek the sacred office are indigent persons, who, by their

⁵ Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil* (Philadelphia and London, 1845), II, 398.

poverty, are often prevented from pursuing the requisite studies. Without doubt a principal reason why so few devote themselves to ecclesiastical pursuits is to be found in the small income allowed them. Moreover, perquisites established as the remuneration of certain clerical services, have resumed the voluntary character which they had in primitive times, and the priest who attempts to coerce his parishioners into the payment of them almost always renders himself odious, and gets little or nothing for his trouble.⁶

In Portuguese America often the priest was merely one of the dependents of the country squire and the Church an adjunct to the *casa grande* of the *fazenda*.⁷ This is a far cry from the situation where the sacerdote was absolute master of all that he saw, the Church the repository of all that was of value in the community.

No doubt the complete complex of circumstances that led the Portuguese colonies to diverge so radically from those of Spain in this respect is involved, but one of the most important items seems to be rather self-evident. This has been treated in some detail by Kidder.

The regulations under which the clergy of Brazil are now suffering, were established as far back as 1752. By a royal decree of that date, all the tithes of the Portuguese *ultra marine* possessions were secularized, being made payable to the state, while the state became responsible for the support of the clergy. The obvious reason for this regulation was the discovery that the state could support the church much cheaper than the church would support itself, while the tithes remained at the disposal of the priesthood. This was too fine an opportunity for speculation to be neglected by a government crippled and degraded for lack of funds, and, at the same time, having the power to exercise its pleasure.

The arrangement proved no less profitable than convenient; and once being established, could not be changed. The government put the priests on short allowance, and fixed their salaries at fifty, eighty, and one hundred milreis—sums which have been lessening ever since, by a depreciation of the currency. Efforts have been made in Brazil since the era of independence, to raise the stipend of the clergy, and they have been nominally successful, although the present salary of two hundred milreis, is scarcely more valuable than the sum of one hundred formerly was.⁸

In recent years a prominent church writer, Padre Pascoal Lacroix, has defended the thesis that the shortage of secular and regular clergymen is Brazil's foremost problem. According to this authority the nation, in order to have one priest for each 1,000 of the faithful, requires, instead of the 2,500 priests it has, some 8,000 well-trained and specialized sacerdotes.⁹

⁶ *Ibid.*, 399–401.

⁷ Cf. Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil" in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 336.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 401; cf. R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil in 1829 and 1830* (London, 1830), I, 358–60.

⁹ Pascoal Lacroix, *O Mais Urgente Problema do Brasil* (Petrópolis, 1936), 59, 71–72. The 1940 census reported a total of 2,964 secular priests and 3,419 regular clergy. Bastide,

The fact that the Brazilian Church lacks the high degree of domination frequently found throughout Spanish America may also be related to the considerable interest it, or an influential part of it, gives to acute problems of the modern day. In any case an important portion of the clergy are urging attention to the problems of the Amazon, the improvement of the São Francisco Valley, the lessening of obstacles to immigration, and rural welfare programs of various kinds.

Holy Days. The large number of religious holidays in Brazil is one feature that impresses all visitors. Even though they may fail to notice it directly, businessmen who employ local labor will call it to their attention. A century ago Daniel P. Kidder observed that

in some particulars the festivals of all the saints are alike. They are universally announced, on the day previous, by a discharge of skyrockets at noon, and by the ringing of bells at evening. During the *feira* also, whether it continue one day or nine, the frequent discharge of rockets is kept up. These missiles are so constructed as to explode high up in the air, with a crackling sound, after which they descend in beautiful curves of white smoke if in the day time, or like meteoric showers if at night. . . .

Great care is bestowed upon this manner of adorning churches, by day as well as by night. Sometimes regular rows of blazing tapers are so arranged in front of the principal altars, as to present the appearance of semicones and pyramids of light, streaming from the floor to the roof of the edifice. These tapers are all made of wax, imported from the coast of Africa for this express use. . . .

Sometimes, on the occasion of these festivals, a stage is erected in the church, or in the open air near by, and a species of dramatic representation is enacted for the amusement of the spectators. At other times an auction is held, at which a great variety of objects, that have been provided for the occasion by purchase or gift, are sold to the highest bidder. The auctioneer generally manages to keep the crowd around him in a roar of laughter, and, it is presumed, gets paid in proportion to the interest of his entertainment.¹⁰

He took sufficient interest in this subject to catalogue and describe the religious holidays.

January 6. The Epiphany, "styled the day of Kings."

January 20. San Sebastian's Day. He is the patron saint of Rio de Janeiro.

The *Intrudo* (Carnival) which

extends through the three days preceding Lent, . . . is generally entered upon by the people with an apparent determination to redeem time for amusement in advance of the long restraint anticipated. It is not with showers of sugar-plums that persons are saluted on the days of the *Intrudo*, but with showers

"Religion and the Church in Brazil" in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 344.

¹⁰ Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, I, 145, 146-47.

of oranges and eggs, or rather, of waxen balls made in the shape of oranges and eggs, but filled with water. These articles are prepared in immense quantities before hand, and exposed for sale in the shops and streets. The shell is of sufficient strength to admit of being hurled a considerable distance, but at the moment of collision it flies to pieces, bespattering whatever it hits. Unlike the somewhat similar sport of snow-balling in cold countries, this *jogo* is not confined to boys, or to the streets, but is played in high-life as well as in low, indoors and out. Common consent seems to have given the license of pelting any one and every one at pleasure, whether entering a house to visit, or walking in the streets.

In fact, whoever goes out at all on these days, would do well to expect a ducking, and at least to carry his umbrella; for in the enthusiasm of the game, the waxen balls are frequently soon consumed; then come into play syringes, basins, bowls, and sometimes pails of water, and they are plied without mercy until the parties are thoroughly drenched.¹¹

Ash Wednesday:

The first procession which I specially observed, was that of Ash-Wednesday. It was conducted by the third order of Franciscans, from the chapel of the Misericordia, through the principal streets of the city, to the convent of S. Antonio. Not less than from twenty to thirty stands of images were borne along on the shoulders of men. Some of these images were single, others were in groups, intended to illustrate various events of Scriptural history or catholic mythology.¹²

Ember Days: "The procession of *Nosso Senhor dos Passos*, 'our Lord bearing the cross,' occurs on the Ember days."¹³

March 19: "The nineteenth of March is celebrated as the anniversary of St. Joseph, the spouse of the Virgin Mary."¹⁴

Palm Sunday:

Palm Sunday in Brazil is celebrated with a taste and effect that cannot be surpassed by any artificial ornaments. The Brazilians are never indifferent to the vegetable beauties by which they are surrounded, since they make use of leaves, flowers, and branches of trees, on almost every public occasion; but on this anniversary the display of the real palm branches is not only beautiful, but often grand.¹⁵

Holy Week:

The days are designated in the calendar, as Wednesday of darkness, Thursday of anguish, Friday of passion, and hallelujah Saturday.

Maundy Thursday, as the English render it, is kept from the noon of that day till the following noon. The ringing of bells and the explosion of rockets are now suspended. The light of day is excluded from all the churches; the temples are illuminated within by wax tapers, in the midst of which, on the chief altar of every one, the host is exposed. Two men stand in robes of red or purple

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 147-48.

¹² *Ibid.*, 148-49.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 151.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*



Photo by Carlos E. Schmidt

DANCING THE MOÇAMBIQUE, FAZENDA SANTA MARIA, TAUBATÉ, SÃO PAULO

silk to watch it. In some churches the effigy of the body of Christ is laid under a small cloister, with one hand exposed, which the crowd kiss; depositing money on a silver dish beside it at the same time. At night the people promenaded the streets and visit the churches. This is also an occasion for a general interchange of presents, and is turned greatly to the benefit of the female slaves, who are allowed to prepare and sell confectionery for their own emolument.

Friday continues silent, and a funeral procession, bearing a representation of the body of Christ, is borne through the streets. At night occurs a sermon, and another procession, in which *anjos*, decked out as already described, bear emblematic devices alluding to the crucifixion. One carries the nails, another the hammer, a third the sponge, a fourth the spear, a fifth the ladder, and a sixth the cock that gave the warning to Peter. Hundreds of persons bearing torches at night, as usual in this procession, form certainly a very imposing spectacle.

Hallelujah Saturday is better known as "Judas' day," on account of the numerous forms in which that inglorious patriarch is made to suffer the vengeance of the people. Preparations having been made beforehand, rockets are fired in front of the churches at a particular stage of the morning service. This explosion indicates that the hallelujah is being chanted. The sport now begins forthwith in every part of the town. The effigies of poor Judas become the object of every species of torment. They are hung, strangled, and drowned. In short, the traitor is shown up in fire-works and fantastic figures of every description, in company with dragons, serpents, and the devil and his imps, which pounce upon him. . . .

Lent being over, Easter Sunday is ushered in by the triumphal discharge of rockets in the air, and of artillery from the forts and batteries.¹⁶

Whitsunday:

On Whitsunday the great feast of the Holy Spirit is celebrated. In preparation for this, begging processions go through the streets, a long while in advance, in order to secure funds. In these expeditions the collectors wear a red scarf (*capa*) over their shoulders: they make quite a display of flags, on which forms of a dove are embroidered, surrounded by a halo or gloria. These are handed in at windows and doors, and waved to individuals to kiss; they are followed by the silver plate or silk bag, which receives the donation that is expected, at least, from all those who kiss the emblem. The public are duly notified of the approach of these august personages, by the music of a band of tatterdemalion negroes, who, with the sound of their instruments, serve the church by day, and the theatre by night.

Collections of this stamp are very frequent in the cities of Brazil, inasmuch as some festa is always in anticipation. Generally a miniature image of the saint, whose honor is contemplated, is handed around with much formality, as the great argument in favor of a donation. The devotees hasten to kiss the image, and sometimes call up their children, and pass it round to the lips of each. These collectors, and a class of females called *beatas*, occasionally become as troublesome as were the common beggars before they were accommodated at the house of correction.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 152-53.

The expeditions assume a very peculiar and grotesque character in remote sections of the empire. The late senator, Cunha Mattos, describes them in the interior, under the name of *fúliões cavalgatas*. He mentions in his Itinerario, having met one between the rivers of S. Francisco and Paranaíba, composed of fifty persons, playing on violins, drums, and other instruments of music, to arouse the liberality, if not the devotion of the people; and also, prepared with leathern sacks and mules, to receive and carry off pigs, hens, and whatever else might be given them.¹⁷

Corpus Christi: "The procession of *Corpus Christi* is different from most of the others. The only image exposed is that of St. George, who is set down in the calendar as 'defender of the empire.' This is borne on horseback, in a military dress and heavy armor, with men walking on each side to prevent a fall."¹⁸

St. Anthony, St. John, St. Peter, and The Most Holy Heart of Jesus:

The four great holidays of the month of June are those of the Most Holy Heart of Jesus, of St. Anthony, St. John, and St. Peter. It will be sufficient to say respecting the last three, that these "glorious patriarchs" are considered by their devotees as special patrons of fire and noise. Throughout the live-long days and nights on which their glories are celebrated, there may be heard an incessant explosion of crackers, bombas, rockets, and almost every other invention of pyrotechny; while bonfires blaze in every direction and many persons of the lower classes dance before them till the dawn of the following day. All the Antonios, Joaõs, and Pedros in the community, are on such occasions entitled to salutes for firecrackers, which, inasmuch as their honor is concerned in sustaining the sport, they are not slow to return.¹⁹

The principal religious feasts celebrated during the last half of the year, are as follows:—July 2d, the Visitation of Nossa Senhora is celebrated by a procession in the morning from the Imperial Chapel to the Misericordia, in which the Camara Municipal makes its appearance. On this day indulgences may be secured in the Carmelite convent, and in the church of S. Francisco de Paula. July 21st is allotted to the Guardian Angel of the Empire; July 25th to St. James, and July 28th to "Santa Anna, Mother of the Mother of God." August 15th, the Assumption of Nossa Senhora; 25th, the Most Holy Heart of Mary. September 8th, the Nativity of Nossa Senhora; 15th, the Most Holy Name of Mary; 22d, Feast of the Grief of Nossa Senhora; 25th, Nossa Senhora das Mercês. October 6th, the Most Holy Rosary of Nossa Senhora, with a procession at night; 9th, the Feast of San Pedro d'Alcantara, principal patron of the empire. November 1st, the Feast of All Saints, with the procession of bones in the Misericordia; 2d, Commemoration of the Dead. December 8th, Feast of Nossa Senhora de Conceição, patronesses of the empire, with indulgence in various churches and convents; 25th the Nativity of Christ.²⁰

This list is based upon observations in Rio de Janeiro. Elsewhere, Kidder ran into a large number of local festivities, one of which he described as follows:

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 154–55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

I was informed that the present was the greatest season of religious feasting which occurs at Parahiba during the whole year, the 5th of August being the day of *Nossa Senhora das Neves* the protectress of the town. I inquired who *Nossa Senhora das Neves* was, but no one could tell me anything more than that she was *Nossa Senhora*, the same with *Nossa Senhora do Conceição*, *Nossa Senhora do Rozaria*, and a score of other names for the Virgin Mary! I doubt whether the mythology of Greece or Rome ever became more absurdly confused.

This anniversary, like all other great feast days, was preceded by a *novena*, a service of nine masses performed on as many successive days. Each of these nine evenings had its peculiar entertainment, being allotted to some body of citizens or tradesmen, each of which would, of course, be anxious to rival the other in the pomp and parade of their several performances. I was induced to walk out in the evening to witness what was thought could not fail to be deeply interesting. The *Matriz* church, at which the *fête* was held, was situated near by. It stood at one end of an oblong area. Its front was illuminated by candles hung in broken lanterns around the door, and burning before an image in a niche attached to the cupola. Large fires were blazing in different parts of the area. Around them were groups of blacks, eager to fire off volleys of rockets at appropriate parts of the service that was going on within the church. After the *novena* was finished, all the people sallied out into the campo to witness the fire-works. These commenced about nine o'clock, and continued, I was told, till after midnight.²¹

The Brotherhoods. Gilberto Freyre has emphasized the importance in Brazil of the religious brotherhoods or *irmandades*. To them he credits much of what was accomplished, work similar to that of governmental and religious authorities in Spanish America. Some of these "third orders" limited their membership to the most aristocratic of the white planters, others received only mulattoes, and some were composed strictly of Negroes. A member of such a religious brotherhood enjoyed a considerable amount of social security, including support in times of sickness and in old age. The *irmandade* also paid his funeral expenses and provided for masses to be said for the benefit of his departed soul. Since many wealthy men left considerable amounts of economic goods to these associations, some of them were able to establish fine hospitals, orphanages, and retreats for women, and to build beautiful churches.²²

Shrines and Pilgrimages. Brazil is dotted with shrines, some of them extremely favored, to which the annual quota of pilgrimages reaches astounding proportions. Only one of them, *Nossa Senhora de Viagem*, east of the bay at Rio de Janeiro, is mentioned in the *Catholic Encyclo-*

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 184-85.

²² See Charles C. Griffin (ed.), *Concerning Latin American Culture*, 90-93. Cf. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil*, I, 364-65; Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, II, 79-80; Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 107-108; and Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), 136-38.

pedia,²³ but several others also have acquired considerable prestige in Brazil. Among the most famous is Nossa Senhora Aparecida, located near Guaratinguetá, São Paulo. Of this von Spix and von Martius entered the following paragraph in their account of their travels.

The first thing shown us here was the chapel. It was erected about seventy years ago, a long period in this country; it is partly built of stone, and adorned with gilding, bad paintings in fresco, and some in oil. The wonder-working image of the Virgin attracts many pilgrims from the whole province, and from Minas. We met many of these pilgrims when we proceeded on our journey on Christmas-eve.²⁴

When the writer passed by on the train in 1942 it was one of the points of interest his companions did not fail to point out.

The famous shrine, the chapel of Bomfim, is located on the crown of a hill about four miles north of Bahia. To it flow pilgrims from all parts, although it appeals particularly to the Negroes. Many are the miracles credited to the patron saint of this shrine, and its hall full of ex-votos is one of the most interesting sights in Bahia. The "washing" of this church on the last Thursday before its great annual ceremony was formerly an occasion when African religious dances reached their greatest heights of emotionalism. This particular practice of washing the church was suppressed in 1899.²⁵

Another of the most famous shrines of Brazil also is located in the state of Bahia, in the "interior" in the great São Francisco River. This is the holy grotto of Bom Jesús da Lapa. As early as 1868 Sir Richard F. Burton wrote: "This place of pilgrimage has the highest possible reputation; devotees flock to it from all directions, and from great distances, even from Piauhy."²⁶ Still a third of Brazil's most famous shrines is found in Bahia, in the northern part of the state and not far from Canudos, the New Jerusalem of Antonio Conselheiro. This is Monte Santo. Its principal chapel crowns the highest eminence in the area and is approached by a Via Sacra along which are strung 25 little oratories as stations of the cross.

In Holy Week, when from remote villages in the Sertao the Vaqueiros and their families crowd to the holy fair, the scene recalls the Middle Ages. Such orgasms of piety, such wild intensity of faith, are rarely to be seen in a world where the educated turn for their spiritual consolation rather to crystal-gazing

²³ *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1913).

²⁴ Von Spix and von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, I, 306.

²⁵ Cf. Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, 152-55; and Pierson, *Negroes in Brasil*, 366-68.

²⁶ Burton, *The Highlands of the Brazil*, II, 290. See also Wells, *Three Thousand Miles Through Brazil*, II, 37-39; Vera Kelsey, *Seven Keys to Brazil* (New York and London, 1940), 188-90; and, especially, Cunha, *Os Sertões*, 220-21.

or to palmistry than to such vulgar superstitions as satisfy the simple herdsmen of the Sertao.

The scene is marvelous, with its myriad camp fires, its herds of horses grazing loose or picketed, the strange, old-fashioned, medieval types of men. . . . Preacher succeeds preacher, and under the wild eloquence of some illuminated friar, or inspired herdsmen, by degrees excitement stirs the multitude into an excess of pious fervor. . . .²⁷

In addition to these of nation-wide fame, lesser shrines are to be found in many parts of Brazil.²⁸

PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Protestantism probably enjoys more freedom and occupies a stronger position in Brazil than anywhere else in Latin America. Its strength seems to be definitely increasing. Whereas the data for 1938 showed only 1,228 Protestant churches in all Brazil,²⁹ the most recent compilation shows a total of 4,478 churches or congregations in the year 1949.³⁰ The number of ordained ministers reached a high of 3,409 in 1948.³¹ Nevertheless, its relative position is one of comparative unimportance. Except in the colonial sections of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, Protestantism is very largely a missionary activity. This, of course, is a far cry from established communities of persons born to the faith. Through their missionary activities the various Protestant churches seem to be making considerable headway in western São Paulo, Minas Gerais, southern Bahia, and Goiás. In Mato Grosso their work compares favorably with that of the Catholic orders, also from the United States, who have established their missions in that great "Wild West." Some of the greatest accomplishments of the Protestants have been in the erection and maintenance of schools and colleges, such institutions as Bennett College in Rio de Janeiro, the Agricultural College at Lavras in Minas Gerais, and MacKenzie College in São Paulo already having made substantial contributions to Brazil's educational progress.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS IN THE RELIGIOUS MOSAIC

Offhand the apparent religious homogeneity among Brazil's population, especially among the 80 per cent of its people who reside in rural areas, is likely to make a strong impression on the visitor. That rural Brazil is almost exclusively composed of adherents of the Roman Catholic Church will be accepted as beyond question. Of the relatively few Protestants in

²⁷ Cunningham Graham, *A Brazilian Mystic* (London, 1920), 45-46.

²⁸ Cf. Hugh C. Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil* (New York, 1902), 61, 64-66, 122-23.

²⁹ *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano IV, 1938, p. 794.

³⁰ *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*, Ano XII, 1951, p. 483.

³¹ *Ibid.*

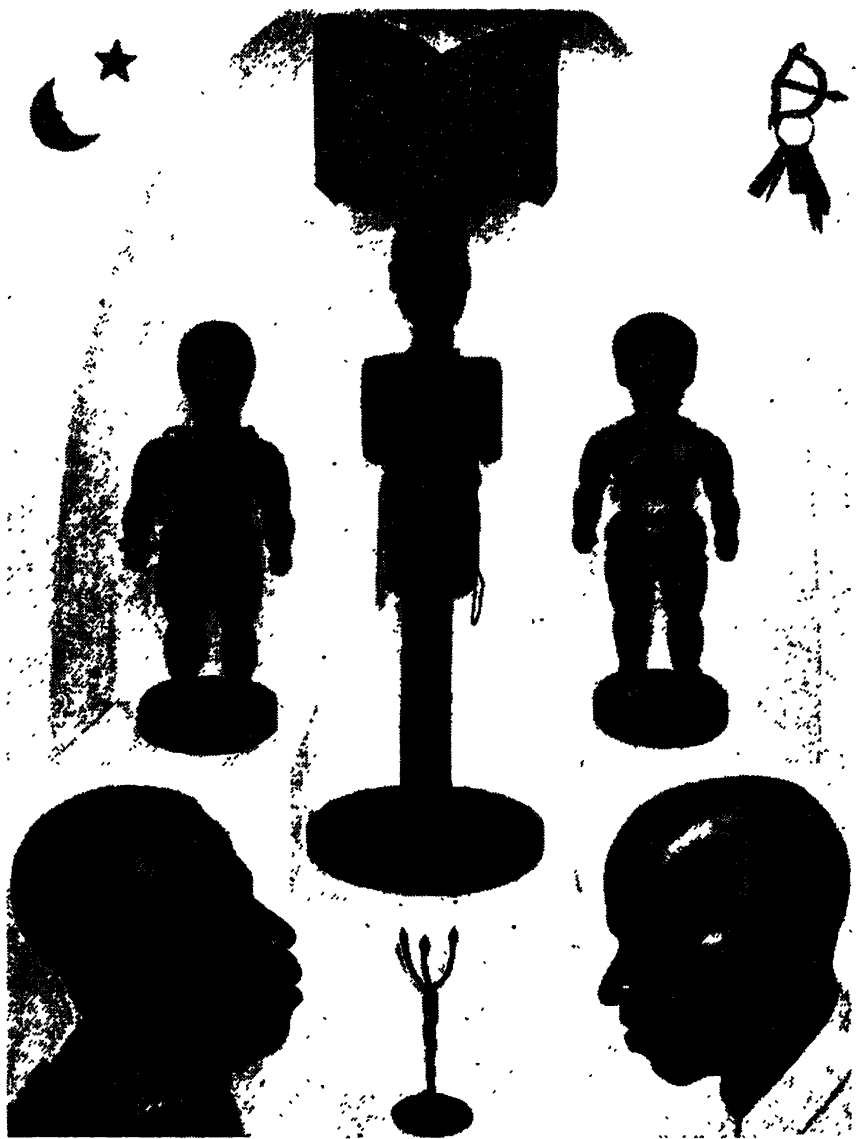


Photo by Arthur Ramos

IDOLS AND SYMBOLS FROM THE MACUMBAS, FROM A PAINTING,
"XANGÓ," BY D. ISMAILOVITCH

the entire nation, the lion's share are concentrated in the larger cities of the republic. Protestant nuclei such as the Presbyterian congregations in such small cities as Lavras in Minas Gerais, or Santa Barbara in São Paulo, and others in Bahia, Mato Grosso, and Pernambuco, are conspicuously rare. New Methodist and Church of God churches in western São Paulo, in the panhandle of Minas Gerais, and in Goiás will be judged correctly as exceptional. Only in the southern states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, where a considerable part of the German immigrants were affiliated with the Lutheran or Evangelican denominations, do any considerable part of the people belong to the Protestant churches.

It is easy for the visitor to attribute important social results to this supposedly high degree of religious homogeneity in the typical rural Brazilian community and município. He is likely to think how different would be the life in each small North American village, town, or community were the people all of one faith, members of one church, believers in a single set of religious ideas and practices. If in no other way than the limitation placed upon local discussion, the repercussion might be thought of as immense. With religious differences automatically eliminated as the source of constant and prolonged religious debate, it might well be that politics would remain almost the single source of local controversy.

But the longer such a student remains in Brazil and the more familiar he becomes with religious thinking and practices, the less likely he is to remain convinced of Brazil's religious homogeneity. The conspicuous absence of competing church buildings and the dominating appearance of the Catholic Cathedral near the center of every village or town does not signify complete unity of religious belief and practice. In fact, a thorough knowledge of Catholicism in all its richness of symbolism and belief would give only partial understanding of the religious beliefs, practices, and motivations of Brazil's masses. For, as Ramos has said: "The most advanced forms of religion, even among the most cultured people, do not exist in a pure state. Besides the official religion there are subterranean activities, among the backward strata of society, among the poorer classes, or, in heterogeneous peoples, among the ethnic groups, that are most backward culturally."³² While the upper classes and the official religion of a society may have freed themselves to a considerable extent of animistic beliefs, and magical practices, such is not the case among the less enlightened masses. "This fundamental form—incarnations of totemic, animistic, and magical beliefs—survives in spite of the most advanced religious and philosophical conceptions of the superior strata of societies."³³ From an intimate firsthand knowledge of great population

³² Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, 35.

³³ *Ibid.*, 35.

centers of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, more than a passing contact with many other parts of the country including his native Alagôas, and an acquaintance with Brazilian scientific literature, one eminent authority could assert, "We [Brazilians] still live under the full domination of a magical world, still impermeable, to a certain extent, to the influxes of a true culture. . . ."

Brazil lives impregnated by magic. The medicine man, the fetisheer, has among our populations a prestige considerably greater than the directors of our destinies—it is necessary to have the courage to confess it. Because he is the *image* of the primitive Father, in the silence of the night there are elegant ladies and gentlemen of high rank who go to the *macumbas* to consult the invisible power of Pae Joaquim, Zézinho Curunga or Jubiabá. Padre Cicero of Joazeiro dominates multitudes. Santa Dica is an inspired person [*illuminada*]. And any prophet with cabalistic formulas or medicine man with magical concoctions attracts a large clientele. A specter, the power of mana, dominates the festivals, and this adheres to anything that interlaces the multitudes, hypnotizing them into a single force of fanaticism. The *ebó* [sacrifice] is an institution. The Negro carnival is our great festival. In it dominate the *grude*, the *rôlo*, the *entrudo*, the *vae-quebrar*, *negrada!* All of this is the erotic force of *Imunu*, or influence of the law of participation, or *Allmacht der Gedanken*. . . . The doctors and learned men who, by the half dozen, exist among us, with trips to Europe and erudite conferences, do not achieve by themselves alone the work of our cultural affirmation. They are individualists and live apart from the masses. It is necessary to penetrate the mass and dissolve the *grude*, disenchant the force of the law of participation and know the sensual substratum of mana.³⁴

Earlier, about the close of the nineteenth century, another great Brazilian scholar, Nina Rodrigues, was emphasizing the same point. His famous volume, long available only in French, opens with the following paragraph:

Only official science, in the superficiality and dogmatism of teaching, could still persist in affirming today that the Bahia population is in its totality one of monotheistic Christians. This affirmation would either have to imply the systematic underevaluation in calculation of two thirds of the Negroes and their crosses who are the great majority of the population, or the ingenuity of common ignorance which submits blindly to an external appearance that the most superficial examination demonstrates to be illusory and deceiving.³⁵

Near the end of the book he again sought to generalize his findings:

The number of whites, mulattoes, and individuals of all colors and color gradations who, in their afflictions, in their troubles, go to consult the Negro fetisheers, of those who publicly profess the power of talismen and fetishes, of those who, in much larger number, laugh at them in public, but secretly hear

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 406–408. See also 215.

³⁵ Nina Rodrigues, *O Animismo Fetichista dos Negros Bahianos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1935), 13.

them, consult them—this number would be incalculable if it were not more simple to say that in general it is the mass of the population, except for a small minority of superior and enlightened spirits who have a true notion of the exact value of these psychological manifestations. It is that in Brazil the mixture is not only physical and intellectual, it is even emotional, or of the sentiments, equally religious of course.⁸⁶

The relative numerical importance of those who conform closely in religious beliefs and practices to orthodox Catholicism also is recognized by church writers. Thus Padre Pascoal Lacroix, defending his thesis that the lack of sacerdotes is the most urgent problem of Brazil, states that it is "the opinion of many sacerdotes that in our country the general average of true Catholics does not exceed 10 per cent."⁸⁷ Assuming as he did, that Brazil had a population of 50 million, this would make the total number of genuine Catholics only 5 million. To be extremely conservative he allowed that it might be 15 million. Then he inventoried the opposing forces, consisting of "an extremely great number of neo-pagans," "Spiritualists there are in every locality, however small it may be, and a very high number in all the cities," Masons, "not a despicable number of Protestants," and the workers in the industrial cities. Together all these, he estimated, might constitute another 15 million. This left 20 million who are "Catholics in name and by baptism, who do not practice the religion, not from wickedness, but from habit, ignorance and prejudice."⁸⁸

It is, of course, impossible to evaluate reliably the influence among Brazilian masses of the Catholic and other Christian churches in comparison with the fetish cults of African origin and the systems of religion beliefs and practices derived from aboriginal sources. It is undeniable, however, that both the Indian pagé and the African fetisheer play significant roles in Brazil's religious activities. In fact as one passes down the social and color scale from the rather pure white population of high estate to the blacks and red men who rank at the bottom of the social ladder, he passes from a population in which Christian monotheism reigns supreme to one in which the fetish cults from Africa and the magico-religious patterns of the aborigines hold almost undisputed sway. In the north, especially the Amazon, it is the Indian medicine man who is most influential;⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁸⁷ Pascoal Lacroix, *O Mais Urgente Problema do Brasil*, 75.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁸⁹ However, the migrations from the northeast to the Amazon have done much to diffuse African fetish practices into that area. Thus at the time of the Afro-Brazilian Congress in Recife, in 1934, the most celebrated pagé of the lower Amazon, whose influence extended from Obidos to Parintins, was a woman from Ceará. She lived in Faro and was consulted by the high society of Pará. "To her house . . . there was a constant pilgrimage of persons who came from the most remote places of the Amazon River and its tributaries. Even persons of the very highest social classes of Belém and Manaus went to consult the oracle. Among them, I saw, one day, the wife of a governor of Amazonas." José Carvalho, *O*

in Pernambuco and south to São Paulo, particularly in Bahia, the African influences are most pronounced. Nowhere are either of them entirely absent. But the fact of overwhelming importance is the great extent to which they have blended African with Indian, and the two of them syncretized with the orthodox symbolism, beliefs, and practices of Catholicism. As a result, a large share of Brazil's people are conditioned by a religious system which represents a blending of the already heterogeneous European heritage, the rather highly developed religious systems of Africa, and the innumerable traits derived from native sources.

The Gêge-Nagô Cults. The religious complex introduced from Africa which has had by far the greatest influence upon New World religious beliefs and practices is the *gêge-nagô* religion brought by the Sudanese groups, or the Yorubas, Gêges, Haussás, and Minas Negroes. Already in Africa this religion represented a blend of the *gêge* and *nagô* cults, with the former seeming to dominate.⁴⁰ The central core of this religious complex is the *grigri* or fetish, a "prepared material object." Such a prepared object, a material thing which by the proper ritual procedures has been endowed with mysterious wonder-working or spiritual powers (*mana*), is not to be confused with the idols. The religious systems of these Sudanese Negroes had a place for such anthropomorphic representations of the saints or *orishas*, but "this conception of the orishas-idols, frankly polytheistic, is beyond the primitive fetishistic idea and proof of contact with other more advanced religions, principally the Catholic, with the entire series of saints in its 'canon.'" ⁴¹ In its primitive expressions fetishism is a vast system of cosmology where each of the *orishas* is an expression of one of the great forces of nature.

The careful studies of the *gêge-nagô* cults made in the *macumbas* of Rio de Janeiro and Niterói, the *candomblés* of Bahia, the *xangôs* of Recife, and the *catimbós* of the northeast by Ramos, Nina Rodrigues, Donald Pierson, and numerous other scholars give us most of the details concerning the pantheon, liturgy, and ritual as it exists in present-day Brazil. The same authors also disentangle the original elements from the functional complex, and show how the African beliefs and practices have been blended with Indian and influenced by Catholicism.⁴²

Matuto Cearense e o Caboclo do Pará (Belém, 1930), quoted in Gilberto Freyre and others, *Novos Estudos Afro-Brasileiros* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937), 82.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), 275 ff; and P. Baudin, *Fetichism and Fetich Worshipers* (New York, 1885), *passim*.

⁴¹ Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, 38.

⁴² Of these accounts, the excellent one by Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, 275-317, and that by Ruth Landes, *The City of Women* (New York, 1947), *passim*, are most accessible to North Americans. The paragraphs which follow make most use of the various works by

The pantheon is headed by Oluran who in Yoruba mythology is known as the master of the sky. Although this deity approaches the grade of supreme, he is the object of no special cult; he is represented by no fetish, by no idol; just as an earthly king deals with his subjects only through intermediaries, so this heavenly king enters into contact with men only through secondary divinities called orishas. In Brazil Oluran has been almost entirely forgotten, but the number of orishas is about 100.

Brazilian Negroes also have forgotten the gradation of orishas known to the Yorubas. At the head of this list comes Orixalá or Oxalá, a bisexual divinity symbolizing the reproductive energies of nature. Oxalá is represented by means of lemon-green shells set in a circle of lead. His dress and that of the *filhos de santo* (children of the saint) in the *terreiros* or temples devoted to him is entirely of white; to him are sacrificed goats and pigeons. He is honored on Fridays.

Xangô is another of the most powerful divinities and is extremely popular in Brazil. His name is given to a cult in the northeast. He is the counterpart of Thor, being the god of lightning and thunder. His fetish is a meteoric stone, but this, like the others, is little more than an ornament. In the *terreiros* this fetish is surrounded by collars of white and red, a lance, and small staff, which are the emblems of Xangô. His feast day is Wednesday and to him are sacrificed roosters and sheep. In the *pegí*, holy of holies in which foods for the gods are kept, those for this diety are *caruru* (a dish of herbs, with fish, shrimp, and oil of a palm) and rice porridge.

The incarnation of evil, Exú, also has his place among the orishas. It is reasoned that it is better to give this devil his dues through sacrifices than to have him constantly interfering in the devotions or counteracting the beneficent activities of the other divinities.⁴⁸ The *despacho*, or sacrifice, to appease this malevolent divinity is always the opening activity in any session of worship. Also he is to be reckoned with at all crossroads, being in fact called "the man of the crossroads;" and at these spots it is customary to

Ramos, particularly "The Negro in Brazil," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, Chap. V, and *O Negro Brasileiro*, and *Introdução à Antropologia Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1943), I. One should also consult Rodrigues, *O Animismo Fetichista dos Negros Babianos*. One of the best descriptions of all is in the chapter "Macumba" in the novel *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio de Janeiro, 1937).

⁴⁸ One *pai de santo* defended paying homage to Exú as follows: ". . . they say that in the African *seitas* they practice sorcery by adoring the Devil. This is not true. He who practices sorcery is not the Negro, but is the Portuguese and the Indian. Look: from where comes the Book of the *Feticheira* or the Book of S. Cipriano? We do not adore the Devil. It is true that we have Exú, who was like an angel that became perverted, just as in the Catholic religion, that represents the same thing as ours for the white. But we do not adore Exú. We seek to satisfy him, to pacify him, in order that he will not come to confuse things, that he will not do ill." Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937), 62-63.

give him offerings of popcorn and flour mixed with a palm oil. The fetish of Exú is a head molded from clay, with eyes and mouth represented by shells, pieces of iron, or other ornaments. To him always is consecrated the first day of a festival and also Mondays. Animals sacrificed to him are the buck goat, the rooster, and the dog. His colors are red and black.

Of all these divinities Ogun is among the most popular. He is the war god. His fetish is a fragment of iron, and he also carries a sword, billhook, lance, shovel, and hoe. His color is yellow, and his preference in sacrifices the same as those of Xangô, the rooster and the sheep. Tuesday is the day on which he is honored.

There are various orishas of waters, Yemanjá, the Yoruba *mãe d'agua* being among the principal ones, and Oxun another. The fetish of each is a marine stone; they are worshiped on Saturdays. Every year in Bahia there are great votive processions to carry presents to the *mãe d'agua*. The *pai de santo*, dressed all in white, directs the ceremonies. At the front of the procession twenty or thirty persons carry the white standard of Yemanjá. All the offerings are carried on the heads. They consist of water jars and boxes, highly decorated with ribbons and flowers and filled with fans, powders, soaps, combs, and bottles of perfume, all the things which the goddess requires for her toilet. As they move along all sing songs of Yemanjá. To a small lake called the Dique on the outskirts of Bahia goes one of the major processions, although others are directed to various other points about the bay which are frequented by this water goddess. Of 66 students at the normal school in Bahia who classed themselves as white and who answered Pierson's questionnaire seven said members of their family gave presents to the *mãe d'agua*; and nine out of 36 pardos answered the same question affirmatively.⁴⁴

Gradually Oxóssi, god of the hunt, has acquired prestige among Brazilian Negroes. His symbol is the drawn bow and arrow, and their representations usually accompany his fetish. Thursdays are consecrated to him; green is his sacred color.

Very closely allied to the worship of Exú is the cult of Ifá. His fetish is the fruit of a certain palm tree. Acts of divining the future are very closely associated with this deity, the process of divination itself being called "to see with Ifá." In making his predictions the sorcerer employs a chain of metal, into which halves of mango nuts are inserted at intervals, called Ifá's necklace, or a handful of fruit from a certain palm tree.

Fearful god of smallpox is Xapanan, also known under many other names. In Bahia he is not distinguished from Exú. To him are sacrificed he-goats and roosters, but he also feeds on corn mixed with a palm oil.

⁴⁴ Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, 310.

His fetish is a broom ornamented with shells. Usually the *pegí* for this deity is situated outside the ceremonial house, as in Africa, but in other *terreiros* he is honored with a place among the other orishas. Red and black are his colors, Monday his ceremonial day.

Ibeji, also known as Dois-Dois, and by many other designations, are the twins, so frequently identified by the Negroes as Cosme and Damion where Christian elements are added as items in their superstition and witchcraft. Wednesdays are the days devoted to the Ibeji in the *candomblés* or *macumbas*. The *carurú* is their principal food, but its constitution includes several special ingredients. The meal is carried in small saucers to the saints' room. Since the orishas are interested only in the spirits of the foods and the congregation may consume the substance, the days when Ibeji are honored are ones of much feasting for the children.

This list by no means completes the *gêge-nagô* pantheon as it exists in Brazil, but most of the principal deities have been included.

Next it is logical to consider the intermediaries between man and the gods, the human beings who are sufficiently prepared that they may come into contact with, manipulate, and even themselves acquire some of the mystical wonder-working *mana* that is so important in contributing the indispensable attitude of *awe* to religion. The various classes of sacerdotes known in Africa have all been reduced to one type in Brazil. These are known by a variety of terms such as *babalão* in Bahia, *babá* or *baboloxá* in Rio de Janeiro, and *babalorixá* in the northeast. They also may be designated by the addition of the proper suffix to *candomblé* or *macumba*, *candomblezeiro* in Bahia and *macumbeiro* in Rio. When a sacerdote is officiating within the sanctified precincts of the ceremonial houses, he is called *pai de santo* (father of the saint) or *pegí-gan*, which means master of the altar. In Africa women, being of inferior social status, may not receive the priesthood, but in Brazil, many of the sacerdotes are female. The *mãe de santo* (mother of the saint) may direct the ceremonies without making them in any way ineffective.

Throughout many parts of Brazil the religious vocation of the sacerdote has degenerated into a mere matter of dealing in "black magic" or "consulting low spirits." However, where the concentrations of Negro populations are greatest, as in and about Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Recife, the *pai de santo* retains his position as the depository for the secrets of the cult and the director of the ceremonies. His principal function is to prepare the orisha or saint, a performance in which he has the aid of an assistant sacerdote (*achôgun*). The *pai de santo* possesses the power to "fix" the "saint" in any material object, a fact very important to remember by those who would consider the fetish as an idol. Thus in preparing Xangô, his

fetish, a small stone, is put into a small pottery vase and placed in a large basin. About the fetish is laid a preparation of sacred leaves and palm oil. Then the achôgun sacrifices the appropriate animal, either a sheep or a rooster, by spilling its blood over the fetish and the materials about it. The slaughter of each animal follows a prescribed ritual.

After being "prepared" in this manner the fetish or saint is carried to its altar in the terreiro. The vase containing it is set against the wall which forms the back of the altar, amidst the symbols associated with it. In addition, pieces of cloth and paper, necklaces, shells, and so forth, all of the appropriate color are suspended about the room. The water dishes in the ceremonial chambers are constantly replenished and the foods either eaten by the priests or thrown out—the Negroes believe that the saints use only the spirit of the food and drink.

Each center of worship has a special inner group of devotees consecrated to the cult of the orishas. These are called *filhos de santo*, and may be of either sex, although in Bahia by preference they are females. In them the orishas reveal themselves spontaneously or by provocation. Initiation as a daughter of the saint is a rather involved ceremonial procedure the preliminaries of which include a great deal of bathing in water prepared with aromatic plants, confinement in a small chamber for a number of days, and the preparation of the fetish. Then the girl submits to having her hair shaved, which, according to Ramos, "in the beginning was complete, and today is found limited to the head."⁴⁵ She is then washed with a specially prepared infusion of aromatic leaves, and drinks some of the concoction. Finally, her head, forehead, and cheeks are painted with dots and circles in designs which are survivals from the facial tattoos used among the African tribes. All of this is designed to help produce the "state of the orisha," or trance, in which her body serves as the medium through which the deity performs.

The daughter of the orisha is now known as *Yauô*, or "the youngest wife." For a period varying from one month to a year she must remain in the ceremonial house subject to a series of taboos. Among these are the prohibitions against going outside, sexual intercourse, and the use of certain foods. Finally, the day of "giving the name" arrives. On this occasion, after due preparation, the head of the girl is immersed in the blood of the sacrificed animals, and a solemn feast of consecration is celebrated. Then the initiate is called *feita* (made). Now she is prepared to be the instrument which an orisha may use for his manifestations, or as the Brazilian Negroes express it, she is "the horse of the saint."

⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 287.

From now on she belongs to the *mãe de terreiro* in the *seita* where she has been "made" and can return to her parents' house only through a ceremony of "purchase." This may be effected by her husband, members of her family, or other persons previously designated by the girl. In these ceremonies all of the objects which she has used during her novitiate are sold at auction. The purchase over, the *filha de santo* is accompanied by a great train of people to the house of the buyer, where she is to live from then on. She must, however, continue to fulfill her religious obligations, to obey the orders of the *pai* or the *mãe de santo*, and participate in the ceremonies on the days fixed by the cult.⁴⁶ The colors worn at these ceremonies depend upon the *orisha* to whom the girl belongs. When she dies her ceremonial costume and all the other ceremonial paraphernalia she possessed are taken to the sea and dropped in so that the waves may carry them back to Africa.

In addition to the priests, assistant priests, and *filhos de santo*, each *terreiro* has its *ogans* or protectors of the temple. These are influential persons who contribute in a financial way, assist in keeping police interference at a minimum, and aid to a limited extent in the ceremonies. Ramos, Pierson, and others were initiated and served in this capacity while making their studies of the *candomblés* and *macumbas*.

Periodically the *orishas* are feted in ceremonies called giving "a meal to the saint." On these occasions the *pai* and *mãe de santo* call together all the "children of the *orisha*," a large crowd gathers, the appropriate animals are sacrificed to the sound of the drum, and then all assemble in the main room of the house of worship. In the center are the sacerdotess nearly surrounded by the *filhos de santo*, the drummers nearby, the *ogans* in their places in the armchairs, and the other participants disposed as in the order of their importance. (See Figure 20.) Ceremonies begin with the offering to *Exú*, made, as are those following, to the roll of the drums. Then at a signal from the musicians the "daughters of the saint" begin the songs and dances of invocation to the *orishas*, commencing with *Exú* and continuing through the list. Each divinity is revered with the exclamation "Okê!" The drumbeats and songs vary with each *orisha*, and together they make up a large and varied quantity of music and song.

As the ceremonies progress the emotional pitch of the participants builds higher and higher. In the dances to the *orishas* there arrives a

⁴⁶ Sacred prostitution seems not to be an integral part of the ceremonies of this cult, although in some cases the sacerdotess who operates the *xangôs*, the *candomblés* or the *macumbas* may prostitute the *filhas de santo* of their group. Cf. Fernandes, *Xangô do Nordeste*, 54-55. The use of the serpent in the ceremonies also has been lost, although once it probably was an integral element in the ceremonial paraphernalia. It has retained its importance in the equipment of the *curandeiros* or quack doctors who are so numerous throughout the country.

moment where the orisha "penetrates" the head of one of the "daughters of the saint." When this phenomenon of possession is attained, it is said that the saint has "risen to the head," and attained the state of possession the Negroes call "falling into the saint." The excitation to this possessed condition is frequent, and after receiving the orisha the daughter of the

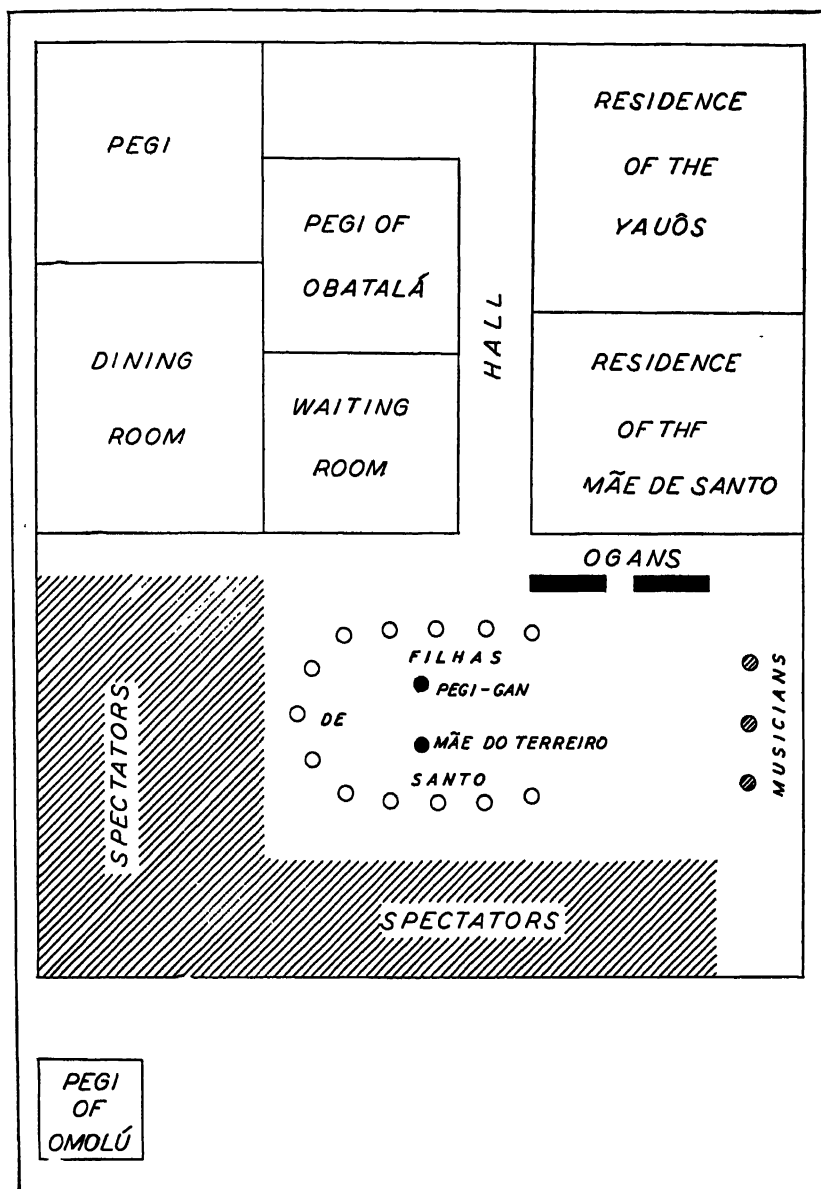


FIGURE 20. Arrangement of the Terreiro of a Cult of Gêge-Nagô Origin. (After Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*.)

saint is progressively animated by contorsive movements until at last she falls full length upon the floor. Then she is carried to her small cell where the *mãe de santo* dresses her with the insignia of the saint to whom she belongs. She now returns to the assembly room and recommences the dance, revered by all those present, for they now must bow low or even throw themselves on the floor when the horse of the orisha passes by.

Primitive religion and magic are almost inseparable from music and the dance. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that both of these figure very strongly in the ceremonies of the Afro-Brazilians, particularly in exciting the participants to the pitch in which they fall into the saint or experience the phenomenon of possession. Both the religious and the war dances of the Sudanese and Bantu tribes were carried to Brazil, where they figure strongly in the religious ceremonies, but probably even more important in the common dances of the people.⁴⁷ It hardly seems possible that the drum and the dances of African origin even remotely approach the importance in any other country that they have in Brazil. Whether one is merely passing along the street, observing children at play in the park on Sunday, or enjoying the tremendous national outburst in the days before Lent, he rarely misses in the Brazilian social scene the evidences of these all-pervasive cultural influences.

Luciano Gallet has identified many of the Brazilian dances of African origin, including the *quimbête*, *sarambêque*, *sarambú*, and *caxambú* of

⁴⁷ Visitors to Brazil have reported these dances from the most remote sections of the interior. Thus the African dance called the *batuque* was frequently observed by von Spix and von Martius in the course of their travels through the central portion of Brazil. From the excellent description which follows, one has no difficulty in recognizing its fundamental similarity to present expressions of the dance to be seen almost everywhere one looks during carnival season, and not at all lacking from the games played by children in Rio's parks on a Sunday. It was in Minas Gerais at the solitary farmhouse called Estiva that these observant Bavarians were stimulated to write as follows:

"The Brazilian is of a lively disposition, and fond of pleasure. Almost everywhere, when we arrived in the evening, we were saluted with the sound of the guitar (*viola*), accompanied by singing or dancing. At Estiva, a solitary farm-house, with fine extensive campos bounded in the distance by mountains, the inhabitants were dancing the *baducca*; they scarcely learnt the arrival of foreign travellers when they invited us to be witnesses of their festival. The *baducca* is danced by one man and one woman, who snapping their fingers with the most extravagant motions and attitudes, dance sometimes towards and sometimes from each other. The principal charm of this dance, in the opinion of the Brazilians, consists in rotations and contortions of the hips, in which they are almost as expert as the East Indian jugglers. It sometimes lasts for several hours together without interruption, alternately accompanied with the monotonous notes of the guitar, or with extempore singing; or popular songs, the words of which are in character with its rudeness; the male dancers are sometimes dressed in women's clothes. Notwithstanding its indecency, this dance is common throughout Brazil, and the property of the lower classes, who cannot be induced, even by ecclesiastical prohibitions, to give it up. It seems to be of Ethiopic origin, and introduced into Brazil by the negro slaves, where, like many of their customs, it has become naturalised." *Travels in Brazil*, II, 114. See also the descriptions of this dance in Mme. Toussaint-Sampson, *A Parisian in Brazil*, trans. by Emma Toussaint (Boston, 1891), 93-95; and Walsh, *Notices of Brazil*, II, 243-44.

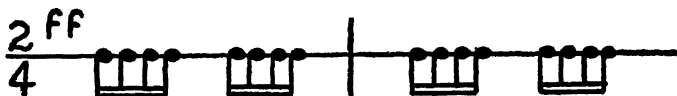
Minas Gerais; the *sorongo* of Minas Gerais and Bahia; the fetish dances *alujá* and *jeguedé*; the *cateretê* of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro; the *samba* found in Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Pernambuco; the *candomblé* of Bahia; the *maracatú* of the northeast; the *jongo*, *chiba*, *canna verde* of the state of Rio de Janeiro; the *côco-de-zambê* of Rio Grande do Norte; and the *batuque*, a generalized name for such dances. Ramos accepts the list with some corrections, pointing out that the *samba* like the *batuque* is a general term, that the *maracatú* is confined mostly to Pernambuco, that the *cateretê* is general throughout the northeast, that the *côco* reflects strong Indian cultural influences, and that the *chiba* and *canna verde* were merely modified by the Negroes, not original with them. He also cites other dances which belong in the list including the *batucajés* and *batuque do jarê* of Bahia, and the *dansas do tambor* of Maranhão.⁴⁸

Ramos, too, has been active in the study of the drums of African origin, assembling a fine personal collection of them. At the same time he has acquired not a little skill in producing the music of the *macumbas* and *candomblés*. It is this authority who says:

In the Afro-Brazilian religious ceremonies the *atabaques* are the essential instruments of the cult. It is they that mark the rhythm of the religious dances (*batucajés*), and produce the contact with the divinities. . . .

In all of the ceremonies, of initiation, of the preparation of the fetishes, of the feasts destined for the saints, and of the sacrifice of animals, the *atabaque* is the indispensable element. The rhythm varies for each ceremony, or for each invocation to a specific saint.⁴⁹

In the pure fetish ceremonies only the *atabaques*, one variety of the drum, along with the clapping of hands, is used. For ordinary purposes the more common rhythms suffice, but on occasion, the *orisha* invoked may be slow in arriving. Then more drastic measures may be necessary. The Brazilian Negroes are prepared for such exigencies with some special beats. They informed Ramos that "there is no saint who resists the beat *adarrum*":



And Ramos testifies: "As we had occasion of verifying, Dr. Josannah de Oliveira and I, the possession by 'states of the saint' reaches, with the beat of *adarrum*, even persons strangers to the cult, onlookers or curiosity seekers, almost always of the feminine sex."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, 234-36.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 239-41. ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 241.

Such music, reinforced by the stimulation of the dance, brings the participants to the very highest levels of emotional excitement. An excellent description of the setting for the dance and the exhibition itself has been given by Nina Rodrigues. This pioneer mentions the baths, fumigations, "the eating of substances possessed of special virtues," prolonged fastings, sexual abstinence, and various bodily mortifications, all of which play their part in inducing the "state of the saint." Then he asserts:

Of the most powerful in this particular can be considered the influence of the dance. It is necessary to have been a witness of the gestures, of the contortions, of the tumultuous and violent movements to which the Negroes deliver themselves in their sacred dances, for hour after hour, for entire days and nights; it is necessary for you to see them pouring with sweat which their female companions or attendants wipe away from time to time with enormous towels or cloths; it is necessary for you to see them thus with clothing literally running with perspiration, dancing, dancing, still dancing forever, in order to get an idea of what this gruelling exercise may be, to know of its power which, instead of reducing them, incites them more and more. It is a species of mounting fury, of madness, of rabidness whose contortions accompany the varied cadences, always more accentuated, of the *batucagé*, until the final manifestation of the saint.⁵¹

The particular days that are devoted to religious ceremonies vary from one *terreiro* to another, and are dependent to a considerable extent upon the divinity to which the sect or temple is consecrated. Ramos says that in the great annual *candomblés* the orishas are feted in the following order:

Monday—*Exú* and *Omulú*

Tuesday—*Nananburucú* and *Oxumanré*

Wednesday—*Xangô* and *Yansan*

Thursday—*Oxóssi* and *Ogun*

Friday—*Oxalá*

Saturday—*Yemanjá* and *Oxun*

Sunday—All the orishas

But there is nothing absolutely fixed in this order; many orishas may be honored simultaneously on a single day, or any one of the orishas may be feted on a day different from the one given above.

Pierson gives the details of one *candomblé* in Bahia whose *pai de santo* is dedicated to *Ogun*. Its special ceremonial season begins the second week of September and ends during the first week of December. Throughout this period special ceremonies are held each Sunday, with some of them continuing through Mondays as well. The first ceremony honors *Oxalá*, the second *Oxagian*, and the next three *Ogun*; there follow sessions for *Xangô*, *Oxun*, *Oxóssi*, *Yemanjá*, and *Yansan*. The eleventh Sunday and

⁵¹ Rodrigues, *O Animismo Fetichista dos Negros Bahianos*, 110-11; also quoted with slight corrections in Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, 225-26.

the Monday following are used to fete Omulú, and the succeeding Sunday and Monday are devoted to all the mães d'agua. On the thirteenth and final Sunday there is an elaborate ritual to offer a *feijoada* to Ogun.⁵²

The other candomblés or macumbas have their own special ceremonial seasons, and in addition assemblies are held throughout the year. However, during Lent these African cults suspend their activities.

A word is necessary about the magical practices or despachos, called *ebó* in Bahia, which are very closely related to this religion. Ordinarily the vessel involved is a small pottery vase or wooden box, but paper or cloth will serve. The contents are most frequently a dead chicken, pigeon, or animal, a piece of cloth, a silver or copper coin, popcorn, fruits; always they are covered with a palm oil. Only on very rare occasions is a sheep or a goat sacrificed.

The *ebó* has various objectives. First there is the necessity of warding off the malevolent Exú. To do this the despacho may be deposited at the crossroads. A second purpose may be to bring misfortune to a person one dislikes. To accomplish this the *ebó* should be deposited in a spot which that person must pass, or, better still, in the doorway of his house. To bring misfortune upon the head of an enemy, one mixes popcorn with flour and palm oil and then tosses a bit of the preparation in his direction. Another objective of the *ebó* is called "a change of the head," i. e., transposing ills from one person to another. In such a case the magician (*feiticeiro*) prepares the despacho by fixing in it the tribulations of the persons who desire relief. This *ebó* is then placed in a frequented spot, and the ills will be transferred to the person who touches it.

Mohammedanism. Many of the slaves transported to Brazil previously had been in contact with Arabic culture and the Mohammedan religion. During the early years of the nineteenth century, these Negroes, greatly aided by their knowledge of the Arabic tongue and ability to communicate by writing, organized some of the greatest slave revolts that Brazil ever knew. As a result an attempt was made to eliminate them entirely, many being deported. Such influences as they have left have largely been incorporated into the *gêge-nagô* and Bantu cults, mainly as "lines," or the calling up of spirits within the Bantu ceremonial complex. The particular sacerdotess who are learned in these "lines" are still called *alufá*. The ritual has undergone much syncretism, being combined with Indian as well as other African religious traits.⁵³

⁵² Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, 279-80.

⁵³ Cf. Ramos, "The Negro in Brazil," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, 136, 141-42; and *id.*, *Introdução à Antropologia Brasileira*, 421-32, and *O Negro Brasileiro*, 75-97.

The Bantu Cults. The many influences which the Negroes of the Bantu groups have had upon the language of Brazil are well known, but only recently has their importance as carriers of religious culture come to light. Nina Rodrigues neglected this important aspect of the study to which he gave a large part of his life, and only with the investigations of Ramos and his collaborators has a beginning been made in ascertaining survivals of Bantu religious culture in Brazil. The macumbas of Rio de Janeiro and Niterói are those which have yielded the most results in this field.

The great deity of Angola, Zambi or Nzambi, still lives in the macumbas in and about Rio de Janeiro under the names of Zâmbi,⁵⁴ Ganga Zumba and Gana Zona. Zambi-ampungu, from the Congo, also is remembered although the name has become so corrupted that it is difficult to recognize. The names of Lemba, Cariapemba, and Calunga, are also heard in the macumbas. In fact "the series of the spirits is never ending and a large number came to us, with names modified, transformed, many of them almost impossible of identification."⁵⁵

The Bantus lacked highly developed cults of the fetish gods and animal sacrifices as those the Sudanese Negroes carried to Brazil. But they brought along a cult of the dead, ancestor worship, household deities, many other friendly and unfriendly supernatural beings, the belief in the transmigration of souls, totemism, and many fetish practices closely allied to spiritualism.

According to Ramos the liturgy of the Bantu cults is closely linked with funeral rites, totemic ceremonies, and magical medicine. The high priest is called *quimbanda*, and is a combination of sacerdote, doctor, fortune-teller, and sorcerer. But "among the Afro-Brazilians of Bantu origin, the religious liturgy proper is exceedingly poor and has been almost completely absorbed by that of the *gêge-nagô*."⁵⁶ Thus the *quimbanda* of Rio de Janeiro has lost much of the prestige of the office. He serves only in the function of head of the macumba, aided by an assistant who is called a *cambône*. Under the influence of the *gêge-nagô* religion the priest is referred to as *pai de santo* and the initiates as *filhos de santo*, although in some macumbas the latter are called "mediums" because of spiritualistic influences. These macumbas of Bantu origin also have functionaries called *sambas* whose duties are to receive the visitors and to care for the women who receive the saint.

In these macumbas of Bantu origin the ritual is simple and very similar to that of the *gêge-nagô* cults. The *terreiros* are rudely made and relatively simple in their layout. (See Figure 21.) Each of these temples takes

⁵⁴ Not to be confused with the fantastic being called *Zumbi* in Brazil, *Zombie* in Haiti, who is active in the middle of the night.

⁵⁵ Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, 112.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 115.

the name of its protecting deity or familiar spirit. The most distinguishing characteristic of Bantu macumbas is the importance of the familiar spirits which incarnate themselves in the quimbanda, and who are survivals from the ancestor worship of Angola and the Congo.

There are groups of saints and spirits which come in falanges. These belong to various nations or "lines." The more powerful the sacerdote, the greater the number of "lines" in which he works. Today the rule is . . . syncretism with Spiritualism, Catholicism, and the Negro cults of Sudanese origin. All of the Catholic saints, spirits of the mediums' tables, and Sudanese orishas appear in these "lines" of the terreiros or "centers," of Bantu origin.⁵⁷

As indicated above, there are even "lines" of Mussulman origin, about the only remaining influence of Mohammedanism that can be established definitely.

When all are assembled and disposed as in Figure 21, the *gira* has been formed, and the high priest opens the ceremony by invoking the protecting saint. Then he sings the *ponto* "of the smoker" to purify the temple.⁵⁸ There follow pontos to each of the saints or spirits who are to descend from their altars. The cambône leads in the singing, which is accompanied by the clapping of hands, and also by music from the various percussion instruments used by the Negroes. The latter include *cuicas* (a small cylindrical instrument), tamborines, *canzás* (of bamboo), and various drums.

Nowadays, the practice of consulting the spirits is common in many of the macumbas. At a certain place in the ceremony the sacerdote "receives" the spirit of an old Negro from the African Coast, generally either Pai Joaquim or Velho Lourenço, who proceeds to give advice.

The "lines" continue far into the night. Rarely does possession become as strong as among the candomblés of Bahia, but in some cases it takes on very violent aspects. The Negroes think that the possessed, speaking in unknown tongue, is talking of "things of the [African] Coast," but their ideas on this subject are very vague.

The ceremony closes as it began with an invocation to the protecting saint. The chorus sings and the quimbanda blesses all with the Catholic invocation, "God be praised," to which the congregation contritely replies, "Let Him be praised forever."⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Ramos, *Introdução á Anthropologia Brasileira*, 472-73.

⁵⁸ Ponto refers either to a song dedicated to a saint or to the insignia such as the sign of Solomon, the circle, the arrow, and so forth, which are symbolic of the divinities. One who strolls about in the hills where so many of Rio's Negroes live may observe these insignia on the walls of the small cottages which cover the slopes.

⁵⁹ Ramos, *Introdução á Anthropologia Brasileira*, 474-75, and *id.*, "The Negro in Brazil," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portraits of Half a Continent*, 143-45.

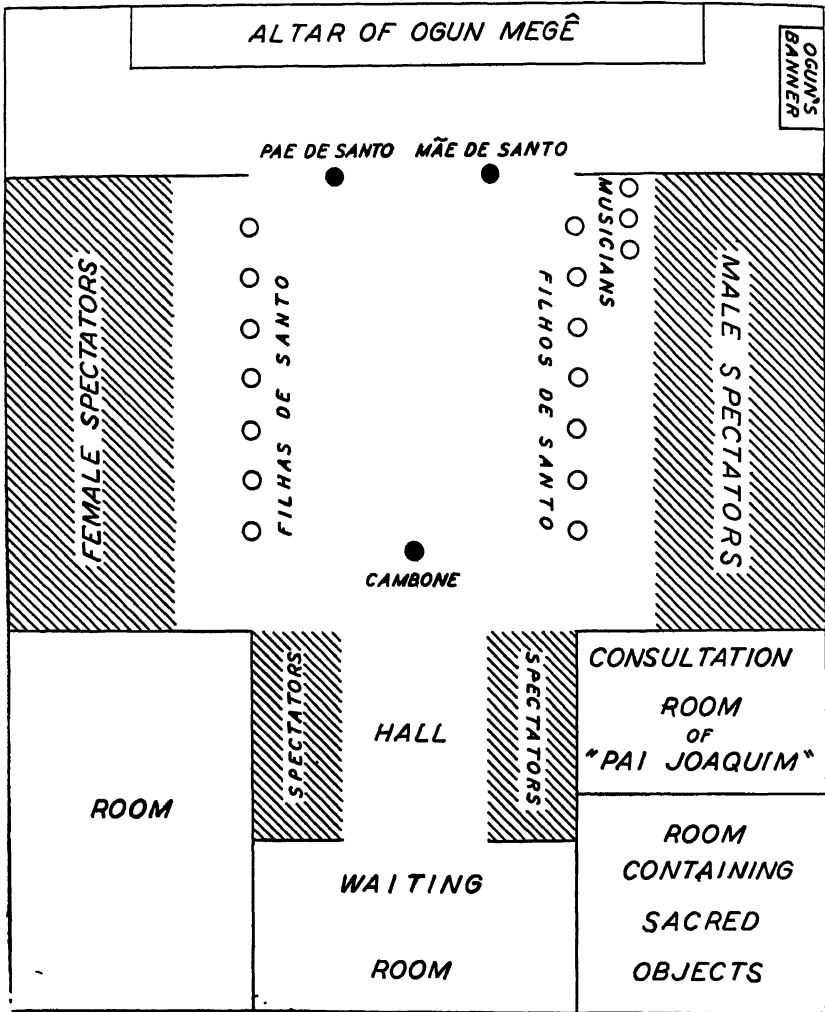


FIGURE 21. Arrangement of the Terreiro of a Cult of Bantu Origin. (After Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*.)

Syncretism. In the Brazil of today it is difficult to find examples of the "pure" religious elements, either from African or from indigenous sources. That which prevails is a result of much blending, modification, fusion. The gods of the Africans and the Indians were identified with the saints of the Catholics; the ceremonials of the pagans, sometimes openly, sometimes surreptitiously, were reoriented about the chapel or the cathedral; the Negro found in the symbols of Christianity a wealth of new objects to add to his *pegé*; and the cultural heritage of the unlettered Brazilian embraced all the elements from all the sources. The identification of São Jorge with Oxóssi, of São Jeronimo with Xangô, of São Roque with

Omulú, and the most powerful of all, Senhor do Bomfim (Jesus Christ) with Oxalá, are only a few of the most obvious phases of the cultural blendings. As Ramos has said "it was impossible to deter the avalanche of syncretism." At first the African cults tended to amalgamate one with the other. Later the process of acculturation widened to the Indian, and finally to the religions introduced by the whites, Catholicism and spiritualism. According to this noted authority there is the following ascending order of syncretism.

1. Gêge-Nagô
2. Gêge-Nagô-Mussulman
3. Gêge-Nagô-Bantu
4. Gêge-Nagô-Mussulman-Bantu
5. Gêge-Nagô-Mussulman-Bantu-Caboclo
6. Gêge-Nagô-Mussulman-Bantu-Caboclo-Spiritualist
6. Gêge-Nagô-Mussulman-Bantu-Caboclo-Spiritualist-Catholic ⁶⁰

Ramos maintains that it is the last type which prevails among Brazil's backward classes, be they Negro, mixed bloods, or whites. It predominates "in all parts of Brazil, with more intensity in some places than in others, with predominance of one of the forms over the others; here Yoruba, there Bantu, and in other spots, Caboclo-Amerindo."⁶¹ It is only necessary to add that in the last few years various theosophical elements, particularly the visible symbols, seem to be eagerly snatched up and incorporated into the already extremely heterogeneous religious complexes.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

In addition to the orthodox mysteries of the Church, and to the numerous extraneous elements from African and Indian cultures that the process of syncretism has engrafted onto them, the world of the Brazilian countryman abounds in mysterious occurrences and supernatural beings which have no particular connection with any organized cult. As in other countries, including our own, the city man, except for an occasional furtive thought that after all there may be something to them, in general his education and sophistication has relegated all such to the realm of superstition. But to the inhabitants of the forested areas, of the extensive plateaus, of the sertões, these things are a very real part of the environment, these supernatural entities are beings with whom they may be forced to reckon. Since many of these are decidedly dangerous to the individual, they must ever be on guard.

Pé de Garrafa. For example among the sertanejos who live in southwestern Mato Grosso and derive their livelihood by collecting roots and

⁶⁰ Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, 168.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 169.

herbs in the dense forests of the region—the “Green Hell” of popular accounts—there is widespread a belief in a species of mysterious man-like beings called *pé de garrafa* (bottle foot). These beings are shaped like men, except that they have only one leg which terminates in a rounded hoof whose sole is shaped like the bottom of a bottle—from this comes the name. Their bodies are thickly covered with long, dark, and grizzled hair.

It is at twilight when they practice their witchery upon the poor foresters of the region. At this time the collector of roots and herbs, tired from the long day's work, is already started back along the long trail that leads to the station with his sack filled with the precious collections. Hearing a strong, clear call resembling that of a fellow worker, he stops and listens. Hearing the cry repeated, he answers and starts off the trail in the direction whence it came. Arriving in the vicinity he sees nothing, but again comes the call, now from the right, now from the left, leading him first in one direction, then another, in search of the companion but he sees and meets with no one. Only at last on the ground he discovers the fresh, clear imprint, as though made by the pressure of the bottom of a bottle. Here is indisputable evidence of the recent presence of the powerful and monstrous *bicho* which seeks to lure the poor collector of herbs into the confusing depths of the mysterious forests. When confronted by the appalling situation many of the weaker collectors are irreparably lost. Some of the most courageous fighters, those who also possess the best sense of direction, manage to make their way back to the station. There, thoroughly frightened, they relate to their fellows the details of the latest dread occurrence.⁶²

Mãe d'Água. Almost universal among the lower orders of Brazilian society is belief in the *mãe d'água* (water mother). This attractive but fatal supernatural being, derived from indigenous folklore and also from African tradition, has more than a little in common with the Lorelei. According to some accounts, on moonlight nights she is to be seen on a leaf of an aquatic plant singing as she floats along over the smooth surface of a river or a lake. Long, green tresses flowing over shapely shoulders and tempting, misty eyes attract her victims to their doom, “the easy death of a divine, and ardent, and sensual embrace beneath the cold water.”⁶³ But there are other stories which cast her in roles that are quite different. In Bahia there are widely disseminated accounts of the *mãe*

⁶² For an excellent description of this phenomenon, see Gabriel Pinto de Arruda, *Um Trecho do Oeste Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), 14–15. Variations as they appear in Goiás and the northeast are described in José A. Teixeira, *Folklore Goiano* (São Paulo, 1941), 377–79.

⁶³ Barroso, *Terra de Sol*, 268.

d'agua whom the poor countryman found stealing corn or beans from his roça. He captured her and finally persuaded her to become his wife. In all cases she warns him never to speak disparagingly of the underwater people. For a time following the marriage, the man's affairs prosper miraculously. Soon he has a multistoried dwelling, numerous slaves, large numbers of cattle, and many farms. But after some time has passed the mãe d'agua ceases to perform her housewifely duties. The children cry for food, the house is badly disordered, the slaves idle away their time for want of direction, while she, dressed in rags, barefooted, and with her hair badly disheveled, spends all day sleeping. Every time the man comes home, the disarranged house, crying children, and demanding slaves drive him to desperation. Finally, his nerves can stand no more, and one day he curses the underwater people. For this the mãe d'agua has been waiting. She hastily arises, races out the door, and heads for the water. All the man's efforts to stop her are ineffectual. Furthermore, she is followed by all the children, the slaves, the cattle, horses, mules, pigs, chickens, turkeys, and every living thing. Even this is not the end, for the house, the furnishings, the outbuildings, the fences, corrals, even the trees, everything, follow her to the river side and plunge with her into the water. The man lives on alone, poor as at first, but no longer is his roça pillaged by the mãe d'agua.⁶⁴

In the Amazon Region the supernatural being known elsewhere as mãe d'agua is called *yara*, and the former name is applied to the great water spirit who is mother of all the waters and whose exploits rival the powers of the imagination. In addition to these there is the *bôto*, male counterpart of the Lorelei, whose success in attracting women is fully as great as is that of the *yara* in leading men to their doom.⁶⁵

Lobis Homem. The werewolf is another supernatural being against whom the humble rural Brazilian must be on his guard. A severe anemic condition is an indication that one has been a victim of one of these fiends. Girls must take care that their suitors, however handsome they may be, do not belong to this dread species. Such a husband sooner or later is consumed by an irrepressible desire to drink the blood of his wife. There is one story of a girl who married what she thought was a handsome man, but who in reality was a *lobis homem*. When seized with the desire to drink

⁶⁴ See Basílio de Magalhães, *O Folclore no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), 246-50.

⁶⁵ Cf. Raymundo Moraes, *Na Planície Amazonica* (5th ed.: São Paulo, 1939), 69-77. See also H. Smith, *Brazil, The Amazons and the Coast*, 572; and Charles Wagley, "The Folk Culture of the Brazilian Amazon," in Sol Tax (ed.), *Acculturation in the Americas*, Vol. II of *Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of Americanists* (Chicago, 1952), 226.

his wife's blood he tried to create a pretext by forcing her to reveal whom she would have married had he never been born. Always she replied that she would have married only him. Finally, unable to get any other answer he killed her, drank her blood, and went away with all the other devils.⁶⁶

Others. These are only a few of the hundreds of supernatural beings who live in the thoughts of Brazil's rural masses and with whom they must deal in every day's routine of activities. The headless mule (*mula-sem-cabeça*, *burra-de-padre*, or *burrinha-de-padre*),⁶⁷ the "Negro of the water," the "bicho that eats tongues," the *boitatá* (wandering spirit which sometimes protects the pastures and sometimes destroys them), the *curupira* (a little-known man whose feet are turned backward so that anyone seeing his tracks and trying to run away from him will speed to destruction at his hands) are only a few of the many with whom the rural Brazilian may have to deal. In fact the peasant's world is thickly populated with these beings, who have it within their power to aid and injure man.

Not the least interesting of these is Manoel do Riachão whose satanic activities seem to be concentrated in the northeastern portion of Brazil, from Piauí to Sergipe. Some of the sertanejos are convinced that Manoel is the devil himself, but others think of him as being an iniquitous individual who sold his soul to the Prince of Evil in return for great skill in playing the viola and improvising batuques. Everywhere he is recognized as a bard without rival. However, his passage through any community is marked by sudden and inexplicable calamities. Even though rains have been regular, the small streams dry up, great losses occur among the herds, the crops fail, and even people are attacked by strange and deadly maladies. In spite of his great skills, he can never stop for long in one place. Popular indignation soon arises to the pitch that "the poor *violeiro* is obliged to pack up his viola and seek another place to stay until the time that from new persecutions he recommences his eternal peregrinations. Thus lived Manoel do Riachão, and the places of preference frequented were the taverns, the gambling tables, and principally the batuques, for the pleasure of defeating in verse the most famous singers."⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Basílio de Magalhães, *O Folclore no Brasil*, 234-35.

⁶⁷ So called because the fate of being transformed at death into one of these entities is likely to be the lot of a priest's concubine. *Ibid.*, 74. Cf. Barroso, *Terra de Sol*, 226. All the details of the transformation of a young peasant's bride-to-be into a *mula-sem-cabeça*, are given in Viriato Padilha, *Os Roceiros* (Rio de Janeiro, 1927), 217-44.

⁶⁸ Padilha, *Os Roceiros*, 167-68. As indicated above the batuque is a dance of African origin. At these gatherings the *desafio* is one of the most popular features of the entertainment. This is a contest in dialogue between two singers, all improvisation, each in turn seeking to answer the opponent's query, and then to turn the laugh on his opponent.

FANATICISM AND SCHISMS

Pedra Bonita. Among the cultural elements inherited from Portugal and introduced in new Brazilian religious complexes is that particular brand of millenarianism known as Sebastianism. These beliefs and the sect of Sebastianists had their origin in events connected with the life of Sebastian, mystic and fanatic King of Portugal (1557–1578). The exalted imagination of this monarch led him to be consumed by an ambition to lead a crusade against the Mohammedans of North Africa. He placed his government in charge of the Jesuits, refused to marry (although this meant the Portuguese crown would pass to a foreigner), and led two expeditions into Morocco. On the second of these he was killed at the battle of Al Kasr al Kebir. However, many Portuguese refused to accept the fact that he was dead and believed that their "hidden king" was either absent on a pilgrimage or awaiting a second advent on an enchanted island. Sebastianism became a religion.⁶⁹ Walsh, who supplies the greatest detail on this subject, states that in his day (1828–1829) there was a considerable number of people in Portugal and in Brazil who simply and earnestly believed:

that King Sebastião, who disappeared in Africa, is not dead, but will reappear in his proper person; the Portuguese say at Lisbon, and the Brazilians at Rio de Janeiro, which is a favored city, and originally and properly called after his name. It is generally supposed that the number in Portugal exceeds 1,000 persons, and in Brazil about twice as many more. They have no particular place of meeting, and form no distinct congregation with any peculiar doctrine except this. Their common article of faith is, that Sebastião will certainly appear, and that the event will happen in their own life-time; and they expect him with as much zeal and simplicity as the modern Jews expect the Messiah.⁷⁰

The same authority also indicates that persons of these beliefs were numerous in Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro, and describes them as similar to English Quakers or Moravians and distinguished for their industry, frugality, simplicity, and benevolence. He mentions the stream of prophecies set forth by one of his acquaintances who saw every event as a sign of the imminent return of the king, provides information about a merchant who disposed of goods to persons who would agree to pay when Sebastião came again, and even presents a copy of a contract for the payment of ten contos in the event the hidden monarch reappeared within ten years.⁷¹ However, Walsh does not speak of the importance of these beliefs in northeastern Brazil, nor does he give any indication that they might soon generate excesses such as those that shortly came to pass.

⁶⁹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th Edition.

⁷⁰ Walsh, *Notices of Brazil*, I, 385–86.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 386–87.

In 1836 a mestiço by the name of João Santos, or João Antonio, began to disseminate startling notices about Pedra Bonita in central Pernambuco. On this spot stand two tall monoliths, some 100 feet high and of an appearance somewhat resembling dolmens. According to João these stones marked the exact location of an enchanted country in which was hidden untold treasure and which was destined to be the New Jerusalem of King Sebastião. In fact the two stones were the towers of a grand, enchanted temple, already partially visible. Supplied with two common stones of curious shape, João began to wander about in the area asserting that the pebbles had been secured from an enchanted lake. His affirmations produced a strong impression on the humble folk of the sertões, whose cultural heritage contained little to shield them from such ideas and much to lead them to believe the stories. They were already conscious of the brilliant reflections from the pretty stones. They easily accepted the idea of supernatural intervention, and, of course, became very agitated.

In an effort to re-establish calm, the ecclesiastical authorities had João removed to a distant place. But this did not put an end to the beliefs or the agitation. Less than two years passed before another João (Ferreira), brother-in-law of the first, arrived in the locality, gathered about him thirty followers, and took steps to bring about the disenchantment of the kingdom. He remained more than two months, devoting himself to various extreme religious practices, among which sexual promiscuity is reported to have figured prominently. In every way he sought to increase the courage of his followers. He and his intimates orated continuously, ate little but drank much, danced, and in other ways worked themselves into the highest pitches of frenzy, ready for the disenchantment.

In the sermons which João addressed to the multitude that had assembled he made fantastic promises to those who could bring themselves to make the necessary sacrifices. "Negroes and mestiços would become whites, aged persons would be rejuvenated, and poor people would become millionaires, all powerful, immortal." But always the preacher closed by affirming that blood was necessary to effect the disenchantment, blood to bathe the base of the columns and to irrigate the nearby fields!

On May 14, 1838, the "king" announced that the day of sacrifice had come, and numbers of people offered themselves for the supreme ordeal. The first to embrace the stone and offer his head to the two mestiço executioners was the father of the pretended king. An old man carried his two grandchildren 35 feet up the stone and threw them out into space; a widow offered two young sons, and was exasperated at not being able to sacrifice two more who were old enough to take to their heels. The king himself offered his wife, spilling her blood by repeated stabs with a knife.

All that day and the two following ones the holocaust continued. By the end of the third day, 30 children, 12 men, 11 women, and 14 dogs had been executed. "The bodies were placed at the base of the rocks in symmetrical groups, in accord with the sex, the age, and the quality of the victims." Still the enchantment prevailed.

On the morning of the seventeenth a brother-in-law of the king and brother of João Santos ascended an improvised throne and declared that one thing was still lacking—the blood of João Ferreira. The king did not come forward, and in spite of the cowardice which he demonstrated the speaker was immediately put to death.

By the eighteenth the remains of the dead were in such a state of putrefaction that the crowd had to retire a short distance. Here they were engaged in the construction of huts when they were attacked by a hastily recruited force from the nearest governmental station. Instead of submitting to the law, the Sebastianists, who had been taught that an attack upon them would be a signal of the restoration of the kingdom, rushed to the combat singing religious songs. In this struggle, 22 of them, including the king and other leaders, paid with their lives. Others were imprisoned, one for life.

As a sequel the original propagandist, the mestiço João Santos, fled, was arrested, and killed on some pretext by the soldiers who had him in custody.⁷²

The New Jerusalem of Antonio Conselheiro. Antonio Maciel, known as the Counselor, is another name to be reckoned with in any attempt to summarize significant religious developments in Brazil. In his background were two generations of feuding between his family, the Macieis, and another powerful Ceará clan, the Araujos. Early in life he was deserted by his wife, assaulted a relative of the seducer who had sheltered the pair, was arrested, escaped, and then dropped from sight for ten years. When he reappeared in the sertões of Bahia he was "an old man of thirty," a self-appointed forerunner to prepare men's souls for the end of the world in 1899.

Like a few other well-known religious leaders of his time, such as Padre Cicero, and many lesser ones, Antonio Conselheiro helped himself

⁷² The account followed here is that by Brazil's outstanding scholar Nina Rodrigues in *As Colectividades Anormais* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), 135-39. Of other accounts that of Euclides da Cunha in *Os Sertões*, is most adequate. The Protestant missionary, Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, II, 148-51, gave details gathered very shortly after the happenings. His account contains the egregious error of identifying the locale as one of two caves, rather than two stone columns. Practically the same account is given in Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 520-21. Cunningham Graham seems to have exercised great poetic license without in any way improving the story in *A Brazilian Mystic*, 41-44.



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A BRATO

liberally to the elements in contemporary Brazilian rural religious culture in preparing his own peculiar concoction. The culture traits of the complex known as Sebastianism were very important; significant, too, was the widespread tendency to look upon lunacy as supernatural and the mentally deranged as enjoying special privilege in the approach of deity. The Counselor seems to have had as the fundamental tenet in his creed that this is a life of sorrow with the life to come as man's only hope of happiness. After his reappearance, his was an abstemious, stoical, John-the-Baptist type of existence. He lived on alms, spoke little, wore long hair, and in every way conducted himself as a man removed from sin. When he passed, people would remark, "There goes the Counselor." His followers gained no such reputations for restraint.

In a world filled with faith healers and quack doctors of all types, it is not surprising that his ministrations soon gained a reputation for effecting miraculous cures. Apparently he made no effort to attract followers, but disciples flocked around him. He seemed content merely to endure some of the sufferings that had been the lot of Jesus. The government, becoming alarmed at the commotion he was causing among the sertanejos, took him into custody on an old charge. At the time he demonstrated his stoicism by forbidding his followers to oppose the troops sent to arrest him. Nor did he protest at the cruel beatings to which he was subjected on the way to the capital. The charges, disproved, only gave him the greater prestige of a martyr, upon his release and return to the sertão. By then his person had become highly charged with mana, and even the tree under which he swung his hammock was regarded as sacred.

Now (about 1878) the miracles began to flourish. Now, too, he began to preach reform of the church. It was not long before he realized that he would have to "remove his flock from the world." The rapidly approaching end of the world loomed large in his thoughts and teachings.

The movement built up to its climax and the crisis came with the overthrow of the empire and the establishment of the republic. The emperor he could accept and submit to as enjoying a divine right to rule. But he had no such attitude toward the republic. This time his followers resisted and overcame the troops sent to arrest him. In open revolt he led his people to an old cattle fazenda and began the construction of the New Jerusalem. It was little more than an armed camp surrounded by trenches and earthworks, for the houses were of the crudest construction. But the erection of a pretentious temple was undertaken, with materials brought from throughout the sertão and with labor supplied by the devotees. In the temple the Conselheiro preached his doctrines of salvation through suffering and entrance to the kingdom of heaven through

the gateway of Canudos. Here, too, was the headquarters for the vast religious brotherhood, of which he was supreme authority, whose members were known as *jagunços*, a name usually applied to bad men in the sertões.

Four expeditions were sent by the government against Antonio Conselheiro and his rebellious city of the New Jerusalem. It never surrendered, but the fourth expedition completely eliminated the population. After the battle only a child, an old man, and two wounded were left.⁷³ But Antonio Conselheiro still lives in the memories of the hundreds of thousands of underprivileged people who inhabit Brazil's vast back country.

Padre Cicero and His New Jerusalem. Probably the most noted of schismatic movements in Brazil is the one that was led by Padre Cicero of Joãozeiro. The scene was the Valley of Cairirí in southern Ceará, an area earlier known to the history of fanaticism in Brazil because of a severe outbreak in 1850 of penitential scourging among the sect called Serenos.⁷⁴ In the early 1870's there came to this valley, to the fazenda Joazeiro, a newly ordained young priest, Cicero Romão Baptista. Shortly after, the great droughts of 1877-1879 set in. During this time of great tribulation he distinguished himself and earned the deepest gratitude of the sertanejos by having wells dug, shelters constructed, and fields of mandioca planted. With such measures he saved the lives of large numbers of refugees. His fame spread throughout the length and breadth of the sertão.

On June 11, 1890, as he was giving Holy Communion to the *beata*⁷⁵ Maria de Araujo, she fell to the floor in a terrific nervous state, and a thin stream of blood ran from her mouth. The faithful who were present rushed to her aid. When they saw it was blood issuing from her mouth, the effect was electric. For the actual transformation to occur during the grand and solemn moment when a woman so well known for her devotion and piety was partaking of the sacred host could mean only one thing. It was a miracle!⁷⁶ This explanation was not confined to the unlearned sertanejos. A leading sacerdotess acclaimed the interruption of natural law.⁷⁷ The miracle was repeated on various occasions and the Bishop of Ceará dispatched a commission of clergymen and medical men from Fortaleza to study the case. After some researches this commission, in its first report, stated that the "case could not have a natural explanation and should be regarded as miraculous." One of the physicians even certified "that the

⁷³ Graham, *A Brazilian Mystic, passim*; cf. Kelsey, *Seven Keys to Brazil*, 169-72; and the translation of Euclides da Cunha, *Os Sertões*, published in 1944 by the University of Chicago Press under the title, *Revolts in the Back Country*.

⁷⁴ Cf. Cunha, *Os Sertões*, 148.

⁷⁵ A *beata* is a woman devoted to religion, but not a member of any monastery or community.

⁷⁶ See Lourenço Filho, *Joazeiro do Padre Cicero*, 89.

⁷⁷ Menezes, *O Outro Nordeste*, 180.

blood into which the host transforms itself cannot be any but the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ." ⁷⁸

But the Bishop refused to accept the conclusions of the commission—they proved too much, they did not satisfy the three criteria of St. Thomas. Again it reported, this time with a complete retraction of its previous findings. Natural explanations sufficient to explain the phenomenon were set forth. This, however, had little effect upon the country people. Then some other events followed to confirm their faith. Monseignor Monteiro, a member of the commission and the first to denounce the miracle from the pulpit, went blind and spent his last days in utmost poverty; and misfortunes fell upon other members of the group, including the doctor who attested to the blood of Christ.⁷⁹ All of this strengthened Padre Cicero's position with the masses and aided in his transformation into the new messiah.

New miracles were not slow in coming. One day the Padre took in payment for services rendered a young bull calf of mixed zebu breed. Not wishing to have him run with the herd, he placed him in the care of a trusted friend, José Lourenço. The latter was a Negro and a well-known beato.⁸⁰ Furthermore, he belonged to the brotherhood of the Penitentes.⁸¹ One day a friend and companion of this beato vowed he would offer a tender bundle of grass to the Little Father's bull in the event that one of his petitions received the divine favor believed necessary to bring about its fulfillment. The results were favorable and he was under the necessity of keeping the vow. It was a time of drought, but the sertanejo was not dismayed. Knowing of a private meadow at some distance where the grass was always green he went early in the morning when no one was about, helped himself to the grass, and carried his offering to the bull. Apparently the latter was in no mood to eat and turned away from the offering. The caboclo had knelt and begun a prayer appropriate to the occasion, when he was transfixed by a long, sad bellow from the beast.

⁷⁸ Lourenço Filho, *Joaseiro do Padre Cicero*, 92.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁸⁰ As described by Xavier de Oliveira, *Beatos e Cangaceiros*, 39, a beato is "a bachelor, who makes vows of chastity (real or apparent) who has no profession because he has quit work, and who lives through the charity of the kindly and by exploiting the faithful. He passes the day praying in the churches, visiting the sick, at funerals for the dead, in teaching prayers to the credulous, all in accord with the precepts of the catechism! He dresses like a monk: a cassock of cotton dyed black, a cross on the shoulders, a cord of São Francisco tied about the waist, a dozen rosaries, a hundred scapulars of São Bento, some little bags filled with religious papers and powerful prayers, all hanging from the neck. They are, generally, vagabonds, hypocrites, religious fanatics, or bandits."

⁸¹ Among other duties the members of this irmandade have the obligation of dressing as pallbearers and offering prayers for the dead near the cemetery and at the crossroads. Now and then "they carry on strange ceremonies of their cult, in which under the guise of the Catholic liturgy many times are mixed unspeakable crimes." Lourenço Filho, *Joaseiro do Padre Cicero*, 102.

He was able only to cry for mercy, and promise not to steal again. For a long time he lay on the ground without power to move. The keeper came on the scene, put these occurrences together with other peculiar actions of the animal, and concluded that it was a genuine miracle. The bull had become a saint; from then on he produced uncounted miracles. The cult of the bull created so many excesses that finally Padre Cicero felt constrained to order the animal slain. José Lourenço and the Penitentes broke out into open revolt at the order, but it was carried out before their eyes in front of the jail into which they had been thrown.⁸²

In spite of such divisive events among his followers and discouragement from the higher authorities, Padre Cicero continued to reign as the messiah of the sertões, the absolute monarch of his New Jerusalem. Then came some political events of far-reaching significance. Involved was the overthrow of the clan that had been ruling Ceará for twenty years, and a complex question of presidential succession in Rio de Janeiro. But what at first was merely an attempt to use Padre Cicero and his forces as tools for deposing the legal government of Ceará developed into a holy war and the setting up of a state within a state. Soon the state troops were besieging Joãozeiro, resisted bitterly by the Padre's men, probably secretly aided by the federal government, and certainly helped by the sertanejos' belief in new supernatural interventions. The rumor spread that Nossa Senhora de Dores had promised Padre Cicero that the bullets from the muskets of the soldiers, even though they penetrated the bodies of the defenders, would do the sertanejos no harm. "The dead themselves would be resuscitated, after three days, stronger than ever, beside the Little Father in his house at Joazeiro, or in the mysterious church of the Horto."⁸³ Aided by such forces, and also by the individual sympathies of the government soldiers, the first expedition (1913) was driven off. A second in 1914 had no better luck, and then Padre Cicero, aided, it is charged, by all the bandits of the sertão including Virgolino Ferreira and Lampeão, took the initiative and marched on the state capital, Fortaleza, his forces sacking such cities as Crato and Barbalha on the way. Federal troops had to intervene on the outskirts of the capital, but the threat was sufficient, the governor stepped out and the Federal Interventor stepped in. Lourenço Filho has reproduced the telegrams of encouragement and felicitation the latter exchanged with Padre Cicero.⁸⁴

Although excommunicated by the Church, Padre Cicero lived out a long life as absolute master of his mecca of the sertões. His man sat as deputy in the Federal Congress. At one time he was claimed to be the most powerful man in Brazil. At his death in 1934, he willed his fortune

⁸² *Ibid.*, 102-105.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 154-55.

to the Salesians on condition that they establish a professional school in Joazeiro. Today his statue, which stands in the heart of that small city, and his grave are the objects of pilgrimages for thousands of sertanejos.⁸⁸ Even today, one should not run the risk of exciting the people of the back country by hinting that Padre Cicero actually might be dead.

⁸⁸ See Kelsey, *Seven Keys to Brazil*, 175-76. For the observation of an Englishman who visited Padre Cicero at the height of his career, see Pearse, *Cotton in North Brazil*, 53-56.

CHAPTER XXII

GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS

BEFORE THE governmental institutions of Brazil can be thoroughly understood, there must be long, careful study of their evolution and functioning by well-read students of government who are willing to divest themselves of many present-day shibboleths. This study must include the states and the municípios as well as the central government. This chapter by no means attempts such a comprehensive task. In these pages only the briefest mention is made of the central¹ and the state governments, but the attempt is made to go into some detail in the analysis and description of local governmental units. Before doing this, however, a few paragraphs are devoted to sketching the situation existing before Getúlio Vargas came into power and the series of developments that resulted in the Estado Novo began.

BEFORE THE ESTADO NOVO

Since the time it became independent, Brazil has been organized politically on three levels of government: federal, state, and local. Local in this case refers to government on a level corresponding to the county in the United States, for Brazil has never known anything comparable to our practice of permitting a village, town, or city to incorporate separately from the município in which it is located and to enjoy a political entity distinct from that larger local governmental unit of which it forms a part. During the empire, Brazil was a federation of provinces, which in turn were subdivided for local governmental purposes into municípios. With the establishment of the republic in 1889, the provinces became states. The nation long has been and continues to be the United States of Brazil, a federal union that consists of twenty states, five territories, and one federal district.

Prior to the revolution of 1930 and the assumption of power by Getúlio Vargas, republican Brazil was an extremely loosely federated union of states and territories, highly reminiscent of the United States under the

¹ For a recent study of Brazil's federal government, see Karl Lowenstein, *Brazil Under Vargas* (New York, 1942). See, also, Anyda Marchant, "Politics, Government, and Law," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, Chap. XVI; and Harvey Walker, "The Vargas Regime," in Hill (ed.), *Brazil*, Chap. VII.

Articles of Confederation. For South America's largest nation the transition from empire to republic had also been the change from a more highly centralized to a loosely federated form of national organization. During the twentieth century in national affairs, the states, or more properly the coalition formed by the two all-powerful states, São Paulo and Minas Gerais, reigned supreme. The other states for the most part submitted to the domination of their two powerful fellows in national affairs, although sometimes the smaller and weaker ones united into blocs to combat the influence of the dominant central powers. The third most populous state, Bahia, the "Virginia of Brazil," seemed content to bask in the memory of a glorious past, which its golden-voiced orators are reported as never having lost an opportunity to extol; but rapidly developing Rio Grande do Sul frequently was found rebelling against the system in vogue and leading insurgent moves of one kind or another. Sometimes support for the gaúchos was gained from Pernambuco, which had its tradition of greater days when its sugar industry had been more prosperous. However, for the most part in the period between the establishment of the republic in 1889 and the revolution of October, 1930, there seems to have prevailed a neat arrangement whereby São Paulo and Minas Gerais shared the power and rotated the chief political offices among their own citizens. Even the events of 1930 probably never would have arisen had President Washington Luiz from São Paulo been content to select a man from Minas Gerais as his successor instead of trying to pass on the powers to a fellow Paulista.

The powers of the central government were extremely weak, the states and especially the municípios being the seats of the real political power. It is to be emphasized that the município was the primary unit during the colonial period, under the empire, and even in the days of the republic. For centuries national influences penetrated little beyond the federal capital and a few of the more important cities on the littoral. It is not exaggerating to say that prior to 1930 each state was a little world of its own, enjoying most of the privileges of self-government and even raising part of its revenue from levies on interstate commerce.²

This separatism on the part of the states had its roots in the weakly federated agglomeration of provinces that was Brazil during the colonial period and even during the empire. Wars of secession were frequent, and states often openly defied the central powers without taking the trouble

² However, this statement must not be interpreted to mean that Getúlio Vargas initiated the practice of appointing governors, or *interventors*, for the states. This trait is deeply rooted in Brazilian political culture, having been the general practice during the empire, and frequently resorted to by the presidents who held office between 1889 and 1930. Lowenstein and others are prone to give the impression that Vargas introduced "Interventors" into Brazilian government.

to declare their independence. In the constitutional assembly that followed the declaration of the republic the advocates of a stronger central government, although they included some of the most outstanding statesmen of Brazilian history, were not successful. Said Rui Barbosa at a session held December 16, 1890: "The first necessity, the point of departure of all necessities, is ensuring the independent existence of the Federal Union. . . . Those that would make the Union of States instead of dividing the Union into States, transpose the terms of the problem." Still more expressive were the words addressed by Ubaldino do Amaral to the same assembly: "The Brazilian States have had in this case as many defenders as they have representatives. The Union, however, the National Union, our country, appears to have no advocate. . . . For us the Union is the enemy . . . the Union shall be disarmed of all, of power, even of resources to render that assistance that we determine it shall give."³ The weak form of central government adopted at the beginning of the republic prevailed until 1937, and indeed may be said to have reached its apex under the constitution which was adopted in 1934.

But, as suggested above, the disjointed nature of the Brazilian political structure did not stop with the states. Each of these larger units in turn was an extremely loose confederation of smaller cells, the *municípios* or counties. Perhaps "agglomeration" is a more suitable word than confederation to describe the situation that existed; each of these units of local government was almost autonomous. Brazil was literally a mosaic of little sovereignties. Like the states, each *município* also enjoyed the privilege of levying tribute on goods passing across its boundaries;⁴ in fact it enjoyed

³ Amaral is quoted in Carneiro Leão, *A Sociedade Rural*, 163.

⁴ The following quotation from an English writer who had lived many years in Brazil serves to bring out the segmented political nature of Brazil in the early twentieth century, and illustrates some of the problems inherent in the system:

"All the States of Brazil are now self-governing, that is to say, they have a kind of 'Home Rule,' or, as they themselves call it, 'Autonomia,' and this particular State, i. e., Rio Grande do Sul, only contributes three taxes to the Federal Government, viz., the duties on Imports, Posts and Telegraphs. The remaining branches of administration are strictly internal, i. e., State, or Municipal.

"On the other hand, the Central, or Federal Government, although not intervening in matters of internal administration, is bound to come to the assistance of the State in the event of foreign invasion.

"This 'Autonomia' or right of self-government is granted by the Constitution of the Republic to all the States, and by them, in their turn, to the different Municipalities, and, however wise or just such a measure may appear at first sight, it has brought about some very anomalous conditions, inasmuch as some of the States persist in a course which is clearly a violation of the Constitution, and this is the levying of inter-State duties. In this connection the following incident which arose between the two States of Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Sul will serve as an illustration:—

"Pernambuco, which imports a great deal of produce from Rio Grande do Sul, such as 'jerked' beef, black beans and so on, commenced taxing these commodities whereupon Rio Grande retaliated by taxing alcohol, sugar, etc., entering the State from Pernambuco. This led to an argument between the two States, and finally the matter was carried before

all the privileges, rights, and powers not specifically reserved to the state or the federal bodies. Perhaps it is not overstating the case to say that a large number of the municípios really enjoyed most of the privileges and powers theoretically reserved to the states and national government so far as these applied to local areas. Influences emanating from state and national capitals reached the municípios in a very emaciated form, if they reached them at all. This is true even today, and was much more so twenty years ago. It was in the small miniature world in the interior—the município—that the real power, authority, and responsibility rested. Here they were either exercised or lay dormant. Because Brazil lacked the knowledge or the will to use the general property or land tax as a means of pooling local efforts for the provision of essential services, they generally lay dormant. In 1930 the Brazilian município for the most part still remained the unchallenged domain of the living dono of the founding family. There was no budget worthy of the name, and the people suffered from the lack of educational facilities, health and sanitary services, welfare activities, security of life and property, communication facilities, and the other functions which result from competent local governmental organization.

Finally, it must be indicated that within the local unit the power was either (1) highly concentrated in the hands of the chief or head of the most powerful family or clan, or (2) the bone of contention between two or more rival clans. In the first instance the inhabitants of the local unit might enjoy the benign influences of the feudal stage of existence at its best, or they might be forced to cringe under the tyrannical exercise of almost absolute power over life and death. In the second instance the pages of local history have room for little more than the record of the bitter feuding between rivals for power and authority. But in both cases, the bulk of power and the exercise of most governmental power in Brazil centered in the local communities. The real political power lay in the hands of local chieftains who made up the câmaras of the municípios. The state and even the nation were merely loosely knit federations of these fundamental political cells.

the 'Supremo Tribunal' (the High Court of Justice in Brazil), which decided that such taxes were unconstitutional. Nevertheless they continue to be levied in some of the States. A former President, Dr. Rodriguez Alves, tried, in the early part of his term of office, to stop this abuse of power, but failed to achieve his purpose, as the opposition was too strong.

"The various Municipalities in the different States also continue to make certain regulations and to levy taxes as they see fit, the consequence being that, in going from one Municipality to another one does not always know exactly what one may be exposed to, in the way of having to pay taxes, as the latter vary considerably in relation to the same article, profession, or business, in different districts." Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), 166-68.

THE ESTADO NOVO

Since 1937 there has been a great development of centralization in Brazilian government. Nowadays, even in the most remote areas, one can see incipient health services, indications of federal inspection of school programs, and many other evidences of services of the central government. In a large measure this was accomplished during the period 1937 to 1945 when Getúlio Vargas ruled by decree in the New State which he had established. The obvious change under this system was that the President of the Republic named the governor or interventor of each state, and that the governor in turn named the prefects of each of the municípios in his state. Naturally this greatly increased the power of the central government. The federal government seemed strong enough to enforce its will upon any single state, although a showdown with more than one powerful state at a time was avoided at all costs. Similarly, within a state, it appeared that any one município could be brought to terms by the state governor, but that it was considered a serious mistake to antagonize very many of them at the same time.

The degree to which the centralization of government in Brazil was attempted under the Estado Novo is best indicated by a few quotations from the Constitutional Law which was put into effect on November 10, 1937, and from one of the three amending constitutional laws which were promulgated subsequently.

The Nation. Under Article 15 the Nation was given sole jurisdiction:

I—to maintain relations with foreign countries, to appoint the members of the diplomatic and consular corps, to enter into treaties and international conventions;

II—to declare war and to make peace;

III—to decide definitely regarding the limits of the National Territory;

IV—to organize the external defense, the armed forces, the police and the safety of the frontiers;

V—to organize the production of and to supervise the commerce in war material of whatever nature;

VI—to maintain the postal service;

VII—to exploit or to give in concession the telegraph, radio communication and aerial navigation services, including landing facilities, as well as the railway systems which directly link maritime ports with the national frontiers or which cross State limits;

VIII—to create and to maintain Customs Houses and warehouses and to provide for the services of maritime and port police;

IX—to determine the basis and fix the scope of national education, organizing the program which should be followed for the physical, intellectual and moral development of childhood and youth;

X—to take general census of the population;

XI—to grant amnesty.

Article 16 gave the federal government sole authority to legislate on the following matters:

I—the boundaries of the States between themselves, those of the Federal District and those of the National Territory with neighboring Nations;

II—the external defense, including the policing and safety of the frontiers;

III—the naturalization, entry and departure from National Territory, emigration and immigration, passports, expulsion of foreigners from National Territory and the prohibition of remaining or temporarily staying in same, extradition;

IV—the manufacture and commerce of arms, munitions and explosives;

V—the public well-being, order, tranquility and public security, when conditions should require a uniform regulation;

VI—federal finances, matters connected with currency, credit, exchange and banking;

VII—foreign and inter-state commerce, exchange and transfer of funds abroad;

VIII—monopolies or nationalization of industries;

IX—weights and measures, standard, title and guarantee of precious metals;

X—mail, telegraph and radio-communications;

XI—communications and transportation by rail, by water, by air or highways, whenever they have an international or interstate character;

XII—coastwise transportation of merchandise, which will be permitted only on national ships;

XIII—Customs Houses and warehouses; maritime, ports and river police;

XIV—Federal property, mines and metallurgy, hydraulic power, water rights, forests, hunting and fishing and their exploitation;

XV—unification and standardization of electrical establishments and installations, as well as safety measures to be taken in the electric power industry; regime of high tension lines, when these cross State limits;

XVI—civil, commercial, aerial, labor, penal and judiciary codes;

XVII—insurance regulations and their supervision;

XVIII—theatre and cinematograph regulations;

XIX—cooperatives and institutions for the keeping and investing of popular saving;

XX—copyright law, the press, the right of association, of meeting, of free circulation; questions of civil status, including civil registration and change of name;

XXI—rights of invention, protection of models, trade marks and other designations of merchandise;

XXII—the judiciary division of the Federal District and of the Territories;

XXIII—electoral matters affecting the Union, the States and the Municipalities;

XXIV—the control of national education;

XXV—amnesty;

XXVI—organization, training, justice and guarantee of the States' police forces and their use as Army reserves;

XXVII—the fundamental rules of defense and protection of public health and particularly of the health of children.

Article 20 granted the Union sole jurisdiction:

I—to decree taxes:

- a) on the importation of merchandise from abroad;
- b) on the consumption of any kind of merchandise;
- c) on income or receipts of whatsoever nature;
- d) on the transfer of funds abroad;
- e) on services executed by its Government, business under its control and its instruments or contracts regulated by Federal Law;
- f) in the territories, over those which are given to the States by the Constitution;

II—[to] collect, telegraphic and postal taxes and those for other Federal services; for the entry and clearance of ships and airplanes; coastwise trade will be free for domestic merchandise and for foreign merchandise which has already paid export duty.

It was also provided, by Article 9:

The Federal Government may intervene in the States, through the nomination, by the President of the Republic, of an interventor, who will assume in the State, those functions which, according to its Constitution, belong to the Executive Power, or those which, in accordance with the necessities and the requirements of each case, are given him by the President of the Republic;

- a) to prevent the imminent invasion of the National Territory by a foreign country or of one State by another, as well as to repel both forms of invasion;
- b) to re-establish order which has been seriously disturbed in those cases in which the State will not or cannot;
- c) to administer the State, when, for any reason whatsoever, any of its powers shall be prevented from functioning;
- d) to reorganize the finances of a State which has suspended, for more than two consecutive years, the servicing of its funded debt, or which has failed to liquidate, after more than one year in arrears, the loan contracted with the Union;
- e) to assure the execution of the following constitutional principles:
 - 1—republican and representative form of government;
 - 2—presidential government;
 - 3—rights and guarantees assured by the Constitution;
- f) to assure the execution of Federal Laws and sentences.

The States. Article 3 of the Constitutional Law asserted:

Brazil is a Federal State, constituted by the indissoluble union of the component States, the Federal District and the Territories. The existing political and territorial divisions are to be maintained.

Each state was to organize its own services and pay for them with its resources. Failure to do so for three consecutive years was to result in reduc-

tion to the status of a territory (Article 8), which, of course, would have been administered directly by the federal agencies.

Article 23 as amended by Constitutional Law No. 3 of September 18, 1940, provided that the states had exclusive right:

I—to decree taxes on:

- a) territorial property, except urban;
- b) the transfer of property, in case of death;
- c) the transfer of real property "inter vivos," including its incorporation in the capital of a society;
- d) sales and consignments effected by merchants and producers, exempting from tax the first operation of the small producer as defined in the State;
- e) the export of merchandise of its own production up to a maximum of 10 per centum "ad valorem," all additional taxes being forbidden;
- f) industries and professions;
- g) acts emanating from their governments and business under their control, or regulated by State law.

II—the collection of taxes on State services.

§ 1 Tax on sales shall be uniform, without distinction of origin, destination, or type of product.

§ 2 The tax on industries and professions shall be assessed by the State, and collected by the State and the Municipality in equal parts.

§ 3 In exceptional cases, and with the consent of the Federal Council, the export tax may be temporarily increased beyond the limit stipulated in letter e of n. i.

§ 4 The tax on the transfer of personal property is for the State in whose territory it is situated, and the transfer, in case of death, of movable property, including securities and credits, is for the State in which the succession is opened. When this has occurred in another State or abroad, the tax shall be payable to the State in whose territory the inheritance shall have been liquidated or transferred to the heirs.

Through Article 24:

"The States may create other forms of taxation. Double taxation is however forbidden, and the tax decreed by the Union will prevail where the jurisdiction is concurrent. It is within the province of the Federal Council, either on its own initiative or at the request of the tax payer, to declare that there is double taxation, and suspend the collection of the State tax."

Local Government. According to Article 26 the *municipios*:

are to be organized in such a manner as to assure their autonomy in all that concerns their special and peculiar conditions, particularly:

- a) the choice of councillors by direct suffrage of registered voters, according to law;
- b) to decree such taxes and imposts as are permitted by the present Constitution and the Laws of the States;
- c) the organization of public services of local character.

All *prefeitos*⁵ were to be named by the governors of the states (Article 27). In addition to being entitled to one half the proceeds from state taxes on industries and professions the *municípios* were authorized by Article 28 to levy:

- I—license taxes;
- II—tenement tax as well as urban land tax;
- III—taxes on public amusements;
- IV—taxes on Municipal services.

Under the regulation of the state the *municípios* of

the same region may join together for the installation, exploitation and administration of common public services. The group thus formed will be considered as a judicial entity, limited to the purposes for which it is organized. (Article 29.)

Obviously the form of government decreed by the Constitutional Law of November 10, 1937, envisioned a highly centralized government for Brazil. To some extent its provisions overcame the inertia of centuries, overpowered the counterinfluences of thousands of cultural lags, and placed Brazil in the way of becoming a nation where all authority and power were seated in and emanated from the Federal District.⁶ Even in a decade there was to be seen a sharp departure from the old loosely federated grouping of states and the acute segmentation that made of each *município* almost an independent little world. Under the terms of this constitution the federal government was supreme, the state a mere subdivision of the nation, and the *município*, in turn, only an administrative division of the state.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1946

The *Estado Novo* came to an end abruptly in October, 1945, during the presidential campaign to elect a successor to Vargas, with a revolt by the army. In line with Brazilian law and tradition, the chief justice of the supreme court occupied the post of chief executive until the election was held and the returns indicated that Gaspar Eurico Dutra had been elected President. In less than a year, a constitutional assembly had completed its work and promulgated on September 18, 1946, the present constitution of the United States of Brazil. Under its terms constitutional government now functions in Brazil, with an elected congress, state officials elected by the people of the various states, and local officials elected by the voters in the *municípios*. This, of course, is radically different from the practice under the *Estado Novo*. Dutra has already served his full

⁵ The *prefeito* is the administrative officer of the *município* or county; his office corresponds rather closely with that of the *alcalde* in Spanish-American countries.

⁶ Cf. Lowenstein, *Brazil Under Vargas*, 70 ff.

term and Getúlio Vargas, elected as his successor, is well advanced on a six-year presidential term. Nevertheless, the new constitution perpetuates most of the provisions designed to centralize government in Brazil. This is easily seen by comparing the extracts from the former constitution with those of the one presently in force.

Article 5 of the new constitution deals with the powers of the national government, specifying that it is authorized:

I—to maintain relations with foreign states and to enter into treaties and conventions with them;

II—to declare war and make peace;

III—to decree, prolong, and suspend a state of siege;

IV—to organize the armed forces, the security of the frontiers, and external defenses;

V—to permit foreign forces to cross national territory, or, in time of war, to remain within it temporarily;

VI—to authorize the production of and to supervise trade in war materials;

VII—to superintend, throughout all national territory, the services of the maritime, air, and frontier police;

VIII—to coin and emit money and to institute banks of emission;

IX—to supervise the operations of credit, capital, and insurance establishments;

X—to establish the national transportation system;

XI—to maintain the postal service and the national air mail;

XII—to carry on, directly or through authorization or concession, the telegraph service, the radio telephone service, the radio broadcasting service, the interstate and international telephone services, and air and rail services that connect the seaports and the national frontiers or cross the limits of a state;

XIII—to organize a permanent defense against droughts, rural endemic diseases, and floods;

XIV—to concede amnesty;

XV—to legislate concerning:

a) civil, commercial, penal, processual, electoral, aeronautical, and labor law;

b) the general norms of financial law; of insurance and social security; of health protection and defense; and of the penitentiary regime;

c) production and consumption;

d) the policies and bases of national education;

e) public registries and commercial groups;

f) organization, instruction, justice and guarantees of the military police and the general conditions for their utilization by the Federal Government in cases of mobilization or war;

g) expropriation;

h) civil and military requisitioning in time of war;

i) port regulation and coastal trade;

j) interstate traffic;

k) foreign and interstate trade; credit institutions, money exchange, and the sending of exchange out of the country;

- l) subsoil riches, mining, metallurgy, waters, electric power, forests, hunting and fishing;
- m) the monetary system and measures; the title to and quality of metals;
- n) naturalization, admission, extradition, and expulsion of foreigners;
- o) emigration and immigration;
- p) qualifications for the exercise of the technical-scientific and liberal professions;
- q) the use of national emblems;
- r) the incorporation of the aborigines into the national community.

Article 6. The federal right to legislate concerning the matters in Article 5, No. XV, letters b, c, d, f, h, j, l, o and r does not prohibit supplementary or complementary legislation by the states.

Article 7. The Federal Government shall not intervene in the states except in order to:

I—maintain national integrity;

II—repeal foreign invasion or the invasion of one state by another;

III—put an end to civil war;

IV—guarantee the free exercise of any of the state powers;

V—assure the execution of a judicial order or decision;

VI—reorganize the finances of the State that, except in cases of superior force, shall suspend, for more than two years consecutively, the servicing of its external funded debt;

VII—insure the observance of the following principles:

a) representative republican forms [of government];

b) independence and harmony of the branches of government;

c) the proper timing of the elective functions, their duration being limited to that of the corresponding federal functions;

d) the prohibition of the re-election of governors and prefects for the immediately subsequent terms;

e) autonomy of the municípios;

f) the rendering of accounts by the administration;

g) guarantees of the Judicial Power.

The powers of the states and the limitations upon their authority are specified in articles 18 and 19 which are as follows:

Article 18. Each State shall be governed by the Constitution and by the laws which it adopts, subject to observance of the principles established in this Constitution.

Paragraph 1. To the States are reserved all of the powers, implicit or explicit, which are not withheld from them by this Constitution.

Paragraph 2. The States shall provide for the necessities of their governments, it being the duty of the Union to lend assistance in case of a public calamity.

Paragraph 3. By agreements with the Union the States may charge federal officials with the execution of state laws and services or of the acts and decisions of their authorities; and, reciprocally, the Union may, in matters in which they are competent, delegate to state officials comparable responsibilities, paying the necessary expenses.

Article 19. It is the right of the States to establish taxes upon:

I—landed property, except urban;

II—the transmission of property *causa mortis*;

III—the transmission of real estate *inter vivos* and its incorporation into the capital of corporations;

IV—the sales and consignments made by merchants and producers, including manufacturers, there being exempt however the first operation of the small producer, as defined by the state law;

V—the exportation to foreign countries of merchandise produced in the State up to a maximum of 5 per cent ad valorem, any additional whatsoever being prohibited;

VI—the activities regulated by state law, those subject to its justice, and the activities in its economy.

Paragraph 1. The land tax shall not apply to farms of less than twenty hectares, when cultivated by a proprietor, alone or with the aid of his family, who owns no other real estate.

Paragraph 2. The imposts upon the transmission of corporal goods (numbers II and III) fall to the State in whose territory they are situated.

Paragraph 3. The impost upon the transmission *causa mortis* of corporal goods, including titles and credits, belong, even when the process was commenced in a foreign country, to the State in whose territory the values of the inheritance were liquidated or transferred to the heirs.

Paragraph 4. The State shall not tax bonds of the public debt emitted by other juridical bodies of internal public right at a rate exceeding that established for its own obligations.

Paragraph 5. The impost upon sales and consignments shall be uniform, without distinction to origin and destiny.

Paragraph 6. In exceptional cases the Federal Senate may authorize the increase, for a specified time, of the tax upon exports to the maximum of 10 per cent ad valorem.

The more basic rights and limitations of the *municipios* are specified in articles 23, 28, and 29. These are as follows:

Article 23. The States shall not intervene in the *municipios* except to regulate their finances when:

I—it is proved there is lack of punctuality in the payment of interest on a loan that is guaranteed by the State;

II—a *municipio* fails to meet for two consecutive years the payments upon its bonded debt.

Article 28. The autonomy of the *municipio* shall be assured:

I—by the election of the prefect and the *veredadores*;

II—by its own administration of that which concerns its particular interest and especially,

a) the establishment and collection of the taxes it is authorized to levy and the disbursement of its funds;

b) the organization of local public services.

Article 29. In addition to the funds derived from the provisions in paragraphs 2 and 4 of article 15 [a share of certain taxes collected by the federal

government and shared with the states and municípios], and of the imports that are in whole or in part transferred to them by the states, the municípios shall have the funds secured by taxes:

I—upon urban real estate;

II—licenses;

III—upon industries and professions;

IV—upon public diversions;

V—upon activities of their economies or matters over which they have authority.

THE NATURE OF THE MUNICÍPIO

As has been stated, for administrative purposes Brazil is (in 1954) divided into twenty states, five territories, and one Federal District. These large units carry on much the same administrative and judicial functions in about the same way as the various states in the United States. But on the local level there are some very significant differences in the governmental structures of the United States and Brazil.

The states and territories of Brazil were in 1950 divided into, or made up of, 1,894 local governmental units known as municípios. These are the fundamental cells in the structure of Brazilian local government. There is a still smaller division, the distrito de paz, numbering 5,436 in 1950, but the distrito is merely a nominal unit and lacks real function and vitality. More than one fourth (551) of all Brazil's municípios are constituted of a single distrito, and another 464 contain only two, although in a few municípios the number of distritos runs as high as 16. But it should be emphasized that the município is the significant unit in Brazilian government at the local level. For this reason it is important to have a concise conception of its nature and functions.

There is a tendency in hastily prepared reports to translate the Portuguese word município by use of the English "municipality." This practice may serve the purpose in England, but in the United States it is almost certain to result in misunderstanding, for the município (other than the single one that constitutes the Federal District and the city of Rio de Janeiro) is in no sense an incorporated town or city. It corresponds more closely to the North American "county" than to the municipality, and even the county is not an exact counterpart of the município. Like the county each município has two parts, the sede and some additional territory, usually rural. But unlike the situation in the United States, the seat of the Brazilian município (always ranked as a cidade, or city, regardless of the number of inhabitants) never has a corporate existence separate from that of the município as a whole. In other words, there is no such thing as the separate incorporation of a

Brazilian village, town, or city, a practice that is almost the rule with county seats in the United States. This makes a considerable difference between the county and the município and between the town or city and the cidade.

There is also a sharp difference between the subdivisions of the county and the município, and this likewise contributes to the distinction between the two. The *township, ward, beat*, or other unit into which our country is divided differs considerably from the Brazilian distrito. In Brazil, the latter, like the município, always consists of a sede and a surrounding area. To distinguish the population center which constitutes the seat of a distrito from that which is the central nucleus of a município, the former is called a vila. In the United States the existence of a population center, more or less a rival commercially of the county seat, is by no means a prerequisite for the existence of one of the minor divisions into which the county is subdivided. In Brazil it is, and furthermore the territory embraced in the distrito is recognized as having a fundamental connection with the vila which forms its seat. An interesting feature, which also sheds light on the nature of the organization, is the fact that the cidade which forms the seat of the município also has the same name as the município, and the vila always has the same name as the distrito de paz.

It cannot be overstressed that for Brazilians, and especially for the overwhelming majority of them who live in the interior far from such metropolitan centers as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Recife, and Salvador, the fundamental government unit is the município. As has been indicated this corresponds roughly to the county in the United States, in that it is the unit into which the state is subdivided. However, in the Brazil of the past, and it remains true today even after a couple of decades in which centralization has made tremendous strides, the municípios appear to have been the primary units of which the state was merely a loose confederation. In any case it is certain that for the average Brazilian of the lower and middle classes the federal government and even the state government seem very remote indeed. Even in areas within fifty miles of the bustling city of São Paulo, and others less than one hundred miles from the nation's capital, there are hundreds of caboclos who do not know of Getúlio Vargas. In the past about the only contacts between the state and federal governments, on the one hand, and the resident of the rural areas, on the other, were the assessment and collection of taxes and even these were done through the município. At present a state police system and state-established-and-supported schools do much to make the local people cognizant of their

relationship to the larger governmental units, as does also the drafting of young men for military service. But it is still the município to which they must look for most public services and to which they must account for taxes and other obligations to the larger society. The lack of separately incorporated towns and villages and the purely perfunctory functions of the distritos still further serve to accentuate the importance of the município's role.

THE SIZE OF THE MUNICÍPIO

General Considerations. The differences between one município and another in Brazil are so great that averages mean little until the range of variation is thoroughly in mind. Therefore, let us begin by examining briefly some of the extremes among the various municípios from the standpoints of area, number of inhabitants, and density of population, which is the relation between area and population. Some Brazilian municípios have areas larger than those of many of the states; and the density of population ranges from that in the município of the Federal District where there are 2,161 persons per square kilometer to that in two municípios of Mato Grosso where the number of inhabitants is only about one for every 20 square miles of territory. As between various states there are also large differences in the expanse covered by the average município. From these demographic angles, the situation varies all the way from that found in parts of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, where the municípios are small, closely knit town-country communities, to the tremendous, unconnected and disjointed agglomerations of virtually uninhabited plains and jungles that are included within the limits of single municípios in parts of Mato Grosso, Amazonas, and Pará. To refer to specific cases it is necessary to make use of 1940 data. At that time the município having the largest area was Alta Madeira in the northwestern part of Mato Grosso. Its area was 103,660 square miles. In second place came Alta Mira in Pará, with 100,428 square miles, followed by Araguaiana (73,219) and Cuiabá (72,665), both in Mato Grosso. The latter município contains the state capital. The município of Alta Madeira was larger than 12 of the 20 states in the Brazilian confederation, being more than ten times the size of Sergipe, nearly ten times that of Alagoás, and larger than Ceará, Espírito Santo, Paraíba, Paraná, Pernambuco, Piauí, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Norte, Rio Grande do Sul, or São Paulo. Although this município contained only 4,400 people, within its limits could be placed the entire state of either Oregon or Wyoming. In part this município is bounded by Cuiabá, in which is located the state capital. But if a citizen from

the upper part of the município desired to transact some business in the capital of the adjacent município, he had a long arduous journey before him. His most feasible route of travel was to descend one of the branches of the Amazon to Manaus, continue down the main stream to Belém, take a coastwise steamer to Santos in São Paulo, and go overland across the entire states of São Paulo and Mato Grosso to Porto Esperança on the Uruguay River near the Bolivian frontier. From here he then could ascend the Uruguay and its tributary, the Cuiabá, by river steamer for some eight days or two weeks after which he would arrive at the capital. In recent years air travel is rapidly changing this state of affairs, but the illustration does serve to show the elementary stage of local government organization in the most sparsely settled portions of Brazil.

The Number and Distribution of Municípios. In all of Brazil the total number of municípios is 1,894, a figure which is considerably more than one half the number of counties in the United States. At first glance the size of the Brazilian município does not compare closely with that of the county in our country. However, when the immense, thinly populated areas of Mato Grosso and the Amazon Valley are omitted, in size, number of inhabitants, and density, the Brazilian unit much more closely approximates that of the county in the United States. Particularly is this true in the south, in São Paulo, in Minas Gerais, and in the municípios which make up the first few tiers back from the entire length of Brazil's seacoast. However, as is the case with the county, there is great variation in all of these respects between the various states of the union and between the local units within the same state.

Even a little study makes evident the fact that it is very difficult to generalize the rules which have determined the number, distribution, and size of Brazil's municípios. On the whole there seems to be a fairly close association between the number of inhabitants in a state and the number of municípios into which it is divided. However, this relationship is by no means a constant one, and the minimum requirements for the formation of new municípios as well as the facility with which the process of subdividing existing municípios proceeds show considerable variation from one state to another. Furthermore, Brazilian statesmen encounter about the same difficulties as do those in the United States when attempts are made to consolidate local governmental units, even in areas that have been suffering from depopulation.

Consider some of the data relative to the distribution of municípios among the states. Brazil's second most populous state, Minas Gerais, contained in 1950 more than one fifth of all the municípios in the nation. In second place is São Paulo, which embraced almost one fifth of

all the local units. This state has the largest population of any and an area less than one half that of Minas Gerais. Bahia, which has an area almost as large as Minas Gerais and only slightly more than one half as many people, contained 150 municípios and was in third place. These three states, which combined contain 42 per cent of Brazil's people, account for almost one half of all the municípios in the nation. No other state contains as many as 100. The far-spreading states of Mato Grosso and Amazonas contained the fewest municípios, only 35 and 25 of these local governmental units, respectively. The number of municípios in each Brazilian state, together with data showing the total area in the state, the average area, and the average number of inhabitants per município are given in Table LVIII.

The Area of the Município. An examination of the size of the município, measured both by the area it includes and the number of its inhabitants, serves to indicate more clearly the nature of this all-important local government unit in Brazil. The mean area of Brazil's municípios is about 1,725 square miles. Municípios in São Paulo, Brazil's most populous state, average 259 square miles in size, so that they are considerably smaller than the counties of the state of Georgia. The municípios of Ceará average 749, square miles in area, very close to the mean of New York counties. But the counties in no state in the United States begin to approach in average area the 24,646 square miles which is the mean for municípios in Amazonas or 13,928 square miles, the mean in Mato Grosso. Even the Nevada average of 6,450 is small in comparison, although it does exceed those of all other Brazilian states except Pará.

From the data in Table LVIII it is evident that the município of small area is characteristic of the states of Alagoas, Espírito Santo, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Norte, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Sergipe. Minas Gerais, although somewhat intermediate because of its extensive pastoral municípios in the northern and western portions of the state, also should probably be placed with this group. Medium-sized municípios are the prevailing type in Bahia, Ceará, Maranhão, Minas Gerais, Paraíba, Paraná, Piauí, Rio Grande do Sul, and Santa Catarina. In this category, too, probably should be placed Goiás, although the northern part of the state extends into the sparsely populated Amazon region where the extensive, gangling, and thinly populated município is the rule. The west and the great Amazon Valley are the areas of the extensive, loosely knit municípios. Here are to be classified the states of Amazonas, Mato Grosso, and Pará, as well as the territories of Acre, Amapá, Guaporé, and Rio Branco.

The Number of Inhabitants in the Município. Fully as important as area in the measurement of size of these local governmental units is the

TABLE LVIII

Area, Number, and Average Size of Municípios, 1950, by States *

State or territory	Area (Square miles)	Number of municípios	Average size (Square miles)	Average size (Population)
Brazil	3,268,030	1,894	1,725	27,796
North	1,366,808	99	13,806	19,023
Guaporé †	98,132	2	49,066	18,719
Acre †	59,139	7	8,449	16,589
Amazonas	616,146	25	24,646	21,237
Rio Branco †	82,747	2	41,373	8,812
Pará	458,984	59	7,779	19,370
Amapá †	51,659	4	12,915	9,593
Northeast	374,403	417	898	30,342
Maranhão	128,278	72	1,782	22,228
Piauí	96,261	49	1,337	21,723
Ceará	59,168	79	749	34,629
Rio Grande do Norte	20,482	48	427	20,491
Paraíba	21,731	41	530	42,214
Pernambuco	37,458	90	416	38,118
Alagoas	11,016	37	298	29,904
Fernando de Noronha †	10	1	10	648
East	486,552	673	723	28,474
Sergipe	8,130	42	194	15,479
Bahia	217,483	150	1,450	32,669
Minas Gerais	226,656	388	584	20,414
Espírito Santo	17,741	36	493	26,445
Rio de Janeiro	16,087	56	287	41,539
Distrito Federal	452	1	452	2,413,152
South	312,455	593	527	28,977
São Paulo	95,453	369	259	25,048
Paraná	77,502	80	969	26,869
Santa Catarina	36,235	52	697	30,349
Rio Grande do Sul	103,264	92	1,122	45,797
West Central	727,813	112	6,498	15,743
Mato Grosso	487,480	35	13,928	15,099
Goiás	240,333	77	3,121	16,036

* Compiled and computed from data in "Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1950* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951).

† Territory.

number of inhabitants. In Tables LVIII, LIX, and LX are assembled the pertinent data on this aspect of the subject. The first of these tables shows the average number of inhabitants per município in the various states, the second uses a rather detailed classification to show the range and concen-

TABLE LIX

Distribution of Municípios According to Number of Inhabitants, 1950 *

Number of inhabitants	Number of municípios	Per cent of municípios
Total	1,890 †	100.0
5,000 or less	62	3.0
5,001 to 10,000	347	18.4
10,001 to 20,000	613	32.4
20,001 to 50,000	694	36.7
50,001 to 100,000	134	7.1
100,001 to 200,000	29	1.5
200,001 to 500,000	7	0.4
500,001 to 1,000,000	1	0.1
More than 1,000,000	2	0.1

* Source: "Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1950* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951).

† Exclusive of four municípios in the area of the Serra dos Aimorés, in litigation between the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo.

tration within the nation as a whole, the third a smaller number of classes to indicate significant variations from one state to another.

The number of inhabitants in the average Brazilian município is 27,791 if the Federal District is included in the calculations, or 26,536 if it is omitted. In comparison the average county in the United States contains about 49,100 persons. But the number of inhabitants, or the size of the município, varies widely from state to state as is evident from Table LVIII.

Observation of Table LX indicates that the small (less than 10,000 inhabitants) and the large município (more than 50,000 inhabitants) are both comparatively rare in Brazil. Most common is the município with from 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, for almost 60 per cent of all fall in this class.

The municípios with small populations, less than 10,000 inhabitants, are found mainly in the thinly populated parts of Brazil and particularly in the Amazon Valley and Mato Grosso. (See Table LX.) Municípios with large populations are most typical of Rio Grande do Sul, where 28, or nearly one third of the 92 municípios contain more than 50,000 inhabitants. Other states with relatively high proportions of municípios (more than 10 per cent) with large populations are Alagoas, Bahia, Ceará, Espírito Santo, Paraíba, Paraná, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Santa Catarina.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MUNICÍPIO

The steps by which a population center advances through the various stages essential to becoming the seat of a município have been set forth by

TABLE LX

Municípios Classified According to Number of Inhabitants, 1950, by States *

State or territory	Less than 10,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants	Over 50,000 inhabitants	Total
Brazil	409	1,307	173	1,889 ‡
North	28	67	4	99
Guaporé †	1	1	0	2
Acre †	1	6	0	7
Amazonas	5	19	1	25
Rio Branco †	1	1	0	2
Pará	17	39	3	59
Amapá †	3	1	0	4
Northeast	34	340	43	417
Maranhão	11	56	5	72
Piauí	9	36	4	49
Ceará	0	71	8	79
Rio Grande do Norte	8	39	1	48
Paraíba	1	31	9	41
Pernambuco	2	77	11	90
Alagoas	2	30	5	37
Fernando de Noronha †	1	0	0	1
East	148	468	53	669
Sergipe	16	25	1	42
Bahia	14	118	18	150
Minas Gerais ‡	106	263	18	387
Espírito Santo ‡	6	23	4	33
Rio de Janeiro	6	39	11	56
Distrito Federal	0	0	1	1
South	149	376	68	593
São Paulo	134	213	22	369
Paraná	10	60	10	80
Santa Catarina	4	40	8	52
Rio Grande do Sul	1	63	28	92
West Central	50	56	5	111
Mato Grosso ‡	16	16	2	34
Goiás	34	40	3	77

* Compiled and computed from data in "Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico," *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1950* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951).

† Territory.

‡ Exclusive of four municípios in the area of Serra dos Aimorés, in litigation between the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo; and the município of Aripuanã, Mato Grosso, for which data are unavailable.

Professor Sud Mennucci in connection with his analysis of the breaking up of Blumenau município in the state of Santa Catarina. The division

of this município, aimed at reducing the political strength of the German population, finally took place through an act of the Federal Interventor early in 1934. Earlier, on October 10, 1930, the legislative assembly at Florianópolis approved Law No. 1,708 which created the *comarca* of Rio Grande do Sul, formed of the districts of Bela Aliança and Timbó of the município of Blumenau. The law establishing this new judicial district also revoked all the "dispositions to the contrary." Mennucci indicates that this revoked all national tradition and as an explanation set forth the normal process of evolution. A population center begins as a mere arraial (a camp or a center at which people gather for festivals); then it develops into a village or police district; next it evolves into the seat of a distrito de paz; finally it is elevated to the category of vila or cidade and made seat of a município, and only then is entitled to be the head or seat of the comarca.⁷ The nature of this process is better understood if one becomes familiar with a few case histories.

Palhoça, Santa Catarina. An excellent case illustrating in a general way the evolution of the Brazilian município is that of Palhoça situated on the mainland across from the island on which stands Florianópolis, the capital city of Santa Catarina.⁸ The seat of this município had its beginning in 1793. This was during a period of struggle between Spain and Portugal for possession of the lands that now constitute the southernmost states of Brazil. The commanding officer of the Portuguese forces on the island where the present state capital is located desired to ensure his position by providing a possible refuge on the mainland where there would be accumulated a store of corn meal and other essential supplies. For this purpose he ordered a substantial farmer citizen, who had made clearings and plantings where the cidade of Palhoça now stands, to construct a storehouse or *palhoça* (building covered with thatch) that might serve in case of necessity. Deriving its name in this manner, the future seat of the município lapsed into obscurity for almost a century, remaining merely a small neighborhood where were located a few modest houses.

As was generally the case in Brazil, the next impulse came with the location of a small chapel in 1864. This introduced one of the prime requirements for future growth. About the same time improvements were made in the road or trail leading up the abrupt coastal range to the interior highlands, and the small center gained in economic importance. Only four years later, in 1868, the village had gained sufficient importance that a second chapel was begun—the one that today is the matriz (central church

⁷ "A Subdivisão do Município de Blumenau," *Geografia*, Ano II, No. 4, pp. 11-23.

⁸ The data presented in the following paragraphs were drawn from Lopes, *Palhoça*, 19 ff.

to which a number of surrounding chapels are subordinate) of the parish. The village had then become both a religious and a commercial center.

The other necessary social developments were not long in coming. In 1870 another essential community function was established in the village with the opening of the first school. The addition of the educational function, combined with a further increase of trade and commerce and the adequate provision of religious influences, led to the next essential step—the addition of the political function. In 1872 the vice president of the province handed down a resolution which made the village a police district with a resident subdelegate of police.

In the meanwhile the economic functions of the village were gaining in importance, and in the surrounding area farming and such rural industry as the grinding of meal and the granulation of sugar were gaining in importance on the establishments of the nearby fazendeiros. In 1881 a post office was located in Palhoça, and the same year saw a further development of the educational system with the establishment, in strict accord with the best Brazilian educational patterns, of a school for girls. In this way, step by step, proceeded the development of what was to be the seat of a new município. In the words of Lupércio it "obtained favors, now from the president of the province, now from the câmara at São José, to which it pertained and whose membership included some persons from Palhoça. . . ."°

The município next located a paid agent in the village to handle the fiscal affairs of the district and especially to collect imposts. Favored by a smiling providence, agriculture prospered. Commerce and industry developed rapidly, by 1882 the latter including small factories for the extraction of vegetable oils, establishments for the tanning and working of leather, and *charqueadas* (plants in which dried meat or charque is prepared) in addition to the numerous small *engenhos* engaged in the grinding of meal and making of sugar on the surrounding fazendas. The trading function also flourished. Each Monday a large number of boats overflowing with produce from the neighboring districts arrived at the center. Returning on Tuesdays, they continued throughout the week to transport large quantities of wood, lumber, grain, and other farm products into Palhoça. Much of the building materials merely passed through on the way to large centers of consumption. In the meanwhile a thriving business was developing with the interior settlements in the mountains and on the plateaus. From Palhoça departed each week numerous pack trains carrying salt, kerosene, sugar, and flour to the settlements on the upland interior. To a

° *Ibid.*, 24.

considerable extent this interior trade developed at the expense of São José, seat of the município to which Palhoça still belonged.

The next important step in the evolution of Palhoça was along religious lines, although under the empire there was no clear demarcation between religious and political structure in Brazil. Complying with petitions that had been received from citizens of the village, the legislative assembly of the province elevated Palhoça to the category of freguesia (parish) through an act passed on November 8, 1882. This procedure, as well as the undifferentiated nature of religious and political authority, is well illustrated by the wording of the act.

Art. 1. The police district of Palhoça is hereby separated from the parish of S. José and constituted a new parish under the protection of Senhor Bom Jesus de Nazaré.

Art. 2. The new parish will have as limits: upon the north, the river Maroim as far as the boundary of the parish of S. Pedro de Alcântara; upon the south, the river Cubatão as far as the limits of the parish of Sto. Amaro do Cubatão; on the east, the Ocean; on the west, the parishes already mentioned.

Art. 3. The chapel under construction in the seat of the same parish shall serve as the Matriz. Given and passed in the Palace of the Governor of the Province Santa Catarina, on the eighth of November of the year eighteen hundred and eighty two. (signed) Antônio Gonçalves Chaves, president of the Province.¹⁰

The signing of this law was the signal for an enthusiastic celebration in Palhoça, festivities which featured the marching of school children, brilliant lighting of the houses and the streets, a torchlight parade led by the musical society called "Hope and Charity," orations praising the president and the assembly, bonfires, and dances. The celebration continued a second day, which was Sunday, highlighted by a band concert in a stand especially constructed for the purpose.

The new parish did not long delay in the installation of a public cemetery befitting a freguesia. Dry land high on a hill was secured for the purpose and the assistance of the provincial president again enlisted, this functionary decreeing that the lands of the cemetery should be fenced at the expense of the state government. Today the cemetery is divided into three parts—for Protestants, for the general Catholic community, and a third section especially reserved for the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Parto.

In 1886, the same year as the establishment of the cemetery, the police district of Palhoça advanced another step in the political scale and became a distrito de paz, entitled to elect a justice of the peace to function locally in judicial matters. Because of the unstable situation brought about by the freeing of the slaves, the overthrow of the monarchy and the establish-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

ment of the republic, the next few years did not see the carrying out of this provision. But on January 29, 1891, the police district was again (this time by the constituted authorities of the state as part of the republic) raised from a police district to the more advanced justice-of-the-peace district. In its new status the functions of registrar were lodged in local authorities and records of marriages, births, and deaths began to be kept in Palhoça. Formally organized political parties also now came to play an important part in community life.

Very shortly afterwards followed the ultimate step attained by the thriving small center, the elevation to the seat of a município; in other words it was officially recognized as the social, political, and economic center or a designated portion of the state of Santa Catarina. In attaining this desired status Palhoça was greatly aided by the resistance offered by its population to the revolutionary forces that attempted to seize control of Brazil in 1893. For a time Santa Catarina was dominated by the rebellious forces, and many of Palhoça's leading citizens were imprisoned. But when the rebellion was put down and government forces once again dominated Santa Catarina, Palhoça received its reward by being elevated to the rank of seat of a new município, one that was constituted out of lands formerly included in the município of São José. The decree which rewarded Palhoça at the same time that it punished São José, not so steadfast in its allegiances, was promulgated on April 24, 1894, and read in part as follows:

Art. 1. The freguesia of Palhoça is hereby separated from the município of São José and raised to the category of vila in order to form, along with the freguesias of Santo Amaro do Cubatão, Enseada de Brito and the districts of Teresópolis, Santa Isabel, Capivari and Santa Teresa, a município with the denomination of município of Palhoça; having for a seat the vila Maroim and the present boundary of the districts of S. Isabel, with the excolony Angelina; upon the south and the west, the município of S. José.¹¹

Since 1894 the position of Palhoça has still further improved. Proper quarters for the various functionaries were provided in a new public building constructed in 1894-95, a building which was inaugurated in August, 1895, with a grand ball. In 1903 a telegraph station was installed in the vila. In 1906 Palhoça added to its distinctions and functions as seat of the município the additional honors of becoming the seat of the comarca.

The territory included in the new comarca comprised the municípios of Palhoça and Garopaba, both of which had previously been included in the comarca whose seat was in São José. The same year was founded a newspaper, *A Voz da Palhoça*. Still another political and governmental function fell to the vila when in 1912 a federal tax-collecting office was

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

established in it. Now, under the provisions of the late decrees, in common with all other seats of municípios, Palhoça ranks as a city.

The manner in which the establishment of the Estado Novo affected Palhoça and other Brazilian municípios may be described in the words of the author of the monograph on this local governmental unit.

At present, by virtue of the provisions of the new Brazilian constitution promulgated by the eminent statesman, his excellency Dr. Getúlio Vargas, on November 10, 1937, all state assemblies as well as municipal councils are dissolved.

The old office of superintendent came to be called *Prefeito Municipal* and is filled only upon nomination by the various Federal Interventors in the States.

The Prefeitos are obligated to present accounts of their acts to an administrative department, composed of capable members nominated by the Federal Interventors.¹²

Pirassununga, São Paulo. Another município that may be chosen to illustrate the evolution of the Brazilian local governmental unit is Pirassununga, lying in the north central portion of the state of São Paulo. Its chief bid to fame is as the home of Fernando Costa, former Brazilian Secretary of Agriculture and former Federal Interventor in the state of São Paulo. An interesting little monograph has been published which outlines the development of the city and the município¹³ and enables us to know of the major features in its evolution.

The city of Pirassununga, seat of the município of the same name, is located some 125 miles north of the capital of the state on the main route to the Triângulo of Minas Gerais and to Goiás. It is rather typical of numerous small industrial and commercial centers scattered throughout the state of São Paulo. Like so many Brazilian place names, Pirassununga is of Indian origin, and probably means "where the falling water makes a noise" or else "where the fish make a noise." In either case it has reference to the rapids in the Mogí-Guassú River near the city. The thriving little city is served by the Paulista railroad, by which the distance to São Paulo city is about 150 miles. Today the município has some 23,000 inhabitants, about one half of whom live in the seat, and occupies an area of 852 square kilometers. Only a little over one hundred years ago, at the time of Saint-Hilaire's travels through this portion of São Paulo, the entire area was settled very thinly by scattered cattle fazendas. At that time the Paulistas occupied a much less prominent place in Brazilian affairs than they do today, and the eminent French scholar seemed always eager to comment

¹² *Ibid.*, 133.

¹³ *Monografia do Município de Pirassununga* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939). See also Cyro, Jr., *Pirassununga Progride* (São Paulo, 1901), for an account of political struggle which once convulsed this município.

upon the ignorance and misery of the scattered population he found living in this part of the state. He seemed particularly to enjoy contrasting their poor conditions with the more fortunate lot of their fellows in the state of Minas Gerais.¹⁴ Saint-Hilaire passed through this part of Brazil in 1819 only shortly before the date accepted as the founding of Pirassununga, August 6, 1823. In the absence of precise knowledge relative to the foundation of Pirassununga, August 6, the date of the celebration dedicated to the Senhor Bom Jesus dos Aflitos, patron of the locality, is considered the probable one.

By 1838 there were sufficient inhabitants in the *bairro* (district) of Pirassununga to petition the Bishop of São Paulo for the establishment of a chapel in the settlement. The petition was granted and the chapel of Senhor Bom Jesus de Pirassununga was "created" by a law of November 21, 1838, signed by Manoel, Bishop of São Paulo. This was the permission for building a chapel and the delineation of the area it should serve. The limits of this religious unit became the first boundaries of what is now the local governmental unit, the município of Pirassununga. (As was generally the case in Brazil until late in the nineteenth century, there was little or no thought of differentiating religious from political boundaries.) The law referred to above described the boundaries of the chapel at Pirassununga as follows:

Beginning on the rio Mogí-Guassú at the mouth of the Meio creek and ascending this by the principal stream which heads in a portion of the Vila de Constituição, making there a right angle, going to the right through the sertão, dividing with the Chapel of São José where it should be more appropriate and useful to have another chapel to Quilombo creek, descending it dividing with the Freguesia de Araraquara until it empties into the rio Mogí-Guassú, and ascending the latter to the point of beginning. . . .

And it was also specified that the chapel should be built on high ground.

Only four years later, in 1842, the chapel was elevated to the category of freguesia, retaining the former limits.¹⁵ The same year, August 6, when the day of the patron saint was celebrated, the residents of the locality presented lands to constitute a patrimony for the newly established parish.

Either this elevation in the religious scale was equivalent to graduation politically into a município, or the latter was accomplished soon after, for the records begin to contain documents relating to the registry of births and marriages and the pardoning of criminals; and in 1866, when the vila took its next reported step to the judicial category of *têrmo*, the law signed by the governor of São Paulo carried salutations to the president and mem-

¹⁴ Cf. Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem à Provincia de São Paulo*, 113-14, 116, 124, 130, 131-32, and 138.

¹⁵ *Monografia do Município de Pirassununga*, 77-78.

bers of the "Câmara Municipal de Pirassununga."¹⁶ At this time, too, the município, which formed part of the judicial district or comarca of Araraquara, got its first local judge.

The mother church is reported to have been in a deplorable condition at this time, but extensive repairs were commenced in 1870. This same year the parish of Pirassununga was distinguished by being elevated to the category of ecclesiastical comarca. In 1874 another chapel was established in the small center. The railway reached that far west in 1877; the same year a Masonic lodge was established, and Dom Pedro II paid the little city a visit. Two years later (1879) the then vila was elevated to the category of cidade.¹⁷

Outstanding events since the center reached the city stage include the construction of the central park in 1866, the establishment of newspapers in 1887 and 1889, the organization of a unit of the National Guard in 1892, the change to republican forms of government in 1892, the beginning of a new mother church in 1895, the inauguration of a water system in 1896 and of an electric light system in 1897, the opening of a hospital in 1902, the completion of a bridge over the Mogí-Guassú the same year, and, in 1903, the organization of the municipal band.¹⁸

PREREQUISITES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW MUNICÍPIOS

Under what circumstances do new Brazilian municípios come into being? What are the prerequisites for the establishment of one of these governmental units? Answers to such questions are of considerable import in understanding the nature of Brazil's local governmental structure and the evolution of its rural governmental institutions. Generally, new municípios come into being by the simple process of subdivision of an old one. When a vila, seat of one of the distritos, or a povoação in the município increases to a size and obtains economic functions as a trade, market, and transportation center to a point that it rivals the seat, a movement generally is started in local and state political circles for the creation of a new unit. This is the process of raising the vila to the category of cidade, which automatically means the creation of a new município out of the new seat and part of the surrounding area. Before 1939 these division processes went on in a continuous manner. On January 1 of that year there were 1,575 municípios functioning in Brazil. This number remained unchanged for about six years, when, with the end of the Estado Novo, the process of creating new municípios was resumed with great fervor.

In the future, changes promise to come in large numbers. However, as in the past, certain rather fixed criteria will probably govern more or

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 90-98.

less the dismemberment of old municípios and the establishment of new ones. The word *more* is employed because there is a certain order embedded in a general idea of the manner in which local governmental changes should proceed, and in Brazil these have gained expression in law as well as in practice. *Less* is used because the endless struggle always going on between parties, factions, and cliques in any local governmental area (including those of Brazil) for political advantage, power, or promise may result in favoritism to certain local areas, districts, or personalities.

What are some of the principal criteria generally used in connection with the establishment of new municípios? The constitution of 1906, the organic law on the subject, prescribed that a new município must (1) have a minimum of 10,000 inhabitants, (2) be able to raise 20 contos of taxes for local use, (3) have as its seat a population center containing at least 1,000 "good houses," (4) provide in the new seat adequate buildings for the local governmental offices, a jail, and at least two schools, one for each sex, (5) be constituted by the elevation of a distrito de paz only upon petition of the inhabitants and after the municípios affected had been given a hearing, and (6) select as the site of the new seat a location that is already possessed of good health conditions or one that may easily be transformed into a healthy locality.¹⁹ However, even in São Paulo as late as 1931 there were more than 40 municípios which did not meet these criteria, some of them failing to meet all of the principal ones, the first three listed.²⁰

As incorporated into law, the criteria in force vary from state to state, but all insist on a minimum population and a minimum amount of tax receipts. The minimum population established as a prerequisite is set at 40,000 in the state by Rio de Janeiro and at only 10,000 in Paraná and São Paulo. With respect to this particular requirement the statistical section of the São Paulo Instituto de Hygiene, after a study of the situation in that state, recommended as a minimum requirement a population of 12,502 persons of whom at least 3,276 should be residents of the seat. Similar are the variations in the requirement with respect to the minimum amount of tax money collected, Rio de Janeiro establishing the figure of 150 contos (\$7,500) per year, São Paulo 100 contos, and Paraná and Paraíba only 50 contos. The São Paulo agency referred to above recommended a minimum of 147 contos.²¹ Other states probably vary considerably from these, but all have criteria on the books. In 1952 when he was in Brazil as advisor on agrarian reform the writer recommended that

¹⁹ Sud Mennucci, *Brasil Desunido* (São Paulo, 1932), 54-55.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

²¹ Cf. Orlando M. Carvalho, *Problemas Fundamentais do Município* (São Paulo, 1937), 21-23.

one of the requisites for becoming or remaining a município be the maintenance of at least one secondary school with at least five full-time teachers.

Between 1940 and 1950 a total of 319 new municípios were created in Brazil. Exclusive of the four in the territory in dispute with the state of Espírito Santo, 99 of these were in Minas Gerais; São Paulo, too, created 99 new municípios in the last half of that decade. Paraná and Goiás were the other states in which large numbers of new municípios came into being, the figures being 31 and 25, respectively.

CONSOLIDATION OF MUNICÍPIOS

The various states of the Brazilian confederation face much the same problems growing out of the multiplication of local governmental units, especially municípios, as do the several states in the United States because of the ever-growing number of counties. In Brazil, as in the United States, it has been relatively easy to create new local governmental units, but extremely difficult to consolidate old ones.²² Even when shifting economies, the exhaustion of natural resources, and the depopulation of some areas leave many municípios with insufficient resources, income, and population to carry on effectively, it is not easy to effect consolidations. This results in an excessive burden, both upon the local citizens and upon the states, for the maintenance and administration of essential services. That there have been numerous attempts to bring about reform indicates that many of Brazil's leaders have correctly analyzed the problem. That these attempts have not brought lasting improvement indicates merely the tenacity with which local governmental units are perpetuated by the "courthouse rings," and the extreme difficulty of getting the general social welfare placed above that of local special interests.

Probably the most important movement for consolidation of municípios in Brazil was that which took place in São Paulo during the early years of the decade 1930 to 1940. Life was given to the movement by a series of newspaper articles written by Professor Sud Mennucci, at that time director of the state press, and published in *O Estado do São Paulo*. These dealt in a straightforward way with the problems of the municípios and their subdivisions, the *distritos de paz*. These articles pointedly supplied data relative to the population and tax receipts in the various municípios in the state, analyzed the systems of communication between the rural portions of the municípios and the *ciudades* which were their seats, indicated in unmistakable terms that reform was highly necessary, and specified some

²² In neither country has public sentiment arrived at the stage of punishing politicians who lead the way in carving up administrative and judicial areas.

of the most important abuses that needed correction.²³ So far the story is little more than has happened repeatedly in the United States. But the matter did not end there.

Only a few days after the publication of the last of the articles, January 21, 1931, the Federal Interventor in the state handed down Decree No. 4,846. After recognizing that the existing manner in which the municípios were constituted did not correspond with public necessities and that many municípios did not meet the conditions for separate existence, the decree provided (1) that the secretaria (or department) of the interior should establish a commission of three members for the purpose of reorganizing the administrative division of the state into municípios, (2) that this commission, of which the state director of the *Comissão Geographica e Geologica* was made a member *ex officio*, should study and make recommendations to the secretary of the interior relative to the reorganization to be effected. In the decree it was stipulated that in the new alignment each município should have a minimum net income of 100 contos yielded by an impost of 20 milreis, that the seat of each município should be near enough to the rural territories of the município so that it would not work to their advantage to be attached to some other município, that the territory of each município should be all in one piece, and that the debts and contracts of existing municípios should be safeguarded.²⁴

The commission, which included Mennucci among its members, reported on September 15, 1931. At this time a detailed analysis was given of the problem and the probable result if the criteria laid down were applied rigorously. It was recommended that São Paulo move only in concert with the other states of the union, and stated frankly that it was impossible to remake the administrative map of the state. Recognized also were the difficulties created and perpetuated by 40 years of local political bickering and strife between the municípios and among the various community and neighborhood groups of which they are constituted. The net result in São Paulo was the appointment of another special commission by Decree No. 5,252 of November 5, 1931. Revolutionary years immediately intervened and after this brief flurry of interest, the number of municípios continued to increase to a total of 270 in 1940.

More immediate results came in other states. On June 26, 1931, the Federal Interventor in the northeastern state of Piauí signed Decree No. 1,279, which reduced the number of municípios in that state to 27 by extinguishing 19 municípios and attaching their territories to the remain-

²³ Together with other articles on political and administrative reform these later were published in book form in *Brasil Desunido*, referred to above.

²⁴ Mennucci, *Brasil Desunido*, 100-101.

ing units. Nevertheless, by 1940 all of these extinguished were back on the list, most of them without change of name. Similar was the situation in Bahia, where Decree No. 4,846 signed on January 21, 1932, made a drastic reduction in the number of municípios by the process of consolidation. Nevertheless, by 1940 almost without exception the municípios that had been eliminated were again back on the list.²⁵

RURAL-URBAN CONFLICT WITHIN THE MUNICÍPIO

Since every Brazilian município consists of two parts, the seat and the surrounding territory, the urban and rural portions, a considerable amount of social conflict between the constellation of interests centering in the cidade and those of the people residing in the smaller population centers and on the farms and fazendas of the município is inevitable. As in the United States, the village or town forms the line of cleavage between rural and urban societies, and is the arena of conflict between city and country. Throughout most of Brazil the advantage in this rural-urban conflict definitely lies with the center. For one thing the concentration of population and the ease of communication contribute to a unity of thought and action on the part of those who live in the seat, whereas the wide dispersal of population, lack of communication between the various rural neighborhoods, and relative scarcity of contact between inhabitants of the rural areas all make joint effort on the part of the agricultural classes very difficult. Farmers, cattle growers, miners, fishermen, woodcutters, and other rural groups may resent the spending of tax money for the building of schools, the construction and maintenance of parks, the paving of streets, the supplying of water, lights, and sewage disposal in the cidade, while the rural roads are mere quagmires, streams are unbridged, and rural children are unable to attend a nearby school; but, as a general rule, they are able to do very little about remedying the situation. Divided loyalty on the part of many of the wealthiest and most powerful agriculturists makes the advantage of the cidade in município affairs even more pronounced. If the most important fazendeiros do not actually live in the seat and merely commute occasionally to their lands, they at least maintain a "town house" in addition to their country residence. In this manner many of their interests become associated with those of the people in the center. As to the colonos and camaradas who labor on the fazendas, and the sitiantes who till their own small farmsteads in the remote, hilliest, and poorest agricultural lands of the município, what they think, say, or do seldom is of very great import. Thus for the most part the inhabitants of the seat, or cidade, have carte blanche in município affairs.

²⁵ For these decrees and the municípios eliminated, see *ibid.*, 102-108.

But there are important exceptions to this rule in Brazil and particularly among the German settlements in Santa Catarina and other southern states. In Santa Catarina the seat of the município is often completely subservient to the farming classes that live in the surrounding areas. In this part of Brazil the farmers live on the land which they own and operate themselves. *Colono*, instead of referring to a farm laborer as in São Paulo, here refers to a small owner-operator; and there are very few farm laborers in the settlements. Thus the rural population is constituted almost entirely of a hard-working, self-sufficient, and homogeneous middle class. Being in the overwhelming majority, they see to it that the expenditure of public funds does not solely benefit the persons living in the seat of the município. Furthermore, the loyalty and the solidarity of rural folk are more likely attached to such well-known seats of German influence and culture as Blumenau and Joinville rather than to the seats of the municípios in which they reside. Thus in the past it was from Blumenau that they received cultural, political, and religious orientation (the three were not thoroughly differentiated) by means of newspapers (particularly *Der Urwaldsbote* of Blumenau before its publication was prohibited by the Conselho Nacional de Imprensa in September, 1941), visits of German travelers and agents, and the very close attention of the clergy, particularly those of the Evangelical Church. The paper came weekly and furnished the basic orientation in things German. Travelers were numerous. Guided by their fellows from Blumenau, few lost the opportunity to visit the German neighborhoods and agricultural communities. There, in small assemblies called for that purpose, each did his bit to fire these third-, fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-generation Brazilians with pride in their Germanic ethnic origins, and contributed his share in helping them understand the wonderful implications of the expression "Auslandsdeutsche."

But the situation in the German colonies is the exception. Elsewhere the advantage is all with the inhabitants of the seat. The best analysis of the situation is that by Nelson Werneck Sodré who has written about Mato Grosso. Here in Brazil's Wild West great rivalry grew up between the urban part of the município and the rural elements. In early times the rural class dominated the câmaras, but with the growth of cities, the fazendeiros were repelled to the country, where they remained divorced from the local councils. This greatly restricted the realm of influence of the local government, and in some cases its effectiveness was confined to the urban areas. Says Werneck Sodré:

The plains, large properties, and poverty reduce the municipal organization to a mere conventionality incapable of governing the territory over which it has dominion. The weakening of authority, through these insane anomalies, results

in the antagonism between rural and urban, city and country, placing municipal activity in perpetual conflict with human groupings employed in working on the land. . . .

Social instability is sanctioned by this great disparity. On one side the city, on the other the country. On one hand social authority, on the other the rule of the pastoral class. On both sides, poverty.²⁶

THE DEBILITY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Gradually in São Paulo and the other southern states governmental activities are becoming sufficiently organized to provide a considerable share of the population with educational and health services, and reasonable security of life and property and to perform the other governmental functions that are thought essential in modern society. A close scrutiny reveals, however, that most of even local governmental services is being supplied by state agencies. Thus the state is doing more than the municípios in providing schools and in building roads. It is the state police who have rid São Paulo of bandits; state officers are those who disarm pilgrims from Minas Gerais and elsewhere on their way to the famous shrines in the eastern part of the state, of their knives and daggers at the border. It is the state of São Paulo which is developing an agricultural program which often pioneers for the National Ministry and far outranks any found elsewhere in Latin America. In fact São Paulo is demonstrating what a state may do on the local level, even when it is handicapped by a very rudimentary system of local government.

But the debility of local government is a serious drawback, even in São Paulo, and where state governments are less active it is even more deplorable. It is difficult to see how matters can be remedied to any extent without fundamental changes in thinking that eventually come to be reflected in constitutional changes. Obviously the prohibition upon "double taxation" and the vesting of the right to levy property or land taxes exclusively in the state, place the local government in a strait jacket. In an agricultural community, such as is the residence of 80 per cent or more of Brazil's population, the land seems to be the only economic base that, through taxation, can be used in order to pool individual efforts sufficiently that necessary educational, health, police, welfare, communication, and other essential governmental services may be maintained. Unless local people can use the device of a land tax, or a general property tax, to secure a budget of sufficient size, there seems to be no well-tested technique by which such desirable ends may be achieved. The local government in Brazil long has languished in an anemic condition because the land was in the hands of a few, a small minority who could send their children away to

²⁶ Werneck Sodré, *Oeste*, 165-66.

school, maintain private armies to provide their own protection, and supply their own health services. Naturally they would not vote taxes upon themselves for the welfare of the community. Now this condition is passing in many parts of the country and a considerable number of Brazilians feel the necessity of having more and better schools and roads, protection from banditry, and health and sanitary services. They also are beginning to recognize that to finance these benefits each man must contribute not one or two days' effort per year, but the equivalent of weeks' or even a month's income. Under these new conditions it seems decidedly unwise to deny the people in the local unit of government, the município, the right to levy land or property taxes upon themselves, and the privilege of using the land tax as a means of pooling their efforts to supply themselves with the services they so badly need. The lack of these services in a world where contacts with other peoples are multiplying rapidly is likely to give Brazilians a decided sense of inferiority.

The very insignificant amount of man's effort that is pooled for the provision of national, state, and local governmental services is inferred from the expenditures of the various governmental agencies. In 1950, the latest year for which data are available, the federal, state, and local governments of Brazil together raised 40,561,139 contos in revenues and expended 47,407,047 in the provision of governmental services. At that time the population of the nation was approximately 52,650,000 persons. In other words, it may be said that national, state, and local governments together expended about \$45 per inhabitant. This gives a fairly objective basis for estimating the extent to which government has functioned as a means whereby the population pools its efforts to secure essential services.

Of the total amount that was spent the lion's share was disbursed by the central government. It alone spent 23,669,854 contos or \$22.47 per inhabitant. The states together spent only 18,541,434 contos or \$17.60 per inhabitant. Of this sum São Paulo spent 7,778,462 contos, or over two fifths of the total. The 1,894 municípios expended only 5,195,759 contos or about \$4.93 for each man, woman, and child in Brazil.

Finally, it is informing to the average reader to glance over a budget of a município in order that the sources of the revenue received and the functions performed may be identified and evaluated. For these purposes there is presented in Table LXI the budget of Escada, Pernambuco, for the year 1939. Pernambuco approaches the mean of Brazilian society, being considerably more advanced than the states to the north of it, but more backward than some of the states in the south. Escada is selected because other information for it has already been presented. To facilitate interpre-

tation the budget is expressed in dollars, the conto having been valued at \$50 in making the conversions. Since 1939 inflation has considerably changed the amounts in the column, but the essential picture has been modified very little.

Security of Life and Property. A very significant result of weak local government is the insecurity of life and property in parts of Brazil. As was the situation in the United States when communications and systems

TABLE LXI

Receipts and Expenditures of the Município of Escada, Pernambuco, in 1939 *

Sources	Receipts	Amount
A. Imposts		
Industries and professions		\$3,025.74
Slaughter of cattle		725.62
On buildings		589.92
On urban land		34.01
On constructions, reconstructions, and additions		20.15
Various matriculations		69.09
Certificates and emoluments		157.12
Public diversions		28.32
Production: agricultural, pastoral, and extractive		649.77
Pastoral industry		.86
Various licenses		211.13
B. Taxes		
Market stalls and space		776.60
Testing and adjustment of balances, weights, and measures		184.91
On corrals for animals		45.68
On the renting of measures		44.96
For street cleaning, garbage collection, and public lighting		169.38
C. Income from property of the município		
Returns from property of the município		450.98
D. Income from extraordinary sources		
Fines		1.00
Fortuitous		21.50
Interest on government bonds		924.67
Income from plaques		12.33
E. Income for special application		
Tax for the retirement fund for permanent employees of the município		213.43
Balance on hand at the beginning of the year		780.30
Total		\$9,137.47

TABLE LXI *Continued*

Receipts and Expenditures of the Município of Escada, Pernambuco, in 1939 *

Category	<i>Expenditures</i>	Amount
The prefect's office		\$1,993.34
Administration of the município's property		234.74
Construction and improvements		3,100.12
Public cleaning		891.48
Transports		238.90
Public lighting		402.29
Public education		1,029.23
Social assistance		236.88
Court and police		223.60
Public credit		92.34
Application of the special fund (to the institute for insuring the servants of the state to cover the permanent employees of the prefect's office)		126.98
Extraordinary expenditures		
Delimitation of the município		77.75
The day of the município		39.25
Hygiene quota		203.50
Hygienic station		37.60
National exposition		122.00
Purchase of oxen		40.00
Total		\$9,090.00
Balance on hand at the end of the year		47.50

* Source: Agamemnon Magalhães (Interventor Federal), *Relatório Apresentado Ao Exmo. Sr. Presidente da República* (Recife, 1940), 396-99.

of transportation were in a comparable stage of development, there are sporadic outbreaks of banditry in various portions of Brazil. In the northeast the disease is chronic. Gustavo Barroso says there are states whose "entire sertão is almost solely occupied by *cangaceiros*" and cites the municípios of Teixeira, Alagoa do Monteiro, and Patos in Paraíba as examples.²⁷ Many of the leaders of such bands attain a notoriety at least approaching those of the James or the Dalton gangs of our own frontier days. Shortly after the writer had passed through the mountainous sections of southern Minas Gerais in April of 1942, the Rio de Janeiro papers carried a dispatch from the small textile center of Juiz de Fora relating the capture and imprisonment of one of these small robber bands. This group of brigands, consisting of some eight or ten men, well mounted, and heavily armed with carbines and revolvers, was led by one Mario Alonso,

²⁷ Barroso, *Terra de Sol*, 126.

known as "O Lampeão Mineiro" (Lampeão of Minas Gerais). Its field of operations was the mountainous section along the boundary between the states of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais, not very far distant from Brazil's modern and beautiful capital city. At the time of their capture this band had already committed a long list of assaults upon the fazendas of the region, their murders alone amounting to several dozen.²⁸

It is to the northeast, however, that one's thoughts most frequently turn when mention is made of banditry or the inability of local and state governments to guarantee security of life and property. The great sertões of this region have spawned a long line of famous desperados and have provided them with an ideal setting in which to carry on their atrocities.²⁹ Cabeleira, Viriato, Antonio Silvino, Rio Negro, Jesuino Brilhante are only a few of those whose exploits have etched their names in the history and folklore of the region.³⁰ The latest of these bad men to gain national and international notoriety was Virgolino Ferreira, most generally known as Lampeão. For decades he and his band terrorized the states of the Brazilian northeast, and it was not until 1938 that federal troops under the command of Captain João Bezerra, supported by state forces, succeeded in putting an end to the career of Brazil's most famous cangaceiro.³¹ The insecurity of life and property which prevailed within the great radius of influence of this famous bandit is well indicated from the following extracts from Carneiro Leão's excellent chapter on "The Natural Conditions and Banditry in the Northeast." Writing in 1938 this eminent Brazilian educator said:

We still remember the accent of conviction with which a *juiz de direito* [judge] of a city in the sertão related to us his encounter with the sinister band.

²⁸ Cf. *O Globo* of Rio de Janeiro, May 7, 1942.

²⁹ The literature on this subject is voluminous. An interesting summary statement with some analysis is found in Carneiro Leão, *A Sociedade Rural*, 145-59. More extensive studies are Xavier de Oliveira, *Beatos e Cangaceiros* (Rio de Janeiro, 1920); and Pedro Baptista, *Cangaceiros do Nordeste* (Paraná, 1929). Cf. the excellent description in Barroso, *Terra de Sol*, 119-66. The discriminating reader will observe that Antonio Conselheiro, Padre Cicero, and other leaders of schismatic religious movements are not discussed in connection with banditry. There is, however, some justification for including them, as is frequently done by Brazilian writers on the subject.

³⁰ I have an interesting collection of folk tales concerning the lives and loves of the most noted of these cangaceiros. They are written in verse and sold for a mere pittance in the markets, throughout northern and northeastern Brazil. But more important, they are sung to the accompaniment of the guitar by the blind singers who frequent the market places of these areas. Already Lampeão is taking on many of the characteristics of a Robin Hood. A free translation of some of the titles in the collection are as follows: "Heroic Acts of the Bandit, Antonio Silvino," "Loves and Heroic Deeds of Lampeão," "The Death of Lampeão," "Lampeão, His Life, His Crimes, His Death," "Combat and Death of Lampeão," "The *Sertaneja* Story of the Valiant Zé Garcia," "The Story of the Giant Negro, The Most Barbarous Being of Piauí," and "The Valiant Villela."

³¹ For an account of the campaign, see Captain João Bezerra, *Como Dei Cabo de Lampeão* (2d ed.: Rio de Janeiro, 1940).

Traveling one day by car to Recife, accompanied by a lady teacher from his district and a merchant, he was obliged to stop by a signal from Lampeão's men. The happening occurred in a deserted place. Suddenly the travelers saw at a distant hut a group in a suspicious attitude. As they [the judge and his companions] fearfully approached, four men separated themselves from the door of the hut, posted themselves in the road, and covered them with rifles.

The automobile stopped immediately. The men came near. Lampeão did not appear. He contented himself by sending his emissaries. These wanted to know who the travelers were and where they were going.

The judge thought it prudent to conceal his position of authority.

They were two small merchants and a teacher going to Recife, he declared without hesitation.

After getting this information the bandits demanded 200 milreis in money and requested the judge to bring them from Recife some ammunition which they needed.

Arriving at the capital, the judge related the facts to the Governor of the State. The latter said, "What do you intend to do?" The former responded immediately, "To carry out the commission."

And he carried it out; only the band, pursued by the police, had disappeared.

Unfortunate contingency which forces a magistrate to conspire with bandits if he does not care to be at the mercy of an atrocious vengeance!

.....

The phenomena is very grave. It is not simply a problem of police, as many people imagine, but the result of natural and social conditions in the sertão.

The police could work continuously, the affected states could unite in the prosecution of the struggle, as they have already done, but rid of one bandit, of ten, of a hundred, with Lampeão dead, other bandits will inevitably come forth, another Lampeão is certain to appear.

Cabeleira was followed by Antonio Silvino, and Antonio Silvino by Lampeão and his men, and on all sides of them there always flourished subsidiary groups, of less fame but not less depraved.³²

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN AGRICULTURE

Among the influences emanating from Rio de Janeiro which are having an impact upon life in the municípios from one end of Brazil to the other, a most important set are those connected with social legislation. A few comments on this subject are very relevant to this discussion of governmental institutions.

As early as 1936 Brazil embarked on a venture in social legislation that continues to occupy an important role in urban affairs, and is making its influence felt in the rural districts of the nation. On the fourteenth of January, 1936, President Getúlio Vargas signed Law No. 186 establishing commissions on minimum salaries.³³ Article 1 of this decree provided that

³² Carneiro Leão, *A Sociedade Rural*, 156-58.

³³ This and the other legislation on the subject, along with much of the data used in the determination of norms, is published in *Salário Mínimo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940).

"each worker has the right, in payment for service rendered, to a minimum wage sufficient to satisfy, in a specific region of the country at a specific time, his normal necessities for food, shelter, clothing, hygiene, and transportation." Article 2 defined minimum wage as the "minimum remuneration owed to the adult worker for a normal day of service." And Article 3 designated the Comissões de Salario as the agencies for setting the requirements.⁸⁴ Although the stimulus for the law probably came from industrial situations, agricultural labor is not excluded from the provisions of the legislation.

In a little more than two years, legislation had been prepared establishing minimum wages throughout Brazil, and with the signing of Decreto-Lei No. 399 on April 30, 1938,⁸⁵ Brazil had begun a very ambitious program relative to minimum wages, hours, and conditions of work. Among other things, however, this legislation had merely provided that "the normal duration of the work day will be regulated, in each case, by the legislation now in force."⁸⁶ But there had as yet been no legislation relative to hours and wages in agriculture; and in many areas the rule of work had been from "sun to sun." Consequently, the new legislation brought about considerable perplexity on the part of those rural employers who were inclined to comply with the law. For example, the Societé Sucriere de Rio Branco in the state of Minas Gerais made inquiry to determine what "would be the minimum wage to be paid the agricultural worker for a day of 10 hours?" When this question was passed to the highest authorities in the nation's capital, it was held that although there was no legislation on the subject, eight hours was the universal measure of a normal day of work.⁸⁷ Furthermore it was ruled that the minimum salary in the case in question should be increased in proportion to the excess over eight hours.⁸⁸ Still awaited are the effects of this official attempt to introduce the eight-hour day in Brazilian agriculture.

The Brazilian legislative power enacted many laws concerning rural unions and rural labor institutes such as minimum wages, labor courts for rural workers, vacations with pay, disability provisions, etc., but even now the rural labor force does not have any rural unions or other organizations which could provide the diffusion of these rights among the rural people. In November 10, 1944, a new Decree, Law Number 7,038, was passed making further provisions regarding the organization of rural unions, but like the previous law it was unfruitful.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁸⁵ The text is given, *ibid.*, 61-78.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 496-97.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 498.

⁸⁹ J. V. Freitas Marcondes, "A Sociological Study of the First Brazilian Legislation Relating to Rural Labor Unions" (unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Florida, 1953), 88. See the same author's "Social Legislation in Brazil," in Smith and Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*, Chap. XVII; and J. V. Freitas Marcondes and T. Lynn Smith, "The Caipira of the Paraitinga Valley, Brazil," *Social Forces*, XXXI (October, 1952), 52-53.

PART SEVEN

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

BRAZIL, LAND of the future? Many have answered this question with an unqualified "yes"; others are not so sure; and some have been impelled to damn all Brazil and everything Brazilian. That Brazil has secured the frontiers to a large share of the world's unsettled and sparsely settled territory, there can be no doubt. Fortunately, for South America and the world, the Portuguese colonies were held together. Innumerable separatist movements were suppressed, so that there has emerged one great nation and not a host of small bickering states. Also beyond question is the fact that there are vast undeveloped resources within the borders of South America's giant. Just what they are is still to be determined. However, even though failure to distinguish between lush vegetation and rich soil has been widespread, one may be sure that there are means of support for millions of more people in Brazil. But resources and space, of themselves, do not guarantee that Brazil is on the verge of assuming world or even hemispheric leadership. The cultural heritage, particularly the economic organization, and the efforts made to develop to the fullest the human potentialities are the important points to consider.

Land of the future? Yes, providing Brazilians learn and apply even more of the medical and sanitary techniques which alone can make life healthful in the tropics; providing they make the fullest use of modern technology and cease their fierce destruction of natural resources; and providing they borrow or devise a more equitable system for distributing the results of the productive process among capital, management, and labor. Only a cultural equipment primarily designed to safeguard health, comparable to that employed in the Canal Zone, will make possible the presence of a great population in the Amazon Valley, in the greater portion of unsettled Brazil. If the hand of man is not strengthened for its struggle with nature by the employment of power and labor-saving equipment, the population of Brazil might some day approach that of China or India and without any happier results. If the vicious destruction of the forests is paralleled for other natural resources, much of Brazil's potentialities can be dissipated before there is a chance to use them for human welfare. If the millions of Brazilians who make up the nation's labor force do not receive

more of the total national production, preferably in the form of education, sanitation, medical care, and the other services which valorize men, Brazil may continue to be for generation after generation merely a promise for the future, and nothing more.

Viewing the immediate future from the vantage point of recent trends, certain observations and predictions, with a few recommendations, may be made. It seems fairly certain that fire agriculture, the primitive system which wastes Brazil's human, timber, and soil resources, will gradually be eliminated. Slowly but surely it will give way to the more rational, efficient, and less destructive agricultural methods which had their origin in Europe. Brazil will be fortunate if the models followed are those from northern Europe where animal traction, the plow, and the four-wheeled farm wagon are integral parts of the cultural heritage. Except for coffee and a few other crops this heritage need never place a dead weight upon the possible level of living by relying upon the hoe culture of southern Europe. The Brazilians of Polish and German descent can help greatly to diffuse better farming methods throughout the length and breadth of the republic, to spread the knowledge that will sound the death knell of primitive fire agriculture.

Cultural lag is such a heavy drag, however, that sudden changes should not be expected. Although Saint-Hilaire would never recognize the São Paulo of today as the decadent, poverty-stricken area he encountered a little over a century ago, that state, and its progress, is an exception. The change for the better probably will not be so rapid in most other sections. Nevertheless, the adoption of better agricultural methods will do much to improve the situation throughout the entire nation. Coupled with this, the use of animal traction and the farm wagon can help man and woman rise above their present beast-of-burden status.

Brazil would do well to give considerable attention to its population policy. The cry "falta de braços" is sure to continue, and with it a strong pressure from the landed proprietors for the importation of cheap labor. Immigration per se should not be considered an unmixed blessing. Any immigrant who would be content for long with the status of farm laborer should be shunned as the plague. The large landowners, however, are not likely to be enthusiastic about any other. On the other hand, there will not be many special-interest groups seeking to encourage the immigration of independent farm families, or provision of a liberal homestead policy that would enable them quickly to develop farms and become owners of land. However, Brazil probably never again will allow foreign nationality groups to establish their own miniature societies, to seal themselves off hermetically, and form little worlds of their own. This will avoid the one

serious disadvantage which has arisen from the importation of German, Italian, and Polish settlers into south Brazil.

The birth rate in Brazil seems likely to remain at a high level for some time to come. Therefore, even a slight reduction in mortality will be sharply reflected in the greater natural increase of the population. The control of the infectious diseases, and improved infant, child, and maternal care can save many lives. Fortunately, these are the aspects of the mortality problem that are most susceptible to human control. A possible \$1,000,000 spent on a campaign to reduce infant mortality, mainly by educating mothers about the care and feeding of children, probably would increase Brazil's population far more than a similar amount expended for the subsidization of immigration.

Only an increase in longevity, a fall in the birth rate, or both, can greatly reduce the ratio of Brazilians in the dependent ages to those in the productive ages. Therefore, for some time to come the average Brazilian producer will have more mouths to feed than his fellows in North America or Europe. Unless his efforts are correspondingly more productive, the quality of the population will suffer to some extent.

The future of Brazil is dependent upon the land system it adopts or fails to adopt more than upon any other factor. That settlement will continue to advance, to project long fingers into the interior, is surely expected. But it will make a difference whether it is merely the haphazard occupation that has gone forward in north and central Brazil, the better-planned colonization such as has been carried on in the south, or a still more rational plan for establishing people on the land. There is no logical reason why Brazil should not make use of the experience that has been gained in the settlement of North America. It still is not too late for Brazil to establish a national land system.

Brazil's land surveys, titles, and records could be made fully as simple as those in the United States and Canada. Simplification would be highly advantageous and could be accomplished without the necessity of incurring any of the disadvantages inherent in the system of squares which is characteristic of the two North American countries. In fact, the plan I once recommended for Colombia would fit Brazil just as well. The initial step is a law specifying that future surveys shall all be made in accordance with the new system. The scheme itself provides that the entire country be laid off into square degrees, the divisions which occur by projecting all of the degrees of latitude and longitude across the national territory. Each of these is given a number on the map. The actual survey lines can be run as needed, preferably only a step in advance of actual settlement. This will fit very well into the excellent mapping recently done in Brazil. Each

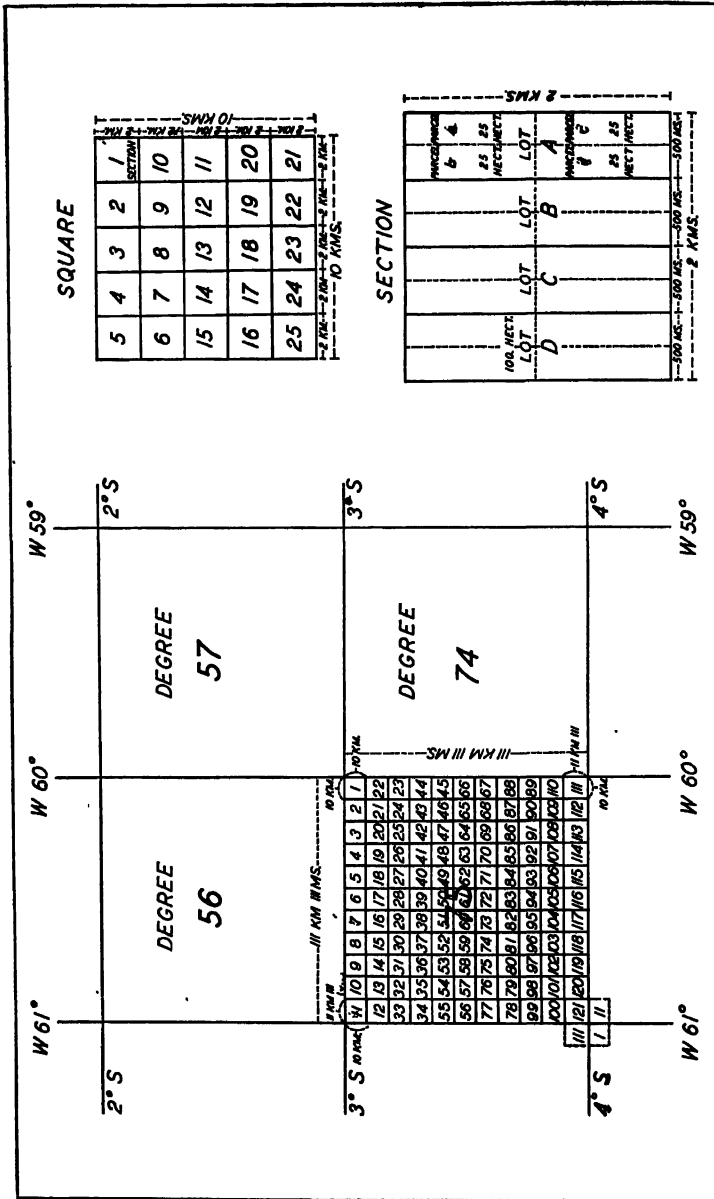


FIGURE 22. System of Land Surveys Recommended for Colombia and Which Also Could Be Used in Brazil.

square degree may be divided into squares, sections, lots, and parcels, as in Figure 22. Then to deed 50 hectares it is necessary only to indicate the parcels, lot, section, square, and degree that are involved. For example, if degree No. 75 fell in Amazonas near Manaus, a man's title to a certain

50 hectares might read "parcels a and b of lot B, section 17, square 9, degree 75." Such a system would do much to incorporate Brazil's national slogan "order and progress" in her land policy. To make the actual surveys and deed the public lands according to such a plan is less expensive than to do it in the haphazard manner now in use.

In addition to systematic surveys, Brazil needs to adopt a homestead law. A wise land policy would encourage actual settlers to occupy and develop unused public lands. By so doing they should become entitled to deeds to the land they settle, and should not be compelled to pay another price for parts of the public domain. All official efforts should be directed to guiding the settlement in a systematic manner. A considerable amount of public land, as much as one or two sections in every 25, should be reserved as a patrimony for educational purposes. The sections to be reserved should have the same number in every square, and the oncoming generations should never be betrayed by allowing the school lands to be juggled. The amount of land to which one man is entitled should be liberal from the standpoint of the family farm, but small enough to discourage the large landed proprietor. The upper limit might well be around 200 hectares in areas suitable for agriculture, 750 in those adapted only to stock raising. Above all, Brazil should seek to put large acreages of public lands into the hands of those who themselves will till them adequately.

On the lands that have already passed into private ownership it will be more difficult to make the desirable changes. Improvements will be easiest in parts of south Brazil, where the pooling of resources through the property tax and the investment of the funds in education, roads, and sanitation would add greatly to the worth of the average man. Elsewhere the problem of the latifundium is widespread. For dealing with this there is nothing so effective as the property tax, especially the graduated property tax. Regardless of the means used, provided they are prudent, the objective should be to get these large, unused tracts into the hands of people who themselves will till the earth. In all of this, Brazil would be wise to utilize the small farmers from the colonial areas of the south to instruct its other millions in European methods of agriculture, in the use of the wheel, the plow, draft animals, and all the other means by which modern agriculture increases production per man.

The renting of lands probably will increase in relative importance. Farm tenancy has already made great headway in São Paulo, and it is likely to come to the fore rapidly elsewhere. On the whole, this will come about by farm laborers improving their social status and not because owners slip back into tenancy. However, in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná there probably will be an increased tendency for owners to

drop down one rung on the agricultural ladder, for renting to become more prevalent.

Over most of Brazil, holdings will probably be reduced in size. In many places the subdivision of estates by inheritance may bring acute problems such as those already present in parts of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. The subdivision of fazendas brought about by using them for the establishment of colonies of small farmers offers greater promise. But this division of land will not be universal. In the sugar areas the concentration of landownership and control may be expected to continue unabated. Some coffee estates will be split up among several heirs but it will be some time before they are likely to be greatly subdivided. Cocoa and rubber plantations will continue to be of enormous size. However, many of the huge cattle ranches of Rio Grande do Sul, Mato Grosso, and Goiás are likely to be subdivided into farms.

The standards and levels of living in Brazil will surely improve. This can hardly be done rapidly, but more education, the growth of cities, the improvement of communication and transportation, and the diffusion of new systems of merchandising and display will increase the wants of millions of Brazilians. The nationwide diffusion of knowledge concerning life in south Brazil and in other countries will have the same effect. By degrees the increased wants will lead to more regular work activities, to greater production, and to a higher level of living. Social legislation now being enacted will induce some landed proprietors to improve the living and working conditions of the families on their places. Many others may be shamed into doing the same.

The small município found in São Paulo and Minas Gerais is well on the way to becoming a genuine rurban community. This tendency will be promoted if certain of its functions are strengthened. Most important of all is the establishment of a high school for each little city that forms the seat of a município. Increased local taxation with the proceeds used for the more adequate provision of essential governmental services also would contribute to this end. Brazil's leaders should not try to do everything from Rio de Janeiro. The município is the logical unit of organization for use in the provision of more adequate protection for life and property, health and welfare services, education, and roads.

Brazil would be wise to double, double again, and then redouble the number of students it is sending to foreign universities. The utmost encouragement and support should be given to those interested in scientific training at the graduate level. The need is not so acute for persons trained abroad in the humanities. With personnel trained abroad, plus those prepared in the national institutions of higher learning, Brazil soon would

be able to staff more universities and technical schools. Then it would be equipped to train the teachers for the secondary schools it is opening throughout the length and breadth of the land. Along with this the program of establishing more public elementary schools and of increasing the length of the elementary course could be pushed ahead even more rapidly than in the last decade. As the teachers receive better training and become more experienced, professional standards will regulate many of the details of school activity which it is now necessary to handle through legislation.

All of this will cost money. Many will ask, some of them with scorn, "Can Brazil afford such improvements?" From the purely economical point of view it is difficult to see how it can afford not to make them. After all, the money necessary is cruzeiros, not dollars or other foreign exchange. One need not be a narrow exponent of the labor theory of value to hold that this means merely putting a larger share of the nation's effort into educational lines. Except for the small amounts necessary to send people abroad for training, money spent on education remains in the country. Resources are not depleted or exported. Brazil can build a great educational system, valorize its people, merely by directing a greater portion of the productive efforts of its population into educational activities. This is exactly what other countries have found it necessary to do. A minimum goal for the next five years might well be the establishment of at least one well-equipped and well-staffed high school in every município. Anything less can hardly be viewed as a realistic approach to the problem.

GLOSSARY

- achôgun, assistant sacerdote in the Afro-Brazilian cults of gêge-nagô origin.
açude, reservoir.
- adarrum, a special beat of the drum used in the Afro-Brazilian cults of gêge-nagô origin; reputed to be particularly effective in inducing the phenomenon of possession.
- agregado (aggregado), in colonial times a free man of low social status who placed himself under the protection of the master of the casa grande, thus becoming one of his "men" or retainers; used now in parts of Brazil as a designation for the agricultural laborer who lives on the estate.
- agreste, name used in northeastern Brazil to designate the zone which lies between the well-watered coastal plain and the arid sertão. Much of it is rocky and covered by scattered, scrubby timber.
- aguas, the plural of agua (water), and by extension, the slopes of a roof.
- aguasal, a species of palm.
- agua tônica, a soft drink containing quinine that is widely used in Brazil.
- ajuntamento, a common-law marriage. One of the Brazilian equivalents of the "tuk up" matings of Negroes in the southern United States.
- alcalde, name generally applied throughout Spanish America to the administrative official who is chief of the government in a município or county.
- aldeia (aldea in old writings), a village of domesticated or Christianized Indians.
- almôço, lunch.
- alqueire, an old measurement of area. The alqueire paulista contains 2.42 hectares; and the alqueire mineiro is twice as large.
- alturas, the higher social levels.
- alufá, designation for the sacerdote versed in the religious lore of Mohammedan origin which survives in Afro-Brazilian cults.
- alujá, a Brazilian fetish dance of African origin.
- amarelo, yellow, used in classifying the population by color.
- amasiados, a couple united only by a common-law union.
- amigo, friend.
- angú, corn-meal mush. Corn meal in this form is very important in the diet of the lower classes in Minas Gerais and the neighboring states.
- anjos, children dressed as angels who participate in religious processions.
- anuário (annuario, anuario), yearbook or annual report.
- apanhar, to harvest.
- armazém, a commissary.
- arraial, a camp. Sometimes used to designate a center at which people gather for festivals.
- arratel, an old weight, the equivalent of 459 grams, still used in Brazil.

* The definitions and explanations given are those which have a direct relationship to matters treated in the text. Many of the words and phrases have other connotations as well, but no attempt has been made to include them.

- arrendação, rent or renting.
arrendador, one who rents to another.
arrendamento, rent or renting.
arrendar, to rent.
arrendatário, one who rents from another.
arroba, an old weight, the equivalent of 14.69 kilograms, still used widely in Brazil. Since the introduction of the metric system a weight of 15 kilograms is called arroba métrica.
atabaque, a variety of drum used in Afro-Brazilian religious ceremonies.
- babá, one of the names used in Rio de Janeiro to designate a sacerdote of the Afro-Brazilian religious cults.
babacuara, ignorant; used as a designation for the low-class plantation workers in the sugar-producing sections of the state of Rio de Janeiro.
babalão, one of the names used in Bahia to designate a sacerdote of the Afro-Brazilian religious cults.
babalorixa, one of the names used in northeastern Brazil to designate a sacerdote of the Afro-Brazilian religious cults.
babassú (babaçú), a species of palm; very important economically as a source of vegetable oils.
baboloxá, one of the names used in Rio de Janeiro to designate a sacerdote of the Afro-Brazilian religious cults.
bacaiuveira, a species of palm.
Bahiano (feminine, Bahiana), a designation for the native for Bahia.
bairro, a district, or section of a city.
bandeirante, explorer, frontiersman, and hunter of Indians.
banguê, a small sugar mill of the most primitive type.
barracão, the seat of a seringal, i.e., the headquarters of the owner or administrator of lands on which rubber-producing trees are grown, from which supplies are distributed to the workers, and at which the raw rubber is assembled for shipment.
batucajé (batucajé), a Brazilian dance of African origin.
batuque, a Brazilian dance of African origin, and also used as a generalized term for such dances.
batuque do jaré, a Brazilian dance of African origin.
beata, a woman devoted to religion but not a member of any monastery or community.
beato, "a bachelor, who makes vows of chastity (real or apparent), who has no profession because he has quit work, and who lives through the charity of the kindly and by exploiting the faithful." Xavier de Oliveira.
bemfeitorias, improvements, such as plantings, made on land and valued separately.
beneficiamento, improvement, cleaning, refining, processing, and so forth.
bicho, animal or beast; almost anything from man to supernatural beings may be spoken of as bichos.
bicho de pé, a kind of chigger which burrows under the skin, particularly under the toenails, and deposits its eggs in a neat little sack.
bodega, canteen.

boitatá, a wandering spirit which has the power to protect or destroy pastures.
 bolo de milho, a bread or cake made of corn meal.

bôto, a supernatural being, the male counterpart of the Lorelei, that lives in the folklore of the Amazon.

bouba, a tumor produced by a germ very similar to that of syphilis.

braça, an old measure of distance equal to 2.2 meters.

branco, white.

broca, the act of clearing or cleaning the land of the small timber, undergrowth, brush and vines which grow among the larger trees.

brocar, to clear away the undergrowth as a first step in the preparation of a roça.

bruaqueiro, one of the names used in Minas Gerais to designate the rural person of low social status.

bumba-meu-boi, a popular dramatic dance of northeastern Brazil in which the principal participants are the bull, the marine horse, and the doctor.

burra-de-padre (burrinha-de-padre, also), one of the names for the headless mule into which the concubine of a priest is likely to be turned.

caboclo (feminine, cabocla), name first applied to domesticated Indians, later used to designate a crossbreed of white-Indian stock, and now generally used to mean any lower-class rural person.

caboré, synonym for cafús, cafuso, indicating a person of mixed Indian and Negro descent, and often used to designate any rural person of low social status.

cabra, designation for the offspring of a mulatto and Negro, i. e., a person of $\frac{3}{4}$ Negro and $\frac{1}{4}$ white blood.

cabruçar, to fell large trees with an axe as one step in the preparation of a roça.

cacau (cacaú, cacáo), cocoa.

cachaça, a rum made from the juice of sugar cane.

café, coffee.

cafezinho, a demitasse of strong coffee. Generally the small cup is half filled with sugar before the coffee is poured into it.

cafús (cafuso), a person of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

caiçara, a designation for the lower-class countryman and fisherman used in the coastal districts of São Paulo.

caipira, the man or woman who lives outside the village, who lacks instruction or social graces, who does not dress well or make a good appearance in public. It is the most widely used designation for the lower-class, rural Brazilian.

Calunga, personification of the sea in Bantu religious culture. The name is still to be heard in the macumbas of Rio de Janeiro, and also survives as the name of a small doll. (In Africa her fetish was a small wooden figurine.)

câmara, the council or corporation which formerly exercised the legislative function in the government of the município.

camarada, a hired farm laborer who does not reside on the estate.

cambône, assistant sacerdote in the macumbas of Rio de Janeiro.

caminhão, a truck.

campina, prairie.

campos, prairie-like pasture lands on the high plateaus and mountain tops.

- campos de cooperação, agricultural demonstration fields.
- cana branca, a white sugar cane, generally of inferior quality.
- cancha, a race track, and by extension, the place where the *erva mate* is crushed so that the leaves may be separated from the twigs and branches.
- cancheada, *erva mate* after the leaves, twigs, and branches have been crushed into small particles.
- candomblé, the designation used in Bahia for the Afro-Brazilian religious cult of *gêge-nagô* origin. More specifically it refers to a particular *terreiro*, sacerdote, and group of worshipers.
- candomblezeiro, designation used in Bahia for the sacerdote who operates a *terreiro* or *candomblé* of *gêge-nagô* origin.
- cangaceiro, the bad man or bandit of the *sertões* of the northeast.
- cangussú, synonym for *caipira* or *caboclo* used in São Paulo.
- canja, chicken broth with rice.
- canna verde, a Brazilian dance of African origin.
- canzá, a percussion instrument of bamboo used by Brazilian Negroes in their religious ceremonies.
- capiau, synonym for *caipira* used in Minas Gerais and Bahia.
- capim gordura, molasses grass, *Panicum melinis*.
- capinar, to clean the *roça* by clearing out the weeds and saplings from among the growing plants.
- capitania, a designation for the state or province during part of the colonial epoch.
- capitão, captain.
- capitão-do-mato (plural, *capitães-do-mato*), official charged with the hunting down and capture of fugitive slaves.
- capitão-mor (plural, *capitães-mores*), commander-in-chief of the military forces in a province during colonial days.
- capoeira, the second growth which comes up after a *roça* has been made in the virgin forest.
- capuava, synonym for *caipira* used in parts of Minas Gerais and Bahia.
- caracú, a breed of beef cattle being developed in Brazil.
- Cariapemba, an African demon who used to pursue slaves and take possession of their bodies. His name is still mentioned in the *macumbas* of Rio de Janeiro.
- cariboca, synonymous with *mameluco* as a designation for persons of mixed white and Indian blood.
- Carioca, a name applied to the person who lives in Rio de Janeiro, and to the distinctive culture traits of the city.
- carnaúba, a species of palm noted for the wax that is produced between its fronds.
- carregador, a porter.
- cartório, a register in which the vital statistics are recorded.
- carurú, a dish prepared with herbs, fish, shrimp, and oil of a palm and served to *Xangô* in the *candomblés* of Bahia.
- casaca, a designation used in Piauí for the rural person of low estate.
- casacudo, Brazilian designation for a rich, important person, but used along the São Francisco River in Bahia to apply to the rural person of low estate.

casa grande, the big house or mansion that forms the seat of a large landed estate.

casa polaca, house type introduced by Polish settlers in south Brazil.

casebre, a hut of the poorest construction.

cateretê, a Brazilian dance of African origin.

catimbó, name by which the religious cult of African origin is known in north-eastern Brazil, i. e., the northeastern equivalent of the macumba of Rio de Janeiro, the candomblé of Bahia, and the Xangô of Recife.

catinga (*caatinga*), designation for the small, sparse, spiny vegetation which covers the arid sertões of northeastern Brazil.

caxambú, a Brazilian dance of African origin.

Cearense, native of the state of Ceará.

ceia, supper, generally served very late, or after 9:00 P. M.

cercar, to fence.

chácara, a small farm near the city and generally used for growing fruits and vegetables.

chapadeiro, plainsman.

charque (*xarque*), beef that has been cut up, dipped in salt water, and then dried in the sun.

charqueada, a plant in which charque is prepared.

chiba, a Brazilian of African origin.

cidade, city. This rank is given to any population center that has been designated as a seat of a município.

coalhada, curd of milk.

côco-de-zambê, a Brazilian dance of African origin.

colhêr, to harvest.

colônia, a settlement of small farmers in south Brazil, and the workers' village on the fazenda in central Brazil.

colonial, of or pertaining to the immigrant settlements of small farmers in south Brazil.

colônias agrícolas, colonies of small farmers.

colono, a small farmer in south Brazil; a laborer who obligates himself to work on a one-year contract, in the care and obligatory harvest of a certain number of coffee trees or of a certain area of cotton or of other crops such as cane, oranges, rice, and beans in São Paulo.

comarca, a judicial district.

comuna, name used to designate medieval settlements, French administrative units, Jewish quarters in cities, and, in Pernambuco, an organized gang in the city.

comunidade (*comunidade*), community. Used generally to refer to community of goods, or community of interests, and rarely to designate a locality group.

conto or *conto de reis*, 1,000 cruzeiros and equivalent in 1954 to \$20.

cooperação anual, an agricultural demonstration field established for one year only.

cooperação permanente, an agricultural demonstration field in which work continues longer than one year.

coronel, colonel. A political boss in a município.

- corumba (curumba), designation for the rural person of low estate used in parts of the northeast.
- côvado, an old measure of distance equal to three palmas or 66 centimeters.
- creulo, creole. In some Brazilian communities the term is synonymous with Negro.
- Cristão-novo (plural, *Christãos-novos*), a converted Jew, or new Christian, who came to Brazil in the colonial epoch.
- cruzeiro, the new unit of exchange in Brazil. One of them is valued at two cents. One cruzeiro is the equivalent of the old milreis or 1\$000.
- cuíca, a small cylindrical musical instrument used in Afro-Brazilian religious ceremonies.
- curandeiro, an herb doctor.
- curáu, designation used in Sergipe for the rural person of low estate who periodically flees before the drought.
- curral, corral; formerly used to designate a cattle ranch or fazenda.
- curupira, a mythical little man whose feet are turned backward so that anyone seeing his tracks and trying to run away from him will speed to destruction at his hands.
- dansa do tambor, a Brazilian dance of African origin.
- data de terra, the area of a land grant in Piauí.
- decreto-lei, law established by executive decree.
- delegado geral (plural, *delogados gerais*), general director or supervisor.
- derrubada (derruba), act of felling the trees in the preparation of a roça.
- derruba e queimada, felling and burning for the preparation of a roça.
- derrubar, to fell the larger trees with an axe in the preparation of a roça.
- desafio, a contest in dialogue between two singers, all improvisation, each in turn seeking to answer the opponent's query, and then to turn the laugh on his opponent.
- despacho, a designation for the sacrifice in an Afro-Brazilian fetish cult.
- distrito de paz, a subdivision of the município, having a vila as its seat. It compares roughly with the township or other minor civil division in the United States.
- Dois-Dois, also known as Ibeji, twin deities worshiped in Afro-Brazilian religious cults of gêge-nagô origin, and frequently identified with Cosme and Damion.
- domingueiras, Sunday dances.
- donatario (donatário), recipient of a land grant or sesmaria.
- dono de terra, landowner.
- ebô, the sacrifice or despacho characteristic of Afro-Brazilian fetish cults.
- empreiteiro, an administrative overlord; contractor.
- encoivarar, to pile and burn the trunks and limbs that escaped in the first burning of the roça.
- engenho, an old-fashioned sugar mill; also used to designate the entire sugar plantation.
- engenhoca, a very small engenho, used mostly for the manufacture of rapadura.
- ensino em geral, a designation for all types of general education collectively.

ensino fundamental: comun, basic education of the ordinary or general type.

entrudo, a carnival.

erva mate (herva-mate or matte), *Ilex paraguariensis*, from the leaves of which Paraguayan tea is made.

escada, stairway.

escola, school.

escola isolada, a one-teacher, ungraded school characteristic of rural areas.

escrúpulo, measure of weight used for weighing precious stones, equivalent to 1.195 grams.

estado novo, the "new state" established by President Getúlio Vargas. It was terminated in 1945.

estância, the common designation for the large cattle ranch in Rio Grande do Sul.

estrangeiro, a foreigner.

Exú, one of the orishas of the Afro-Brazilian religious cults. He is the incarnation of evil.

falta de braços, literally the lack of arms and the equivalent of the English shortage of hands.

farinha de mandioca, mandioca flour.

farinha de milho, flour or meal made of m .e.

favelas, the slums which cover some of th hills in Rio de Janeiro.

fazenda, a large estate; the equivalent of scienda in Mexico, Colombia, and Peru.

fazendeiro, the owner-operator of a large ded estate.

fazendola, a small fazenda.

feijoada, a Brazilian dish which includes beans, numerous kinds of meats, served over rice, and liberally sprinkled with mandioca flour.

feira, public market; annual fair.

feita, the initiate of one of the Afro-Brazilian fetish cults is said to be feita, or made, after she has undergone all of the ceremonial preparation and is ready to become the medium through which the orisha expresses itself.

feiticeiro, sorcerer, conjurer, or magician.

ferros, cattle brands.

festas, holidays or feast days.

fidalgo, a noble.

filha de santo, a female who has undergone long ceremonial preparation and has been consecrated as one of the inner group of devotees in an Afro-Brazilian fetish cult.

filhos de santo, children of the saint, or specially prepared devotees of the orishas in one of the Afro-Brazilian fetish cults.

flagelados (flagellados), refugees fleeing from the great droughts which periodically afflict northeastern Brazil.

foice, billhook, brushhook, or cutting blade attached to a long wooden handle.

foreiro, synonym for morador.

fornecedores, sugar-cane producers who lack milling facilities and must sell their product to a sugar usina.

freguesia, a church parish.

fronteira, frontier.

futebol, football.

Gana Zona (also, Ganga Zumba), one of the names by which Zambi or Nzambi, great deity of Angola, is known in the macumbas of Rio de Janeiro.

garimpeiro, one who searches for diamonds, often working in water up to his waist, scooping sand from the bed of a stream into a dugout canoe.

Gaúcho, a native of Rio Grande do Sul.

gêge-nagô, an African religion carried to Brazil by Negroes of Sudanese origin.

gira, a circle, or the arrangement of the participants in one of the ceremonies of the Afro-Brazilian cults of Bantu origin.

giráu, primitive storehouse made of sticks elevated above the ground.

goiabada, guava paste widely used as a dessert.

grão, a weight equivalent to .049 grams.

grau médio, designation for education at the secondary or high-school level.

grau superior, designation for education at the college or university level.

grude, extremely intimate ties, relations or understanding between two or more people.

grupo escolar, a multiple-teacher school.

guasca, designation for countryman used in Rio Grande do Sul.

homem da roça, the man who uses the axe, fire, and the hoe to produce small subsistence crops on a little patch of ground.

homem de cor, colored man.

homem do campo, countryman or peasant who lives outside the towns and cities.

Usually applied only to persons of low estate.

homens do povo, the common people.

horta, vegetable garden.

hospedaria, lodginghouse.

Ibeji, *see* Dois-Dois.

Ifá, an orisha worshiped in the gêge-nagô cults. He is closely associated with acts of divination.

igreja, church.

illuminada, a person thought to be inspired.

imunu, contagious magic.

Indio, Indian.

instinto migratório, migratory instinct.

'interior,' all of a state lying outside the capital city.

interventor, an official appointed by the president to serve as the governor of a state.

intrudor (also intruso), one of the names for the rural person of low estate who squats on the land and makes a roça.

ir ao comércio, to go to do business, i. e., to go to town.

irmandade, a religious brotherhood.

jagunços, name applied to the bad men of the sertões, and also given to the members of the religious brotherhood headed by Padre Cicero.

jantar, evening meal served about 5:00 P. M.

jaraguá, a red-top grass, *Andropogon rufus*.

jardineira, a "pick-up" or truck equipped with seats for passengers and widely used throughout Brazil's interior—not a bus.

jeguedé, a Brazilian dance of African origin.

jogo, game, pastime, sport.

jongo, a Brazilian dance of African origin.

juiz de direito, a judge of a lower court to which cases are first brought.

juiz de fora, magistrate of colonial days. The name indicates he came from outside the community.

juiz municipal, judge having jurisdiction within a município.

latifúndio, a latifundium.

lavadeira, washerwoman.

lavrador, farmer.

légua, a league of 6,600 meters.

Lemba, African deity whose name is still to be heard in the macumbas of Rio de Janeiro.

libra, a pound 5.5 grams lighter than the English pound.

liceu, a secondary school.

limpar, to clean a roça by cutting or pulling the weeds and saplings from among the growing plants.

linha, a line; used to designate a sequence of activities in the macumbas, and applied also to a row of houses in a line-village settlement.

litoral e mata, designation for the heavily forested, coastal zone.

lobis homem, werewolf.

local, a place entirely lacking in inhabitants.

localidade, a locality. Any place in the national territory where there is a permanent agglomeration of inhabitants.

lote colonial, the land allotted to one settler in any agricultural colony.

lugarejo, a place that does not qualify as a núcleo, rural property, or povoado, but which temporarily has inhabitants.

machadeiro, an axeman who fells the forests; also used to designate a rubber gatherer.

macho, a male famed for his great reproductive capacities.

macumba, name used in Rio de Janeiro to designate an Afro-Brazilian fetish cult.

It also applies to a specific terreiro, sacerdote, and group of worshipers.

macumbeiro, one of the designations used for the sacerdote of the Afro-Brazilian cult of Bantu origin.

mãe d'água, supernatural being who lives in the water. The worship of this goddess is an integral part of many of the fetish cults, especially in Bahia. The belief in such a water spirit is very widespread in Brazil.

mãe de santo (also mãe de terreiro), female sacerdote who operates an Afro-Brazilian fetish cult.

mais ou menos, more or less.

mamão, papaya.

mambira, designation used in Rio Grande do Sul for the rural person of low estate.

mameluco (mamaluco), the half-breed of white and Indian parentage.

mandí, synonym for caipira used in parts of São Paulo and Minas Gerais.

mandioca, the tuber of manioc, *Manihot utilisima*. Made into farinha or flour, this is a basic element in the Brazilian diet.

- mandioqueiro, synonym for caipira used in parts of Minas Gerais.
- mangabeira, *Hancornia speciosa*.
- manteiga, butter.
- maracatú, a Brazilian dance of African origin.
- marcha para oeste, march to the west. A slogan expressive of Brazil's desire to take more effective possession of her broad unsettled areas.
- mascate, an ambulant peddler.
- matadouro, local slaughterhouse.
- mate, see erva mate.
- mateiro, the workman who gathers the branches from the erva mate trees.
- matriz, mother church; central church to which a number of surrounding chapels are subordinate.
- matuto, literally, a forest dweller, and widely used as a synonym for caipira.
- meiação, tenure arrangement under which the product is divided equally between the landowner and the worker or tenant.
- meieiro, an agricultural laborer who receives one half of the crop in lieu of wages; or a farm tenant who pays one half of his product as rent.
- melhoramentos urbanos, civic improvements such as beautification of public squares, or the installation of electric lights, sewer systems, and water works.
- mestiço, mixed breed, usually applied to cross of white and Indian.
- mil covas, literally, 1,000 hills; name used in Rio Grande do Norte to designate the tarefa of 3,025 square meters.
- milha, mile, the equivalent of 2,200 meters.
- milreis, unit of value prevailing in Brazil until 1942. One milreis, written 1\$000 was then worth five cents. The milreis was replaced by the cruzeiro.
- mineiro, native of Minas Gerais.
- minha terra, "my land," usually used to refer to one's native state or district, and not to Brazil as a whole.
- modinha, a little hit, i. e., a popular song.
- moleque (muleque), a small Negro; used to designate any boy who is bad or unruly.
- monjolo, a primitive water-driven device for pounding corn or other grain into flour.
- morador, a squatter who stops about where he pleases and makes a roça. Eventually some moradores become established agregados, and even come to enjoy the status of a share tenant.
- moreno, dark.
- morgado, an entailed estate that may not be subdivided, but must be passed on intact.
- moura-encantada, the enchanted Moors, a mythical being in Portuguese folklore.
- mucama, Negro nurse or "mammy."
- mucuman, a plant growing in northeastern Brazil said to resemble a sea bean and with seeds that are poisonous to man.
- mula-sem-cabeça, a fantastic headless mule, the transformed concubine of a priest.
- mulheres da cama, concubines.

município, an administrative subdivision of the state, comparable roughly to the county in the United States. It consists of one cidade and the surrounding territory. It may or may not be subdivided into distritos do paz, each centered about a vila.

muxuango, one of the names applied in the state of Rio de Janeiro to the rural person of low estate.

Nananburucú (Anamburucú), Afro-Brazilian orisha worshiped in the gêge-nagô cults. The Negroes of Bahia consider her to be the oldest of the mães d'agua. não tem dono, to have no master.

negrada, Negro females, collectively.

nordestino, a native of northeastern Brazil.

noroeste, northwest.

Nossa Senhora, Our Lady.

Nossa Senhora das Neves, Our Lady of the Snows.

Nosso Senhor dos Passos, Our Lord bearing the cross.

nota, note.

núcleo, a locality whose inhabitants are grouped together under a special regime, but which is not the seat of an administrative division. Agricultural colonies fall in this category.

Nzambi, one of the names of the supreme deity of Angola.

ogan, a person of high social status who is initiated into one of the Afro-Brazilian cults and serves as a sponsor for the group in its relation with the outside world.

Ogun, Afro-Brazilian god of war.

oitava, eighth.

okê, an exclamation of reverence used in Afro-Brazilian fetish cults.

Oluran, the master of the sky in Yoruba mythology.

Omulú, one of the orishas honored in Afro-Brazilian fetish cults of gêge-nagô origin.

onça, an old weight equivalent to 28.349 grams; the South American jaguar.

operários, skilled workers.

oratórios, tiny chapels or altars set up on remote fazendas.

orisha, designation used by A. B. Ellis for a divinity of the Yoruban Negroes. The Portuguese equivalent is *orixá*. Each is the expression of one of the great forces of nature.

Orixalá (Oxalá), a bisexual divinity or orisha symbolizing the reproductive energies of nature.

Oxagian, an Afro-Brazilian orisha.

Oxóssi, the orisha who is god of the hunt.

Oxumanré, an Afro-Brazilian orisha.

Oxun, an Afro-Brazilian orisha.

padre, priest.

pagé, an Indian medicine man.

pai de santo, sacerdote who operates an Afro-Brazilian fetish cult.

Pai Joaquim, an old Negro from the African coast whose spirit is said to take possession of worshipers in the macumbas of Rio de Janeiro.

- malhoça, a building or shed that is covered with a roof of thatch.
- palma, a palm; an old measure equivalent to about 23 centimeters.
- pantanal, a low-lying swamp area.
- pão de mocó, a shrub, *Hoffmanuseggia leguminosa*, whose poisonous roots have proved fatal to many of the starving refugees fleeing the sêcas of the north-east.
- paraná, a bayou or tributary of a river.
- parceiro, landless agriculturist who plants on shares, similar in many respects to the sharecropper in the southern part of the United States.
- pardavasco, a dark mulatto, i. e., more brown than yellow.
- pardo, brown, i. e., mulatto.
- passando fome, very hungry or starving.
- pastoril (plural, pastoris), popular open-air, old-fashioned musical comedy.
- patrimônio, patrimony; by extension applied in western São Paulo, at least, to designate a small trade center.
- pau-a-pique, poles on end, a type of construction used in making the walls of the poorest huts.
- Paulista, a native of São Paulo.
- pé, foot; an old measure equivalent to about 33 centimeters.
- peão, peon.
- pé de garrafa, bottle foot; one of the malevolent, manlike supernatural beings with whom the rural Brazilian must deal.
- pegí, holy of holies of an Afro-Brazilian fetish cult.
- pegi-gan, name applied to the sacerdote when he is officiating before the altar in one of the Afro-Brazilian fetish cults.
- pensão, pension or boarding house.
- Pernambucano, a native of Pernambuco.
- pescador, fisherman.
- picar, to pile the fallen timber in order to facilitate the burning over of a roça.
- pilão, mortar and wooden pestle.
- pióca, one of the designations for the rural person of low estate.
- piraquara, one name for the humble Brazilian who lives mainly from fishing.
- planalto, high plain.
- "plantando dá!," planting gives, i. e., to produce a crop one needs only to plant.
- plantar, to plant.
- polegada, an inch.
- ponto, a song dedicated to one of the divinities of an Afro-Brazilian fetish cult.
- posseiro, a squatter.
- povo, common people.
- povoação, a small population center which lacks administrative functions; a village.
- povoado, a locality which is not the seat of an administrative division, but in which there is an agglomeration of residences, where the inhabitants exercise their economic activities as a function in the interest of the group.
- praça, public square or plaza.
- praiano, designation for the person of low estate who resides near the seacoast and lives largely by fishing.
- prefeito, the administrative officer or mayor of the município.

prefeitura, the headquarters of the prefeito of a município.

preto, black; Negro.

propriedade rural, a rural property; a farm.

quadra, square; an old measure of area. It varies greatly in size: the quadra gaúcha contains 1.74 hectares; the quadra de sesmaria, 87.12 hectares; another used in the states of Maranhão and Piauí contains 4.82 hectares; and a fourth, the quadra paraibana, 1.21 hectares.

queijeiro, literally, cheesemaker and eater; used in parts of Minas Gerais as a designation for the rural person of low estate.

queimar, to burn the fallen timber in the preparation of a roça.

quilate, an old measure of weight equivalent to .199 grams. Since the introduction of the metric system, a weight of .2 grams is known as the quilate métrico.

quilombo, a settlement of fugitive Negro slaves. It survives as a place name in many parts of Brazil.

quimbanda, designation for the chief sacerdote of the macumba in Rio de Janeiro.

quimbête, a Brazilian dance of African origin.

quintal, an old measure equivalent to 58.759 kilograms. Since the introduction of the metric system, a quintal métrico of 100 kilograms also has been used.

rancho, a rude hut.

rapadura, a brown sugar from which none of the molasses has been extracted; the equivalent of the Spanish-American *panela*.

recôncavo, designation for the fertile area embracing 17 municípios which surround the city of São Salvador or Bahia.

registro civil, register of births, deaths, and marriages kept by the state.

regulamento, official interpretation of a law in which the details of the manner in which it is to be applied are set forth.

relatório, report.

rendeiro, one who rents land to another.

ribeirinho, designation used in parts of Minas Gerais for the person of low estate who lives along a stream eking out a miserable existence by fishing and growing a little mandioca.

roça, a small burned-over patch of ground in the midst of the forest in which are planted subsistence crops such as corn, beans, and mandioca.

roçada, made into roças.

roceiro, a person who makes a roça, i. e., a countryman who produces a few subsistence crops by employing the primitive system of fire agriculture described in Chapter III.

rôlo, brawl.

sacerdote, a person who performs sacerdotal functions; the term has connotations that are intermediate between those of the words shaman and priest.

salvo-conducto, safe conduct.

samba, a Brazilian dance of African origin; also used to designate a functionary in the macumba who has the duties of receiving the visitors and caring for the women who "receive the spirit."

- sapeco, the cancheada of mate after it has been dried over hot coals.
- sarambêque, a Brazilian dance of African origin.
- sarambú, a Brazilian dance of African origin.
- sarará, a light mulatto.
- saudades, untranslatable expression, in which pleasant remembrances, homesickness, and deep longing are all involved.
- sêca (seca, secca, sêcca), drought.
- secretaria, a department in state government. For example, the secretaria da agricultura is the equivalent of department or office of agriculture.
- sede, seat. A cidade is the sede of the município.
- seita, sect or cult.
- senhor de engenho, the aristocratic master of a sugar plantation and the casa grande which forms its nucleus.
- Senhor do Bomfim, Jesus Christ.
- senzala, slave quarters.
- serenos, a penitential sect.
- seringal (plural, seringais), an estate, usually large, on which rubber-producing trees are exploited.
- seringalista, a businessman who controls the land, owns the commissaries and rubber deposits, and performs the entrepreneurial functions involved in the collection of raw rubber.
- seringueiro, the worker who taps the trees and coagulates the raw rubber.
- serra, mountain.
- Serra do Mar, the coastal range of mountains in southeastern Brazil.
- serrano, mountaineer.
- sertanejo, the common man who lives in the sertões of northeastern Brazil.
- sertanista, the upper-class inhabitant of the sertões of northeastern Brazil; also, a synonym for bandeirante.
- sertão (plural, sertões), an isolated, little-known place, distant from population centers and cultivated areas. Sertão bruto refers to a place entirely without inhabitants. The great northeastern interior, a semiarid area, covered with sparse, spiny vegetation, and sparsely populated, is the sertão par excellence.
- sesmaria, a grant of land usually large and poorly described, given by the king of Portugal or his representative to a favored person of high social status.
- sitiantes, a small farmer; the proprietor of a sítio.
- sítio, a small farm.
- sítiozinho, a very small farm.
- sobrado, a house of more than one story in the city; the urban counterpart of the casa grande.
- sôlta, an unfenced pasture, especially an area of range land in the sertões of the northeast.
- sorôngo, a Brazilian dance of African origin.
- Supremo Tribunal, Supreme Court.
- tabaréu, one of the most widely used designations for the rural person of low estate. In popularity it ranks with caipira, caboclo, and matuto.
- tapiocano, tapioca maker; one of the names used to designate the rural person of low estate.
- taquara, a variety of cane used for bedding cattle.

tarefa, task; used widely as a measure of land. Its size varies greatly; the tarefa bahiana contains .44 of a hectare; the tarefa nordestina, .3; the tarefa gaúcha, .1; and the tarefa cearense, .361.

têrmo, a small judicial unit, being a subdivision of the comarca.

terra-roxa, a dark-red soil found in São Paulo and neighboring states and noted for its fertility.

terras devolutas, unpatented or public lands.

terreiro, the temple or church of one of the Afro-Brazilian fetish cults.

tonelada, ton; an old weight equivalent to 793.24 kilograms. Since the introduction of the metric system the tonelada métrica of 1,000 kilograms is also used.

toque do sino, sound of the church bells.

trabalho é para cachorro e negro, manual labor is for the dog and the Negro.

Triângulo, the panhandle of Minas Gerais.

tropeiro, a person who conducts a train of pack mules.

Turcos, designation applied to Syrians, Turks, and other immigrants from Asia Minor.

unidade escolar, a designation for the school used for statistical purposes.

urucará, a variety of palm.

usina, the modern sugar refinery and plantation.

vadio, a person without occupation who does no work; a vagabond or vagrant.
vae-quebrar, go to break.

vaqueiro, cowboy.

vara, an old measure equivalent to 1.10 meters.

várzea, the present flood plain of a river.

Velho Lourenço, an old Negro from the African coast whose spirit is said to take possession of worshipers in the macumbas of Rio de Janeiro.

venta, a small store or trading post.

verminose, affected with worms, as, for example, suffering from hookworms.

vigário (vigaro), title given to the Catholic priest in some parishes; vicar.

vila, the seat of a distrito de paz.

viola, a musical instrument similar to the violin in shape and to the guitar in tone.

violeiro, one who plays the viola.

Xangô, Afro-Brazilian god of lightning and thunder. In Recife his name has been given to the Afro-Brazilian fetish cult.

Xapanan, Afro-Brazilian god of smallpox.

Yansan, one of the orishas honored in Afro-Brazilian fetish cults of gêge-nagô origin.

yara, an Amazonian designation for the water goddess or mãe d'agua.

Yauô, name for the girl who has been initiated into a candomblé in Bahia. She is considered to be the youngest wife of the saint.

Yemanjá, a Yoruba water divinity, or mãe d'agua, who occupies a prominent place among the orishas of the candomblés in Bahia.

Zâmbi, one of the names for the great Angolian deity.

Zambi-ampungu, Congan deity whose name is still heard in the macumbas of Rio de Janeiro.

zona rural, rural territory.

Zumbi, the Brazilian equivalent of the Haitian Zombie; malevolent spirit that roams about at night.

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