O Clarim d’Alvorada and the Gendered Negotiation of Black Citizenship in Brazil (1924-1927)

by

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ABSTRACT

O CLARIM D’ALVORADA AND THE GENDERED NEGOTIATION OF BLACK CITIZENSHIP IN BRAZIL (1924-1927)

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O Clarim d’Alvorada, Brazil’s first independent black newspaper, became a vehicle of inclusion for middle-class black men excluded from social advancement on the basis of race. Between 1924 and 1927, O Clarim d’Alvorada writers appealed to constructions of gender, women’s writings, and symbols of Mãe Preta to foster the cultural inclusion of middle-class black men. Writers explicated a definition of proper femininity predicated on Brazilian bourgeois values of domesticity. However, this was not an example of assimilation. Instead, writers engaged in respectability politics whereby writers distanced themselves from the perceived “degenerative traits” of the Afro-descended masses by illustrating their adherence to bourgeois social values. By the late 1920s, writers proposed a theory of cross-racial solidarity by appealing to notions of black sacrifice via the symbol of Mãe Preta. This thesis examines O Clarim d’Alvorada’s deployment of women and gender as a strategy of cultural inclusion.
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Introduction

For centuries, slavery in Brazil forced African slaves to struggle against a socio-economic system that reduced them to mere chattel.\(^1\) Following abolition, the struggle would continue for those of Afro-descent in Brazil, albeit in a different form.\(^2\) For a cohort of literate and affluent black men, their struggle manifested as a struggle to establish identity.\(^3\) This cohort of literate and affluent black men was uniquely positioned in Brazil. Unlike the majority of the black population, their literacy and relative affluence exceeded the basic requirements for full and equal formal citizenship.\(^4\) However, the persistence of ideologies, institutions, and social relationships that were shaped by Brazilians during slavery, constrained black mobility. In the eyes of white Brazilians, particularly officials of the republic and the newly-emerging Brazilian bourgeois, their skin colour served as a marker of cultural primitiveness and a threat to the

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\(^1\) From 1500-1889, Brazil was home to the most extensive system of slavery in the Americas. Historians estimate that between 1501 and 1866, Brazil imported approximately four to six million slaves from Africa. For a comprehensive study on the institution of slavery in Brazil see Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

\(^2\) The abolition of slavery was a gradual endeavour, and when formally abolished, most people of colour were already free (by birth). In 1850, the Brazilian monarchy outlawed the importation of slaves and in 1871 implemented the Law of the Free Womb which declared all slaves born after slavery to be free when they came of age. In 1885, the Sexagenarian Law freed all slaves over the age of sixty. In 1888, the Brazilian monarchy under the authority of the Princess Regent Isabel formally abolished slavery, becoming the last nation in the Americas to abolish the institution of slavery. A government transition quickly followed the abolition of slavery. In 1889, a military-led coup d’état dissolved the monarchy and instated an oligarchy of agrarian landowners as leaders of a new republican order known as the First Brazilian Republic (1889-1930). For more on abolition see Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970) and Robert E. Conrad, *Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).


\(^4\) Alberto: 23. In 1889, the First Brazilian Republic declared all literate adult men as full and equal citizens of the nation. However, as with many white Brazilians, literacy requirements served as a significant impediment for the majority of Afro-descended Brazilians at the turn of the twentieth century.
cultural sanctity of a newly-emerging Brazilian national identity which fostered black cultural and social exclusion. Despite variances in socio-economic levels and cultural practices, Brazilians painted all those of Afro-descent with the same brush, deeming all Afro-descended inhabitants as culturally and morally annihilated.

José Correia Leite and Jayme da Aguiar embodied this struggle for identity in the founding of the city of São Paulo’s first independent black periodical *O Clarim d’Alvorada*. Translated to “The Clarion (or Bugle) of Dawn,” *O Clarim d’Alvorada* fittingly became a vessel of *paulistano* identity formation that sought to foster the cultural inclusion for a small segment of Brazil’s black population: literate, middle-class, black men. As aptly traced by Paulina Alberto, São Paulo’s black press, especially *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, sought to shape Brazilian perceptions of Afro-descended Brazilians via establishing a Euro-centric identity that mimicked the ideals proposed by the Brazilian bourgeois and officials of the republic. Despite the breadth of Alberto’s scholarship, there exists a lacuna in the history of São Paulo’s black press. As is a common critique with African Diasporic history, the study of Brazil’s black press, including *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, has yet to be studied through the lens of gender. It is the purpose of this

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5 Brazilian bourgeois refers to a broader segment of Brazilian society who were mostly white, affluent, and occupied positions of power as business owners, politicians, or prestigious occupations such as jurists, physicians, and intellectuals. Officials of the republic fit into this broad category.

6 I borrow the term “morally annihilated” to describe Brazilian perceptions of black Brazilians from Paulina Alberto in her monograph *Terms of Inclusion*: 24.

7 In Brazil, *Paulistano/a* is used to refer to inhabitants of the city of São Paulo, while the term *Paulisto/a* more broadly refers to inhabitants of the state of São Paulo. This thesis mostly studies black, urban, *Paulistanos*.

8 Paulina Alberto notes that this cohort of affluent men wanted to appear culturally similar by appealing to behaviours and fashions that mimicked the Brazilian bourgeois class such as advocacy for social hygiene programs.

thesis to examine how the middle-class *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors appealed to constructions of gender, femininity, and womanhood in their efforts to construct a black cultural identity.

This thesis intends to further academic discussions of black identity formation in Brazil via an examination of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* through the lens of gender. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* was one of several black periodicals published in São Paulo at the turn of the twentieth century. Started by friends Jayme da Aguiar and José Correia Leite, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* was the most active and longest-running black press in the period immediately following abolition (1889-1930). Despite enduring several interruptions between 1924 and 1932, founders Aguiar and Leite published a remarkable thirty-five issues.\(^\text{10}\) The frequency of publications offers an opportunity to track changes in ideas, ideologies, and attitudes over time. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* was host to several prominent black intellectuals such as José Correia Leite, Jayme da Aguiar, Arlindo Viega dos Santos, Isaltino Viega dos Santos, Gervásio de Moraes, Lino Guedes, Deocleciano Nascimento. Thus, the periodical provides a plethora of diverse voices and perspectives that provide this study with the ability to draw broader conclusions regarding a class of black men.

Between 1924 and 1927, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors appealed to gender, and more specifically black women, as a vehicle of cultural inclusion for a class of middle-class and literate *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers. Writers deployed constructions of gender, femininity, and womanhood to establish a black cultural identity palatable for Brazilian bourgeois and

\(^{10}\) The number of issues was remarkable for its time. Comparatively, other periodicals such as *A Rua* [The Street] and *O Baluarte* [The Bulwark] published less than a dozen issues together during the early twentieth century.
republican consumption. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers sought to demonstrate their *fitness* for cultural belonging by constructing and performing an identity that sought to eliminate differences between *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s black writers and the Brazilian bourgeois. Writers attempted to achieve this by deploying definitions of feminine respectability that were rooted in bourgeois values of domesticity, motherhood, and the maintenance of the institution of the family. The process of demonstrating *fitness* for cultural belonging is an act of identity construction. Borrowing the tactful definition provided by Elisa Larkin Nascimento:

Identity can be seen as a kind of existential crossroads between a person and society, a space in which both are mutually constituted. Identity formation is a process by which individuals articulate the set of references that guide their ways of acting and mediating their relationships with others, the world, and themselves. Identity is not only shaped by an individual’s life experience but also by the representations of his or her community and by society’s collective experience, both of which are absorbed in a person’s interaction with others. Collective identity can be understood either as a set of references that guide the intersections of a society’s members or as the set of references that differentiate a particular group from “others.”

Nascimento’s definition of identity encapsulates the core purpose of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*. Contributors sought to establish identity by asserting their identity and by attempting to persuade others to understand them through the same lens. The negotiation of identity is not just a declaration of how an individual or collective imagines oneself. It is also how outsiders perceive them. Identity formation is not only a process of establishing the tenets of one’s identity but is also guided by differentiating oneself or a collective from "others" or is established by constructing what you are not. O Clarim d’Alvorada writers not only appealed to bourgeois

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gender values but simultaneously articulated an identity that distanced themselves from the black masses. Via moralism and women’s writings, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers distanced themselves from the so-called primitive Africanisms commonly associated with Brazil’s Afro-descended inhabitants.

A second critical assumption that serves the basis of this analysis is the notion that writing is an act of identity formation. Roz Ivanič argues that the act of writing provides writers with an opportunity to reproduce discourses, values, and beliefs that they embody. In other words, the act of writing is significant because it provides individuals with an opportunity to orient how they see themselves and how others see them. Writing serves to establish individual identities and collective identities as well. In his work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Benedict Anderson examines the relationship between nationalism and print culture, proposing a theory of “imagined communities.” Anderson argues that the “vernacularizing thrust of capitalism,” or the mass reproduction of print culture, coupled with the growth of literacy among the popular masses, was critical to the formation of national identity or what he terms as *imagined communities*. According to Anderson, print culture united populations, giving people “a deep horizontal comradeship” which was not just conducive but necessary to the formation of collective identities and nationalisms. Although Anderson

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13 The term “black Brazilian masses” refers to the majority of Afro-descended Brazilians residing in São Paulo who were mostly illiterate due to barriers to education and were a part of the working poor due to race-based barriers to stable and non-precarious employment. For more on the status of the majority of black Brazilians in São Paulo see also George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).
16 Anderson: 7.
explored this idea in a broader Spanish American context, its application to the influence of print culture (especially newspapers) and collective identity formation in Brazil holds. Brazilian press scholar Isabel Lustosa reinforces the legitimacy of Anderson’s claims in a Brazilian context. Lustosa asserts that “it was the Brazilian press that was born, committed to the revolutionary process, when, from one day to the next, we ceased to consider ourselves Portuguese, to assume ourselves as Brazilians.”

Together, Ivanič, Anderson, and Lustosa affirm that as an entity, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* was a vehicle of identity formation.

However, the process of constructing an identity via writing does not necessarily reflect reality. Instead, in borrowing Judith Butler’s application of the theory of performativity to gender identity, identity construction via *O Clarim d’Alvorada* and the act of writing itself ought to be considered a performance. As Butler argues:

> If identity is asserted through a process of signification, if identity is always already signified, and yet continues to signify as it circulates within various interlocking discourses, then the question of agency is not to be answered through recourse to an “I” that pre-exists signification. In other words, the enabling conditions for an assertion of “I” are provided by the structure of signification, the rules that regulate the legitimate and illegitimate invocation of that pronoun.

Identity formation (whether articulating a gender identity or not) is an act or a performance. Identity is performed through acts that align with dominant societal norms in front of an "audience." Thus, the identities constructed in the writings of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* are treated in this thesis as a performance and may or may not reflect the actual desires of writers.

The application of performativity to the act of writing requires an understanding of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s audience. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* was explicitly directed towards a black audience. Many editorials and essays related to issues unique to Afro-descended Brazilians. Several editorials were written directly at an Afro-descended audience, calling specifically for the attention and actions of Afro-descended Brazilians. For example, a piece titled “*Os Negros*” [The Blacks] called for Afro-descended Brazilians to be gracious to their enslaved ancestors because the sacrifices made by slaves to their “not always kindly” masters fostered the independence of all Afro-descended Brazilians. However, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* could only target a small segment of the black population – literate men. By the early twentieth century, literacy rates among the Brazilian-born population were approximately 12.5%. However, due to barriers to education, the literacy rates for black Brazilians was presumably less than 12.5%. According to Jerry Dávila’s analysis of public education and social policy in twentieth-century Brazil, barriers to education meant that education was limited to the white, Brazilian bourgeois.

The majority of black Brazilians faced an additional barrier to *O Clarim d’Alvorada* – cost. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* subscription fees and price-per-issue remained relatively stable between 1924 and 1927. In 1924, an individual copy cost 200 reis and an annual subscription cost 1000 reis. By 1927, an individual copy remained 200 reis but yearly subscriptions increased to 5000 reis. Identifying an average historical wage is challenging. However, in relying on anecdotal

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22 *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, January 6, 1924: 1; “*Expediente*,” *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, June 18, 1927: 2. Increased annual subscription costs is likely due to the increased frequency of publications.
evidence, it is clear that most black Brazilians lacked disposable income. According to George Reid Andrews, the majority of black Brazilians were working-poor and stuck in precarious and often unstable employment.\textsuperscript{23} Andrews identifies that adult wages in Brazil at the turn of the twentieth century were “so low that, to survive, families had no recourse but to send their children to work – which of course drove wages even lower.”\textsuperscript{24} It is unlikely that the average working-poor black Brazilian would have the means to afford an issue, let alone the means to invest in a subscription. Thus, \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} was not performed towards the black masses but was performed towards a small class of middle-class black men.

Scholars of the black press, and specifically \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} have been wary in assessing the gender of its readership. However, it appears that black women were likely an intended targeted audience. Several articles took a prescriptive tone towards women, directly asking \textit{patricias} [feminine for compatriots] to perform actions. For example, editors of \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} included an essay written by Evangelina Xavier de Carvalho, who asked her “gentle friends, sisters with sentiment” to continue to “use this paper and its instruction.”\textsuperscript{25} As briefly alluded to by Susan Besse, women faced greater restrictions to access to education in the nineteenth, and even early twentieth centuries.\textsuperscript{26} Thus, the proportion of black women reading

\textsuperscript{24} Andrews, “Black and White Workers: São Paulo, Brazil 1888-1928”: 519.
these periodicals is likely even smaller than the demographic of black men (which was presumably less than 12.5% of the black population).  

*O Clarim d’Alvorada* did not set out to replace mainstream dailies as their content mostly pertained to Afro-descended issues and paid little attention to regional and national politics. However, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* was likely written with a broader, white audience in mind. Unlike its predecessors, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* could not rely on membership fees from social clubs to financially sustain itself. Instead, they required circulation. With so few affluent black Brazilians, it is possible that *O Clarim d’Alvorada* editors were forced to rely on affluent white patrons. According to Alberto, throughout the 1920s, editors of black presses, including *O Clarim d’Alvorada* often sent their issues to editors of mainstream newspapers. Thus, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* was performing its newly-constructed identity not only towards a small cohort of men of a similar socio-economic status but also towards a broader white audience. This point is significant because it suggests that contributors to *O Clarim d’Alvorada* were not only performing an identity to advocate for their small cohort to attain, but it also suggests that contributors sought to showcase themselves to a white audience.

This thesis uses *O Clarim d’Alvorada* as an analytical lens for understanding the role of women and gender in the process of black middle-class cultural identity formation. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* was accessed through the Universidade de São Paulo’s *Imprensa Negra Paulista*

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27 Dávila: 6. However, these messages were likely relayed by male readers to their wives and daughters.  
28 Earlier black presses emerged out of social clubs. Oftentimes, they took the form of newsletters that were intended to circulate club information and gossip. These newsletters had a fairly stable level of financial support as they were supported by club membership fees that remained fairly consistent. For more see Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*: 23-40.  
29 Alberto: 37.
digital collection. Although *O Clarim d’Alvorada* circulated between 1924 and 1932, the consulted digital collection only included issues published from its inception in January of 1924 to July 1927. As a result, this analysis consulted twenty issues of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* published between 1924 and 1927. To complement and facilitate discussions of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, this thesis also consulted the following *Paulista* periodicals via the Universidade de São Paulo’s *Imprensa Negra Paulista* digital collection: *O Bandeirante* (1910), *O Menelik* (1915), *A Rua* (1916), *O Alfinete* (1918-1921), *O Bandeirante* (1918-1919), *A Liberdade* (1919-1920), *Elite* (1924), *Auriverde* (1928), *Progresso* (1928-1930), and *O Estimulo* (1935). This author translated all periodical sources from Brazilian Portuguese to English. Further supplementing this analysis is the inclusion of critical academic and literary texts published by Brazilian intellectuals during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Chapter One argues that *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers appealed to their affluence and the periodical to insert themselves into the cultural reproduction of bourgeois Brazil. Writers engaged in cultural reproduction by absorbing and disseminating ideas that were promoted by the white Brazilian bourgeois. Writers appealed to ideas of domesticity, motherhood, and nation, which were all ideas that preoccupied the white Brazilian bourgeois. This was a strategic and deliberate effort deployed by *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors to assert their own morality to challenge the racist ideologies that characterized all black Brazilians as culturally and morally inferior. However, writers only intended to elevate the social performance of a minority of black Brazilians – middle-class black Brazilians. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors attempted to achieve an elevated social status by differentiating themselves from the majority of black Brazilians who were often impoverished and illiterate. Or in other words, writers and
editors engaged in respectability politics. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors attempted to re-define racial hierarchies by establishing class-based differences that affirmed writers’ allegiance to the white middle-class versus the black masses. In essence, writers and editors articulated a middle-class black identity that attempted to separate themselves from the Brazilian masses by eliciting a class-based identity.

Chapter Two serves to fill a lacuna in the historiography by examining the role of women as *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers. As writers, editors restricted women to literary writings. However, their writings were not necessarily insignificant nor unimportant. Instead, women’s writings engaged in respectability politics, reflecting that black women were agents as well as targets in the negotiation of black middle-class inclusion. The content and genres of women’s writings reflect that *O Clarim d’Alvorada* editors sought to demonstrate that some black women embodied bourgeois femininity. For black men, asserting that at least some black women embodied values of bourgeois femininity was critical to their cultural inclusion because their worth depended on “their” woman’s (i.e. wife, daughter, and sister) cultural worth. However, it also provided some black women with a level of agency in negotiating their own cultural identity. In a similar vein to the previous chapter, women’s writings elicit a fracture in black solidarity through attempts to forge a class-based alliance. In essence, women writers further revamped discourse on black identity by establishing a palatable black middle-class identity for the consumption by the white Brazilian bourgeois.
Chapter Three identifies a shift in rhetoric in *O Clarim d’Alvorada* via exploration in writers’ deployment of *Mãe Preta* as a symbol of black sacrifice and cross-racial solidarity. Chapter Three identifies that in deploying *Mãe Preta* as a symbol, black writers reflect less of a willingness to “prove” themselves as culturally fit via an explication of a definition of respectability rooted in bourgeois values as explored in previous chapters. Instead, *Mãe Preta* served to establish an alternative public consciousness that directly quashed the Brazilian perception (and anxiety) that Brazil’s African cultural heritage was detrimental to its development as a nation, albeit in a manner palatable for Brazilian bourgeois consumption. The implementation of *Mãe Preta* as a symbol further reinforces the use of women as vehicles of cultural inclusion.

Black middle-class *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors appealed to constructions of gender, women’s writings, and the symbol of *Mãe Preta* in an attempt to curate a cultural identity that aligned with the values promoted by the Brazilian bourgeois and state officials. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers curated their identity by both reflecting a sense of similarity and solidarity with the Brazilian bourgeois as well as by distancing themselves from the so-called degenerative cultural aspects of the Afro-descended community. Writers and editors engaged with notions of nation, class, and their desire for cultural inclusion. Although writers’ use of

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30 The symbol of *Mãe Preta* recalled the black woman’s intimate role as the wet-nurse and childrearer for the plantation household during slavery. As enslaved and free women, black women were primarily responsible for childrearing and nursing the children within the plantation household. Slave women were expected to fulfil a domestic and maternal role within the colonial household. Afro-descended women worked as *mucamas* (domestic servants), *mães pretas* (black mothers or mammies), and *amas de leite* (wet-nurses). According to Kia Lilly Caldwell, *Mães Pretas* often fulfilled all roles as mentioned above (i.e. domestic service, wet-nursing, childrearing). For more see Kia Lilly Caldwell *Negras in Brasil*. 
rhetorical devices evolved, between 1924 and 1927, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers continued to see value in the overall maintenance of the Brazilian establishment but sought a better place in it. In applying a performative lens to their writing, this thesis examines the practices and beliefs of a small segment of the Afro-descended population in Brazil – literate, middle-class, black men.

**Note on Terminology:**

Current scholarship has yet to firmly establish a consistent racial terminology to describe histories of race in Brazil. This brief section sets out to establish and define its racial terminologies and will justify the use of specific terms in this thesis. This section will also briefly describe the other terminologies used within the literature and primary sources that will emerge through the use of direct quotations. In part, the lack of consistency in racial terminology is a result of the imposition of U.S. terminology and racial categorizations to the study of Brazil. North American literature often utilizes the term "Afro-Brazilian" to describe Afro-descended people within Brazil. The term Afro-Brazilian is an adaptation of American racial terminology African-American. Referring to the subjects under study (*O Clarim d’Alvorada* contributors) as Afro-Brazilian misconstrues *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers’ associations with African heritage. During the period under study (1924-1927), black press writers and editors did not explicitly self-identify by their African heritage. In actuality, they perceived it as the antithesis of their

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31 The application of U.S. terms to a Brazilian context risks misconstruing Brazilian race relations by encouraging an exploration of race relations through an American lens.
cultural desires to negotiate inclusion. Black activists did not implement their African heritage as part of their racial identity until the 1970s and 1980s.

Another challenge to the creation of a consistent racial terminology is the inconsistency and evolution of racial terminology utilized within official Brazilian discourse. Official Brazilian discourse produced by government officials and intellectuals used a multitude of terms to describe racial categories. In part, the variety of terms is a product of Brazil’s fluid racial classification system. As articulated by early twentieth-century Brazilian racial eugenicist Oliveira Vianna, unlike the United States where ethnic origin or biological ancestry determined one’s race, in Brazil, race was understood on a spectrum whereby there were “pure whites and phenotypes of whites.” In addition to skin colour, physical features such as hair, nose, and lips influenced one’s so-called phenotype. Terms were employed to describe people who visibly appeared to fit the category. Unlike the U.S.’s biracial classification system, Brazilian race relations allowed for a “middle” race that consisted of multiracial people. As demonstrated by the multiplicity of racial classification terms in the 1872 census, race was understood as a spectrum rather than a rigid category. The 1872 census identified four racial categories: brancos (white), pardos (multiracial), pretos (black), and cabolcos (mixed indigenous-European). While

34 José de Oliveira Vianna, Raça e Assimilação (Rio de Janeiro: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1932): 25
36 Butler: 133.
the terms *brancos* and *pretos* were most common, late nineteenth and early twentieth century intellectuals and social scientists often employed different (and usually pejorative) terminology. For example, Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, a late nineteenth-century professor of forensic medicine at the Faculty of Medicine of Bahia, expanded upon the *pardo/a* (multiracial) category used in the 1872 census. He described multiracial people as *mestiços* and further complicated the term by establishing four types of *mestiços* which included mulatto/a (which is further subdivided), *mameluco/a, curiboco/a*, and *pardola* which most intellectuals referred to as *morenola.*\(^{37}\) Despite the in-depth definitions and complex layering of racial categorization, racial categories were fluid, and the use of specific terms was even inconsistent among state officials. For example, in studying court records, Sueann Caulfield found that jurists applied three racial terms to women offenders: *preto, branco, or pardo.* However, these categories were not definitive as birth records often provided different racial labels than that used by forensic experts.\(^{38}\)

This thesis will utilize the term *black* to refer to Afro-descended people and culture. In employing the term *black,* this paper utilizes the terminology commonly used by Afro-descended people of Brazil to describe themselves. *Black* is the direct translation of the dominant term *preto/a* and the term *negro/a* which Portuguese language sources often use. By the 1920s, the term *negro/a* became more visible in black literature. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,


the term *negro/a* was a derogatory term utilized by colonial slaveholders towards slaves.\(^{39}\) In the nineteenth century, state officials used the term *preto/a* as it was believed to be a politer term relative to *negro/a* which was meant to describe the colour black just as *branco/a* describes the colour white. However, according to Alberto, during the twentieth century, the term *negro/a* was reclaimed by black community leaders to signify racial unity to foster racial equality.\(^{40}\) *O Clarim d’Alvorada* utilized the term *negro/a* to describe people of colour nearly exclusively. For black writers, the term *negro/a* described all people of colour, including those identified by state and intellectual discourse as multiracial. For example, the newspaper *O Clarim* defined the term *negro* as “all people of colour, black, mulatto, brown etc., descendant of an African or indigenous person.”\(^{41}\) Where necessary, this paper will refer to mixed-race people as multiracial or biracial while the Portuguese literature frequently refers to multiracialism as *mulatto/a*. However, this paper recognizes that the people discussed in this paper may not have self-identified with the terms utilized. Nor does this paper intend to implement American race terminology and place it into a Brazilian context.

Lastly, to avoid awkward descriptions, this paper uses the term *Brazilian elite* or *bourgeois Brazilian* to describe the minority of white men who were a part of a newly-emerging middle-class. These men were affluent and held positions of power as politicians, jurists, business owners, and intellectuals. Importantly, this cohort supported the agrarian oligarchs behind the First Brazilian Republic (1889-1930). This thesis also uses the term *urban reformers*

\(^{39}\) Alberto: 22.  
\(^{40}\) Alberto: 22  
to refer to public officials such as physicians, intellectuals, and jurists who worked with the First Republic in the pursuit of a modernization project.
Historiography

Over the past four decades, studies of the Brazilian black press have occupied a significant part of the historiographical literature on post-abolition Brazil. Throughout twentieth-century Brazil, the topic of race occupied all Brazilians. In the first half of the twentieth century, Brazil promoted itself through policy, political rhetoric, and academic discussion as a racial democracy wherein Brazilians of all races lived harmoniously without racial inequality.\(^{42}\) However, by the 1970s, a mass of revisionist scholarship offered an official rejection of the theory of racial democracy, igniting an interest in incorporating the historically marginalized voices and perspectives of black Brazilians into the historiographical literature. Since the 1970s, scholars have aptly situated the black press as a manifestation of black intellectual discourse and have illustrated its role in articulating black cultural production, black political mobilization, and black identity formation. Although initial interpretations of Brazil’s black press centred on rejecting the myth of racial democracy, interpretations have shifted in recent years towards using the black press to explore the cultural and political histories of black Brazilians. This study intends to explore black experience and illustrate their agency in informing race relations. Due to the nature of the black press as both a response to socio-economic and political realities, this section will also host a broader examination of race and race relations scholarship during the First Brazilian Republic (1889-1930) and suggest their relevance to this analysis. Despite

\(^{42}\) Racial democracy was an ideology first articulated by Gilberto Freyre in the *Masters and the Slaves* but was soon adopted and implemented into national rhetoric under the proto-fascist Getúlio Vargas regime of the 1930s. For more on the relationship between racial democracy and Brazilian nationalism and policy see Frances Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997).
scholarly interest in Brazil’s black press, scholarship has significantly marginalized gender as a category of analysis. This gap in the literature is a broader reflection of a lack of intersectional approaches to the study of race and gender within a historical Brazilian and Latin American context. Nevertheless, comprehensive historiography on women in a Latin American context guides this thesis. Thus, this section will highlight the significant trends and themes within the literature of Brazil’s black press and will also bridge the fragmented collection of scholarship produced on race and gender to situate this current thesis. This historiography will explore the breadth of research on the intersections of gender, race, black press, and to some extent, class in early twentieth century Brazil.

As briefly alluded to in this section’s introduction, a fundamental framework underlying much of the scholarship on Brazil’s black press, and more broadly, twentieth-century Brazilian race relations is the theory of racial democracy. Brazilian sociologist and social historian Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) advanced the theory of racial democracy in his famous 1933 publication Casa-Grande & Senzala [The Masters and the Slaves]. Writing on the history of family life on the colonial sugar plantations of Brazil’s Northeast, Freyre argued that the colonial plantation household was a site of harmonious personal and sexual interaction between masters and their African slaves. Freyre claimed that the supposed harmonious relations within the colonial plantation household had produced a uniquely Brazilian identity or brasilidade based on racial and cultural fusion. Freyre argues that Brazil’s colonial history of racial and cultural integration produced a uniquely Brazilian identity or brasilidade based on racial and cultural fusion.

44 Freyre: 78-79. Brasilidade or as translated, Brazilianness, was a sentiment that combined patriotism, nationalism, as well as racial and cultural integration as a unifying national identity that simultaneously distinguished Brazilians...
mixture allowed Brazil to become a racial democracy, or in other words, a society without 
racism.\textsuperscript{45} Racial democracy was an attractive theory for Brazil’s urban professionals and 
intellectuals because it refuted the social Darwinian notion that Brazil’s racial and cultural 
mixture impeded national progress.\textsuperscript{46}

Freyre’s provocative publication on the theory of racial democracy ignited national and 
international scholarly interest on Brazilian race relations, resulting in a host of literature on the 
theory of racial democracy. Throughout the twentieth century, scholars attempted to prove and 
later, disprove, the existence of racial democracy within Brazil. American sociologist Edward E. 
Telles identifies three scholarly currents on the theory of racial democracy in a Brazilian 
historical context:

(1) There is little or no racial discrimination but rather great fluidity among races;

(2) Racial discrimination is widespread but transitory; and

(3) Racial discrimination is persistent and structural.\textsuperscript{47}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{45} Freyre: xxxvi.
  \item \textsuperscript{46} Skidmore (\textit{Black into White} [1974]: 192) notes that: ‘The practical effect of [Freyre’s] analysis was not, however, to promote...a racial egalitarianism. Instead, it served to reinforce the whitening ideal by showing graphically that the (primarily white) elite had gained valuable cultural traits from their intimate contact with the African.” For more on the relationship between miscegenation and the “whitening” thesis see Thomas Skidmore \textit{Black Into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought} (Durham, Duke University Press, 1974).
  \item \textsuperscript{47} Edward E. Telles, \textit{Race in another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil} (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004): 6. Telles’ trends are presented mostly in chronological order with some exceptions and overlaps. The first trend was present from 1933 to the mid-1950s. While both the second and third trends gained prominence from the mid-1950s to the present day, with the third trend dominating contemporary scholarship. Telles’ work is notable for its blend of sociological and demographic analysis that presents a comparative account of
\end{itemize}
However, Telles’ interpretation of historiographical trends can be further divided into two camps: defenders of the existence of racial democracy and deniers of the existence of racial democracy within a Brazilian historical context. To establish a rough timeline, scholars defended the existence of Brazilian racial democracy from 1933 to the mid-1950s, contributing to Brazil’s national and international reputation as a paradise without racism. By the 1960s, scholarship began to disprove the existence of racial democracy.

Between 1933 and 1952, Freyre’s provocative racial democracy theory attracted the attention of American scholars and civil rights leaders, contributing to a proliferation of comparative approaches that studied Brazilian race relations. Early comparative approaches by American scholars consistently reduced Brazilian race relations to the familiar concepts of American race relations and overwhelmingly relied on Brazil’s elite population as a source for formulating racial discourse. As a result, early twentieth-century scholarship overwhelmingly misconstrued the persistence of racism within Brazil. For example, writing in 1942, Donald Pierson of the Chicago School of Sociology conducted a comparative analysis of Brazilian and American race relations. Pierson argued that Brazilian race relations were more harmonious in comparison to the United States which Pierson claimed was evident through the prevalence of interracial marriage and a lack of formal segregation. Although Pierson’s contemporaries commended his study, Pierson’s interpretation was problematic because it only studied attributes that characterized American race relations such as lack of miscegenation and formal segregation.

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race relations in Brazil and the United States that illustrates the complexity of Brazil’s race relations by recognizing the presence of both miscegenation and exclusion.

Pierson’s analysis does not consider the more "hidden" forms of racism and racial discrimination in Brazil such as inequitable access to housing, education, and employment. American civil rights leader W.E.B. Dubois echoed Pierson by similarly employing a problematic comparative approach. After noticing a lack of formal barriers during a visit to Brazil, Dubois claimed that people of colour within Brazil were allotted more social and economic opportunities than people of colour within the United States, perpetuating the myth of racial democracy.\textsuperscript{49}

Early twentieth-century comparative approaches to the study of Brazilian race relations were a critical contributing factor to academic support of the racial democracy thesis. However, the validity of the racial democracy thesis faced severe academic scrutiny in the mid-1950s, ushering in a new phase of twentieth-century Brazilian historiographical literature. In 1952, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published a report that unequivocally denied the validity of racial democracy within Brazil. Florestan Fernandes, a Brazilian sociologist at the University of São Paulo, led the UNESCO funded research alongside an arsenal of scholars such as the aforementioned Donald Pierson. The report found that racism was rampant in Brazil following abolition and was present in the 1950s.\textsuperscript{50} Ironically, UNESCO funded research on Brazilian race relations to understand how Brazil avoided racism in order to find solutions to eliminate racism and prevent another Holocaust in Europe.\textsuperscript{51}

UNESCO’s pivotal report ushered in a new phase of a revisionist race relations scholarship that sought to undermine the validity of racial democracy and refine the flawed

\textsuperscript{49} W.E.B. DuBois, “Brazil,” \textit{Crisis} no. 7 (April 1914), 286-287.
\textsuperscript{51} Hanchard: 32-33.
comparative approaches of past scholarship. Both Brazilian and American scholars invalidated the racial democracy theory by establishing macro-histories that deconstructed the structural and ideological dimensions of racial oppression and social domination within Brazil.\footnote{Notable revisionist works include: Florestan Fernandes, \textit{The Negro in Brazilian Society} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Florestan Fernandes and Roger Bastide, \textit{Brancos e negros em São Paulo} (São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1959); Thomas Skidmore, \textit{Black Into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought} (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005) Carl Degler, \textit{Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States} (New York: MacMillan, 1977).} American historian Carl Degler avoided the pitfalls of comparative approaches in his Pulitzer Prize-winning monograph \textit{Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States}. Degler’s comparative approach explored Brazil in its own terms, rejecting Freyre’s racial democracy thesis and instead proposing a uniquely Brazilian theory of colourism that he termed the "mulatto escape hatch."\footnote{Degler: 226-232.} As Degler notes, in the U.S., an individual with even one ancestor of African ancestry is considered black (i.e. one drop rule). In contrast, Degler identified an intermediate zone of racial classification in Brazil, explaining that "[i]n Brazil the mulatto is not a Negro, whereas in the United States he is."\footnote{Degler: xviii.} According to Degler, racial classification in Brazil was based on skin colour versus ancestry, concluding that lighter skin colour was an “escape hatch” for biracial Brazilians which provided them with greater societal opportunity in contrast to Brazilians with darker skin colour.\footnote{Degler: xviii.} Although Degler provided a more nuanced explanation of Brazilian race relations, his research implicitly misconstrued bi-racialism as an advantageous trait. In 1998, Peggy A. Lovell and Charles H. Wood published a health and demographic study that found that despite some advantages allotted to biracial Brazilians, biracial Brazilians were subject to high mortality, illiteracy, and unemployment rates relative to
white Brazilians. In 1973, Thomas Skidmore proposed an influential theory of whitening that further denied the validity of Freyre’s racial democracy thesis in his landmark monograph *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*. Proponents of the racial democracy thesis pointed to the First Brazilian Republic’s (1889-1930) encouragement of miscegenation as a justification of racial harmony within Brazil.\(^{57}\) Skidmore nuanced these claims and illustrated that the agrarian-led republican regime encouraged miscegenation as a method of eliminating the nation’s biological and cultural African heritage.\(^{58}\) By dismantling an essential tenet of the racial democracy thesis, Skidmore’s whitening thesis provided further evidence that Brazilian racial democracy was a myth.

It is in this revisionist context that scholars began to assess the Brazilian black press as a topic of historical discussion. Emerging alongside the macro-approaches mentioned above, a minority of mostly Brazilian scholars employed micro-approaches that explored and uncovered the black response to racial ideology in post-abolition Brazil.\(^{59}\) Early studies of the black experience reinforced the social Darwinian stereotype of black Brazilians as naïve, ignorant and lazy by portraying black Brazilians as complicit with Brazilian racial ideologies.\(^{60}\) In 1969, Florestan Fernandes expanded the research he conducted under UNESCO in his work *The Negro*

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57 Also known as the "whitening solution," the First Brazilian Republic reframed European concepts of scientific racism and white superiority and instituted an ideology that suggested that white genes were dominant and would eventually eliminate the black population through miscegenation. For more see Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White*.
59 This approach diverged from previous historiographical trends which only relied on interpretations of racial discourse produced by a small segment of Brazil’s population – the Brazilian bourgeois and specifically state officials.
in Brazilian Society. Like Degler and Skidmore, Fernandes refutes Freyre’s argument that
distinctions between white and non-white Brazilians were class-based and instead demonstrates
that racial inequality was the root cause of discrimination in Brazil.\textsuperscript{61} However, Fernandes
asserts that the racial democracy theory was so profoundly entrenched in Brazil because, in part,
black Brazilians were relatively complicit with racial discrimination and mostly unaware of the
persistent racial inequality.\textsuperscript{62} Despite his study’s benevolent ambitions, Fernandes implicitly
reinforced the social Darwinian stereotypes of Afro-descended people as naïve, lazy, and
ignorant, while suggesting that Brazilian race relations were enforced unilaterally by the white
elite.

Despite the problematic nature of some of Fernandes’ claims, his scholarship is
significant because his approach to studying Brazilian race relations through the lens of black
Brazilians encouraged a proliferation of scholarship on black literature, and specifically, Brazil’s
black press. Since Fernandes’ publication, Brazilian and American scholars have examined the
formation of black identity via print culture and have aptly situated the black press as both a
literary accomplishment and as a form of black activism. The prevalent methodology for the
study of the black press has included two strains of complementary analyses that assess how
black activists used the press as a method with which to negotiate black inclusion into Brazil.
The first strain, which this author refers to as the "political negotiation" strain, tactfully

\textsuperscript{62} Fernandes, The Negro in Brazilian Society: 76. However, Fernandes has since re-assessed his assertions on early
twentieth century black political mobilization, asserting that black political mobilization was much more articulate
and active than he had previously acknowledged. See Florestan Fernandes “Aspectos políticos do Dilema Racial
established the black press as a forum used to construct racial consciousness, self-identity, and political identity. The second strain, which this author refers to as the "cultural negotiation" scholarship, identifies the black press as a method of political and also cultural negotiation. These studies recognize the importance of identity formation in the process of negotiating black inclusion.

The following two studies embody the first strain identified which this author refers to as the “political negotiation” strain. In 1972, French sociologist Roger Bastide published the first comprehensive study of the Paulista black press titled *O negro na imprensa e na literatura [The Black Press and Literature]*. Bastide traced the Paulista black press from its advent in 1915 to its dissolution in 1937 following censorship by the *Estado Novo*, finding that black Brazilians used the black press as a vehicle to shape and renegotiate the political and social status of black Brazilians. Challenging earlier assertions by colleagues such as Fernandes, Bastide used the black press as a case study in which to demonstrate that black Brazilians were not apolitical. However, his analysis goes too far to assert that the black press reflected a “mentality of a

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65 Roger Bastide was also a colleague of Florestan Fernandes at the University of São Paulo and worked alongside Fernandes as a researcher for the UNESCO report on Brazilian race relations.

66 The *Estado Novo* [New State] was a dictatorial regime imposed by populist President Getúlio Vargas on November 10, 1937. Inspired by fascist governments in Portugal and Italy, the *Estado Novo* maintained its legitimacy by closing down Congress, banning political parties, and imprisoning opponents. As a result of press censorship, coupled with fears of Vargas’ repressive regime, the black press formally dissolved in 1937.
Building off of Bastide’s foundation, in 1992, Michael Mitchell interpreted the *Paulista* black press as a vehicle of identity construction via an analysis *A Voz Da Raça* (1933-1937) and the 1940s periodical *Alvorada* (1945-1948). While both publications are outside of the scope of the current thesis, it suffices to mention that Mitchell asserted that the black press was a forum of political and racial identity formation that served to negotiate black inclusion. Importantly, Mitchell claimed that the black press housed conflicting and contradicting messages, demonstrating not a lack of unity, but a dynamism that reflected the complexity of Brazil’s black community. Both Bastide and Mitchell were some of the first scholars to challenge understandings of Brazilian race relations as purported by scholars such as Florestan Fernandes, and instead re-defined black Brazilians as agents in race relations. While their research fails to explore black women’s inclusion in the black press (as contributors, representations, and symbols), their research is of value for uncovering black responses to racial ideology in post-abolition Brazil and in establishing the black press as a force of black activism.

In recent decades, scholars have expanded scholarly discussions of the black press by studying it as a vehicle of cultural and racial inclusion. Benedict Anderson’s influential study on nation-state formation informs much of the current literature on Brazil’s black press as a vehicle of inclusion. In his work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of*
Nationalism, Anderson examined the relationship between nationalism and print culture, proposing a theory of imagined communities. Since its publication, Benedict Anderson’s theory has been critiqued at length in its application to Spanish America for putting forth a narrative that ignored the exclusionary aspects of nationalism, or in other words, the existence of subaltern nationalism embodied by non-elite discourse and actors.\(^70\) Regardless of its validity, Anderson’s theory had a profound impact on black press scholarship by encouraging scholars to link race, nation, and press. Two strains of scholarship have emerged from this trend – a transnational interpretation and a local interpretation.\(^71\) In their respective studies, historians Micol Seigel and Cristián Castro explicitly borrow and apply Anderson’s imagined communities theory to their transnational studies of black press production in Brazil.\(^72\) Both studies illustrate that the black press was both a reflection of transnational exchange as well as a vessel of establishing a transnational community between African diasporic communities such as Chicago and São Paulo. Together, their studies demonstrate that Brazilian black press production did not emerge from a vacuum. Instead, a plethora of historical actors and events outside their locale influenced production.

\(^{70}\) Anthony W. Marx, “The Nation-State and its Exclusions,” *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 117, no. 1 (Spring 2002) 103-126. Anderson’s “imagined communities” has also been critiqued for its oppositional framework between print and orality which failed to account for the positive relationship between orality and collective identity formation in non-Western cultures. For more on this critique see Peter Wogan, “*Imagined Communities Reconsidered: Is print-capitalism what we think it is?*” *Anthropological Theory* vol. 1 no. 4 (2001): 403-418; Florencia Mallon, “Indian Communities, Political Cultures, and the State in Latin America, 1780- 1990,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* vol. 24 (1992): 35-53. For a concise overview of scholarly interpretations on nationalism see also Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism* (London: Palgrave, 2000);

\(^{71}\) The local interpretation guides this thesis more explicitly.

\(^{72}\) In Uneven Encounters Micol Seigel explores the exchange of popular culture between Brazil and the United States, exploring how the exchange influenced their respective countries, creating a global cultural and intellectual currents. Cristián Castro likewise explores how the *Chicago Defender* and *O Clarim d’Alvorada* were used to create a counter-hegemonic racial discourse that sought to fight against racism.
Guiding this thesis most explicitly, the local interpretation of Anderson’s theory of imagined communities linked print culture to the formation of community and nation-based identities, illustrating that print culture production was a method of cultural and racial inclusion. In their respective studies, Kim Butler and Paulina Alberto explored the relationship between race and nation through the black press. Unlike Siegel and Castro, Butler and Alberto interpreted the black press as a method of attaining cultural inclusion within a diasporic and Brazilian framework. Expanding earlier findings from Bastide and Mitchell, Kim Butler comparatively explored black perceptions of Brazilian race relations via the black presses of São Paulo and Salvador between 1888 and the 1930s. In her black press analysis, Butler identified three categories of black political thought - integrationists, alternative integrationists, and separatists.73 Her work demonstrates the need to study not only the politics of the elite but also how marginalized populations interpret and manipulate the resources allotted to them. Similarly, Alberto’s *Terms of Inclusion* expands the historiography through her examination of Brazil’s twentieth-century black press as a form of black activism and political mobilization. Applying Anderson’s concept of imagined communities, Alberto brings attention to a small population of "black elites" who contributed to the proliferation of journals and newspapers in the cities of São Paulo, Bahia, Campinas and Rio de Janeiro. Her application of Anderson’s theory of "imagined communities" to the study of black print production, allows her to identify a relationship between Brazil’s black press and activism. Alberto recognizes the black press as a method employed by “black elites” as a method of black activism that sought to achieve a sense of “belonging” within a broader Brazilian national collective (or imagined community) that marginalized them on

complex intersections of race and class.\textsuperscript{74} Alberto counters the idea that black Brazilians were assimilative and ignorant of their marginalization and instead found that through the black press, black writers actively attempted to reshape Brazilian race relations by depicting Afro-descended Brazilians as the embodiments of a modern Brazilian nation.\textsuperscript{75} In other words, Alberto demonstrates that the black press was a deliberate attempt at establishing an alternative racial ideology that sought the inclusion of black Brazilians into broader Brazilian society. In other words, the black press was a mechanism for black intellectuals to attain belonging into Brazil’s national narrative – or a method of black activism.

As acknowledged by both Micol Seigel and Paulina Alberto in their respective studies, historians of Brazil have yet to apply gender as a category of analysis to Brazil’s black press.\textsuperscript{76} As a result, the field has yet to analyze how black Brazilians perceived the role of black women in their pursuit of social enhancement. This gap in the literature is reflective of the infancy of gendered approaches in the field of black press historiography. In the 1970s, scholars fiercely criticized Latin American historiography for its lack of historical gender analyses. In their respective studies, Latin American historians Ann Pescatello and Asunción Lavrin, both decried the underdevelopment of Latin American women’s studies and its infancy in the historical discipline relative to the social sciences.\textsuperscript{77} While Latin American studies experienced a surge in gender studies in historical contexts since the 1980s, women were not absent from earlier

\textsuperscript{74} Kim Butler conducts a similar study, albeit on a smaller scale, that examines political activism within São Paulo and Bahia in a chapter four of her monograph \textit{Freedoms Give, Freedoms Won.}
\textsuperscript{75} Alberto: 23-68.
\textsuperscript{76} Seigel: 200-201; Alberto: 39-40
literature. As noted by Elizabeth Kuznesof and Robert Oppenheimer, the family has been a prominent theme in Latin American historiography.\textsuperscript{78} While studies of the family are not necessarily feminist, they serve as a starting point for understanding perceptions of women and gender.

Since the 1980s, a surge of studies has applied gender as a category of an analysis to a Brazilian historical context. Despite the proliferation of gender studies in a Brazilian and Latin American historical context, the Brazilian historiography has been subject to substantial criticism for lack of scholarship on intersections of race and gender.\textsuperscript{79} This gap in the literature is partly a product of the relative infancy of gender (and sexuality) as categories of analysis within Brazilian historical studies, coupled with biases within academia. Kia Lilly Caldwell optimistically notes that a lacuna in intersectional approaches is a product of the relative invisibility of black women within official Brazilian documents.\textsuperscript{80} However, as even acknowledged by Caldwell and several historians, the lack of scholarly attention directed towards black women was reflective of late twentieth-century feminism’s exclusive focus on gender as a form of oppression, and its inability to establish a connection between gender-based discrimination and other forms of domination.\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{79} Caldwell: 5-10.
\textsuperscript{80} Caldwell: 5.
Despite criticisms surrounding the lateness of Latin American gender studies, it is critical to note that this gap is not unique to Brazil nor Latin America. Scholarship on the black press in the United States similarly lacks gender analysis. African Diaspora historian Kim Gallon explores the invisibility of women within studies of the press and black activism in her historiographical analysis of the twentieth-century black press in the United States. Gallon attributes the invisibility of women in the black press scholarship to methodology. Gallon finds that many historians confine their analyses to “formal” understandings of politics that are most concerned with influencing governmental policy. Thus, historians tend to sideline how culture (e.g. normative gender roles) and intellectual discourses (e.g. gendered conceptualizations of spatiality) were used by writers of the black press to influence politics and identity formation. The gap in the literature is also reflective of the general lack of intersectional approaches within the literature more broadly as well. Addressing this gap in the research serves to broaden histories of women and gender in both a Brazilian and American context as well.

Although Brazil’s black press remains relatively unexplored through the lens of gender, this thesis is informed by an expansive historical scholarship on women and gender in Brazil. At the end of the twentieth century, critical race and gender scholarship emerged, problematizing race and gender by viewing both as socially constructed categories used to maintain inequitable power relations that favoured white, male superiority. A key line of scholarship that emerged considered how gender as a category played into the making of the Brazilian nation and the

82 Gallon: 208.
83 Gallon: 207.
84 Gallon: 207-208.
Brazilian national imaginings. Before the emergence of a sophisticated feminist scholarship, Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, the aforementioned innovator of the racial democracy thesis, was one of the first twentieth-century scholars to study the relationship between women, family, and the Brazilian nation in a Brazilian colonial context. In addition to presenting the core tenants of the racial democracy theory, Freyre provided a social history of the Brazilian family. In his analysis, Freyre depicted the family as the "centers of patriarchal and religious cohesion," serving as "points of support for a national organization," comprising of "immense feudal power."85 Freyre’s study illustrates the importance of the familial unit in the maintenance of national and state level structures of power. To justify his theory of racial harmony, Freyre also argued that both white women and enslaved black women were fundamental agents of the colonial household through their domestic and childrearing roles. Although Freyre’s depiction of women’s roles within the family suggests progressive thinking, in fact, his image of the colonial woman, and particularly the roles of the slaves, were highly misconstrued.86 Despite the problematic nature of several of Freyre’s conclusions, his work influenced research trends on the relationship between women and the nation that provided women with greater agency as historical actors.

Expanding the scope of Freyre’s analysis in the era of the First Brazilian Republic (1889-1930), scholars Kim D. Butler and Thomas Skidmore argued that the fall of the monarchy and the rise of the Republic resulted in Brazilian bourgeois interest in notions of modernization and

85 Freyre: 130-132.
86 However, his analysis failed to take into account the persistence of physical and sexual violence against women. For more on sexual violence against slave women see also Ariella Silva Aroujo, “A Mulher Negra no Pós-Abolição,” Revista da ABPN vol. 5, no. 9 (2013): 22-36.
progress. In essence, scholars sought to demonstrate how gender was used to bolster the nation-state. Sueann Caulfield situates gender as a central facet of the Brazilian modernization project. Caulfield analyzes judicial procedures for “deflowerment” cases within the Brazilian court, demonstrating how gender influenced the debate among jurists, politicians, and social reformers regarding Brazil’s early twentieth-century modernization project. Her study demonstrates that the Republic was concerned with concepts of honour and honesty. While Caulfield does not explicitly take an intersectional approach that considers both gender and race, her research illustrates that urban reformers sought greater control over poor women and women of colour based on their perceived inferiority.

Another critical line of scholarship also considered how gender and sexuality were constructed to create a "normal," and a "pathological" female identity and how these identities served to control and regulate women. Nancy Leys Stepan identifies the importance of intersectional analysis in her work on the relationship between eugenics, race, and gender. Stepan employs a social constructivist approach, arguing that eugenics in Latin America was not merely a European importation; it was adapted and moulded to fit the realities of Latin America. Stepan argues that gender played a primary role in representing modernity via eugenics. Stepan illustrates that urban reformers adopted an approach to eugenics that attempted to improve the population by improving the maternal, moral, and physical health of the nation.

Marivaldo Cruz do Amaral explores Stepan’s point by looking at the role of the mainstream press which she considers to be a critical agent in disseminating a hygienist agenda in Salvador, Bahia in the early twentieth century. She suggests that Brazilian urban reformers perceived that morality and hygiene (both physical and social) were imperative to the character and health of the nation.  

This study relies heavily on literature that is limited to the study of primarily white and elite women. A significant theme in the literature of the history of gender is anxiety of the “new woman” and the role of women in the building of the Brazilian nation. While these histories do not explicitly discuss women of colour and their social roles and portrayals within Brazil, they do allude to the relationship between modernization, women, and civility. Besse places gender more broadly within the economic, political, and social transformations occurring in Brazil during the early twentieth century. Besse demonstrates that following the rise of the Republic and the transition from slavery to a free market in the early twentieth century, Brazil experienced an erosion of traditional forms of patriarchal power. However, the updated gender roles that accompanied the new capitalist system and growing demands for modernization simultaneously maintained gender inequity for white elite and working-class women.

The revisionist response to the racial democracy theory in Brazil highlights the social and cultural importance of studying Brazilian history through the voices and perspectives of

91 Besse: 1-12.
92 Besse: 1-12.
marginalized groups such as Afro-descended men and women. Importantly, it exposes the
reductionist tendencies of comparative frameworks earlier used to understand Brazil,
legitimizing the need to explore Brazilian black history in its own terms through the perspectives
of Afro-descended historical actors. It is in this revisionist historiographical context that the
Brazilian black press as a historical topic emerged. The literature on the black press developed
from its interpretation as an example of continued racial inequality in a so-called racial
democracy. This point transitioned into a recognition of the black press as a source of black
activism and a vehicle of negotiation for cultural and racial inclusion, challenging previous
interpretations of Afro-descended Brazilians as insular and ignorant of their own oppression. An
exploration into the black press can further demonstrate the existence of a dialectical system of
race relations that was influenced by European and Afro-descended Brazilians. However, in
attempts to give voice and agency to historically marginalized groups, historians have yet to
explore how black men understood and responded to Brazilian perceptions of black women.
Such an exploration can further nuance understandings of the history of the black press and by
extension, black activism, as well as understandings of gender in a Brazilian historical context.
In attempts to give voice and agency to historically marginalized groups, historians have placed
higher importance to understanding how white upper, middle, and low-class women were agents
of family and nation. It is the purpose of the current study to recognize the agency of black
populations through their literary and political productions in the black press, and thereby
enhance the state of intersectional studies of race and gender.
Chapter One: Respectable Resistance: Moralizing the Black Woman

*O Clarim d’Alvorada* advanced an anti-racist strategy *qua* moralism. In appealing to moralism, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors proposed a definition of feminine respectability that was rooted in bourgeois values of domesticity, motherhood, and broadly speaking, the maintenance of the institution of the family. However, this was not an example of assimilation. Instead, it was a strategic and deliberate effort by writers to assert their morality and challenge the racist ideologies that caricatured all black Brazilians as culturally and morally annihilated.93 Influenced by European doctrines of scientific racism, Brazilian intellectuals and state officials believed that African-descended culture was regressive and barbaric. On a cultural level, the supposed backwardness of Africanisms was feared to have a degenerative effect on the Brazilian nation’s ability to establish an authentic Brazilian identity. On an individual level, the Brazilian bourgeois believed that the so-called primitivism of Africanisms would taint the morality of Afro-descended individuals which the state feared risked corrupting a key tenet that sought to strengthen the nation – moral purity. Writers and editors subtly challenged these notions by imbibing ideas of domesticity and nation that the Brazilian bourgeois promoted. However, their efforts took an exclusionary tone as well. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors attempted to affirm their alignment to the white bourgeois by differentiating themselves from the black masses via moralism.94 In other words, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* embraced

93 The term "morally annihilated" is borrowed from Paulina Alberto in her monograph *Terms of Inclusion*: 24.
94 The term "black Brazilian masses" refers to the majority of Afro-descended Brazilians who were mostly illiterate due to barriers to education and were a part of the working poor.
respectability politics. This chapter borrows the concept of respectability politics from its application in the study of African-American women in a U.S. post-antebellum context. Respectability politics was first advanced by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham in her influential monograph Righteous Discontent: The Women’s Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920. Higginbotham advanced this term in the context of black women and their efforts to distance themselves from the stereotypes that they were perceived to embody.95 O Clarim d’Alvorada writers and editors embraced respectability politics in an effort to create a black middle-class identity that was separate from the black masses and also compatible with white bourgeois societal values.

First, this chapter will examine why respectability politics was a method embraced by O Clarim d’Alvorada by identifying that in print, O Clarim d’Alvorada writers envisioned themselves as middle-class. However, pseudo-scientific theories of race, revealing Brazilian official’s anxieties on the nation’s African cultural heritage, blanketed all black Brazilians, regardless of their affluence, as racial and cultural impediments to the Brazilian nation. Second, this chapter examines how O Clarim d’Alvorada writers espoused a conservative ideology embedded in Brazilian bourgeois values to distance themselves from the perceptions of their cultural inferiority. Overall, this chapter highlights the importance of gender in constructions of cultural identity among O Clarim d’Alvorada writers and editors.

Paulina Alberto argues that *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers engaged in respectability politics because they envisioned themselves as part of the middle-class. Socio-economically, these men had more in common with the white middle-class than with the majority of black Brazilians. In her work, *Dark Continent of Our Bodies* E. Frances White cautions against homogenizing economies of black families in a U.S. context. This theory can be applied to *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers. What truly set *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers apart from the rest of the black community was their affluence. Alberto provides a biographical account of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s influential members based on interviews conducted with *O Clarim d’Alvorada* co-founder José Correia Leite. She reports that co-founder Jayme da Aguiar worked in a police fingerprinting lab, while others such as Augusto Oliveira of the black periodical *O Alfinete*, and a later contributor to *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, was an armed guard turned paralegal. Interestingly, these men were in jobs related to law and policy enforcement and explicating a regulatory and even disciplinary message. As Andrews uncovers in his analysis on white and black workers in São Paulo at the turn of the twentieth century, employer discrimination coupled with an influx of white immigrant workers forced a majority of black Brazilians into “negro services” which were

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96 Alberto: 23.
97 White, *Dark Continent of Our Bodies*: 62.
98 Alberto: 35. According to Brian Owensby, non-manual work was a sign of prestige. Ironically, as noted by Owensby, the white Brazilian middle-class similarly appealed to their position as non-manual labourers as an effort to “not to be confused with the working-poor,” versus “a conscious effort by middle-class people to imitate the rich.” In other words, the white middle-class or Brazilian bourgeois engaged in a similar game of respectability politics. For more see Brian P. Owensby, *Intimate Ironies: Modernity and the Making of Middle-Class Lives in Brazil* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press: 1999): 54.
precarious, unstable, dangerous, and poorly-paid jobs such as shovel loading and pickaxe work.99 Even the names of social organizations that were linked to São Paulo’s black press allude to the elitist nature of its writers: Kosmos, the Elite Club, and the Smart Club.100 Visually, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* editors and writers were culturally different from the black Brazilian masses. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* editors provided illustrations of writers dressed smartly in polished, tailored attire, signifying their affluence and also their adherence to Euro-centric fashions. (Figure One). In appearance, these men did not fulfil the nineteenth and twentieth-century stigmatization of black men as irresponsible *vadios* or bums, too lazy and incompetent to work unless out of coercion.101 Instead, they were culturally European. However, even though *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers were socio-economically different from the Brazilian black masses, white Brazilians painted all Afro-descended Brazilians with the same brush. In essence, the Brazilian state and bourgeois

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99 Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*: 65-78. In 1965, Florestan Fernandes studied racial income inequality in Brazil throughout the twentieth century. Fernandes argues that racial income inequality persisted in Brazil because black Brazilians lacked exposure to the free market following slavery and developed a negative attitude towards work, limiting their ability to climb the social ladder. While sympathetic, Fernandes placed black on black Brazilians, claiming that they lacked adaptability. See Florestan Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazil*: 112.


101 Alberto: 24.
perceived all black Brazilians as cultural impediments to the Brazilian nation based on their supposed cultural and moral annihilation.

Influenced by the European doctrine of positivism and imperialistic language of “savagery” and “barbarism” employed by the works of Herbert Spencer, Auguste Comte, and Charles Darwin, by the late nineteenth century, Brazilian intellectuals emerging from newly-established academies of higher learning studied the health of nations with interest in "diagnosing" illness in Brazil.102 Thomas Skidmore notes that positivism entailed that historical processes and even social reality could be explained by scientific law.103 European thinkers such as Arthur de Gobineau tried to understand why certain nations were more economically prosperous than other nations. Using a "scientific" framework, inspired by the successes of the natural sciences that emerged in the nineteenth century, European racial scientists established a "scientific" rationale using theories of heredity and race to explain the perceived economic superiority of northern Europe. In borrowing evolutionist theories of heredity, intellectuals argued that northern Europe was economically and politically powerful because of the predominance of white European people and culture.104 In essence, racial scientists believed that whiteness was more evolved and thus superior to the darker races.105 Intellectuals believed that nations consisting of darker races could not, and would never be able to reach a comparable level to Europe because Africanisms were barbaric and backward. In rendering Africanisms as

104 Thomas Skidmore, Black into White: 28.
105 Thomas Skidmore, Black into White: 28.
barbaric, European intellectuals believed (and feared) that the regressive nature of African culture had a degenerative effect on the morality of Afro-descended individuals which risked corrupting white compatriots.\textsuperscript{106} As part of a Latin American nativist tradition, the rise of the First Brazilian Republic (1889-1930) led to an emergence of nativist literature that sought to determine Brazil’s national essence, or what it meant to be Brazilian. In 1896, Raimundo Nina Rodrigues (1862-1906), characterized the cultural anxieties of the period:

\begin{quote}
The black race in Brazil, as great as have been their undeniable services to our civilization, as justified as are our sympathies that they were enmeshed in the revolting abuse of slavery…will forever constitute one of the factors of our inferiority as a people… We consider the predominance of the black race harmful to our nationality, their intolerable influence prejudicial in all cases to the progress and culture of our people.\textsuperscript{107}
\end{quote}

Rodrigues regarded miscegenation and cultural synthesis not as a positive symbol of national identity, but as an indication of national degeneracy.\textsuperscript{108} By the 1920s, the Brazilian state actively repressed African-descended tradition and culture based on their supposed primitiveness.\textsuperscript{109} In essence, Brazilians feared that African culture was a disease that spread barbarism and cultural regression. Roger Bastide relays a pejorative folklore of the Northeast that encapsulates the white Brazilian mentality towards the nation’s African cultural heritage:

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\end{quote}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[106] Thomas Skidmore, \textit{Black into White}: 28.
\item[108] By the 1930s, this perspective would be flipped on its head and reframed to suggest that cultural synthesis and miscegenation strengthened the Brazilian nation. As an example, see Gilberto Freyre, \textit{The Masters and the Slaves}.
\item[109] Repression of African-descended culture was not new. The monarchy also outlawed African-descended and influenced cultural practices. For example, \textit{Capoeira}, a martial art derived from Angolan slaves, was outlawed by the Portuguese Crown in 1821. However, the practice continued as the graceful movements were accompanied by music to disguise it as a dance. In a similar vein, \textit{Candomblé}, an African-derived religion, faced severe state-led repression which often took the form of illegal police raids against the houses of Candomblé. See Chapter 5 of Kim D. Butler \textit{Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won}.
\end{enumerate}
The white drinks champagne
The caboclo port wine
The mulatto drinks cheap rum
The Negro urine of the pig. \(^{110}\)

In addition to being perceived as national impediments based on their supposed cultural and moral annihilation, white Brazilians expressed that African culture was vehemently unwelcome to Brazil.

*O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors set out to re-orient Brazilian bourgeois and state perceptions of their identity via moralism. Writers expressed their embodiment of bourgeois values of domesticity, motherhood, and more broadly, the maintenance of the familial unit as evidence that the class of middle-class black men behind *O Clarim d’Alvorada* did not intend to tear down the establishment via their supposed cultural and moral annihilation. Instead, they desired to be a part of a broader white bourgeois class and culture. Writers attempted to elevate their social performance via distancing themselves from the Brazilian black masses by immersing themselves in bourgeois ideals and “othering” the black masses as degenerative.

Appealing to bourgeois values of domesticity, motherhood, and the maintenance of the familial institution was palatable for bourgeois consumption because, in the eyes of the Brazilian bourgeois and even state, these values reinforced the political and cultural legitimacy of the white middle-class ruling elite. At the turn of the century, in addition to racial-cultural anxieties, the First Brazilian Republic and the Brazilian bourgeois were engulfed in broader economic and social anxieties regarding the health of the nation. Operating under the motto of order and

progress, Brazilian government officials sought to rid Brazil of its "archaic" past (i.e. monarchy, slavery and so forth), while taming what they deemed as the "uncivilized" masses. Following the dissolution of the monarchy, and the rise of the Brazilian Republic in 1889, there remained an imminent sense of disorder among the Brazilian masses, challenging the Republic’s positivist-influenced vision of order and progress. Euclides da Cunha immortalized this sense of disorder in *Os Sertões* [Rebellion in the Backlands]. Da Cunha reported on the military siege of Canudos in the 1890s. Located in the Northeastern state of Bahia, Canudos was home to a religious community headed by lay clergyman Antônio Conselheiro, or also known as Anthony the Counselor. In 1895, six years into the republic, Canudos rebelled against local authorities. The Brazilian Republic responded by ordering the federal army to end the insurrection. Embarrassingly, the federal army’s initial attacks failed against the small commune, and it took the military three expeditions before achieving victory. The struggle against the “half-breeds” in Canudos threatened racist doctrines such as social Darwinism, and instead led to a problematic perception that perhaps white Brazilians were also irrational and disorganized. By the 1910s, the proliferation of anarcho-syndicalists among labour unions fostered additional concerns among the Brazilian elite. According to John Dulles, European immigrants, who arrived in

111 Besse: 133. The Brazilian bourgeois defined the "uncivilized masses" as those Brazilians who were impoverished, illiterate, and racially inferior.
112 *Os Sertões* is a classic Brazilian text that bridged together theories like positivism and social Darwinism with literature, Cunha discussed the formation of the Brazilian republican nation. Euclides da Cunha, *Os Sertões*. [Rebellion in the Backlands] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944).
113 Butler: 18.
114 Emerging alongside *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, weekly anarchist newspapers were issued, many of which were in Spanish, Italian, and German, for more on anarchist newspapers see Maria Nazareth Ferreira, *A Imprensa Operária no Brasil 1880-1920* (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1978). For more on the rise of anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, and communism see John W. F. Dulles, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil 1900-1935* (Austin: University Texas Press, 1973).
Brazil as a result of a government-sponsored immigration program also imported “radical” (as perceived by the state) Bolshevik ideologies.\textsuperscript{115} By 1922, the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) was formed, recruiting the anarcho-syndicalists who had dominated pre-World War I labour unions.\textsuperscript{116} Even the military posed a threat. In 1922, mounting hate for the foreignness of liberalism led to a barrack revolt in Rio de Janeiro.\textsuperscript{117} While unsuccessful, the rise of anti-liberalism was perceived by the state as an indication of disunity.

By the 1920s, Brazilian state officials, with the support of the Brazilian bourgeois and the intellectual community, responded to notions of chaos by leading a nationalist-eugenicist campaign that sought to "regenerate" the family and elevate it as the primary social institution.\textsuperscript{118} As articulated by Stepan, Brazil adopted a “softer” eugenics program based on neo-Lamarckian notions of heredity versus Mendelian conceptions of genetics as practiced in the United States, Germany, and England.\textsuperscript{119} In essence, it was a social hygiene program that was more than scientific; it was pedagogical. The goals of the movement were intended to be achieved through the instruction of positivist-influenced and rationalized hygiene practices, which included both physical and moral hygiene.\textsuperscript{120} Brazilian state officials, including physicians and jurists, believed that the Brazilian family would impart socially acceptable values and behaviours into their

\textsuperscript{115} Dulles: 12-14.  
\textsuperscript{116} Skidmore, Brazil: Five Centuries of Change: 75.  
\textsuperscript{117} Skidmore, Brazil: Five Centuries of Change: 76.  
\textsuperscript{118} Besse: 12-15.  
\textsuperscript{119} Stepan: 11. The Mendelian approach to genetics focused on improving so-called dominant groups by either eliminating "unfit" individuals by involuntary sterilization or mass extermination. The Lamarckian approach in Brazil sought to improve the population by "better breeding" by improving fertility, public health.  
\textsuperscript{120} Dávila: 3-6.
children, nurturing the children to become healthy future citizens of the Brazilian Republic.\textsuperscript{121} The eugenics program focused its attention on reproduction to overcome “degeneration,” situating women as central agents of this modernization project.\textsuperscript{122} Influenced by the proliferation of biological determinist understandings of gender at the end of the nineteenth century, Brazilian intellectuals believed that women were naturally predisposed to morality.\textsuperscript{123} As a result, Brazilian intellectuals situated wifehood and motherhood as the pinnacles of the modernization programme where mothers would instill morality into their children to prevent asocial or deviant behaviour, maintain the health of the Brazilian family, and by extension, the Brazilian nation.\textsuperscript{124}

\textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} writers asserted their similarity to the Brazilian bourgeoisie by illustrating their allegiance to the state’s familial modernization project. The November 1925 issue of \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} featured an article written by Tuca that both policed the behaviours of women and called for the maintenance of traditional patriarchal structures. The article asked \textit{patricios e patricias} [male and female compatriots] to avoid practices of immorality.\textsuperscript{125} Tuca claimed that black Brazilians could achieve morality if women were "managed in compliance" and remained within the confines of the home, performing “motherly

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\footnotesize\textsuperscript{121} Besse: 3-4. The idea that a robust and loyal household could strengthen the nation was a product of colonial Brazil. The idea was born from Portuguese tradition and was used as a tool of social control by the Crown throughout the colonial era (1500-1889).
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{122} For more on eugenics see Nancy Stepan, \textit{The Hour of Eugenics}.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{123} For a broader look at biological determinist understandings of gender roles see also Lynda Birke, \textit{In Pursuit of Difference: Scientific Studies of Men and Women: Feminism and the Biological Body} (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000).
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{124} For more on the social hygiene program see Marivaldo Cruz do Amaral, “Mulheres, Imprensa e Higiene: a Medicalização do Parto na Bahia (1910-1927).” Rhetoric at this time often saw the nation as a “family,” and sought to legitimize behaviours based on helping each other. In the 1930s, this rhetoric would be employed by Gilberto Freyre, and later misinterpreted as evidence that Brazil was a racial democracy.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{125} Tuca, “Pela Moralidade,” \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada}, November 15, 1925: 2.
\end{flushleft}
Tuca’s message reflected his own adherence to Brazilian bourgeois values. In articulating a definition of respectability rooted in bourgeois values, Tuca, and more broadly, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* editors, challenged racial stereotypes by eliciting their patriarchal authority. Brazilians perceived black men as lacking patriarchal authority. In part, this stereotype was a legacy of slavery. Slavery created a system whereby the black man and woman was subject to the total control and authority of the white patriarch, undermining the black man’s patriarchal authority. In 1933, Gilberto Freyre recounted a colonial adage in *The Masters and the Slaves* that cruelly encapsulated the relationship between black patriarchal authority and the practice of slavery: “a white woman to marry, a *mulata* woman to fornicate, a black woman to cook.”

While Freyre’s adage reveals many nuances between the socially prescribed roles of Brazilian women, it also exposes some commonality among women – their positions were all understood in terms of their service to a *white* patriarch. Thus, in asserting a message that called for the compliance of women, Tuca and editors also asserted their embodiment of patriarchal authority, distancing themselves from the stereotype of the non-patriarchal black man.

*O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers further indicated their alignment with the state’s national project by emphasizing the centrality of motherhood. In the May 1927 issue of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, black press contributor A. J. Veiga dos Santos proposed a definition of feminine respectability that placed the woman as the central agent within the family as educators. Mimicking bourgeois sentiments on the relationship between the family and the state, dos Santos

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126 Tuca, “Pela Moralidade”: 2.
127 Caldwell: 52.
refers to the family as the “cell of a civil society,” and that the “family is a union, wife and man and children,” which works under the regulation of the government. Dos Santos establishes the centrality of the woman: “man and woman are incomplete without each other…they are mutually interdependent to conserve and propagate the race…” He goes on:

[It is the responsibility of ] the mother to instill into her children preservation and perfection…[in order] to avoid the demoralization that affects our people especially…[and to] avoid illiteracy, and the worst, moral illiteracy which provokes a dreadful crisis of national character….let EVERY black read, and have firm moral principles.

Brazilian intellectuals and urban reformers generally valorized women for their supposed natural (i.e. biological) predisposition towards traits of virtue, morality, and piety. By situating women as moral educators, dos Santos espoused an ideal that was rooted in Brazilian intellectualism.

O Clarim d’Alvorada writers defined feminine respectability in a manner that allowed writers to assert their own sense of morality, community, and philanthropy, while simultaneously distancing themselves from the so-called moral debauchery that characterized the black masses. The rise of urbanization at the turn of the twentieth century contributed to a new social phenomenon – the urban poor. As observed in the 1890 vagrancy codes, the growing presence of poverty and vagrancy within the city of São Paulo troubled the newly-emerging bourgeois

132 Besse: 54.
capitalists, state officials, and urban reformers. Alberto notes that black Brazilians were commonly presumed to be *vadios* or bums, and thus were stigmatized on the basis of such. However, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers elicited their respectability by distancing themselves from the working poor. In terms of poverty, most concerning to the Brazilian elite was the single, poor woman, who engaged in moral decadence. On the front page of the October 1924 issue, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* co-founder José Correia Leite evidenced his morality through his calls for mutual aid societies and beneficent centers to fix the “decline of the black woman” who “live in obscurity” and “who wander the streets.” Leite claims that the “[s]addest point of our race is the decline of the black woman.” Leite laments:

> How many times do we encounter in the heart of the city, with lost sisters, bringing dirty dresses dominated by alcohol, which is the cause of so much disgrace and unfortunately dominates many women who could be exemplary mothers. How many tears shed by inconsolable mothers who hoped for their daughters who were raised with so much care, to see them today in such complete misery how many wives abandoned their homes, tricked they throw themselves in the mud of vices, dragging with them oftentimes the good names of their own husbands!

Leite’s condemnatory response to the single, vagrant, street woman served several functions. Leite’s depiction of the street woman, indulging in vice (i.e. alcohol) and unable to fulfill their social duties as mothers, associated poor, single, street women with immorality and impropriety. According to Nancy Stepan by the 1920s, urban reformers considered alcoholism in medicalized

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134 Alberto: 24.

135 Besse: 34.


terms and understood it as a sign of impurity. Additionally, Leite conceptualized a gendered understanding of spatiality adhered to by the Brazilian bourgeois. Roberto da Matta conceptualizes this as the dichotomy of the house and street. According to da Matta, Brazilians perceived the street as a space of heightened risk of sexual impropriety because, beyond the home, the corrupting “dangerous classes” such as criminals, the racially inferior classes, and dishonourable men, circulated freely and sought to seduce the vulnerable woman. Biological determinist understandings of women situated women as susceptible to the “corrupting” forces of the street without the accompaniment of men. The street was conducive to sexual impropriety which reflected through the euphemism for sex workers – *mulheres da rua* or women of the street.

Leite’s association between the street and feminine impropriety was a blatantly bourgeois perspective and ideologically distanced himself from the black masses. Sandra Lauderdale Graham refines and expands on da Matta’s house and street dichotomy in her analysis of nineteenth-century domestic servants in Rio de Janeiro by arguing that “conventional design of safe and dangerous, clean and dirty, valued or demeaning,” placed the house as safe while the streets were dangerous. Expanding on da Matta’s dichotomy, Graham argues that “for servant women house could be a place of harm, punishment, or excessive work, and street sought as a

139 Stepan: 53.
143 Graham, *House and Street:* 18.
place of greater freedom.”¹⁴⁴ Thus, Leite associated himself with constructions of gendered spatiality that distanced himself ideologically from the black masses while simultaneously illustrated a desire to maintain the Brazilian establishment.

Leite attempted to re-define black identity by also articulating the existence of a middle-class black woman who absorbed white bourgeois values. Leite juxtaposed his inflammatory interpretation of the improper black woman with praise of the proper black woman. Leite subtly challenged racist perceptions that all black women were inherently inferior based on race, and instead illustrated that only some black women were inferior based on class. Before concluding the essay, Leite acknowledged that despite the prevalence of moral decay among the above-mentioned black women of the street, there were several black women in need of praise for providing charitable assistance to mutual benefit societies. The editorial gives “major applause for the ladies who help this work” by “educat[ing] and regenerat[ing]” immoral women.¹⁴⁵ Leite’s brief sentiment subtly challenged Brazil’s racial hierarchies. In praising black women for helping immoral women, Leite linked qualities of virtue and morality back to the black woman, challenging racial stereotypes that burdened black women’s reputation.

The black woman’s (and particularly the biracial woman’s) femininity had an additional burden placed on it. White Brazilians commonly believed that black women possessed a subaltern form of femininity and womanhood. Specifically, Brazilians perceived the black

woman to be the embodiment of morbid promiscuity.\(^{146}\) The historical literature has yet to firmly establish the origins of the hypersexual black woman caricature in a Brazilian context. However, the origins of this stereotype likely mimic that of the promiscuous black woman caricature in the United States. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham attributes the origin of the promiscuous black woman caricature in the United States to the highly disproportionate amount of power held by the slave master of the African slave and the resulting commonality of sexual violence against women slaves.\(^{147}\) In Brazil, a similar master-slave power dynamic occurred. Edward Telles notes that,

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given the racial hierarchy imposed by the slave-based economy, relationships between the white colonizers and non-white Brazilian women were highly unequal. White men frequently raped and abused African, indigenous, and mixed-race women. Indeed, mixed-race Brazilians were mostly spawned through sexual violence throughout slavery, although cohabitation and marriage between whites and non-whites were not uncommon.\(^{148}\)
\end{quote}

However, literary and academic discourse frequently attributed deviant sexuality to the \textit{mulata}.\(^{149}\) Gregório de Matos, a famous seventeenth-century Brazilian poet boasted a


148 Telles: 25. It is also important to note that African slave men were also subject to sexual violence, for more on this topic see Lamonte Aidoo, \textit{Slavery Unseen: Sex, Power, and Violence in Brazilian History} (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018).

149 The biracial woman is likely subject to sexualization because Brazil’s racial hierarchy was pigmentocratic. As a pigmentocracy, skin colour informed Brazilian racial identities. Blackness was conceived by Brazilian as a sign of primitiveness. Thus, the \textit{mulata} woman may have been a more palatable sex symbol because her skin colour was lighter than that of the black woman.
romanticized (versus a condemnatory) image of the *mulata’s* beauty and sensuality. However, nineteenth-century race scientists replaced the romanticized image of the sensual *mulata* with an image of them as pathogenic and dirty. In the late nineteenth century, Brazilian psychiatrist and anthropologist, Raimundo Nina Rodrigues (1862-1902), studied the *mulata* from a scientific-anthropological lens, proposing that hyper-sexuality was an inherent trait of the *mulata* by identifying that “the genetic excitation of the class of Brazilian mulatto woman cannot be considered an abnormal type.” While Rodrigues argued that deviant sensuality is not a trait exclusive to the mixed-race woman, he however adds that "the sensuality of *negroes*…may reach the limits of morbid sexual perversion.” In utilizing the all-encompassing term *negroes*, Rodrigues suggests that all women of colour (and even men) were believed to possess a subversive sexuality. Thus, by linking virtue and morality back to the black woman, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers asserted their morality via moralism. As elicited by the *O Clarim d’Alvorada* anecdote featured above, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers re-framed blanketed racial stereotypes by attributing them to only the poor, single, black woman, emphasizing a class-based cultural and moral divide among black Brazilians.

Efforts to construct public perceptions of black women as embodiments of sexual impropriety was imperative for *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers to foster their inclusion into a broader Brazilian nation. To attain cultural inclusion, writers needed to attain honour, which also

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150 This example was cited by Kia Lilly Caldwell. Caldwell: 57.
151 However, the sexualization of the black woman would return as a romantic image in the 1930s as an example of racial democracy theory. Kia Lilly Caldwell notes that this is a practice that has continued into the present day.
153 Rodrigues: 146.
rested on the behaviour of "their" women. As articulated by Putnam, Chambers, and Caulfield, honour equated to complete cultural inclusion, or in other words, honour was the pinnacle of one’s worth: “[o]fficially, honor was an attribute of elite, male heads of extended households, inherited from well-born parents, and maintained by exhibiting propriety.”154 As a socially constructed concept and a requirement for cultural inclusion, it was necessary that O Clarim d’Alvorada contributors not only performed propriety but received the public’s recognition of their actions.155 Honour was crucial for demonstrating cultural fitness, and it was central to the maintenance of male authority. In essence, honour was a method of establishing power over those perceived as inferior, affirming that one was not inferior. By creating class-based divisions, writers of O Clarim d’Alvorada establish their non-inferiority by reinforcing others’. However, patriarchal traditions influenced the principles of honour. To attain honour, men were required to adhere to standards of proper behaviours such as economic independence and patriarchal authority. As noted by Sueann Caulfield in her analysis of legal approaches to “deflowerment” cases in the Rio de Janeiro courts at the turn of the twentieth century, it was the function of the male family member to guard the house against penetration (symbolizing sexual and non-sexual intrusion) from the street.156 Caulfield notes that once married, a woman no longer belonged to her father, but her husband, thus the husband could not be convicted of raping his wife as he was responsible for her sexuality.157 Thus, patriarchal authority and conceptualizations of honour

were asserted through the maintenance of women’s status as dependent as well as through the regulation of women’s sexual honesty. In other words, women’s adherence to propriety also determined the status of the patriarchal figure overlooking her. Thus, to attain honour and by extension, cultural inclusion, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers were required to elicit the morality of black women. Thus, *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s regulation of women morals, behaviours, and overall adherence to propriety was not merely a reflection of black adherence to patriarchal structures but was a method of enhancing Brazilian perceptions of black men to foster their inclusion into the nation.

Importantly, by linking black women to philanthropic or charitable endeavours, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* further illustrates the existence of a class of middle-class black men as well as black women. Despite situating women outside of the home, the Brazilian elite perceived philanthropy as an acceptable role for women because Brazilians viewed it as a natural extension of women’s predisposition to virtue.\(^{158}\) During abolition, elite white women were commonly employed to host charity events and dinners to raise funds in support of abolition and to use their sentimentality to sway policy in favour of abolition.\(^{159}\) Philanthropy was a role exclusively performed by affluent white women.\(^{160}\) Thus, by providing glowing accounts of black women’s philanthropy, the black press carefully constructs the existence of a class of affluent black women who embodied bourgeois notions of proper bourgeois femininity. This indicated that the


\(^{160}\) Kittleson: 103.
middle-class black men behind *O Clarim d’Alvorada* as well as some black women embodied Brazilian bourgeois values and simultaneously challenged perceptions that all black Brazilians were innately insular and idle. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers distanced themselves from this perception by articulating a desire to cultivate mutual benefit societies. Mutual benefit societies reflected writers’ desire to eliminate “social disorganization,” or in other words, vagrancy and its associated moral decay.

*O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers also expanded their anti-racist agenda *qua* moralism through explicit rejection of the “modern girl,” and her embodiment of the risks to morality that “radical” strands of feminism posed. The “modern girl” followed Westernized fashions and was characterized as financially and emotionally independent. Unlike her mother and grandmother, the “modern girl” ventured into the public space as a consumer and employee, fraternizing with young men and women at the cinema, in tearooms, and dancehalls without the accompaniment of a father, husband, nor brother.¹⁶¹ Brazilians perceived the "modern girl" as independent, assertive, and sexually provocative. As a symbol, the “modern girl,” and the inflammatory criticisms of her behaviour by the Brazilian bourgeois and state reflected the contradictory nature of the Brazilian state’s cultural ideology of order and progress.

On the one hand, the emergence of the middle-class woman in the public sphere was emblematic of the First Republic’s relative successes in modernization (i.e. progress). The First Republic institutionalized progress as Europeanization.¹⁶² In perceiving Europeanization as a

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¹⁶¹ Besse: 32.
¹⁶² Butler: 25.
replicable task, the republic sought to reinvent itself as European, and situated economic reform as a crucial aspect of this programme. By the turn of the twentieth century, European nations had already experienced a Second Industrial Revolution. Although Brazil was not necessarily economically stagnant as their economy relied heavily on primary goods for export, their manufacturing industry was severely limited by mercantilist restrictions imposed by the Portuguese monarchy. As Besse notes, the rapid expansion of Brazil’s urban market at the turn of the twentieth century undermined the maintenance of the patriarchal family’s traditional socio-economic structure as extra-familial institutions replaced the functions of the extended family (i.e. systems of kinship), fostering the rise of the urban, bourgeois family. Importantly, Besse asserts that the expansion of the industrial market undermined women’s traditional roles within the home, encouraging women to enter urban public spaces of work and leisure, and providing women with a new role as consumers. Taken together, the emergence of the middle-class woman and the increased visibility of the working-class woman in the public sphere was a reflection of the republic’s successes in Europeanization via economic reform.

However, on the other hand, the emergence of the middle-class woman in the public sphere was perceived to be emblematic of social disorder and a threat to the institution of family

163 Skidmore, Five Centuries of Change: 89. According to Thomas Skidmore, industrialization in cities such as São Paulo was an unintended by-product of governmental policies that sought to protect and expand the primary goods export sector (i.e. coffee). For more on economic development see Kim D. Butler, Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: 25-30.
164 Besse 54.
165 In the colonial period (1500-1889) wealth was overwhelmingly located in rural regions of the state of São Paulo. The wives of wealthy plantation owners were often responsible for managing the household which included overseeing slaves. However, the rise of the industrial economy relocated families from the rural regions to the urban regions, creating a new family structure – the bourgeois urban family. Without large plantation households to manage, women were no longer responsible for as many slaves, and with the rise of the economy, not required to produce and maintain home textiles.
and by extension, the nation. Working-class women had always been present in the public sphere as workers and as slaves.\footnote{166} Even middle-class women were present in the public sphere. However, middle-class women were often afforded the protection of a man. Graham finds that affluent women, while visible in the public sphere, attempted to protect themselves from the "harshness" of the public space:

Nonetheless, drawing and photographs make abundantly clear that women, too, were out and about. They strolled in the gardens of the \textit{Passeio Público} overlooking the bay, shopped on the fashionable streets, and called on friends. But a woman of good family ventured out cautiously, perhaps in the seclusion of a carriage or, earlier, in a curtained sedan chair, or in the company of another woman. Protection was more symbolic than actual…\footnote{167}

With women working outside of the home, women abdicated their domestic and maternal duties. In addition, in the eyes of republican officials and the Brazilian bourgeois, the “modern girl” and her independence in the public sphere left her morality and sexual honesty susceptible to the corruptible advances of dishonourable men which risked making her unfit as a marriage partner and by extension, unfit for motherhood. Anxiety over the "modern girl" was an international phenomenon that transcended the so-called civilized classes (i.e. affluent, white, newly-emerging middle class).\footnote{168} The increasing visibility of middle-class women outside of the home was anxiety-inducing for the Brazilian bourgeois, who legitimized their social position on the basis of

\footnote{166} Sandra Lauderdale Graham, “Making the Private Public: A Brazilian Perspective,” \textit{Women’s History in the New Millennium} (2003): 29. \footnote{167} Graham, “Making the Private Public: A Brazilian Perspective,”: 29. A similar sentiment is drawn in a European context by Lawrence E. Klein who notes that “binary oppositions are a frequent and powerful tool with which people, past and present, attempt to tide up their mental and discursive world.” Klein, “Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions About Evidence and Analytic Procedure”: 291. \footnote{168} In the United States, there was the flapper, in Mexico, the \textit{chica moderna}, and in Japan, the \textit{mago}. For more on the “modern girl” in a global context see \textit{The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization}, eds. Alys Eve Wienbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Modeleine Yue Dong, and Tani E. Barlow (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008).
their wives’ position within the home which the bourgeois believed distanced themselves from the working-poor Brazilians. In a similar vein, *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s rejection of the "modern girl" distanced black writers from the perceived degenerate aspects of the black community and also distanced themselves from an emerging cadre of white women who also threatened Brazilian social order.

*O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers rejected the “modern girl” via moralism, evidencing writer’s alignment with the Brazilian bourgeois establishment. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers were resoundingly critical of the fashions, behaviours, and cultural movements associated with the rise of the “modern girl.” In the November 11, 1925 issue of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, an editorial fittingly titled “*Pela Moralidade*” [“By Morality”], expressed concern over the morality of black Brazilians. The writer anxiously claimed that “unworthy individuals take young girls, and present them as decent,” deceiving young women into engaging in the suggestive and “indecent” activities of the dancehall. This sentiment mimicked broader Brazilian bourgeois anxieties that women were vulnerable to moral corruption when unaccompanied in the public sphere. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* editors were clearly uneasy with women who frequented dancehalls because later in the same issue, another editorial condemned the behaviour of women inside the dancehall. Taking a more prescriptive and condemning tone, writers called directly on *patricias* [female compatriots], asserting that their dancehall activities “requir[e] a little more

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170 Tuca, “Pela Moralidade”: 2. Similar sentiments are also found in other black periodicals of the era. For example, *O Alfinete* deemed the Brazilian-born dance maxixe as desmoralizada [demoralizing], see “Carta Aberta,” *O Alfinete*, October 12, 1918: 2 and “Centro Recreativeo Smart,” *O Alfinete*, March 9, 1919: 3.
In the nineteenth century, public dances were common. However, by the twentieth century, European bourgeois-descended styles of dance such as the waltz were replaced by modern dance styles such as the Foxtrot and Tango. Many of these modern dance styles were of lower-class and foreign origin, fostering criticism from the Brazilian bourgeois. Besse notes that the Brazilian bourgeois perceived the twentieth-century dancehall as a "public expression of eroticism" that had "replaced romantic sentimentalism." Citing twentieth-century critics, Besse notes that the
dance, [the elites] declared, was no longer an art form but a mere pretext for flirting – an opportunity to engage in conversations while ‘sinfully’ entangling ‘bodies and rhythmically agitating limbs...’[f]rom [men’s] point of view, it was women who were destroying the family. They protested that women, corrupted by ‘Bolshevik liberties,’ had lost all sense of prudence, responsibility and modesty.

Besse also notes that national anxiety towards the dancehall was expressed by Brazilian officials, citing that reports on dancehall immorality (among others) were sprinkled throughout the Rio de Janeiro police journal *Vida Policial* [Police Life]. Thus, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers expressed a definition of respectability deeply rooted in bourgeois values.

As alluded to in the previous anecdote, the Brazilian bourgeois feared that the fraternization between men and unaccompanied women in public spaces such as the dancehall

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172 Films and increased tourism brought the American Foxtrot and Charleston, as well as the Argentine Tango into Brazilian dancehalls. The *maxixe*, often known as the Brazilian tango was also popular. It originated in Rio de Janeiro and was developed from Afro-Brazilian dances such as lundu and from European dances such as the polka. For more on dancehall culture and the imposition of foreign dances, see Susan Besse, *Restructuring Patriarchy* and Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*.
173 Besse: 33.
174 Besse: 33, 45. Most critics stemmed from the Brazilian elite, whose children often engaged in this new “youthful” behaviour.
175 Besse: 45.
risked masculinizing women. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers were critical of the fashions and behaviours that implied a blurring distinction between femininity and masculinity. In the November 1925 issue of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, writer Horacio da Cunha dedicated an editorial to the *moças de cor de São Paulo* or the "girls of colour from São Paulo." In the editorial, da Cunha pressed girls to avoid the European haircut known as *la Garçonne*, named after the French term for “boy” due to its androgynous look. Similar to the white bourgeois, Da Cunha elicited anxiety regarding the masculinization of women. Besse explains that the conservative officials in the First Republic feared that masculinization of women was a step towards moral decadence, and even worse, could lead to lesbianism. Moral decadence and homosexuality were the antitheses to the Brazilian elite’s vision of a robust and healthy family as immorality and homosexuality morally and biologically impeded women from creating and nurturing Brazil’s future citizenry.

Da Cunha’s rally against *la Garçonne* asserted writers’ preference for European fashion and also implicitly attempted to alter the physical characteristics of the black woman that informed her racial classification. As an alternative to *la Garçonne*, da Cunha asked women to adopt a “softer” hairstyle such as the French braid. Since racial classification systems in Brazil were not only based on race, but phenotypic characteristics such as facial structure, skin colour, and hair, physical attributes such as hair, Caldwell asserts, were quintessential markers of one’s

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176 Horacio da Cunha “La Garçonne,” *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, November 15, 1925: 1. Although da Cunha does not make it explicit in his editorial, *La Garçonne* was the French equivalent to the "modern girl" in Brazil and abroad. Thus, his critique of the "modern" hairstyle not only reflects a sense of unease of the potential masculinization of women but simultaneously and outward rejection towards the "modern girl" movement in its entirety.

177 Besse: 133-140.

racial identity.\textsuperscript{179} Citing the 1930s Carnaval song “Your Hair Gives you Away,” Caldwell interpreted its lyrics as an expression of racial ‘outing,’ indicating that hair texture and style was an overt marker of African ancestry.\textsuperscript{180} By asking readers to adopt a French-style of hair, writers reflect their affinity with European culture and also implicitly ask black women readers to suppress signs of their African ancestry to styles attributed to whiteness. In essence, the men behind \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} attempt to establish a middle-class black identity that is more than cultural, but physical as well.

Da Cunha’s criticisms of the \textit{moças de cor de São Paulo} [girls of colour of São Paulo] also aligned with Brazilian bourgeois values because it simultaneously blamed Brazilian immorality on the American importation of youth culture. Brazilian urban reformers, especially the state, believed that the "modern girl" was a sign of American cultural intrusion, threatening Brazil’s ability to establish its own authentic national identity. Seigel argues that the Brazilian state perceived the rise of "modern" youth culture to be founded on the cultural influence of the United States and the "invasion of American film."\textsuperscript{181} The Brazilian Republic perceived American cultural imposition as a threat to Brazil’s ability to establish a distinctive national identity.\textsuperscript{182} Sueann Caulfield notes that changes to gender roles, and the rise of youth culture, was associated with the “fast” morals of co-education in the United States, and were a reflection of American moral failings.\textsuperscript{183} Also, the rejection of the "modern girl" was a rejection against

\begin{footnotes}
\item[179] Caldwell: 81-89.
\item[180] Caldwell: 89.
\item[181] Seigel: 200.
\item[182] Seigel: 200.
\item[183] Likewise, Susan Besse finds that the Brazilian state perceived changes to gender roles as foreign, and a product of American influence.
\end{footnotes}
American cultural and political influence. Although Brazil looked to Europe as a cultural and socio-economic model, the First Republic sought to establish an authentically Brazilian national identity that differentiated Brazil from Portugal and Argentina. In an era of continued colonization as evidenced by the redistribution of the Ottoman Empire following World War I, to be influenced by a nation of a similar age indicated a sense of political and cultural weakness. In decrying the behaviour of "girls," versus "women," da Cunha simultaneously elicits a rejection of the expansion of youth culture, and by extension the influence of Westernization.

However, most concerning to da Cunha, is the hairstyle’s association with women in the workplace. Da Cunha decried “la Garçonne,” because it was associated with the European women who worked in “bars” and “confectionaries.”\textsuperscript{184} The Brazilian bourgeois considered allowing women in the workforce as risky behaviour not only because it threatened the institution of family by removing the woman from her motherly duties but because it also embodied a related fear: radical feminism. By the 1920s, a moderate organized feminist movement took shape under the \textit{Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino} [Brazilian Federation for the Advancement of Women] (FBPF). The Brazilian-born, French-educated biologist Berta Lutz founded the FBPF. Lutz and a cadre of middle-class women did not seek to revolutionize Brazil’s social order but sought to celebrate women’s domestic roles, enhance access to education, and secure suffrage.\textsuperscript{185} Despite the FBPF’s rather conservative approach, there were great divides as to what it meant to be a “feminist,” ranging from the Catholic

\textsuperscript{184} da Cunha, “La Garçonne”; 1. Susan Besse notes that Temperance movements had less of an appeal in Brazil, but the Brazilian elite continued to perceive bars as masculine spaces.
\textsuperscript{185} Hahner: 96-96.
feminist, who “preached that ‘without God, Fatherland, Honor, and Family, there is no feminism possible’” to the single professional woman who sought paid employment as a form of emancipation and independence.\textsuperscript{186} According to June Hahner, many of the mainstream feminist movements rejected the “radical feminism” found in countries such as France. Brazilian feminist movements did not seek to subvert gender roles. Instead, these movements sought to influence men’s perceptions of women’s work as important rather than menial.\textsuperscript{187} For these newly-emerging conservative feminists, the prospect of women working as barmaids and servers was a radical one because it removed women from the home and put women directly in the public eye.

\textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} writers and editors used their class and periodical to insert themselves in the cultural reproduction of bourgeois Brazil. Writers espoused an ideology predicated on ideals of domesticity, motherhood, and nation that white Brazilians promoted. This strategy allowed \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} writers to assert their morality, patriarchal authority, and desire to join the Brazilian establishment versus tearing it down. Importantly, it also affirmed that writers embodied a middle-class identity similar to that of the white bourgeois. In essence, writers reflected a desire to fracture black racial solidarity and instead implement class-based racial identities that situated middle-class black men as superior to the black masses and in alignment with values of the white middle-class.

\textsuperscript{186} Besse: 164.
\textsuperscript{187} Hahner: 97.
Chapter Two: Respectable Resistance: Women Writers

*O Clarim d’Alvorada* was an overwhelmingly male space. However, the periodical was not devoid of women’s participation. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* editors appealed to black women’s writings to further alleviate the blanketed stigmatization of black culture, and thus advocate for black middle-class inclusion into Brazil. In the historiographical literature, women’s writings in the *paulista* black press, including *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, are often acknowledged. However, scholars have yet to examine women’s writings critically, a lacuna that this chapter aims to fill. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* editors relegated women writers to literary genres. However, their writings were not insignificant. Women engaged in respectability politics as well as subtle forms of resistance against the Brazilian establishment via literary writing. Their writings reflected mastery of European-based culture, and the content of their writings revealed to its readers that at least some black women writers embodied bourgeois femininity. Women writer also engaged in the anti-positivist literary movement known as Brazilian modernism, evidencing a sense of confrontation towards the Brazilian establishment. Lastly, women’s writings signalled the importance of black women in re-shaping white Brazilian perceptions of Brazil’s black middle-class. Women writers re-defined discourses on black identity by crafting a black middle-class identity that was culturally different, and in writers’ and editors’ eyes, better than that of the black Brazilian masses.

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188 See Paulina Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion* and Kim D. Butler *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won.*
Identifying a precise number of women’s writings in *O Clarim d’Alvorada* is methodologically challenging. Often, writers vaguely signed under their first initial and last name (e.g. C. Moyses), and some pieces were even written anonymously.\(^{189}\) Ambiguous signatures coupled with a lack of literature on the actual contributors to *O Clarim d’Alvorada* inhibits this author from precisely identifying the specific gender ratio of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* contributors. Among two dozen issues of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, this author definitively identified five writings signed by feminine names. This author identified a writer’s performed gender through an assessment of the masculinity/femininity of the first name and by considering how writers employed masculine/feminine tenses to describe themselves.\(^{190}\) This ambiguity of signatures, coupled with the frequent use of pseudonyms, adds another layer of complexity in the assessment of gender ratios in *O Clarim d’Alvorada*. As indicated by Alberto, black press writers, including *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, commonly employed pseudonyms.\(^{191}\) It is possible that women may not have written some pieces signed with feminine signatures. Likewise, it is possible that women wrote non-literary pieces but signed either anonymously or with a male pseudonym. However, the gender of the author is important. What is crucial is the gendered message of the article content. Moreover, determining the race behind women writers is likewise challenging. However, as a periodical that advertised itself as a newspaper written by and for Afro-descended Brazilians, it is likely that each writing was assumed by its readers to be written

\(^{189}\) For example see L. Asobrac, “*O Casamento*,” *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, February 20, 1927: 3.

\(^{190}\) Similar to several Indo-European languages (e.g. Spanish, French, Hindi and so forth) grammatical gender is found in Brazilian Portuguese as a form of noun class/agreement system. In Brazilian Portuguese, demonstratives and adjectives are required to agree in gender. Gender can be deduced from endings of demonstratives or adjectives: "o" for masculine, "a" for feminine.

\(^{191}\) Alberto: 25.
by an Afro-descended individual. Similar to gender, the exact ethnic origin of the author is unimportant, but the racial message, coupled with the gendered message of the article content is what is crucial to this analysis.

All five writings signed as women writers were a part of an artistic literary genre (i.e. poetry, short story, and so forth). However, women’s literary writings were not meaningless nor apolitical. Instead, they fit into *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s broader literary project. Despite *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s embodiment of a moral, social, and political prescriptive tone as explored in the previous chapter, *Clarim d’Alvorada* principally envisioned itself as a literary journal. As early as the first issue, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* published under the byline of “Organ of Literature, Science, and Politics.” Between 1924 and 1927, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* consistently alternated its original byline between “Organ of Literature, Notice, and Humour,” and “Organ of Literature, Science and Humour.” Despite this byline variation, *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s byline always featured “Literature,” indicating that *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s literary component was significant for writers and editors. Nor were literary pieces it published politically neutral. As Butler notes, black literary production signalled black mastery of European-based culture. However, as with the definitions of respectability as explored in the previous chapter, European-influenced artistic literary pieces were not merely a reflection of black integration. Instead, it was a strategy that

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193 For more examples see *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, March 2, 1924: 1; *O Clarim d’Alvorada* September 27, 1925: 1; *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, May 1927: 1.
194 For more examples see *O Clarim d’Alvorada* November 15, 1925; *O Clarim d’Alvorada* November 14, 1926; *O Clarim d’Alvorada* May 13, 1927.
195 Butler: 93.
elevated *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers’ and editors’ social performances by distancing themselves from bourgeois perceptions of African cultural inferiority.

The *act* of writing itself asserted black editors’ desire for the maintenance of establishment and reflected a cultural separation between *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and the black masses. Angel Rama argues that the *act* of writing itself, or the ability to create and shape discourses, provided the writer with a sense of legitimacy throughout the colonial periods and into the twentieth century. Rama’s theory applied to *O Clarim d’Alvorada*. The ability to read and write was rare in twentieth-century Brazil as literacy rates were approximately 12.5% among white Brazilians and due to barriers to education less than 12.5% for black Brazilians, and even less for black women. Literacy reflected a level of prestige as well as provided an opportunity for the black middle-class to join the establishment. Jerry Dávila’s analysis of public education and social policy in twentieth-century Brazil shows that urban reformers believed that literacy and education were vital to strengthening Brazil’s citizenry and by extension, the nation. However, literacy and education up to the 1920s were overwhelmingly limited to the white Brazilian elite. Besse notes that by the end of the nineteenth century, urban middle-class women began to seek education, and by extension literacy, resulting in a state-led reform of primary and intermediate school education in the early 1890s in São Paulo. This education was overwhelmingly dominated by middle-class white girls, reinforcing stereotypes of black

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198 Dávila: 5-6.
199 Dávila: 6.
200 Besse: 114.
intellectual inferiority.201 Thus, the literacy attained by a small cohort of black *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers signalled that not all Afro-descended Brazilians were culturally inferior.

Literacy for black women was a marker of prestige and signalled black middle-class desire to maintain the cultural status quo. It also signalled that black women were not necessarily inferior as mothers and as wives. Recall from the previous chapter, the Brazilian bourgeois, state, and Church situated women as the principal agents in educating and instilling morality into their children.202 Literacy was an essential facet for the maintenance of a robust familial institution. Literacy ensured that mothers were capable of providing proper education. Black women’s literacy indicated that black women could enthrall themselves in the plethora of normative literature that emerged in the 1920s. Amaral notes that as part of the state-supported social-hygiene movement, Bahian urban reformers directed lessons on proper maternal health towards mothers via the mainstream press to improve the health of the nation.203 Susan Besse similarly asserts that normative literature sought to “indoctrinate” mothers and wives with rationalized, and scientific lessons on motherhood.204 Both Amaral and Besse situate women as key actors in the dissemination of rationalized motherhood and health via normative literature. Thus, the inclusion of black women’s writings subtly signalled that some black women could align themselves with the social-sanitary project put forth by the state.

201 Besse: 114.
202 Besse: 89-110.
203 Amaral: 927-944.
204 Besse: 91-108.
The inclusion of black women’s writings evidenced that not all black women embodied a hardened, masculine, and by extension, improper femininity. Colonial rigid racial divisions of labour pigeonholed black women into domestic service, fostering a stereotype of the masculine black woman. Women’s involvement in domestic service is complex in terms of its influence on perceptions of one’s femininity. On the one hand, domestic service was an extension of the roles that women were intended to fulfill within the household (e.g. cooking, cleaning, childrearing, and so forth). However, as Graham finds in her influential *House and Street*, black women, in particular, were often given tasks in locations perceived as dirty and risky such as urban markets. Graham also notes that the tasks given to domestic servants were physically laborious. For example, domestic servants hauled laundry to the city for wash, lugged drinking water from the city for consumption, and tended livestock. Andrews notes that even post-abolition black women were often employed as domestic servants. According to Caldwell, women’s participation in physical labour (such as domestic service) was considered by Brazilians as evidence of a woman’s masculinity. In addition, in post-abolition Brazil, the black woman’s role as a domestic servant signalled that black men lacked honour. Black women’s position as domestic servants signalled the black household’s economic fragility. Andrews notes that domestic service was often the only stable and decently paid work available to black families. Andrews shows that at times, black women were the sole economic

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205 Caldwell: 51-52.  
209 Caldwell: 51-52.  
providers for the household as black men struggled to find stable employment.\footnote{Andrews, 
\textit{Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988}: 35.} For black men, stereotypes of the masculinized black woman as the domestic servant reflected poorly on their honour. The masculinized image of the black woman symbolized the possibility that black men’s patriarchal authority was usurped by the masculine black woman who was unfeminine and at times, the sole economic earner for the black family.\footnote{Caldwell: 51-52.}

The content of women’s writings in \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} distanced black women writers from the majority of illiterate and poor black women who engaged in hardened, masculine work such as domestic service. Specifically, engagement with themes of sentimentality and romanticism further illustrated the writer’s embodiment of bourgeois femininity as these themes reinforced the fragility of writers. For example, a short story written by Maria de Lourdes Souza explored themes of love and pain:

\begin{quote}
My first love – a phrase you repeat but combat…which reeks of incense; that it beats on earth, in the air, in the heavens with the dawn of life and of bloodshed with astonishment of joy and signs of longing…Today, with no sweet memories, I lean to the past, I ask, I ask, I comment on the desert and solitude…From now on my heart is closed to all for love, only the pain and nostalgia reign in.\footnote{Maria de Lourdes Souza, “O Meu Primero Amor,” \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada}, February 3, 1924: 2.}
\end{quote}

In revealing feelings of pain and longing, the poem illustrated that at least some black women, such as the writer, embodied Brazilian bourgeois feminine ideals of emotional fragility. As noted by Besse, “true womanliness” was embodied by sensitivity, delicacy, and with a developed sense of “elegance and tenderness.”\footnote{Besse: 148-149.} Besse goes on to argue that the participation of women as
writers reflected embodiments of fragility.\footnote{Besse: 179.} For male black writers, it was imperative for them to re-orient the stereotypes of at least some black women because black men’s embodiments of honour depended on the behaviour of "their" women. Thus, if at least a small cohort of black women were perceived by the white middle-class as embodiments of bourgeois femininity, it enhanced the prospect that the Brazilian bourgeois and state would perceive members of the black middle-class as honourable. This illustrates an emerging fracture to racial solidarity based on a class-based alliance that framed middle-class black Brazilians as better than poor black Brazilians.

Lourdes Souza’s poem also subtly engaged in respectability politics by revealing a political and social message. Lourdes Souza illustrated her desire for a relationship based on companionship. Lourdes Souza appealed to themes of love versus lust, reflecting a level of sexual modesty which was an essential facet of bourgeois femininity. In revealing that her relationship lacked "sweet memories," Lourdes Souza asserted her value of compassion and intimacy in relationships.\footnote{Maria de Lourdes Souza, “O Meu Primero Amor”: 2.} At the turn of the twentieth century, the First Brazilian Republic believed that the maintenance of a healthy marriage was critical in the maintenance of a strong family, which by their logic, would contribute to a healthy state. By the 1920s, the institution of marriage was subject to increased public control and debate.\footnote{For more information on marriage, reform see Susan Besse, Restructuring Patriarchy.} Those characterized by the Catholic Church as “radical,” sought to enhance the institution of marriage by supporting practices such as divorce.\footnote{Besse: 49.} “Reformers” (i.e. those related to the state) sought to enhance the

\footnote{Besse: 179.}
\footnote{Maria de Lourdes Souza, “O Meu Primero Amor”: 2.}
\footnote{For more information on marriage, reform see Susan Besse, Restructuring Patriarchy.}
\footnote{Besse: 49.}
institution of marriage through the implementation of hygiene practices such as the rationalization of marriage via a division of household labour.\textsuperscript{219} However, despite differing strategies, intimacy and love, rather than economic interest, were perceived by Brazilian political officials, and even the Church as paramount to the foundation of a healthy modern marriage.\textsuperscript{220} As Besse notes, state calls for intimacy and love was a response to the emergence of biological determinist interpretations of manhood and womanhood that situated the two genders as embodiments of two different cultures.\textsuperscript{221} According to Besse, intimacy and love served to harmonize the supposedly opposing genders.\textsuperscript{222} Additionally, the title of the poem, \textit{My First Love}, simultaneously signalled that black women were engaging in more than one modest but intimate relationship in their lifetimes. This reflects a stark departure from the rigid structure of economically-influenced marriages that dominated the colonial era.\textsuperscript{223} In essence, this poem indicated that \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} women writers, and by extension “their” men, attempted to foster their inclusion by immersing themselves in bourgeois values.

In a similar vein, black women’s writings in \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} asserted black middle-class cultural and spiritual purity. The November 1925 issue of \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} featured a short story written by Anna Maria titled “\textit{Jejus}” [Jesus]. In the short story, Anna Maria wrote about a “dark figure” who was brought back into comfort after living in “sadness and sin.”\textsuperscript{224} Catholicism was a complicated accessory to the Republic’s motto of order and progress. While

\textsuperscript{219} Besse: 60.
\textsuperscript{220} Besse: 60.
\textsuperscript{221} Besse: 60.
\textsuperscript{222} Besse: 60.
\textsuperscript{224} Anna Maria, “Jejus,” \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada}, November 15, 1925: 3.
positivism was harnessed by the Brazilian Republic as a vehicle for national modernization, Catholicism was antithetical to the Republic’s positivist vision of establishing a state built on rational and empirical principles. The Republic of 1889 approved a constitution that separated the Church from the State. However, unlike countries like Mexico, where the Cristero Rebellion resulted in a state-church confrontation, the secular philosophy espoused by the state was moderate as it continued to allow the Church to have some social and ideological influence. The Church’s ideological conceptualizations of morality, piety, and purity remained embedded in Brazilian bourgeois ideals of femininity and served as a core component in the maintenance of the institution of the family. In including the story of a woman’s spiritual salvation, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* editors asserted the purity of their spirits, as well as suggested that some black women writers also embodied spiritual purity. Anna Maria’s story distanced writers from the perceived barbaric practices of *Candomblé*. Appealing to Catholicism was critical for *O Clarim d’Alvorada*. *Candomblé* is a syncretic religion that was established by slaves in the Northeastern region of Salvador, Bahia during the nineteenth century. The religion was a fusion of Yoruba, Fon, and Bantu beliefs that were brought from Western and Central Africa by enslaved people. White Brazilians condemned *Candomblé* because its association with African culture and its link to Brazilian slave culture was considered to have rendered it an embodiment of primitiveness and barbarism. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Catholic Church

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227 Butler: 75.
violently persecuted the Afro-descended religion by burning down places of worship and stealing religious symbols.\textsuperscript{228} Brazilians perceived \textit{Candomblé} as antithetical to the Brazilian republic’s desire for order and progress based on its cultural association with Africa. Thus, Anna Maria’s engagement with themes of religiosity reflects that, in print, women writers attempted to re-shape discourses on black Brazilians by crafting a black middle-class identity rooted in white bourgeois ideals and distanced from Africanisms.

However, some black women’s writings reveal a subtle level of resistance against the positivist-influence, highly rationalized culture disseminated and embraced by the Brazilian state and bourgeois. A poem written by Maria Lourdes Souza articulated the pain of an unreciprocated love:

\begin{quote}
I love you very much, yet I cannot discover
How can I be loved by you?...
And this love so eternal….
What deep sadness, what sadness
I cannot ever understand my soul
This love is so great, eternal and beautiful
That although I live in this anxious agony
He would not die, not even in the tomb.\textsuperscript{229}
\end{quote}

On the surface level, Lourdes Souza’s poem further reinforced that black women embodied Brazilian bourgeois values of the sentimentality. However, the poem subtly reflected resistance against the Euro-centric Brazilian nationalism and positivist mentality that was encouraged by the First Republic and bourgeoisie. Structurally, Lourdes Souza’s poem is irrational. Her poem

\textsuperscript{228} State and police-led persecution of Candomblé ended in the 1970s following the repeal of a law that required police permission to hold public ceremonies.
lacked a consistent meter pattern, rhyme, and an image pattern. Her free verse poem is consistent with the artistic and aesthetic principles of Brazilian modernism. Modernism emerged alongside O Clarim d’Alvorada in the city of São Paulo in 1922. Brazilian modernism was an aesthetic and cultural revolution against the rigidness of positivism. Artists, architects, and writers who adhered to Brazilian modernism appealed to unstructured and unempirical approaches to their art.\textsuperscript{230} Thus, despite embodying the sentimental themes and topics espoused by women writers such as Lourdes Souza, in print, women appeared as subtle agents of resistance.

In a similar vein, contributors to O Clarim d’Alvorada celebrated African Diasporic cultural production, including contributions by women. In the November 1925 issue of O Clarim d’Alvorada, an editorial signed by Brooker discussed the accomplishments of several Afro-descended people within the global African Diasporic community. In a matter-of-fact tone, Brooker highlighted the artistic contributions of Juan Latino, a Spanish black professor at the University of Granada, as well as black Russian poet Alexander Sergeyevich, calling him the “best poet in Russia.”\textsuperscript{231} Importantly, the sentiment simultaneously signalled a subtle level of confrontation by black writers towards the Brazilian establishment. In 1928, (three years following this editorial), Brazilian modernist Oswald de Andrade controversially wrote the Manifesto Antropófago [Cannibal Manifesto] which argued that Brazil, like a cannibal, should


\textsuperscript{231} Brooker, “Negro,” O Clarim d’Alvorada, November 15, 1925: 2.
consume foreign culture, and in digestion, create its own culture.\textsuperscript{232} Andrade’s cannibalistic premise directly conflicted with the state’s desire to establish an authentically Brazilian identity. By lauding international production, \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} editors reflected a desire to assert themselves against European post-colonial cultural domination, which by extension, contributed to the cultural and racial suppression of black Brazilians. Importantly, the anecdote mentioned above also legitimized the role of women as writers and in black middle-class cultural production. When discussing the Harlem Renaissance, the editorial focused only on African-American women’s cultural production. Brooker provides a career-based biography of Edmonia Lewis, the first woman of African-American and Native American heritage to garner international attention as a sculptor.\textsuperscript{233} Although Lewis emerged before the Harlem Renaissance, scholars attribute her to providing greater cultural legitimacy to the Harlem Renaissance.\textsuperscript{234} The editorial also recognized the artistic accomplishments of African-American artist Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller. Referring to her as the “most notable sculptor of the black race in America.”\textsuperscript{235} This laudatory account suggests an implicit acceptance of the role of black women in cultural production as a method to negotiate cultural inclusion.

The inclusion of women’s writings and \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada}’s legitimization of the inclusion of women’s writings was not necessarily a part of a broad-sweeping feminist endeavour. \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} writers reflected a level of caution in their inclusion of

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{233} Brooker, “Negro”: 2.
\textsuperscript{235} Brooker, “Negro”: 2.
\end{footnotes}
women’s writing by limiting women writers to artistic genres. Following the short story and poem written by Maria Lourdes Souza in the February 1924 issue of O Clarim d’Alvorada, the editor applauded Lourdes Souza’s work and cautiously asked that “we hope that other women will try and imitate her.” The term *imitate* suggests that writers did not want women to expand their writings beyond the realms of artistic genres. The Brazilian bourgeois rendered the participation of women as artistic writers as acceptable. Compared to other professions, women were most visible in the arts (e.g. writings, fine arts, and so forth). By 1924, a magazine written by (white) women for (white) women, Revista Feminina [Women’s Magazine] circulated freely, and quickly became Brazil’s first commercially successful women’s magazine, illustrating that there was a level of bourgeois acceptance of the circulation of women’s writings. As Besse argues, the participation of women in the arts was perceived as non-threatening to the Brazilian bourgeoisie because Brazilian intellectuals perceived writing as an extension of women’s "natural" disposition to sentimentality. However, the Brazilian bourgeois did not accept all women’s writings. As articulated by historian Sandra Lúcia Lopes Lima, the Revista Feminina, while widespread, was overtly conservative in its articulations in that writers espoused views that sought to elevate perceptions of the relative importance of women’s roles as mothers and wives, which aligned with the bourgeois’ desire to maintain the institution of the family. Thus, the inclusion of women’s writings in O Clarim d’Alvorada further reflected adherence to white

236 “Maria Lourdes Souza,” *O Clarim d’Alvorada* February 3, 1924: 3.  
238 Besse: 148-149, 178.  
239 Lima: 232.
bourgeois values by demonstrating a conservative thematic restraint in the inclusion of women’s writings.

However as explored in Lourdes Souza’s subtly rebellious take on modernism and her appeal to themes of modern marriage, women’s writings provided women with power to influence race relations and on a more personal level, writing also allowed women to re-orient their own self-identities. Although the suggestion of “imitating” is limiting for women, the act of writing, regardless of theme and genre, is a critical part of identity formation. Roz Ivanič argues that the act of writing provides writers with the opportunity to engage with discourses that they embody. In other words, the act of writing is significant because it provides women with the opportunity to re-orient their self-identity. Legacies of patriarchy, coupled with legislative measures, reinforced the subordination of wives to their husbands, limiting their autonomy to some extent to the will of their husband as well as limiting their identities to their position as wife and mother. Betty Friedan asserts that women were forced to rely on their husbands and children as their sources of identity. She goes on to argue that the: “[a]natomy is woman’s destiny, say the theorists of femininity; the identity of woman is determined by her biology.” In essence, Friedan argues that throughout the twentieth-century women’s identities were based on their supposed biological capacity for domesticity and motherhood. Therefore, writing provided

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240 See also Roz Ivanič, *Writing Identity*.
241 In 1916, the First Republic enacted legislation that legally denoted the husband as head of household, leaving married women legally subordinated to her husband. For more on the Brazilian Civil code see *The Civil Code of Brazil* (Brazil: Thomas Law Book Company, 1920).
243 For more on the biological determinism of women’s roles see Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*. 

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women with an opportunity to negotiate and assert their own identity, beyond what was decided for them by the dictates of positivist thought and official Brazilian discourse.

By 1927, there was an abrupt transition in the rhetoric espoused by women writers. Unlike earlier pieces that doted on themes of love and sentimentality, by 1927, women’s writings served as a call to action for women to read and be instructed by the periodical. The November 1927 issue of O Clarim d’Alvorada elicited a subtle call for women to take action through the strategic placement of two opposing pieces. First, O Clarim d’Alvorada editors included a poem signed by the feminine name Adalgisa Correa Loro. The poem was titled Saudade which is a term that does not have a direct translation to English. However, it is defined as a deep state of melancholic longing or nostalgia for something that has passed. As perhaps implied by the title and its translation, the poem exhibited feminine themes of sentimentality. She transcribed the emotional responses associated with life passing and painfully asserts that “things [that] shine” are inevitably “gone in an instant.”

O Clarim d’Alvorada supplemented the poem alongside a strongly worded editorial that inadvertently critiqued the emotionality present within Correa Loro’s poem. On the following page of the same issue, an essay titled O Meu Conselheo [My Advice] asks “for what reason” some individuals “sadly murmur…cursing the lucky stick…Why deem yourself unhappy!...Do not cry!” The editorial did not explicitly identify what complaint the author perceived as burdening the population. However, the implementation of this sentiment following the poem is a clear editorial choice that elicited a desire for black women to rise from the ashes. In a similar vein, O Clarim d’Alvorada included a short story written by Evangelina

Xavier de Carvalho. Carvalho recounted a parable of an old man who dedicated his life to the protection of the poor and elderly. Carvalho asked “gentle friends, sister with sentiment,” “[p]rotect the old and the craven poor” and “continue with this paper and use as instruction.”

The inclusion of Carvalho’s parable softens the more direct message towards women readers by reaffirming notions of sentimentality and romanticism. However, the direct call for women reflects that editors accepted more direct commentary by women. In a sense, this pattern mimicked strategies employed in normative gender literature genres such as the Revista Feminina. As Besse notes, the women writers in the magazine attempted to “indoctrinate” women with lessons on motherhood, but also softened their approach by including artistic pieces that served to encouraged women to engage in the arts. Thus, in the inclusion of women’s writings, O Clarim d’Alvorada editors signalled a desire to include black women in their efforts of shaping a new class-based identity rooted in discourses promoted by the Brazilian bourgeois.

Despite their rarity, women’s writings in O Clarim d’Alvorada were not insignificant. This chapter read women’s writings as an attempt by O Clarim d’Alvorada editors to further engage in respectability politics. Women’s writings attempted to re-shape the identities of the small cohort of black affluent men behind O Clarim d’Alvorada and also helped shape an identity for black women that was palatable for the consumption by the Brazilian bourgeois. Women’s engagement with Brazilian modernism also reflected a quiet level of confrontation towards the Brazilian establishment. Lastly, this chapter identified that black women writers

246 Evangelina Xavier de Carvalho, “Anno Velho e Novo!”: 1.
called on women to take more significant action, signalling editors’ desire to incorporate black women into their project of founding an exclusive class-based black identity.
Chapter Three: Racial Democracy before Racial Democracy: Mãe Preta as a Symbol of Black Sacrifice and Cross-Racial Solidarity

Writing in 1933, Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre famously refuted the perceived inferiority of Brazil’s history of miscegenation in his work The Masters and the Slaves. He stated that:

The strength, or, better, the potential of Brazilian culture seems to us to reside wholly in the wealth of its balanced antagonisms ... Not that in Brazilians subsist, as in the Anglo American, two antagonistic halves, black and white; that of the ex-master and ex-slave. In no way. We are two, fraternal halves ... that come mutually enriched by diverse values and experiences when we complete one another in one whole.248

Freyre’s interpretation of Brazil’s racial complexity downplayed racial division, and instead highlighted notions of fraternity. In essence, he established a Brazilian version of la Raza Cósmica [The Cosmic Race], arguing that interracial contact and cultural fusion resulted in one mixed-race identity for all Brazilians.249 This idea of a single race was a palatable one for Brazilians because it provided a way to establish an aura of equality, which was critical in a time of social unrest caused by growing urbanization and increasing social stratification.250 However,

249 La Raza Cósmica is an essay published by Mexican philosopher and 1929 presidential candidate José Vasconcelos proposed an ideology that consolidated the mestizo (mixed-race) as a superior and proposed that it would become the future universal race of the Americas.
250 Anthony Marx, Making Race and Nation: a Comparison of South Africa, the United States and Brazil (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 12. By the 1930s, Brazil saw a proliferation of social movements such as the Black Brazilian Front (FNB), the women’s rights movement, and socialist movements.
the notion continued to allow the maintenance of an economy based on severe inequality.\textsuperscript{251} While Freyre did not coin the term racial democracy, his work served as the impetus for its adoption as Brazil’s national narrative under the presidency and later dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas and his proto-fascist regime of the 1930s.\textsuperscript{252} Vargas established an official nationalist agenda and embarked on a state mission in cultura nacional or national culture.\textsuperscript{253} Vargas sought to create a sense of Brazilian-ness or brasilidade surrounded by an authentically Brazilian national culture that would ultimately unify the multiracial nation.\textsuperscript{254} In his effort to establish a national culture, Vargas institutionalized the notion of a Brazilian identity based on racial mixture, encouraging the inclusion of African-descended culture into Brazil’s national identity.\textsuperscript{255}

Although the racial democracy theory has received substantial scholarly attention, most scholarship pigeonholes the racial democracy thesis into discussions on the proto-fascist regime of the 1930s and Gilberto Freyre’s \textit{The Masters and the Slaves} (1933).\textsuperscript{256} However, before the official promulgation of racial democracy, \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} writers defined racial democracy in their own terms. Hence, this chapter’s title: Racial Democracy before Racial Democracy. However, unlike Freyre and Vargas, \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} did not define the nation

\textsuperscript{252} In 1930, Getúlio Vargas, the leader of the nationalist regime overthrew the First Brazilian Republic in 1930. As leader, Vargas promulgated the notion of racial democracy via a government-sponsored nationalist program that sought to re-define Brazil’s national narrative as one of racial democracy.

\textsuperscript{254} Hernandez: 76.
\textsuperscript{255} Philippou: 257.
\textsuperscript{256} For more on racial democracy see Telles, \textit{Race in Another America}, Kim D. Butler, \textit{ Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won}, Skidmore, \textit{Black into White}; France Winddance Twine, \textit{Racism in a Racial Democracy}. 
as a family. Instead, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* elicited an image of Brazil as a racial democracy eliciting notions of black sacrifice and cross-racial solidarity via the symbol of *Mãe Preta*. In appealing to *Mãe Preta*, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* defined Brazil as a nation built and strengthened by the sacrifices and the pain of African slaves. In a similar vein to *O Clarim d’Alvorada’s* engagement in respectability politics, the cautious use of *Mãe Preta* as a symbol was palatable for consumption by the Brazilian bourgeois. In addition to eliciting familiar iconographical symbols such as the Virgin Mary, *Mãe Preta* served to quash the Brazilian perception (and anxiety) that Brazil’s African cultural heritage was detrimental to its development as a nation. Less benevolently than Freyre and Vargas, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* identified the relationship between black and white Brazilians as one of solidarity, albeit solidarity based on hardened black sacrifice. However, unlike the previous chapters, the use of *Mãe Preta* as a symbol does not attempt to distance writers from the black masses. Instead, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* deployed *Mãe Preta* as a symbol that reflected a generalized vision of black sacrifice. In addition, in their deployment of *Mãe Preta*, writers reflected less of a willingness to “prove” themselves. Importantly, this chapter further reaffirms through the study of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* as a case study that Brazil’s black press was not a homogenous entity in its views.

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257 The symbol of *Mãe Preta* recalled the black woman’s intimate role as the wet-nurse and childrearer for the plantation household during slavery. As enslaved and free women, black women performed a domestic and maternal role within the colonial household. Afro-descended women worked as mucamas (domestic servants), mães pretas (black mothers or mammys), and amas de leites (wet-nurses). According to Kia Lilly Caldwell, *Mães Pretas* often fulfilled all aforementioned roles (i.e. domestic service, wet-nursing, childrearing). For more the domestic roles of black women see Kia Lilly Caldwell *Negras in Brasil*. For more on domestic servants more broadly in a nineteenth century context see Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street*.

258 Miriam Nicolau Ferrara, Roger Bastide and Paulina Alberto have traced this evolution in political thought in their respective analyses of writings of the black press.
Between 1924 and 1927, the rhetoric espoused by *O Clarim d’Alvorada* became slightly more combative. Ferrara points out that changes in the periodical’s motto can indicate that *O Clarim d’Alvorada* became increasingly more combative as the years progressed. *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s motto changed from “Literary, News and Scientific Organ” or “Literary, News, and Political Organ” to “*O Clarim d’Alvorada* – for the interests of Black Men: Journalistic, Literary and Combative” in 1928.\(^{259}\) Similarly, Alberto notes a shift in language between 1928 and 1932 whereby *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers replaced terms such as “racial uplift” with those of “action,” “combat,” and “struggle.”\(^{260}\) For example, on June 18, 1927, an editorial called for a "tasteful monument" to be erected in commemoration of Luís Gama (1830-1882), a prominent nineteenth-century poet and abolitionist.\(^{261}\) In explaining the purpose of the monument, the anonymous writer appealed to combative imagery, asserting that black Brazilians will use the statue as "a weapon to prejude the prejudice."\(^{262}\) However, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers were not outwardly militant in every sentiment. In advocating for the Luís Gama monument, writers balanced their direct objections with indirect objections to Brazil’s racial hierarchies:

We do not aim to take the lead of anyone…The flag we fly is the flag of peace, and not the red banner of hatred and separation…We want to win, but with the smile of generosity….if we look at the prejudice that is the biggest reason of complaint of our patricians by heart…\(^{263}\)

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\(^{260}\) Alberto: 91. While it remains unclear as to why the language changed, Alberto notes that it may be a result of emerging schisms among *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors which led to *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s dissolution in 1932.  
\(^{261}\) “Um Monumento,” *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, June 18, 1927: 2.  
\(^{262}\) “Um Monumento,” *O Clarim d’Alvorada*: 2.  
\(^{263}\) “Um Monumento,” *O Clarim d’Alvorada*: 2.
By waving the flag of “peace” without complaint, contributors proposed a vision of a cautious and integrationist call to action. Instead of “proving” themselves fit for cultural inclusion by mimicking bourgeois values, and distancing themselves from the black masses, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers sought to challenge racial hierarchies more directly to demonstrate solidarity versus similarity. As the racial minority in the city of São Paulo, whereby a racial hierarchy provided white Brazilians and immigrants’ positions of political, economic, and even social power, a softly nuanced combative approach was strategic to avoid additional race-based repression.  

As part of this shift in tone from similarity to solidarity, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers and editors actively deployed Mãe Preta as the epitome of black sacrifice within the Brazilian nation. Black sacrifice became a reoccurring theme within *O Clarim d’Alvorada*. Contributors appealed to black sacrifice within the context of colonial slavery to motivate Afro-descended Brazilians to challenge Brazil’s paradoxical state of race relations. In the June 22, 1924 issue of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, contributors attempted to persuade readers to “work for the regeneration” of their class by establishing “a TRUE UNION.” Contributors attempted to justify their request by alluding to their history of sacrifice: “our granddads sacrificed themselves for present greatness…we need to unite.” Likewise, in the July 20, 1925 issue of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* in an editorial titled “Os Negros,” the contributor called for a battle against *decombrimento*

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264 Butler: 23-24. By the 1920s, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers had reason to fear government repression. The First Republic had already institutionalized governmental repression against African-descended cultural practices such as *capoeira*, *macumba* (black magic), and *condomble*.


266 Cintra, “De Que Necessitamos”: 1-2.
[disruption] which he defined as the persistent colour bias.²⁶⁷ The contributor attempted to justify their request by arguing that they “owe the slaves their gratitude” through their “sacrifice to their not always kindly masters.”²⁶⁸ However, contributors to O Clarim d’Alvorada did not situate the black slave man as the critical representation of colonial black sacrifice. Instead, O Clarim d’Alvorada deployed Mãe Preta as the key representational figure.

O Clarim d’Alvorada placed Mãe Preta quite literally at the center of its explications of abolition. In an issue celebrating the anniversary of Brazilian abolition, the entire first page of O Clarim d’Alvorada featured a poem on Mãe Preta that was physically structured to read “13 MAIO” [May 13th – the anniversary date of Brazilian abolition]. (Figure Two). However, Mãe Preta was not a direct figure of abolition. Instead, she was symbolic of slavery. Figures who were directly involved in abolition such as the Pães Negros [Black Fathers] (e.g. José do Patrocinio, Luiz Gama, Joaquim Nabuco) and most significantly, Princess Regent Isabel, were relegated to the succeeding pages within the celebratory issue of O Clarim d’Alvorada. Writers’ depiction of Mãe Preta as the embodiment of abolition marked a stark departure

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from the hagiographical accounts of the Princess Regent Isabel found within the first-anniversary issue of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* of abolition in 1924.

In 1924, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers appealed to the historical contributions of the Princess Regent Isabel (b. 1846 – d. 1921) in commemorating abolition. In *O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s first commemoration of abolition in May of 1924, contributors placed the Princess Regent Isabel at the center of abolition discussions in an editorial titled “The Redemption of Our Race.” (Figure 3). The editorial detailed the key political figures and actors that contributed to abolition. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers attributed abolition to the influences of the House and Senate and also the moral compass of the Princess Regent Isabel. O Clarim d’Alvorada writers referred to her as the “Redeemer,” and continued saying a prayer for her: "We implore Jesus for her blessed soul and for all those who took part in the campaign of our redemption." Subtly, *O Clarim*

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269 *Dona* Isabel was the Brazilian-born heiress presumptive to the throne of the Empire of Brazil which was occupied by her father Emperor Pedro II (b. 1825 – d. 1892). In 1887, Emperor Pedro II required medical assistance in Europe. In her father’s absence, *Dona* Isabel served as regent to the Empire of Brazil. Although *Dona* Isabel was regent and not yet Empress, she decisively supported abolition and introduced anti-slavery legislation known as *A Lei Áurea* or the Golden Law, which ended slavery. For more on Princess Isabel see also Roderick Barman, *Princess Isabel of Brazil: Gender and Power in the Nineteenth Century* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002).


d’Alvorada writers aligned themselves with principles of Catholicism, while distancing themselves from so-called primitive practices such as Candomblé. Importantly, O Clarim d’Alvorada’s placement of the Princess Regent at the heart of abolition was relatively palatable for bourgeois consumption. Roger Kittleson argues in his study of femininity, womanhood, and Brazilian abolition, that abolition was perceived as a “feminized” movement whereby Brazilians perceived abolition as part of Princess Isabel’s natural predisposition as a woman.272 Simply put, abolition was feminine. Thus, in situating Mãe Preta at the centre of the anniversary of slavery in 1927, writers implicitly linked her to the benevolent, spiritually pure, and familiar figure of the Princess Regent, affirming the femininity and motherly qualities of Mãe Preta.

Importantly, relative to the Princess Regent, Mãe Preta was a more attractive symbol for the Brazilian bourgeois. First, Mãe Preta did not represent a political disruption to the First Brazilian Republic. Although the Princess Regent’s call on abolition was perceived as progressive and even saintly by the Brazilian bourgeois, her association with monarchism made the Princess Regent a problematic figure for the bourgeois.273 By the late 1920s, the First Brazilian Republic regarded monarchism as a legitimate political threat. Following the abolition of slavery, the emergence of the black-led pro-monarchism movement known as the Black Guard threatened the formation of the First Republic. Petrônio José Domingues described the organization as a "cult of the imperial family" who were radically sympathetic to Princess Isabel

273 Skidmore, Five Centuries of Change: 122.
out of the belief that abolition was a sort of "act of personal kindness." The Black Guard reinforced to officials of the republic of the dangers of monarchism, and the potential of black-led political action. Second, the valorization of Mãe Preta was not necessarily a foreign image for the Brazilian bourgeois due to Mãe Preta’s association with abolition movements. In her article “Debating Womanhood, Defining Freedom: The Abolition of Slavery in 1880s Rio de Janeiro,” scholar Camillia Cowling demonstrates that ideas about enslaved femininity and maternity were critical to ending slavery in Rio de Janeiro and beyond. Cowling argues that women abolitionists, as well as freed black women, appealed to the image of the suffering enslaved woman to influence political policy via emotive responses. Cowling’s findings reflect Brazilian sensitivity to inhibited maternity and womanhood and also demonstrates bourgeois familiarity with concepts such as the suffering enslaved woman. Thus, as a symbol Mãe Preta was a familiar and by extension, attractive symbol for the Brazilian bourgeois.

Deployment of Mãe Preta was not only a palatable concept, but was also useful for writers to subtly challenge racial hierarchies. Writers’ use of Mãe Preta projected an imagery of black Brazilians as the bedrock of the Brazilian nation. In the May 1927 issue of O Clarim d’Alvorada, a poem claimed that: “We erected a votive monument to Mãe Preta whose blood runs in our veins whose milk gave us a soul of good.” The term “our” not only refers to black Brazilians, but also refers to white Brazilians as the poem was written by the white poet Saul de

The sentiment is poignant as it attempts to link white and non-white Brazilians by suggesting that the population shares not only a similar social experience (through interactions with the black female body) but also a shared biological one. The idea that biological similarities between white and black Brazilians existed was a particularly powerful message at a time when the Brazilian bourgeoisie was anxious over the nation’s blackness because it suggests that Brazil’s African cultural heritage was not an impediment, but rather a formative agent in the founding of Brazil. This was an important point because it reconciled bourgeois anxieties that Brazil’s cultural and racial make-up weakened the Brazilian nation.

Stereotypes and tropes of African people and culture were antithetical to the ruling elite’s conceptualization of progress, and desire to mimic European models of national development. Brazil’s ruling elite sought to overcome potential racial degeneration through a process of branqueamento or translated to English, whitening. In part, Brazil’s policy of branqueamento involved a public silence of slavery as well as the physical destruction of the history of slavery. In 1890, abolitionist, and newly-appointed Finance Minister Rui Barbosa (1849-1923) avowed for the erasure of Brazil’s "stain" of slavery through the destruction of government documents about slavery. In examining the public silence surrounding the topic of slavery, Dain Borges...

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278 Alberto: 89.
279 This was a significant sentiment in the 1920s as it served to directly challenge notions that Brazil’s African ancestral and cultural heritage served as an impediment to the nation.
281 Historians have since identified the destruction of records as an effort to prevent indemnization of the former slave-owners. For more see Thomas Skidmore, Five Centuries of Change; Tanya Kateri Hernandez Racial Subordination in Latin America.
asserts that the ruling elite’s silence towards the issue of slavery was more than a product of racism (although it certainly was a factor). According to Borges,

the fact the republican revolution followed abolition was also not propitious to the recognition of the legacy of slavery. The country was lacking legitimacy, a legitimacy yearned for by a regime that was at once modernist and progressive, and rooted in a Brazilian republican tradition.\textsuperscript{282}

Borges argues that following the dissolution of the monarchy, the Brazilian ruling elite perceived Brazil’s history of slavery as evidence of national backwardness which was antithetical to the government’s modernization project of attaining order and progress. The state’s erasure of "blackness" from the nation was an effort embraced by state officials to establish political legitimacy via modernization.

The public silence on Brazil’s problematic racial composition also translated into new government-sponsored policies. Brazilian intellectual Silvio Romero revised nineteenth-century theories of race that deemed Brazil’s overwhelmingly mixed-race population as degenerative by fostering an ideology of race that was uniquely Brazilian, known as the whitening thesis.\textsuperscript{283}

Romero and scholars like him appealed to the conceptualization of white superiority but rejected the idea that racial mixture was conducive to national degeneration. Instead, Brazilian thinkers argued that through intermixture, the perceived superiority of whiteness (both biologically and culturally) would prevail over the perceived degeneracy of blackness and eventually lead to the whitening of the Brazilian nation. The whitening thesis was a critical aspect of state

\textsuperscript{282} Borges: 210
\textsuperscript{283} For more on the “Whitening Thesis” see Thomas Skidmore, \textit{Black into White}, Nancy Stepan, \textit{The Hour of Eugenics}.
branqueamento policy. Influenced by the tenants of the whitening thesis, the First Republic actively encouraged the physical and cultural whitening of the population by sponsoring an immigration policy that provided financial compensation for immigrants arriving from desirable nations such as Italy and Germany.\textsuperscript{284} The immigration policy was highly exclusive, and openly prohibited the immigration of Africans into Brazil.\textsuperscript{285} The whitening thesis and its application to state policy allowed the Brazilian ruling class to "forget" its past racial mixture. However, the whitening solution was not entirely palatable for Brazilians either. First, the whitening solution did not provide a solution for how to handle Brazil’s long lingering history of slavery and the contributions of black Brazilians. Second, the erasure of Brazil’s history of blackness was not entirely feasible because African slaves played a foundational role in the colonial era as the backbone to the agrarian export economy.\textsuperscript{286} Moreover, and arguably most concerning, several political officials under the First Republic were of African lineage. For example, Brazilian politician Otávio Mangabeira (1880-1960) was an active politician who later became the Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1926 and 1930.\textsuperscript{287} Thus, by suggesting that it was Mãe Preta who provided the nation with a "soul of good," the poem above suggests that the blackness of Brazil is what gave it strength.

Importantly, the association between the Mãe Preta and her "soul of good" served as an opportunity to re-orient Brazilian perceptions on the history of slavery and replace it with a

\textsuperscript{284} Martha dos Santos: 76. 
\textsuperscript{285} Martha dos Santos: 76. 
\textsuperscript{286} For more on the scope of slavery and colonial Brazil’s economic structure see also Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, \textit{Slavery in Brazil}. 

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narrative that elicited a sense of cross-racial cultural allegiance. Before the emergence of mid-nineteenth century abolitionist literature, Mãe Preta was a frequent topic in Brazilian nativist literature.\footnote{288} According to David Brookshaw, early nineteenth-century literature created a myth of the faithful slave. Nevertheless, Brookshaw argues that the stereotype of the faithful slave:

Gave way to the stereotypes of the Immoral Slave and the Demon Slave…The Immoral Slave was a robust [female] slave, always wanting sex with her master, the Demon Slave was a ‘maroon’ or fugitive, that turned his back on the tutelage of the White master, thus confirming his savagery.\footnote{289}

These caricatures of the immoral and demon slave stained perceptions of black Brazilians into the twentieth century, eliciting a sense that Brazil’s African heritage impeded the Brazilian nation’s modernization programme.\footnote{290} Thus, by appealing to Mãe Preta as an embodiment of black sacrifice, writers also attempted to dispel the caricatures that tainted their image, while appealing to notions of cross-racial solidarity.

In a similar vein, writers appealed to Mãe Preta’s black sacrifice in a fashion that elicited a sense of cross-racial unity. The use of Mãe Preta as a symbol of black sacrifice made her an emblem of a race plagued by atrocity towards the formation of the Brazilian nation. In the May

\footnote{288} The ‘black mammy’ caricature parallels a similar archetype of the same name in the United States about the loyal, maternal, obedient, black woman who served with deference to in a white family and devoted herself to the white family and their children. In the U.S. the “mammy” stereotype has been romanticized extensively in the literature and popular media. For academic literature on the ‘Black Mammy’ caricature in an U.S. context see Robin Bernstein, Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Catherine Clinton, The Plantation Mistress: Woman’s World in the Old South (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982); Sue K. Jewel, From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond: Cultural Images and Shaping of U.S. Social Policy (New York: Routledge: 1993); For the ‘Black Mammy’ caricature in a Brazilian context see Sonia Roncador, “‘My Ol’ Black Mammy’ In Brazilian Modernist Memories.” \footnote{289} David Brookshaw, Raça & Cor na Literatura Brasileira, Trans, Marta Kirst (Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1982): 32. \footnote{290} For more on caricatures of black women see Kia Lilly Caldwell, Negras in Brasil and Sonia Roncador, “‘My Ol’ Black Mammy in Brazilian Modernist Memoirs,” Vanderbilt e-journal of Luso-Hispanic Studies vol. 4 (2008): 55-67.
1927 issue of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* the poem on *Mãe Preta* goes on to use *Mãe Preta* as a metaphor for black sacrifice:

Yes, from your nocturnal slave and martyr bosom, from mother to instinct and from devotion, we drink the pure milk, which has given us food for organism and for the soul, because from this generously given milk our goodness emanates, which singularizes us as an afflicted race, who has the gift of pleasure and the supreme virtue of loss.\(^{291}\)

The utilization of the term *martyr*, with its deeply Christian connotations, reinforced the spiritual link between white and black Brazilians and also highlighted that slaves served as the foundation of the Brazilian nation. The term *martyr* is critical. Symbolically, it suggests that *Mãe Preta* made the greatest sacrifice of all to nourish the Brazilian nation – death. Not only was her "bosom" described as a martyr, but later in the issue, contributors asserted that all black women embodied black sacrifice: "A *Negra* that had become a martyr since the days of colonial Brazil."\(^{292}\) In addition, the notion was appealing to bourgeois Brazilians because it mimicked the familiar iconographical depictions of the Virgin Mother in Catholicism.

Appeals to black association with Christianity were similarly drawn by Gilberto Freyre in the 1930s. However, his interpretation focused on benevolent racial fusion versus a sense of black sacrifice. Freyre asserts,

> In the tenderness, in our excessive coddling, in the Catholicism that indulges our senses, in our music, in our way of walking, in our way of talking, in the lullaby of a small child, in everything that is a sincere expression of life there is within us all the mark of Black influence. [The mark] of the slave woman or mammy who cradled us; who

\(^{291}\) Navarro, "Mãe Preta,": 3

breastfed us; who spoon-fed us, she herself first mashing the food in her hand; of the old Black woman who first told us stories about the boogie-man and ghosts….

Freyre’s reflection on the Black Mother reflected a cultural fusion of the Catholic Virgin Mother and the Yoruba influenced orixás. Orixás or deities, are a crucial part of Candomblé and can be invoked through processional ritual often through songs and dances that are performed to become possessed by ancestral spirits. However, unlike Freyre, O Clarim d’Alvorada did not allude to a sense of cultural fusion, which indicates to a small extent that O Clarim d’Alvorada were cautiously distancing themselves from Africanisms in an effort to attain cultural legitimacy.

In appealing to bourgeois values of martyrdom, the anecdote above simultaneously challenged racial-sanitary anxieties that stigmatized black women as "dirty" or "stains" that contributed to national degeneracy. In his poem, Navarro referenced Mãe Preta’s breastmilk as “pure.” The term "pure" directly challenged medicalized assertions of the 1920s that black women were "tainted" by pathological impurities through breastmilk. Globalized anxieties regarding high child mortality rates at the end of the nineteenth century, coupled with a desire to strengthen its citizenry, contributed to the implementation of a government-led sanitation and social hygiene campaign. A medically accepted and encouraged precept in childhood care was the practice of breastfeeding. However, racially-fuelled understandings of disease and

293 Freyre: 343.
297 Amaral: 243.
hygiene targeted black wet-nurses as potential sources of danger and disease. The Medical School of Bahia, the leader in knowledge on racial science, applied pessimistic theories of race to family health. At the Medical School of Bahia, physicians published on the dangers of wet-nurses, perceiving black wet-nurses in particular as “criminally” ignorant and posed a medical danger to the health of families. Anxieties over the “dangers” of the black woman’s “tainted” breastmilk translated into government regulation. According to Graham, as a result of anxieties, the city of Rio de Janeiro adopted a passbook system that forced all domestic workers to register with local authorities as a form of preventative medicine to avoid the “contagion” of the black woman’s “disease.” This medicalized notion of black impurity was challenged by the notion of a “pure” Mãe Preta’s breastmilk promoted by the poem at the same as it maintained that the slave woman’s sacrifice strengthened the nation.

Also, the representation of the suffering Mãe Preta simultaneously appealed to the emerging feminist movement. The image of Mãe Preta reinforced the Catholic-influenced notion that women were embodiments of purity, piety, caring, pure, pleasant, and chaste, responsible for enforcing morality. Conservative strands of feminism in Brazil appealed to these traits to elevate the position of women within the family. Unlike the more radical streams of feminism that explicitly called for a more drastic liberation (i.e. the single, working woman), the norms mentioned above were carried through as part of what Besse terms as Catholic Feminism. In Brazil, Catholic Feminism was popular among Brazilian women, and regarded as acceptable by

299 Otovo, “Mae Preta to Mae Desamparada: Maternity and Public Health in Post-Abolition Bahia:”165.
300 Graham, House and Street: 123, 128, 130.
301 They are known as marianismo in a Spanish American context.
302 Besse: 188-189.
the Brazilian bourgeois men because it “endorse[d] the ideal of a ‘natural’ God-given order that required the sexual division of labor…the current feminism” which was commonly espoused by the popular periodical *Revista Feminina*. In essence, Catholic feminism articulated that Christian principles of morality, piety, and dignity needed to inform proper femininity. Thus, the ideas espoused by *O Clarim d’Alvorada* would have been palatable for a cadre of middle-class women, hinting towards another example of respectability politics.

*O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s explication of racial democracy via *Mãe Preta* and her hardened black sacrifice differed greatly from official promulgations of racial democracy in the 1920s. In 1933, Gilberto Freyre proposed a definition of racial democracy that illustrated the colonial plantation household as a family. Freyre illustrated the benevolent treatment of *Mães Pretas*, ignoring the sacrifice involved in domestic servitude:

> As for the black mammies (maes-pretas), tradition tells us that it was indeed a place of honour that they held in the bosom of the patriarchal family. Granted their freedom, they would almost always round out into enormous black figures. These women were given their way in everything… And on feast-days anyone seeing them, expansive and proudly self-possessed among the whites of the household, would have supposed them to be well-born ladies and not by any means ex-slaves from the senzala.

Freyre suggests that *Mães Pretas*, regardless of their status as free or enslaves, were not stigmatized by their position in servitude. Instead, his assertions suggest that the *Mãe Preta* enjoyed a privileged position in Brazil’s colonial society, illustrating a sense that the nation was
a family, and by extension, reinforcing the patriarchal structures that uphold it. Importantly, Freyre’s benevolent painting of the colonial “family” blatantly ignored the personal sacrifices made by Mães Pretas. For example, Mães Pretas were often forced to stop breastfeeding their infants to provide for white households, displacing their children, threatening their children’s emotional and physical health.305 Unlike Freyre, O Clarim d’Alvorada appealed to the maternal sacrifice of Mãe Preta but simultaneously appealed to the moral superiority of Mãe Preta. O Clarim d’Alvorada elicited an image of the Black Mother that reflected that black women did not require moralization, but instead suggested that they were already moralized. In the May 1927 issue, Saul de Navarro’s poem on Mãe Preta admiringly highlights the existence of the Black Mother’s maternal instinct:

My generation still knew the influx of your maternal greatness….You were the image of human self-denial and kindness. In our land, then, you saw your sweet charm, the sweetest miracle, your feminine stoicism…306

For Navarro, Mãe Preta was the benevolent emblem of black domesticity and maternity. However, the ethnicity of the writer complicates this imagery more because it provides greater credence and legitimacy to the claims due to deeply-rooted principals of white superiority. As the maternal nurturer who fed and raised white children, Mãe Preta represented the centrality of the black woman within the white plantation household and by extension, the nation. As the nurturers and wet nurses, enslaved women quite literally provided life for the Portuguese colony.

305 Caldwell: 54.
306 Navarro, "Mãe Preta": 1.
This was a crucial aspect for contributors of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* to stress because it reinforced black sacrifice in the founding and strengthening of the nation.

*O Clarim d’Alvorada*’s appeal to the black woman’s "maternal greatness" both naturalized the black woman as a domestic servant but also reinforced the moral superiority of the Black Mother. *O Clarim d’Alvorada* associated Mãe Preta with acts of childrearing and motherhood, establishing a microhistory of the colonial household that reflected a high level of intimacy between the Black Mother and the household. By alluding to her "maternal greatness," Navarro implicitly reinforced the centrality of the black woman within the colonial household. He elicited a depiction that showed that women were not merely *subject* but instead *entrusted* with maternal responsibilities. While their enslavement certainly denied slave women autonomy, their position within the household provided them a level of agency and power. Graham asserts that the relationships between families and their black domestic help were more than a simple employer/employee relationship. Graham asserts that it represented a social, and even a familial relationship.\(^{307}\) In *The Neutered Mother, The Sexual Family and Other Twentieth Century Tragedies*, Martha Fineman asserts that motherhood has an “unrealized power.”\(^{308}\) The Black Mother was essentially the secondary mother to white children and was entrusted with the responsibility of educating and instilling morality into white children, or in other words, the nation’s future citizenry.\(^{309}\) Thus, by associating Black Mother’s with “maternal greatness,” *O

\(^{307}\) For more on the relationship between the master and servant see Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *The House and Street*.


\(^{309}\) For more on the role of mothers and motherhood see Susan Besse, *Restructuring Patriarchy*.
*Clarim d’Alvorada* implies that black women did not possess an inferior form of maternal essence, challenging the gendered dictates of the hygienist agenda.

Perhaps unintentionally, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* and official promulgations of racial democracy both appealed to the sexuality of *Mãe Preta*. During the 1930s, white conceptualizations of racial democracy actively appealed to sexualized images of Afro-descended women, particularly the biracial or *mestico* woman as supposed evidence of Brazil’s lack of racism. For example, in 1933, Gilberto Freyre characterized the biracial woman as sensual to demonstrate white colonial tolerance (or racial harmony) between the master and the slave: Of the *mulatto* girl who relieved us…that was so enjoyable. Who initiated us into physical love, to the creaking of a canvas cot, gave us our first complete sensation of being a man.”

On the one hand, Freyre’s assertion reframes traditional contextualization of the black woman as the embodiment of the sexually transgressive "Immoral Slave." Perhaps accidentally, editors of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* implicitly sexualize *Mãe Preta*. In his poem on *Mãe Preta*, Navarro describes the black woman’s breasts as “opulent.” The use of the term "opulent" does not clearly describe the function of the woman’s breasts but is a mere descriptive adjective that illustrates the visual appearance of the black woman’s breasts, suggesting that *O Clarim d’Alvorada* attempted to appeal to *Mãe Preta*’s sexuality.

On the surface level, this chapter’s notion that *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers provided a definition of racial democracy via the symbolism of *Mãe Preta* may appear counter-intuitive. The historiographical literature has unequivocally pinned the racial democracy thesis as a myth.

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310 Freyre: 278-279.
311 Navarro, “Mae Preta,”: 1.
that hid the realities of racial inequality and racial discrimination. However, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers established a definition of racial democracy that appealed to themes of black Brazilians’ contributions to the founding of the nation via the symbol of *Mãe Preta*. Rather than elicit notions of a family, *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers elicited a vision of a Brazilian history that illustrated the importance of black Brazilians in strengthening the Brazilian nation. *Mãe Preta* was a useful concept for *O Clarim d’Alvorada’s paulista* writers. First, her symbolisms challenged racist ideologies that deemed Afro-descended Brazilians as impediments to the Brazilian nation by evoking a sense of black sacrifice to the nation. As a symbol, *Mãe Preta* imparted a historical narrative of Brazil that highlighted black contributions, while subtly challenging notions of the pathogenic black woman, replacing it with an image that showed her connection, and sacrifice, to the Brazilian nation. Importantly, it further espoused a historical link that suggested that black women were not inherently inferior, but were emblematic of domesticity and maternity. While not directly engaging in respectability politics by distancing themselves from the black masses, the implementation of *Mãe Preta* as a symbol further reinforces the use of women as vehicles of cultural inclusion.

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312 For more see France Winddance Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy.*
Epilogue

Implicitly, this thesis served as revisionist history, albeit an unconventional one. Revisionist history of Brazilian race relations often seeks to discredit the theory of racial democracy by illustrating the existence of racial inequality and racial exclusion. While this thesis did not attempt to dismantle the myth of racial democracy, it sought to rectify the problematic historiographical methods that contributed to the myth of racial democracy by studying history through the perspective of Afro-descended Brazilians. The lack of historiographical analysis on gender and women in the paulista black press motivated this study. This study served to fill a broader gap in the historiographical literature on the topic of intersections of race and gender. However, this thesis is in agreement with African Diaspora scholar and sociologist Kia Lilly Caldwell, that this lacuna was more than a product of academic bias, but a product of black women’s relative invisibility within official Brazilian documents.\(^{313}\) This study hopes to serve as an example of how perceivably male sources and spaces can implicitly reveal systems of gender relations. Also, this thesis illustrates the necessity of expanding definitions of politics in the context of black activism to consider non-formal political ideas such as culture and gender.

In the first chapter, this thesis identified that *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers advanced an anti-racist strategy *qua* moralism. In appealing to moralism, writers proposed a definition of feminine respectability that evidenced writers’ and editors’ adherence of bourgeois values of domesticity, motherhood, and nation. This thesis reads this as an attempt by a small cohort of

\(^{313}\) Caldwell: 5.
middle-class black men to re-frame racial hierarchies on the basis of class. In essence, writers attempted to garner full cultural inclusion for a cohort of middle-class black Brazilians by differentiating themselves from the black Brazilian masses on the basis of class. In other words, this chapter identified that O Clarim d’Alvorada strategically embraced respectability politics. Writers and editors embraced respectability politics in an effort to establish a black middle-class identity that was compatible with dominant societal values and also separate from the black masses.

In the second chapter, this thesis identified that as writers, black women engaged in respectability politics, illustrating the importance of women’s writings in re-orienting a black cultural identity. Their inclusion served to demonstrate that some black women embodied bourgeois femininity which was critical for editors and writers to demonstrate in order to elicit their own honour. Yet, as writers, black women were given some agency in re-defining not only a collective identity, but an individual identity as well. Importantly, their writings elicit a desire to forge a class-based identity that further separated the black middle-class from the overwhelmingly impoverished and illiterate black masses.

In the final chapter, this thesis uncovered that O Clarim d’Alvorada writers explicated a definition of racial democracy predicated on the symbolism of Mãe Preta. While the idea that black writers promulgated an ideology of racial democracy appears immediately counter-intuitive, in actuality, their definition of racial democracy was rooted in an ideology that emphasized the role of black Brazilians in strengthening the nation, eliciting a notion of black sacrifice and cross-racial solidarity. As a symbol, Mãe Preta imparted a historical narrative of Brazil that highlighted black contributions, while subtly challenging notions of the pathogenic
black woman, replacing it with an image that showed her connection, and sacrifice, to the
Brazilian nation. Importantly, it further espoused a historical link that suggested that black
women were not inherently inferior, but were emblematic of domesticity and maternity. While
not directly engaging in respectability politics by distancing themselves from the black masses,
the implementation of Mãe Preta as a symbol further reinforces the use of women as vehicles of
cultural inclusion.

Through a case study of O Clarim d’Alvorada, this thesis broadened understandings on
more than a single periodical. As a topic of historical discussion, the 1920s appears a quiet
period for black activism, black mobilization, and collectivism. This thesis has shown via O
Clarim d’Alvorada that this could not be further from the truth. O Clarim d’Alvorada writers
actively engaged in forms of respectability politics in the 1920s and appealed to constructions of
gender, women’s writings, and symbols of Mãe Preta to elicit this image. Writers actively
expressed a conservative ideology similar to the one held by the Brazilian middle-class and also
differentiated themselves from the "unfit" Afro-descended Brazilians. In essence, O Clarim
d’Alvorada attempted to re-frame what it meant to be a black Brazilian by crafting a black
middle-class identity. This identity did not serve to elevate all black Brazilians but rather a small
cohort of literate and relatively affluent Black Brazilians. Overall, this thesis concludes that
writers of O Clarim d’Alvorada saw value in the maintenance of the system but sought a better
place in it.

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314 For example, see Michael Hanchard, Orpheus and Power.
As articulated at the onset of this thesis, this thesis studies the voices of a small segment of Brazil’s Afro-descended population – writers and contributors of the Paulista periodical *O Clarim d’Alvorada*. Knowledge of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* should stimulate research on similar periodicals in the city of São Paulo and neighbouring Brazilian regions. In addition to São Paulo, the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Salvador da Bahia were home to a flourishing press as well.³¹⁵ Studying other *Paulista* periodicals, and those in other regions will provide additional nuances to understanding the early twentieth-century black experience. São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Salvador da Bahia were all uniquely influenced by differing histories, demography, and economic structures that would impact the structure and ideology of black activists. For example, at the turn of the twentieth century, Rio de Janeiro was an emerging port city. It served as the first point of contact between European immigrants, tourists, foreign diplomats, and Brazilians.³¹⁶ Considering this point, readings of Rio de Janeiro’s black press should also consider the influence of cosmopolitanism. The black press of Salvador da Bahia would also provide additional nuance into the black experience. In contrast to São Paulo, where the population was mostly white, in Salvador da Bahia black Brazilians were the racial majority.³¹⁷ As an ethnic majority, coupled with the existence of sub-grouping, future scholarship ought to consider how gender played into their black press.

³¹⁵ For more on black press production in Bahia see Kim Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, and Paulina Alberto *Terms of Inclusion*; for more on the black press in Rio de Janeiro see also Paulina Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*.

³¹⁶ For an example of cross-cultural contact see Thomas Ewbank, *A Vida no Brasil* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1976). Ewbank was an American scientist who published a significant travelogue detailing his experiences in nineteenth-century Brazil.

³¹⁷ For more on racial conditions in Salvador da Bahia see Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*. 

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Importantly, this thesis only considered 1920s. The 1930s, and even late twentieth century similarly lacks studies that consider gender as a category of analysis. A specific newspaper that rich for analysis is the FNB’s periodical *A Voz da Raça*. *A Voz da Raça* published approximately seventy issues from 1933, to the rise of state censorship in 1937. As a point of interest, several former members of *O Clarim d’Alvorada* later became members of *A Voz da Raça*. Thus, one could trace the evolution of black ideology through *A Voz da Raça*. A critical aspect of this paper was to demonstrate the contradictions and complexities within the black press. *A Voz da Raça* took an explicitly different view to critical debates such as African culture. Thus, the black press remains ripe for gendered analysis. Lastly, this paper did not touch on the era of what Roger Bastide labels the "third installment" of the black press – post-1945. Following World War II, human rights commissioners identified the persistent racism within Brazil, women’s rights groups were mobilizing at a level not seen before, and a flourishing black press continued.

It has been nearly 170 years since the Brazilian monarch abolished the slave trade; nearly 130 years since the abolition of slavery; nearly 100 years since the first publication of *O Clarim d’Alvorada*; and nearly 70 years since the UNESCO report on Brazilian race relations unequivocally denied the existence of racial democracy in Brazil. Despite the uncomfortableness of the question, another important question we must ask is how much has

318 Paulina Alberto notes that by the late 1920s, an ideological schism emerged among *O Clarim d’Alvorada* writers. Leite and a minority of writers sought to establish a greater connection to their African cultural heritage, while writer Arlindo dos Santos and a majority of the writers including co-founder Aguiar sought to distance themselves from African culture. For more see Paulina Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*: 101-109.

319 Alberto: 134.

320 For more on post-1945 black press production see the influential Michael George Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power*. 
changed for Brazil’s Afro-descended/Afro-Brazilian population since the 1920s? George Reid Andrews uncovered the persistence of an uneven distribution of wealth that marginalized black Brazilians, the persistence of employment discrimination, and uneven education levels that favoured white Brazilians between 1888 and 1928. Sociologists and demographers continue to map the persistence of these social patterns over a century since the end of Brazil’s participation in the Atlantic slave trade. Currently, black Brazilians disproportionately occupy Brazil’s favelas (shantytown).

Stark contrasts between white and black Brazilians exist in media, education, government, private business, and health. Most telling of this continuity, on March 13, 2018, Marielle Franco was assassinated (or exterminated, as some news articles have articulated).

Franco was a sociologist, former resident of the favelas and an openly gay Rio counsellor. She was a fervent defender of women’s rights, the LGBTQ+ community, black Brazilians and the favela residents as well as a staunch critic of police abuse against marginalized groups and gender violence. Among issues of homophobia, classism, and police brutality, Franco’s assassination illustrates a continuity of institutionalized forms of racism descended from the age of slavery. However, the outpouring of anger and grief following Franco’s murder and the rallies...

conducted under the Brazilian proverb "they tried to bury us but didn’t realize we are seeds"
reflect not only a sense of national polarity but a sense of pending transformation long overdue.
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