

The Brazilian Northeast, Inside Out: Region, Nation, and Globalization (1926-1968)

By

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Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Vanderbilt University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

History

August, 2014

Nashville, Tennessee

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To my nieces, Kendra, Avah, and Alexa

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is the result of long months of research and writing, but it was far from a solitary process; instead, I received help and feedback from several individuals, groups, publishers and institutions along the way. I thank the Ralph Lee Woodward Jr. Award selection committee for their feedback and recognition of an earlier version of the first chapter of this dissertation, which received the prize for best graduate student paper on Latin America and Caribbean, Borderlands or Atlantic World history presented at the Southern Historical Association meeting in 2011. Likewise, I am grateful to Oxford Bibliographies in Latin American Studies for their feedback on my article “History of the Brazilian Northeast,” which helped me work through many of the questions outlined in the literature review of this dissertation and for which I won the Graduate Student Article Award in 2014. I am particularly grateful to the British Library for helping me give back to some of the Brazilian archives that helped me in my research through an Endangered Archives Programme grant that allows me to direct a multi-institutional digitization grant in archives in Paraíba. This feedback, support, recognition, and confidence helped me to trudge through both the most difficult moments in the research and writing phase.

The research for this dissertation required several, lengthy trips to archives in Brazil and the United States. I am grateful for the financial support I received from the Institute for International Education (IIE) through an IIE Graduate Fellowship for International Study when the U.S. Congress defunded the Fulbright-Hayes dissertation research award in 2011. I am also thankful for the support of Fulbright Brazil that administered this fellowship, particularly Luiz Loureiro, Jesse Wheeler, Patricia Grijó, and Luana Smeets. This dissertation also would not have been possible without the support of Tinker Field Research Grants from the Tinker Foundation, administered through the Center for Latin American Studies at Vanderbilt University; a Summer Research Award from the College of Arts and

Sciences at Vanderbilt University; a Dissertation Enhancement Grant from the Graduate School of Vanderbilt University, and; generous tuition and fellowship support offered by Vanderbilt University.

I have been immensely fortunate to have the support of Vanderbilt faculty, staff, and students. I am particularly indebted to the patience and wisdom of my advisor, Marshall Eakin. Celso Castilho set me on the right path early in archival research and helped me to brainstorm the events for this project and Edward Wright-Rios has offered generous critical readings and advice and I am especially grateful for their attention. I also thank my entire dissertation committee, composed of Marshall Eakin, Eddie Wright-Rios, Celso Castilho, Tom Schwartz, and Lesley Gill, for their continuous support, careful reading, and thoughtful criticism, and Carlos Jaureguí, who was on my qualifying committee, as well. I thank Jane Landers for inviting me to participate in the Ecclesiastical and Secular Sources for Slave Societies project, for her counsel, and for her friendship. I am grateful to Bill Caferro, Katie Crawford, Michael Bess, and Frank Robinson for modeling good teaching in the courses for which I was a Teaching Assistant and for their advice and friendship. I also thank: Jim Epstein, Gary Gerstle, Lauren Clay, Sarah Igo, Richard Blackett, Celia Applegate, Paula Covington, Heidi Welch, Norma Antillón, Jane Anderson, Brenda Hummel, Chris Lindsey, Tiffany Giese, August Johnson and his co-workers, the Center for Teaching, the Center for Latin American Studies, the Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities, and the staff of the Jean and Alexander Heard Library – especially the amazingly dedicated Annex and Interlibrary Loan Staff, including: Jim Toplon, Rachel Adams, Nancy Dolinger, Greg Weldy, and many more.

The feedback that I received from several invited presentations, workshops, and seminars has been invaluable. I thank the members of the Grupo de Trabalho Sociologia de Esportes of the Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais, the Simpósio Temático Imagens, Representações e Identidades: Uma Visada Interdisciplinar of the VI Simpósio Nacional de História Cultural, the Latin American History Working Group of the Kellogg Institute at the

University of Notre Dame, the Brazilian Studies Reading Group of the Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities at Vanderbilt University, the Rethinking Sport in the Americas Workshop at Emory University, the Encontro às Quintas at the Casa de Oswaldo Cruz of FIOCRUZ, the Fulbright Enhancement Seminar for IIE Fellows in São Paulo, the Universidade Estadual de Ceará – Quixadá, the Centro de Ciências Humanas, Letras e Artes at the Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Norte, and the Dissertation and Pre-Dissertation Graduate Seminars of the Department of History at Vanderbilt University for their generous advice and suggestions.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the advice, guidance, and compassion offered at archives in Brazil and the United States. I am eternally grateful to Manuela Maia, Kênia Araújo, Anna Karoline Queiroz Brás, and Joseilda de Sousa Diniz of the Biblioteca Átila Almeida of the Universidade Estadual da Paraíba in Campina Grande; Joaquim Osterne Carneiro, Maria do Socorro Lacerda, and Adonai Lacerda de Silveira of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Paraibano; Clélia Burity and the other helpful ladies at the Centro de Pesquisa Musical José Siqueira of the Fundação Espaço Cultural (FUNESC) in João Pessoa; João Pedro Ferreira da Silva of the Arquivo Histórico Waldemar Duarte of FUNESC; Ricardo Grisi of the Arquivo Eclesiástico in João Pessoa; Nadigila, Camilo, Francisco, Irene Rodrigues da Silva Fernandes, Ana Lúcia G. da Silva, and Rossiane Delgado de A. Cordeiro of the Casa José Américo in João Pessoa; Lêda of the Cachaçaria Phillipéia who allowed me to photograph the bottle collection; Zilae de Oliveira of the Hemeroteca and the senhoras that work in Obras Raras at the Biblioteca Pública Governador Menezes Pimentel in Fortaleza; Pedro Humberto da Silva of the Museu de Arte da Universidade Federal do Ceará; Nonato Inoia, Marinez Alves, and Ana Wlândia Medeiros of the Instituto do Ceará; Michele Maia Mendonça Marinho, Nadia Mendes Moreno, and Vera Lucia Machado de Sá of the Núcleo de Documentação do Instituto de Arte e Cultura do Ceará and Fernando Xavier and Paulo Henrique of the Museu de Arte Contemporânea of the Centro Dragão do Mar de Arte e Cultura; Miguel Ángel “Nirez”

Azevedo of the Arquivo Nirez; Paulo de Tarso and the interns at the Museu da Arte e do Som in Fortaleza; Carolina Abreu for her invaluable research assistance in Fortaleza; Tácito Rolim of the Universidade Estadual do Ceará in Quixadá whose research advice in Fortaleza was priceless; Thaiany Soares Silva, Viltany Oliveira Freitas, Maria Lúcia da Silva, Antonieta Freire de Sousa, Manoel Bezerra da Silva, José Maria Fernandes de Leima, and Ana Verônica de Oliveira Silva of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Norte who went out of their way to help me in my research; Fred Nicolau, Augusto Maranhão, and Vandelúcia Ferreira Tavares Nicolau, (and little William and Anna too) of the Fundação Rampa in Natal; Professor Clyde Smith who lent me advice and access to his personal collection in Natal; Alcides Sales of the Fundação José Augusto in Natal; Abimael Silva of the Sebo Vermelho in Natal; Ananias Martins and Cícero da Hora of the Arquivo Público in São Luís; the staff in the Hemeroteca of the Arquivo Público in Teresina; Luiz, Batista, and Ana Cristina Nascimento of the Biblioteca Pública de Bahia; Urano Andrade for his research assistance in Salvador; Bruno of the Museu da Imagem e do Som in Rio de Janeiro; the staff of the Hemeroteca and Setor Manuscritos of the Fundação Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro; the talented and generous Gonçalo Ferreira da Silva and family at the Academia Brasileira de Literatura de Cordel in Rio de Janeiro; the staff of DOPS at the Arquivo Público do Estado in São Paulo; Fernanda Soares, Sônia Couto, and Lutgardes Costa Freire of the Instituto Paulo Freire in São Paulo; the staff of the Museu da Imagem e do Som in São Paulo; Fernanda Rodrigues Rossi, José Hermes, and several others at the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros at the Universidade de São Paulo; Sandro Vasconcelos of the Museu da Cidade in Recife; Doutor Ildo and others at the Setor Manuscritos of the Arquivo Público Estadual Jordão Emerenciano (APEJE) in Recife; Lindemberg Santos of the Acervo de DOPS of the APEJE; the staff of the Hemeroteca and the Biblioteca de Obras Raras of the APEJE; George Cabral and others of the Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico, Geográfico Pernambucano; the late Fernando Bivar of the Sport Clube do Recife; Jamille Barbosa of the Fundação Gilberto Freyre; Marcília Gama; Túlio

Velho Barreto, Lúcia Gaspar, Virgínia Barbosa, Henrique Cruz, Renato Phaelante, Evaldo Donato, Elizabeth Carneiro, Carlos Ramos, Samuel de Brito Barros, Aluízio César, José Mario de Souza, José Teotônio Barbosa Filho, Marcondes Oliveira, Wandercio Thorpe, and the late Humberto França of the Fundação Joaquim Nabuco in Recife; the friendly and helpful staff at the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park; the staff at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections at the University of Virginia Library; Lydia Williams of the Special Collections and Archives of the Greenwood Library at Longwood University; Elinor Mazé of Baylor University's Institute for Oral History; Amie Oliver and Geoff Hunt of Baylor University Archives' Texas Collection; and the friendly staff at the University of Notre Dame Archives. I thank the writers and journalists Roberto Vieira, Roberto Macedo, Breno Pires, and Vandec Santiago for meeting with me, giving me more materials, and providing inspirational public histories. I am also grateful to those who allowed me to interview them through the Fundação Rampa on their experiences in the Northeast during World War II and to Martha Vasconcellos, who generously spoke with me over Skype about her experience as Miss Bahia, Miss Brasil, and Miss Universo.

There are many more friends and scholars whose support I would like to express gratitude for: Carmen Alveal (who provided research assistance and housing in Natal and put up with my dengue fever), Arthur Lot, Flávia de Sá Pedreira, Diego Fernandes, Grazielle Nascimento, Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, Stanley Blake, Scott Ickes, Julia Rodriguez, Ben Vinson, Fernanda Bretones Lane, Jailson Pereira da Silva, Marianna Kutassy, Ted Beatty, Jaime Pensado, Karen Graubhart, David Dressing, Ryne Clos, Max Deardorff, Robert Palermo, Katie Kole, Jairo Campuzano Hoyos, Beatriz Carillo, Maria Cecilia Pluta, Sandra Teixeira, Sarah Welles, Azareen Van Der Vliet Oloomi, Leonardo Francalanci, Anne Leone, Richard Herbst, José Policarpo and Arthemisia Santiago, Gerson Levi, Márcio Bahia, Steve Harrison, Jamie Smith, Nick Villanueva, Donald Budrejko, Amanda Johnson, Frances Kolb, Ansley Quiros, Matthew Owen, and the entire 2008 Vanderbilt History cohort for their

constant feedback, Greg Childs, Laura Brown, and little Carolina, Aiala Levy, Daniel Gough, Michelle Peria, Lúcio Renno, Frederico Oliveira, David LaFevor, Pablo Gómez, Tara LaFevor, Kathrin Seidl, Christian Rocha, Márcio Bahia, David Wheat and Seila González, Lance Ingwerson and Lauren Winkates Ingwerson, Max Pendergraph, Santiago Quintero, Marlon Escamilla, Felipe Girón, Tom Rogers, Marcos Chor Maio, Robert Wegner, and the Pós-graduação em História das Ciências Sociais Program at the Fundação Oswaldo Cruz, Erika Helgen, Rebecca Herman, Marcus Carvalho, Andy Kirkendall, Brodie Fischer, Marina Prado, Maria José do Prado, Raphael Prado Santiago, Bruno Alencar, Tácio Rolim, Cecília Lemos, Felipe Lemos Coelho, Gabriela Lemos Coelho, Ananth Aiyer, Jennifer Alvey, Derwin Munroe, Krystal Tanner, Rafael Mojica, Jamille Lawand, the late Matt Hilton-Watson, Iman Hakam, Connie Tambling, Flávio Brayner, Alfredo Gomes, Antonio Paulo Rezende, Maria da Vitória Lima Barbosa, Solange Rocha, Acácio Lopes, Conceição Paulino, and all of the students of the Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas Afrobrasileiras e Indígenas and the Núcleo de Documentação e Informação Histórica Regional of the Universidade Federal da Paraíba, Maria Carolina Morais (who, in addition to offering constant friendship, suffered my various translation questions and provided housing in São Paulo), the Whitehouse family (Tyler Whitehouse, Laura Arandes, Martín Whitehouse, Sally Whitehouse, and Ian Maness) for friendship and housing in Nashville, the entire Worker's Dignity community in Nashville who remind us always that change really is possible and who helped to keep my feet on the ground, and so many more that I already feel awful about leaving out of this list.

My greatest gratitude goes to three families. I am forever grateful to the family of Teresa Cristina Couto Barbosa and Antônio Barbosa Neto, which gives me love, lodging, and understanding in Recife: Maria Engrácia, Humberto, Ricardo, Yolanda, Katyayane, Igor, Doralice, Isis Manuela, Yuri, Isadora, Íssila, Penelope, Manoel, Maria Fernanda, Felipe, Valquiria, Carmina, and Késia (and, of course, Babalú and Chico). I also am thankful to Cody and Larry West for their love, acceptance, and

support. Building up to the most influential people in my life, I thank my own family. In the Pastori family: Grandpa Gino and Grandma Bernadine, my late great-grandmother Mary Pastori, Aunt Linda, Uncle Rich, Aunt Tina, Uncle Mike, Uncle Gino, Aunt Lois, Aunt Lisa, Jay, and my many cousins and second cousins. In the Campbell family: my late grandmother Dorcas Neoma Pulliam Campbell, my uncle Rick, and my cousin Denise. My sister, Monica Campbell, and my brother, Blake Lawson, have put up with what probably seem strange existential crises, as has my sister-in-law Melissa Lawson. My nieces Kendra Bryan, Avah Lawson, and Alexa Lawson have so far chosen to give me the benefit of the doubt despite my incredibly long absences – I hope to stand out in your lives. My mother, Sandra Pastori, and my father, Kenneth Campbell, have been more loving, patient, supportive, and forgiving than I could ever deserve. Thank you for forgiving my stubbornness from about age two onward and for your constant words of encouragement.

My greatest thanks and also deepest apologies go to those who have had to live with me during the writing process and whom my extended absences have affected the most: my cat, Biscoito, who also accompanied me through my Master's thesis in Pernambuco, and my partner, Ty West. Thank you, Ty, for your support, advice, shoulder, love, voice of reason, and patience. Thank you for sharing your life, family, and friends with me. Thank you for laughing with (and more often at) me. Thank you for letting me touch your books. Thank you for taking care of Biscoito while I was gone.

These words are inadequate in expressing my thanks to all of you.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA – Acervo Átila Almeida
AGC – Acervio Gilmar Carvalho
AL – Alagoas
AN – Arquivo Nirez
APA – Acervo Pós-Átila
APEJE – Arquivo Público Estadual Jordão Emerenciano
ASSC – Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections
BA – Bahia
BAA – Biblioteca Átila Almeida
BNF – Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BPEB – Biblioteca Pública Estadual da Bahia
BPGPM – Biblioteca Pública Governador Pimentel Menezes
BSC – Biblioteca São Clemente
CB – Cinemateca Brasileira
CBD – Comissão Brasileira de Desportos
CDP – Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa
CE – Ceará
CEHIBRA – Centro de Estudos da História Brasileira
CND – Conselho Nacional de Desportos
CNI – Confederação Nacional da Indústria
CODE – Correspondência de Estrangeiros
CPC – Centro Popular de Cultura
CPDOC –
DEIP – Departamento Estadual de Imprensa e Propaganda
DIP – Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda
DNOCS –
DOPS – Departamento de Ordem Política e Social
FBN – Fundação Biblioteca Nacional
FBSC – Francis Butler Simkins Collection
FCRB – Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa
FGF – Fundação Gilberto Freyre
FGV – Fundação Getúlio Vargas
FPD – Federação Pernambucana de Desportos
FR – Fundação Rampa
FUNDAJ – Fundação Joaquim Nabuco
FUNESC – Fundação Espaço Cultural
GL – Greenwood Library
GR – General Records
HD – Hemeroteca Digital
IAHGP – Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico, e Geográfico
IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística
IC – Instituto do Ceará
IEB – Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros
IFOCS – Inspetoria Federal de Obras Contra as Secas

IHGRN – Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Norte
ISEB – Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros
JRR – Jornais e revistas raras
LU – Longwood University
MA – Maranhão
MAC – Museu da Arte Contemporânea
MAUC – Museu de Arte da Universidade Federal do Ceará
MCP – Movimento de Cultura Popular
MEC – Ministério de Educação e Cultura
MESP – Ministério de Educação e Saúde Pública
MIS – Museu da Imagem e do Som
MOMW – Making of the Modern World
MTIC – Ministério de Trabalho, Indústria, e Comércio
NARA – National Archives and Records Administration
OCIAA – Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs
ORJ – Obras Raras e Jornais
PB – Paraíba
PCB – Partido Comunista Brasileiro
PE – Pernambuco
PIPA – Papers of the Institute of Public Affairs
PSD – Partido Social Democrático
RDSRIAB – Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Brazil
RFSPDS – Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State
RG – Record Group
SCA – Special Collections and Archives
SENAI - Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial
SM – Setor Microfilmagem
SUDENE – Superintendência
TEN – Teatro Experimental do Negro
UEPB – Universidade Estadual da Paraíba
UFPE – Universidade Federal de Pernambuco
UFRN – Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte
UNE – União Nacional de Estudantes
USAID – United States Agency for International Development
USP – Universidade de São Paulo
UFCE – Universidade Federal de Ceará
UVA – University of Virginia
UVAL – University of Virginia Library

INTRODUCTION

At the *Museu do Homem do Nordeste* (Museum of the Northeastern Man), originally created by Gilberto Freyre, visitors take a circular journey through the history of the Brazilian Northeast – the region that includes the states of Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe, and Bahia.¹ The tour begins with a contemplation of the Northeast through its external influences, leading the guest through Chinese porcelain and Dutch coins, the lyrics to the Jackson do Pandeiro song *Chiclete com banana*, tiny clay figures working on telephone lines, faded photographs of soccer teams, images from early Pernambucan cinema, and a poem about young Northeastern women who dated U.S. soldiers during World War II. The tour ends deep within the *sertão* – the arid backlands of the Northeast – with a wooden cart, some leather clothing, poetry on drought, and portraits of dignified *sertanejos* (people from the sertão) with their chins held high. Along the way, the path leads us through the yokes of slavery, the bright colors of Maracatú, indigenous customs, cachaça bottles, the white porcelain of aristocracy, images of child labor and land reform, scapulars, ex-votos, and snapshots of Candomblé.²

Scholars tend to think of the Northeastern regionalist movement and the regional identity that it engendered as formulated around a cult of tradition, rusticity, and reactionary anti-cosmopolitanism that led to a static idea of the meaning of the Northeast within the region and the nation. This

¹ Vânia Brayner describes the careful consideration taken to reform the Museu do Homem do Nordeste into a museum that embodies multiplicity and constant transformation, recognizing the museum as “um território de poder político, cultural e social” in: Vânia Brayner, “Uma gota de sangue no Museu do Homem do Nordeste,” in *Inovação cultural, patrimônio e educação*, ed. Antonio Motta, Ángel Espina Barro, and Mário Hélio Gomes (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Editora Massangana, 2010), 313–27. The quotation in this footnote is from p. 316. I thank Henrique de Vasconcelos Cruz for his guided tour of the Museu do Homem do Nordeste.

² Maracatú is a form of music and dance found in Northeastern Brazil, divided into Maracatú de nação (considered an Afro-Brazilian music and dance form), Maracatú rural (considered Afro-indigenous) and Maracatú cearense (Afro-Brazilian, slower rhythm, carnivalesque). Candomblé is a religion of African origin practiced in Brazil.

dissertation sets out from the opposite assumption, analyzing Northeastern regional identity as constantly shifting and transforming due to its very embeddedness in the world around it. Activists, journalists, intellectuals, and artists did refer back to historical events and figures – both fictional and non – to articulate their claims of cultural authenticity or to inspire others to preserve regional culture. Yet their choice of which historical moment or figure to rely on or, even, the meaning of the historical figure itself, was not constant. As the region’s international status changed, so did what its residents chose to preserve of its culture, how they defined the culture, who they considered to belong within it, and who they chose to represent it symbolically.

Similar to the organization of the Museu do Homem do Nordeste, this examination of Northeastern cultural identity studies the region by contemplating its interactions with the world around it. This dissertation accepts understandings of the Northeast such as those presented in the Museu (from cosmopolitan to deep backlands) as points in a conversation about the region, its memory, its representation, and its identity as embedded in the nation and world around it. Through these processes, the region serves as an arena within which both national and international events unfold and as a projector that transmits the regional image onto a national and international screen. In this way, the process of identity formation in the Northeast is formed from the inside out – posited, repositioned, contemplated, and revised based on its relationship with the nation and world around it.

By analyzing a variety of sources from intellectuals, the press, and popular arts, I explore how ideas about the region and its meaning circulated among social groups and changed over time. Through key moments of intense international interaction, I trace how these sources present changes in the use of the term “Nordeste,” in the delineation of the borders of the Northeast, in the meaning of belonging within the Northeast, and in the relationship between the Northeast, the nation, and the world. I demonstrate that what being Northeastern meant was discussed across social classes, depended to a surprising degree on international attention and activity in the region, and was

constructed as much through contestation as agreement. In doing so, I argue that regional and national identity, at their very essence, are intertwined, heterogeneous, multivalent, and unfinished projects.

Each chapter of this dissertation presents a different event or moment of intense international interaction in which meanings of the Northeast and its place in the world are questioned and debated. It begins in 1926 with the Regionalist Conference of Recife, organized by Gilberto Freyre and ends with Martha Vasconcellos' victory as Miss Universe in 1968, the same year in which the repressive Ato Institucional Número Cinco (Institutional Act Number Five) suspended many Constitutional rights (including the right to protest) and limited the ability to discuss the Northeast, its movements, its poverty, and its activism. Along the way, this dissertation examines an Orson Welles movie on a protest in the form of a two-month voyage by sailboat from Fortaleza to Rio de Janeiro, allegorical representations of the presence of U.S. military bases in the Northeast during World War II, the transformation of the Northeast into a region of "resistance" often represented by the bandit figure, a campaign to bring a World Cup event to Recife, and the representations of World Cup soccer in cordel literature, art, and popular music. Each of these chapters presents how Northeasterners from several walks of life discuss the many meanings of the Northeast in the nation and the world, emphasizing brief moments of consensus in which the Northeast was transformed from a meteorological designation into a place of rustic stocicism, from rustic stoicism to naiveté and abandon, and from abandon to resistance. In the end, while Gilberto Freyre's foundational myth – that Brazil's national culture derived from a mixing of European, African, and indigenous cultures – became the dominant narrative for national identity,³ although based on his interpretations of the Northeast, it did not survive as the dominant narrative of Northeastern identity. Instead, the terms of conversation on the region centered on the notions of drought, poverty, inferiority, and potential for rebellion.

³ On this point, see Marshall C. Eakin's forthcoming book *One People, One Nation: Brazilian Identity in the Twentieth Century*.

This analysis of international events in the Northeastern region demonstrates that regional identity in the Northeast is multivalent by nature and in a process of constant negotiation between state and intellectual invention and popular imagination, mediated by the region's inhabitants and exiles. Identity, then, is better understood as a process than as a descriptive noun – a process of negotiation, mediation, contestation, and only brief moments of consensus. It is a multivalent process, cut through and patched back up with the reconciliations of class, gender, and race. It is not merely reflection and definition, but emphatically narration and creation. Nonetheless, while the meaning of the Northeast changed over time, reflecting concerns emanating from various social classes, and influenced by its international embeddedness, within its multiple meanings, the threads of inferiority, drought, poverty, and potential for rebellion stand out as dominant narratives.

The term “Nordeste” came into use as a way to legally designate the drought region in Brazil in 1919.⁴ A “polygon” was drawn onto the map of Brazil to represent this region, and then, was frequently revised.⁵ The slippery nature of the Northeastern region's boundaries make it difficult to define, describe, or analyze the region. While governmental agencies shifted the region's boundaries through census descriptions and even by law, the population of the Northeast was consistently in disagreement not only with governmental boundaries, but with definitions of the region's borders offered by other states within (or without) the region. While Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, and Alagoas were consistently referred to as Northeastern in regional and national press

⁴ Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, *A invenção do nordeste e outras artes*, 4th ed. (São Paulo: Cortez, 2009), 81.

⁵ Getúlio Vargas established the drought zone by Lei n. 175 of January 7, 1936, but it was later revised by Decreto-lei 9.857 of September 13, 1946 and Lei no. 1.348 of February 10, 1951. Getúlio Vargas, “Lei N. 175 de 7 de janeiro de 1936,” January 7, 1936, <http://www.camara.gov.br/sileg/integras/230371.pdf>; Getúlio Vargas, “Decreto-lei no. 9.857 de 13 de setembro de 1946,” September 13, 1946, http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto-lei/1937-1946/De19857.htm; Getúlio Vargas, “Lei No. 1.348, de 10 de fevereiro de 1951” (Diário Oficial da União, February 10, 1951), <http://www.jusbrasil.com.br/diarios/2338699/pg-1-secao-1-diario-oficial-da-uniao-dou-de-14-02-1951>.

and literature, Sergipe's and Bahia's status as Northeastern were often questioned, while Maranhão and Piauí are barely, if ever, mentioned outside of their own regional newspapers. Nonetheless, it is necessary to at least attempt to force such a description in order to compare the physical and material condition of the region to its evolving identity. With this in mind, I accept (with some hesitancy) the nine-state description of the Brazilian Northeast based on census records corresponding to the nine states included in the map below for the purpose of discussion. I recognize that, in doing so, I am projecting modern-day conceptions of the region onto the past and I try to balance this by emphasizing the contested nature of these boundaries. The region, before becoming a cultural identity, after all, was a geographic and meteorological designation that was fit for a map.

Nonetheless, for many Northeastern intellectuals, most prominently Gilberto Freyre, geography and meteorological formations may have set the physical parameters of the region, but culture defined it. The Northeastern Regionalist Center (Centro Regionalista do Nordeste), the Regionalist Conference of 1926 (Congresso Regionalista), and Gilberto Freyre's *Manifesto regionalista* (1952) arose from the desire to both define Northeastern culture and defend it against the cosmopolitanism infecting the nation's Southeastern cities. Later, the Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP) mobilized around a similar platform while incorporating philosophies emanating from French social movements formed after World War II and an explicitly leftist politico-educational agenda. Journalists, artists and activists used certain Northeastern men and women – fishermen, Northeastern women who dated U.S. soldiers, and bandits – as symbols through which the extent and characteristics of the Northeastern region and its place in the world could be discussed. They also framed large-scale, international events, involving mass participation – World Cup soccer tournaments and beauty pageants – as opportunities to present Northeastern uniqueness, emphasize the region's harmonious relationship with the nation, or solidify its definition of regional belonging. By the late 1960s, a term that was not in use in 1918 needed no introduction; without explanation, the term “Nordeste” came

to represent notions of tradition, stoicism, bravery, cultural vibrancy, and racial mixing. More emphatically, it became the greatest national example of drought, poverty, underdevelopment, resistance, potential for revolt, and need for governmental assistance. These terms of definition came from the inside – that is, the region’s inhabitants pulled them from the region’s history, ecology, and accumulation of lived experiences; but reflections on the region, its culture, and its place in the nation and the world came from the region’s constantly changing relationship with international presence both within and outside its borders. To define its region and protect its culture, the region had to turn itself inside out, projecting its representations of self out to the world.

The definition of what constituted and characterized the Brazilian Northeast was constructed as much through contestation as agreement. Intellectuals and social movements created symbols of a vibrant Northeastern culture, often attempting to merge what Freyre defined as the “Northeast of sugarcane” along the coast and the “other Northeast” in the sertão.⁶ Meanwhile, from the 1950s onward, the press increasingly focused not on culture to define the Northeast, but rather on drought, poverty, and underdevelopment. Cordel poetry (a form of popular poetry in pamphlet form), popular music, clay art, and other forms of popular regional expression, while adopting the same themes and often the same language as the press and intellectuals, tended to emphasize belonging and harmony within the nation and world.⁷ The content of these popular art forms demonstrates that ideas of region,

⁶ I refer here to Gilberto Freyre’s distinction between two Northeastern cultures (one where sugarcane is produced, the other dry and poor), in Gilberto Freyre, *Nordeste: aspectos da influência da cana sobre a vida e a paisagem do Nordeste do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1961), 5–6.

⁷ *Literatura de cordel* is a regional, poetic medium, considered popular in that it is, in the words of Candace Slater, “of and by the people ... produced and consumed primarily by persons of limited means and education, operating on a local and, sometimes, regional basis, as opposed to that created by educated individuals writing for themselves and for a literate national and international audience.” Yet cordel literature intertwines with productions considered intellectual or elite in nature, reproducing Einstein’s formulae in poetic form, summarizing Gilberto Freyre’s books in verse, and inspiring more traditional art forms, like Ariano Suassuna’s play *Auto da Compadecida* or Glauber Rocha’s *Black God, White Devil*. For a succinct study of *literatura de cordel* see Candace Slater, “Brazilian Popular Literature (the *Literatura de Cordel*),” in *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature*, vol. 3, *Brazilian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), quotation from 315.

nation, and globalization circulated widely and indicate that the region was not merely an invention of the state, elite intellectuals, traditional artists, and the press.

By examining international events, we are able to witness how the relationship between region, nation, and world are articulated. The Northeast represented not only a newly defined region, but as a national representative, it served at times as the root of the nation, as scapegoat to the nation, or as foil to the nation. How Northeastern press, intellectuals, activists, and artists described the region within this dynamic provides an understanding of how “Nordeste” became a widely accepted term that indicated drought and resistance, poverty and authenticity, illiteracy and purity, underdevelopment and creativity. How the Northeast came to represent either a model of resistance or that which the nation needed to overcome in order to become fully developed explains how the dominant narrative of Northeastern identity by the late 1960s was of inferiority, drought, poverty, and potential for rebellion.

Understanding the Northeast and its regional identity as defined by a multi-class group of people (rather than just by intellectuals and politicians), as embedded nationally and internationally (rather than isolated), and as changing (rather than stagnant) is important. Accepting the region as defined solely by politicians and intellectuals trivializes its history and culture by alienating it from lived experience. Instead, a multi-class discussion about the region, its meaning, and its place within the nation and the world developed a broad vocabulary attached to multiple meanings based on experiences and memories occurring within an international context. This diversity of meanings associated with the Northeast allowed distinct groups – from intellectuals to politicians, popular poets to teachers, social movements and even international development agencies – to mobilize their own interests around notions of Northeastern cultural identity. The region and its culture were used for such contradictory ends as to emphasize unity and harmony with the nation, to emphasize difference from other regions within the nation, to mobilize around movements to protect and preserve its

culture from foreign influence, and to justify foreign presence in the form of military bases and international development projects. The ability of regional identity, national identity, and even of globalization to accommodate itself within such a variety of voices, political ideologies, media, and narratives is not indicative of the weakness of its/their project/s. Instead, the multivalence and multiplicity of these processes reveal that to be successful, regional identity, national identity, and globalization must be unfinished, incomplete, and indeterminate. On the contrary, were they to approach success in instilling uniformity and homogeneity, they would alienate the very population that constructs them, accepts them, or gives them meaning, becoming, instead, mechanisms of totalitarianism or fascism.⁸

The seemingly democratic notion of a heterogeneous regional identity, on the contrary, has a hint of the revolutionary, with the masses, the barely literate, leftists and peasants, educators, and masses of spectators pushing against the borders of national meaning. Yet rarely do we find mention of separatism from the nation (or even from the world). Instead, fears of inferiority, worries of underdevelopment, and desires to rid the region of poverty and drought become the dominant narrative of Northeastern regional identity. While their motives are quite different, these anxieties push intellectuals, social movements, politicians, and even the U.S. government to view the region as resistant, rebellious, and on the verge of revolution. Nonetheless, this narrative only reinforces the subordinate place of the region within the nation: the Northeast, according to Freyre and others, might hold the essence of Brazil's pristine cultural heritage, justifying its need to be protected, yet is also the example of what Brazil could become should it not move forward with its development. The

⁸ There is some similarity between this idea and Kenneth Mills' statement that Spanish colonialism lasted as long as it did precisely "because it didn't work. If it had, it would've been overthrown." Instead, Mills stated that colonialism survived through a "negotiated non-working." These comments were in response to a question at his talk "Wonderment and Miracle in the Journey of Diego de Ocaña to the Indies, 1599-1608" as part of the "Sabine MacCormack Lecture Series in Colonial Latin America & Atlantic History" at the University of Notre Dame in April, 2013. I quote him here with his permission.

Northeast, in this way, is a national and international warning. To understand Brazilian national identity in the twentieth century requires taking seriously the culture, movements, and identity of the Northeast – the region that often represented the nation’s “authentic” culture at home and abroad and that served as a warning of its potential toward either rebellion or eternal underdevelopment.

Understanding this relationship between region, nation, and world is important not only for interpreting the Northeast or Brazil, but for understanding the development of the modern nation. While the concept of the nation in Latin America was not new, national identities throughout the Americas solidified and developed mass support in the twentieth century.⁹ Yet, strong national identities have not precluded strong (or even stronger) regional identities. Access to resources, measured in terms of economic and social development and described in cultural terms, often marks differences between regions. Veracruz in Mexico, the Northeast in Brazil, and the U.S. South are examples of one region – historically the poorest – serving as counterpoint to the more dynamic capital cities of the nation as the area considered “backwards,” yet culturally “authentic.”¹⁰ According

⁹ This statement is in agreement with Eric J. Hobsbawm’s argument that, in Latin America, it was only following the Mexican Revolution that the Latin American nation state gained popular support. This is important to note because “... the nationalism of elite minorities should not be confused with nationalism which possesses or develops a mass basis among the people in the form of national consciousness or an attachment to the symbols and institutions of nationhood, although there may be historical links between the two.” Eric Hobsbawm, “Nationalism and Nationality in Latin America,” in *Pour une histoire économique et sociale internationale: Mélanges offerts à Paul Bairoch*, edited by Bouda Etemad, Jean Baton, and Thomas David, 314-323 (Geneva: Éditions Passé Présent, 1990), 313, 317. The expansion of popular nationalism and the expansion of the state in the twentieth century was not limited, however, to Latin America. In Helmut Smith’s forthcoming multi-volume work on the German nation and nationalism, he expresses doubts that German nationalism can be considered as such before the twentieth century. I discuss Hobsbawm’s general theory of nation and nationalism in the historiographical section of this introduction.

¹⁰ The American continent is not alone in the formation of strong regional identities. In Gramsci’s essay “The Southern Question,” it is apparent that Southern Italy fits within the same characteristics mentioned above. Gramsci, though, wrote this essay to encourage the rural peasantry (South) and the urban proletariat (North) to join forces against capitalist powers. Coincidentally (perhaps), the Brazilian Communist Party would do the same in the Northeast decades later. Antonio Gramsci, “The Southern Question,” in *The Modern Prince and Other Writings*, translated by L. Marks, 28-51 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1957).

The Brazilian Northeast and the U.S. South share an explicit link: according to the preface of Northeastern intellectual Gilberto Freyre’s regionalist manifesto, historian Francis Butler Simkins, former president of the Southern Historical Association and author of regionalist literature, claims to have learned from Freyre how to interpret the U.S. South. Gilberto Freyre, *Manifesto Regionalista de 1926* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1955 [1952]).

to Ángel Rama, while each of the regions I list as examples might inspire different artistic products, the process that leads to their production is the same.¹¹ As Gilberto Freyre argues in his *Manifesto Regionalista de 1926*, regionalism is not a tendency toward provincialization, but instead is an internationally repeated form of nationalism. Just as Benedict Anderson highlighted the portability and universality of nationality as a way of imagining social relations, splitting the nation into a series of interrelated regions is a portable and universal way of imagining the nation. Regions and their identities, then, are neither peripheral nor insignificant to the modern nation. Instead, they are intrinsic mechanisms for mediating the relationship between the nation and the world.

Literature Review

This dissertation stems from studies on regions in human geography and considers well-known studies on nationalism and national identity from history, cultural studies and political science. It builds on existing literature on regions and regionalism in Brazil, while adding an interdisciplinary framework and an international perspective. In this way, it demonstrates the importance of international embeddedness in regional identity formation and the importance of regional identity formation in the construction of the modern Latin American nation.

In 1983, three works – *Nations and Nationalism* by Ernest Gellner, *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson, and *The Invention of Tradition* by Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger transformed how we approach studies of nationalism and national identities.¹² These works represent the first widely recognized attempts to understand nationalism as a global phenomenon since the

¹¹ Or in Rama's words, "La protesta de José María Arguedas no sera distinta de la de José Lins do Rego, dentro del grupo de Recife, aunque sean diferentes los productos artísticos," Ángel Rama, *Transculturación narrativa en América Latina* (México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1982), 68.

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 2006); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

publication of Ernest Renan's *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* over a century earlier.¹³ Anderson, Gellner, and Hobsbawm and Ranger, challenge the notion of nationalism and national identity as natural conditions, viewing them instead as anthropological, historical, and cultural phenomena. Gellner divides nationalism into nationalist principle (the expectation of agreement between shared culture and territory) and sentiment (the feelings aroused by compliance or failure of nationalist principle) and places the rise of nationalism within the industrial stage of history, supported by the state enterprise of education, which reproduced the division of labor and homogenized society. Hobsbawm and Ranger present patriotism and national identity as supported by invented traditions of recent historical origin created to legitimize institutions and authority or to inculcate desired beliefs, behavior, or values. Anderson presents the nation as similar to a kinship network, imagined as a community that is both limited and sovereign, and born not in Europe, but in Latin America.¹⁴

In a later work, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Hobsbawm insists that nations and nationalism are “dual phenomena,” constructed from above, but only understood if studied from below, as the ideologies of states and social movements do not automatically describe

¹³ Renan viewed nationalism as a collective and strongly felt spirit inspired by memories of a glorious past and the possibility of a glorious future, Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, 12th ed. (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1882). Another influential work whose first volumes were produced a year after Anderson, Gellner, and Hobsbawm and Ranger's studies is Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1984), a comprehensive, seven volume study on historical memory in France.

¹⁴ *Imagined Communities* created significant response from Latin Americanists. Overall, these scholars praised Anderson's call to consider imagination in studies of nationalism, while criticizing his analysis of the beginnings of Latin American nationalist sentiment. Additional criticism revolves around Anderson's use of “nation” and “horizontal comradeship [sic]” (Lomnitz), his focus on elite instead of mass nationalism (Hobsbawm; Castro-Klarén and Chasteen), his description of print capitalism (François-Xavier Guerra in Castro-Klarén and Chasteen) and the lack of gender analysis in his work (Sara C. Chambers in Castro-Klarén and Chasteen). Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen, eds., *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Washington, D.C./Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/John Hopkins University Press, 2003); Eric J. Hobsbawm, “Nationalism and Nationality in Latin America,” in *Pour Une Histoire Économique et Sociale Internationale: Mélanges Offerts À Paul Bairoch*, ed. Bouda Etemad, Jean Baton, and Thomas David (Geneva: Éditions Passé Présent, 1990), 314–23; Claudio Lomnitz-Adler, “Nationalism as a Practical System: Benedict Anderson's Theory of Nationalism from the Vantage Point of Spanish America,” in *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America*, ed. Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Nicola Miller and Michiel Baud also offer helpful insights into the Anderson debate in Michiel Baud, “Beyond Benedict Anderson: Nation-Building and Popular Democracy in Latin America,” *International Review of Social History* 50 (2005): 458–98; Nicola Miller, “The Historiography of Nationalism and National Identity in Latin America,” *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 2 (2006): 201–21.

citizens and supporters.¹⁵ Further, Hobsbawm adds fluidity to the concept of identity by stressing that national identity is not always the most important association for all people and that its implications change over time. Hence, while Hobsbawm breaks the progression of nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe into three phases (cultural/folkloric, campaigns for the national idea, and mass support), he emphasizes that national consciousness did not develop in a homogeneous, regular fashion across social groupings and regions.

While Gellner, Hobsbawm and Ranger, and Anderson's studies guide us toward fundamental questions of identity formation, these writers do not consider how strong regional identities are able to survive, even thrive, under consolidated national identities and traditions. There is much debate as to why and how we should study regions. Geographers such as Thomas Walter Freeman and Richard Hartshorne promote the study of regions as a way to avoid dogmatism when attempting to create general laws about the world.¹⁶ In their view, the only way to gain an understanding about the world is through a rigorous study of each of its regions. From the 1980s to the present, however, this vision has changed through the creation of a "new regional geography." In general terms, the new regional geography, influenced by discourse analysis and studies in postmodernism has allowed for a new approach to regions, no longer envisioning them as static and bounded, but rather as social constructs in constant transformation.¹⁷ Hans Holmén points out that within new regional geography, several studies focus on the effects of global capitalism on regions, but few such studies have succeeded in

¹⁵ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 11–12.

¹⁶ Thomas Walter Freeman, *The Geographer's Craft* (New York: Manchester University, 1967); Richard Hartshorne, "The Nature of Geography: A Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 29, no. 3 (1939): 173–412.

¹⁷ Anssi Paasi, "Place and Region: Regional Worlds and Words," *Progress in Human Geography* 26, no. 6 (2002): 802–11.

showing how regions are “arenas” within which transnational processes unfold.¹⁸ Regions, then, are social constructs in constant change. They are not passive recipients of international influence, but rather arenas within which these influences are but one factor.

Among the myriad of works examining regionalism in Brazil following the 1926 Regionalist Conference, Barbara Weinstein’s and Ruben George Oliven’s relatively recent work provide historical perspective into this process. In “Brazilian Regionalism,” Weinstein argues that centralization did not weaken regions, but rather strengthened the power of regional elites whose support those seeking national power needed.¹⁹ In *A parte e o todo: a diversidade cultural no Brasil-nação*, Oliven turns his focus to cultural identity, exploring the relationship between the centralized nation and the rise of regional identity. Oliven focuses on Rio Grande do Sul, where a strong regionalist movement formed in the 1940s and continues today. Oliven problematizes regionalism as “essentially political by definition and characterized as well by social inequality.” However, as regionalism is “articulated by mobilizing collective sentiments and conveying identities and ideologies associated with social memories,” Oliven affirms that it is not only a sociopolitical phenomenon but also a cultural one in which cultural symbols and daily lived experience figure prominently.²⁰ Oliven’s study concludes that the homogenizing force

¹⁸ Hans Holmén, “What’s New and What’s Regional in the ‘New Regional Historiography?’” *Geografiska Annaler. Series B. Human Geography* 77, no. 1 (1995): 47–63.

¹⁹ Barbara Weinstein, “Brazilian Regionalism,” *Latin American Research Review* 17, no. 2 (1982): 262–76. This straightforward statement inspired work on regionalism within Brazil, as it is with this argument and an explicit reference to Weinstein that Ruben George Oliven began his frequently cited article “O nacional e o regional na construção da identidade brasileira” just four years after the publication of Weinstein’s review. Ruben George Oliven, “O nacional e o regional na construção da identidade brasileira,” *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 2, no. 7 (1986). It is worth noting that Weinstein’s regionalist review appeared slightly before the publication of the books that brought studies of nationalism and national identity back to the limelight (Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, Gellner’s *Nations and Nationalism*, Hobsbawm’s *The Invention of Tradition*, etc).

²⁰ “Temos assim um fenômeno que é essencialmente político em sua definição e que se caracteriza também por desigualdades sociais, mas que se articula mobilizando sentimentos coletivos e veiculando identidades e ideologias associadas a memórias sociais.” 19. Here, Oliven found support in Ann R. Markusen’s political and economic treatment of regionalism and Pierre Bourdieu’s discussion of identity, symbols, and the representation of region in: Pierre Bourdieu, “Identity and Representation,” in *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 220–28; Ann R. Markusen, “Região e regionalismo: um enfoque marxista,” *Espaço & Debates* 1, no. 2 (1981): 61–99.

of nationalism actually promotes regional identity formation. Oliven's work allows us to glimpse the possibility that the homogenizing influence of an expanding, globalized consumer culture promote stronger regional identities, rather than weaken them.

In her current book project, Weinstein focuses on race and regional identity formation in São Paulo. While we do not yet have access to this book, Weinstein has published parts of it in essays focused on regionalism in São Paulo during the Constitutionalist revolts.²¹ In "Racializing Regional Difference: São Paulo versus Brazil, 1932," Weinstein returns to the thesis of her review essay published eighteen years earlier, restating that with the formation of a strong centralized state, regions did not disappear, but rather gained strength as a "new variety of regionalism ... emerges together with the very uneven spread of modernity and capitalist development."²² This new variety of regionalism, according to Weinstein, was apparent in racialized regional discourse emphasizing the economic progress of the São Paulo region and its "superior" civilization. Further, she noted that this superiority was clearly not regionally inclusive, yet was, at the same time, "the very opposite of separatism – it conflated the Brazilian nation as a whole with São Paulo."²³ Weinstein and Oliven's work shows that centralization and regionalization of the nation's political system, economy and culture occurred simultaneously and fed off each other. Hence, instead of precluding the formation

²¹ Revolts caused by Vargas' placement of a non-paulista *interventor federal* (federally appointed governor) in office – a move taken as purposeful humiliation by paulistas. I have chosen not to include the second essay in this historiography. For the curious: in "Inventing the 'Mulher Paulista': Politics, Rebellion and the Gendering of Brazilian Regional Identities," Weinstein questioned why men, during the Constitutionalist revolt, were suddenly talking about women and their role in the preservation of the region. Weinstein argued that the image of the Mulher Paulista (always appearing in the capitalized form) – the self-reliant woman, unafraid to take charge of the home while her man was away – "reflects the desire, even the need, to represent the movement as primarily a moral and not a political campaign." Yet Weinstein was careful to mention that the representation of women in regional discourse did not mean that women actually gained political and public powers or rights, Barbara Weinstein, "Inventing the 'Mulher Paulista': Politics, Rebellion, and the Gendering of Brazilian Regional Identities," *Journal of Women's History* 18, no. 1 (2006): 22–49, quotation from 25.

²² Barbara Weinstein, "Racializing Regional Difference: São Paulo versus Brazil, 1932," in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, ed. Nancy P. Appelbaum, Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, and Anne S. Macpherson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 239.

²³ *Ibid.*, 243.

of regional identities, the formation of strong, centralized nations and cultures spurs their development.

Further, there is a long, extensive, international history of studies on Northeastern Brazil. By the 1920s and 1930s, literature on the Northeastern region included governmental studies, but also studies on religious fanaticism and banditry, likely inspired by Euclides da Cunha's journalistic history of the Canudos massacre.²⁴ These early studies inspired a long, international historiography on drought, banditry, and millenarian movements in the Northeast.²⁵ The 1920s also saw the birth of a

²⁴ On drought and religious fanaticism: Euclides da Cunha, *Os sertões, campanha de Canudos* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições de Ouro, 1967); Agamemnon Magalhães, *Nordeste brasileiro [por] Agamemnon Magalhães* (Recife: Governo de Pernambuco, Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, 1970) (originally published in 1921); Xavier de Oliveira, *Beatos e cangaceiros: história real, observação pessoal e impressão psicológica de alguns dos mais célebres cangaceiros do Nordeste* (Rio de Janeiro, 1920); Xavier de Oliveira, *O exército e o sertão* (Rio de Janeiro: A Coelho Branco F., 1932); Rodolpho Teóphilo, *A seca de 1915* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922); Rodolpho Teóphilo, *A seca de 1919* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922); Rodolpho Teóphilo, *História da seca do Ceará (1887/1880)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922). On banditry: Gustavo Barroso, *Heróis e bandidos*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Francisco Alves, 1917); Manoel Candido, *Factores do cangaço de 1910 a 1930* (São José do Egípto, PE, 1934); Optato Gueiros, *Lampeião: memórias de um oficial ex-comandante de forças volantes*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Linográfica Editôra, 1953); Oliveira, *Beatos e cangaceiros*.

²⁵ Later studies on religious fanaticism/millenarian movements include: Todd A. Diacon, *Millenarian Vision, Capitalist Reality: Brazil's Contestado Rebellion, 1912-1916* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Ralph Della Cava, *Miracle at Joazeiro* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Rui Facó, *Cangaceiros e fanáticos: gênese e lutas* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira, 1963); Lourenço Filho, *O Juazeiro de Padre Cícero* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1959); Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893-1897* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Later studies on banditry include: Facó, *Cangaceiros e fanáticos*; Linda Lewin, "The Oligarchical Limitations of Social Banditry in Brazil: The Case of the 'Good' Thief," *Past & Present* 82 (February 1979): 116–46; Linda Lewin, "The Oligarchical Limitations of Social Banditry in Brazil: The Case of the 'Good' Thief," in *Banditos: The Varieties of Latin American Banditry*, ed. Richard W. Slatta (New York: Greenwood, 1987), 67–96; Abelardo Fernando Montenegro, *História do cangaçorismo no Ceará* (Fortaleza, 1955); Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, *Os Cangaceiros: les bandits d'honneur brésiliens* (Paris: Julliard, 1968); Peter Singelmann, "Political Structure and Social Banditry in Northeast Brazil," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 7, no. 1 (1975): 59–83; Amaury de Sousa, "The Cangaço and the Politics of Violence in Northeast Brazil," in *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil*, ed. Ronald H. Chilcote (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 109–31; Jorge Luiz Mattar Villela, "O advento do Estado Novo: a morte de Lampião e o fim do Cangaço," *Revista de sociologia e política* 9 (1997): 81–94; Marianne L. Wiesebron, "Historiografia do cangaço e estado atual da pesquisa sobre banditismo em nível nacional e internacional," *Ciência & Trópico* 24, no. 2 (December 1996): 419–25. The literature on banditry in the Northeast at times was inspired by, at times converged with the international debate on social banditry inspired by Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels* and later *Bandits*, but at times took completely different directions as in Eliane Tânia de Freitas, "Violência e sagrado: O que no criminoso anuncia o santo?," in *As ciências sociais: desafios do milênio*, ed. Vânia de Vasconcelos Gico, José Antônio Spinelli Lindoso, and Pedro Vicente Costa Sobrinho (Natal: EDUFRN, 2001), 497–507. For more on the social banditry debate see: Christopher Birkbeck, "Latin American Banditry as Peasant Resistance: A Dead-End Trail?," *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 1 (1991): 156–60; Anton Blok, "The Peasant and the Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 14, no. 4 (September 1972): 494–503; Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (Delacorte, 1969); Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Social Bandits: Reply," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 14, no. 4 (September 1972): 503–5; Gilbert M. Joseph, "On the Trail of Latin American Bandits: A Reexamination of Peasant Resistance," *Latin American Research Review* 25, no. 3 (1990): 7–53; Gilbert M. Joseph, "Resocializing Latin American Banditry: A Reply," *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 1 (1991): 161–74; Louis A. Pérez Jr., "La Chambelona: Political Protest, Sugar, and Social Banditry in Cuba, 1914-1917," *LAMEA* 31, no. 4 (Spring 1978):

regionalist movement, representing the first attempts to define the Northeast as culturally distinct from the rest of the nation. Gilberto Freyre's *Manifesto regionalista* later became the intellectual representation of this movement.²⁶ In addition to Freyre, authors who participated in this movement include Mauro Mota from Pernambuco, Luis da Câmara Cascudo from Rio Grande do Norte, José Lins do Rêgo from Paraíba, and Jorge Amado from Bahia. The insistence on cultural particularities led to vast production of what came to be termed “folklore” and “popular culture,” mostly published by government or governmentally funded cultural agencies and continuing well into the 1970s.²⁷

After the publication of Josué de Castro's *Geografia da fome*, in 1946, the poverty and “underdevelopment” of the Northeastern region gained particular attention in literature on the Brazilian Northeast.²⁸ Castro emphasized that poverty and malnutrition, rampant in the North and Northeast, had social, not natural, causes. Three years later, Victor Nunes Leal published an influential

3–27; Louis A. Pérez Jr., “La Chambelona: Political Protest, Sugar, and Social Banditry in Cuba, 1914–1917,” in *Bandidos: The Varieties of Latin American Banditry*, ed. Richard W. Slatta (New York: Greenwood, 1987), 131–50; Peter Singelmann, “Establishing the Trail in the Labyrinth,” *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 1 (1991): 152–55; Richard W. Slatta, ed., *Bandidos: The Varieties of Latin American Banditry* (New York: Greenwood, 1987); Richard W. Slatta, “Bandits and Rural Social History: A Comment on Joseph,” *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 1 (1991): 145–51.

²⁶ Gilberto Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, Cadernos de Cultura (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1955).

²⁷ Some examples include: Sílvia Martins de Albuquerque, *Arte popular em Pernambuco: roteiro*, 2nd ed. (Recife: BANDEPE, 1971); Oneyda Alvarenga, *Catimbó: Registros sonoros de folclore musical brasileiro* (São Paulo: Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, 1949); Hermilo Borba Filho, ed., *É do tororó: Maracatú*, vol. 1, Danças Pernambucanas (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Editôra da Casa do Estudante do Brasil, 1951); Hermilo Borba Filho, *Espetáculos populares do Nordeste* (São Paulo: DESA, 1966); Hermilo Borba Filho and Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mocambos (uma peça segundo sugestões da obra de Gilberto Freyre nem sempre seguidas pelo autor)* ([Rio de Janeiro]: Civilização Brasileira, 1972); Edison Carneiro, *Capoeira*, Cadernos de folclore (Rio de Janeiro: Campanha de Defesa do Folclore Brasileiro, 1971); Luís da Câmara Cascudo, *Informação do folclore brasileiro: calendário das festas*, vol. 5, Cadernos de folclore (Rio de Janeiro: Campanha de Defesa do Folclore Brasileiro, 1968); Sérgio Figueiredo Ferretti, *A dança do lélé na cidade de Rosário, no Maranhão* (Maranhão: Fundação Cultural do Maranhão, 1977); Domingos Vieira Filho, *Folclore brasileiro: Maranhão* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Nacional de Arte (FUNARTE), Departamento de Assuntos Culturais, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1977). Each of these works is available in the Coleção Adhemar Alves Nóbrega of the Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa Musical José Siqueira of the Fundação Espaço Cultural (FUNESC) in João Pessoa, Paraíba, henceforth CAAN/CDPMJS, FUNESC-PB.

²⁸ Josué de Castro, *Geografia da fome: a fome no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: O Cruzeiro, 1946).

study of patriarchy and *coronelismo* in the Brazilian Northeast.²⁹ Castro and Leal inspired a generation of scholars concerned with the economic, agricultural, and social development of the Northeast, including the influential head of the Superintendência do Desenvolvimento do Nordeste (SUDENE - Superintendency of the Development of the Northeast), Celso Furtado.³⁰ These writers collaborated with governmental agencies and, often, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) active in the region during the Alliance for Progress. In the 1970s, as national and international development agencies continued to focus increasing attention on the Northeast, scholars return to descriptions of the Northeast and its particularities in both Portuguese and English.³¹

In the 1980s, the Northeast received an impressive amount of study from several fields. Development studies culminated in reflections on the history of development and development policy in the Northeast, the implications for labor and the peasantry, and possibilities of social change.³² This decade also saw a boom in books, dissertations, and theses produced in French by Brazilian and French scholars, as intellectual and academic exchange programs flourished.³³ Importantly, it was in

²⁹ Victor Nunes Leal, *Coronelismo, enxada e voto: o município e o regime representativo no Brasil*, 2nd ed., Biblioteca Alfa-omega de ciências sociais, 1, Política (São Paulo: Alfa-omega, 1975) (originally published in 1949).

³⁰ Manuel Correia de Oliveira Andrade, *A terra e o homem no Nordeste* (São Paulo: Editôra Brasiliense, 1963); Celso Furtado, *A Operação Nordeste*, Textos brasileiros de economia (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros, 1959); Octavio Ianni, “A origem política da sudene,” *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia* 33, no. 4 (December 1971): 647–59; José da Costa Porto, *O pastoreio na formação do Nordeste*, Cadernos de Cultura (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Serviço de Documentação, 1959).

³¹ Salm de Miranda, *Um nordeste* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria São José, 1972); J. Vasconcelos Sobrinho, *As regiões naturais do Nordeste, o meio e a civilização* (Recife: Conselho do Desenvolvimento de Pernambuco, 1970); Kempton Evans Webb, *The Changing Face of Northeast Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

³² Manuel Correia de Oliveira Andrade, *Lutas camponesas no Nordeste*, Série Princípios (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1986); Clóvis Cavalcanti, *Nordeste do Brasil: um desenvolvimento conturbado*, Série Estudos e Pesquisas (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 1981); Celso Furtado, Luiz Carlos Baldicero Molion, and Aziz Nacib Ab’Sáber, *Nordeste: o tempo perdido*, Coleção Nordeste em Evidência (Recife: Editora ASA, 1986); Sílvio Maranhão, *A Questão Nordeste: estudos sobre formação histórica, desenvolvimento e processos políticos e ideológicos*, Coleção Estudos sobre o Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1984). I include in this trend the English translation of the previously cited work by Manuel Correia de Oliveira Andrade, *The Land and People of Northeast Brazil*, trans. Dennis V. Johnson, 1st English (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980).

³³ See for example, M. J. Aubree, “Voyages entre corps et esprits étude comparative entre deux courants religieux dans le nordeste Brésilien” (Doctoral thesis, 3ème cycle, Université de Paris VII, 1984); Rodolfo Araújo de M. Filho, “Étude des comportements stratégiques en matière de développement technologique dans une région semi-industrialisée: le cas de

the 1980s that scholars returned to the study of definitions and ingredients of Northeastern regional identity.³⁴

Since the 1990s, scholars have turned their focus to understandings of regional identity formation.³⁵ Albuquerque Júnior and Stanley Blake's scholarship are of particular importance to this dissertation. Perhaps the most important author to appear out of identity studies of the 1990s is Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN).³⁶ Over the last decade, Albuquerque Júnior's scholarship has laid the groundwork for numerous studies that

l'industrie textile du Nordeste brésilien" (Doctoral thesis, Université des Sciences Sociales, 1981); Bernard Bret, *Les Hommes face aux sécheresses: Nordeste brésilien, Sabel africain*, Travaux & mémoires de l'IHEAL (Paris: EST/IHEAL, 1989); Sylvie Brunel, *Le Nordeste brésilien les véritables enjeux*, Liberté sans frontières (Paris: Fondation liberté sans frontières, 1986); Manuel da Conceição and Ana-Maria Galano, *Cette terre est à nous: la vie d'un paysan de Nordeste brésilien, récit*, Actes et mémoires du peuple (Paris: F. Maspero, 1981); Guy Di Meo and Jean-Pierre Jambes, *Pauvreté urbaine et dynamique de l'énergie dans les villes du nordeste brésilien: João Pessoa et Campina Grande*, Geodoc Toulouse (Toulouse: Centres de recherche, Inst. de géographie, Daniel Faucher Univ., 1987); Hubert Drouvot, *L'économie du sisal dans le Nordeste brésilien: diagnostique et perspectives* (Grenoble: Groupe de recherches et d'études économiques et sociales sur l'Amérique Latine, 1984); Bernard Kayser, *L'agriculture du nordeste brésilien*, Regards sur le monde contemporain (Paris: A. Colin, 1980); Afonso Bezerra de Oliveira, *Approche historique, sociologique et psychologique de la religiosité populaire dans le Nordeste brésilien* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain Centre de Psychologie Religieuse, 1983).

³⁴ Neroaldo Pontes de Azevêdo, *Modernismo e regionalismo: os anos 20 em Pernambuco* (João Pessoa: Secretaria de Educação e Cultura da Paraíba, 1984); Denis A. de M. Bernardes, "Nordeste: notas sobre a gênese da questão regional," *Revista Brasileira de História* 1, no. 2 (1981): 207–17; Marta Campos, *Colonialismo cultural interno: o caso Nordeste* (Fortaleza: s.n., 1986); Maria Elisa Collier Pragana, *Literatura do Nordeste: em torno de sua expressão social* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio, 1983); Rosa Maria Godoy Silveira, *O regionalismo nordestino: existência e consciência da desigualdade regional*, Coleção Contemporânea (São Paulo: Editora Moderna, 1984).

³⁵ Iná Elias de Castro, *O mito da necessidade: discurso e prática do regionalismo nordestino* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1992); Eliete de Queiroz Gurjão, "O Nordeste em construção: regionalização e poder local," in *Debates Regionais (João Pessoa: Ed. Universitária/NDIHR, 1995)* (João Pessoa: Ed. Universitária/NDIHR, 1995), 28–34; Jean-Yves Martin, "Identités et territorialités dans le Nordeste brésilien. Le cas du Rio Grande do Norte" (Doctoral thesis, Université de Bordeaux III, 1998); Maura Penna, *O que faz ser nordestino: identidades sociais, interesses e o "escândalo" Erundina* (São Paulo: Cortez Ed., 1992). The following regional studies, though not limited to the Northeast, also contributed to studies of regional identity: Marcia de Melo Martins Kuyumjian, ed., *Semeando cidades e sertões: Brasília e o Centro-Oeste* (Goiânia: Ed. da PUC Goiás, 2010); Nísia Trindade Lima, *Um sertão chamado Brasil: intelectuais e representação geográfica da identidade nacional* (Rio de Janeiro: IUPERJ Editora Revan, 1999).

³⁶ Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, "Falas da astúcia e de angústia: a seca no imaginário nordestino, de problema à solução (1877-1922)" (Master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1987); Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, "Nos destinos de fronteira: a invenção do Nordeste (A produção imagético-discursiva de um espaço regional)," in *Debates Regionais* (João Pessoa: Ed. Universitária/NDIHR, 1995), 21–27; Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, "Weaving Tradition: The Invention of the Brazilian Northeast," trans. Laurence Hallewell, *Latin American Perspectives* 31, no. 2, Brazilian Northeast: Globalization, Labor, and Poverty (March 2004): 42–61; Albuquerque Júnior, *A invenção do nordeste e outras artes*.

have urged us to move beyond simple definitions of the region to explore the process of its invention and the possibility that it not be limited by geographic space.³⁷ Albuquerque Júnior analyzed intellectual and artistic discourse that “invented” the Northeast and Northeastern identity, bringing the idea of this region as a social and historical construct to the fore. Meanwhile, in *The Vigorous Core of Our Nationality: Race and Regional Identity in Northeastern Brazil*, Blake (a former student of Weinstein), argued that politicians, civil servants, urban professionals, scientists and medical doctors also participated in this process with their own professional and political objectives in mind.³⁸ While Albuquerque Júnior focuses mostly on intellectuals and artists, Blake focuses on intellectuals, professionals, and policymakers. While I agree that these sectors of the population were highly influential in the creation of the notion of a Northeastern region, the cultural expressions of the region came from a much broader base, including laborers, students, activists, popular artists, journalists, and sports fans. These cultural expressions are often left out of regional analyses because, according to Claudio Lomnitz-Adler, regional culture is often seen as a “rational adaptation to economic and political forces,” viewed in terms of numbers and the observable (as opposed to interpretation), and reduced to something akin to “commercial exchange: the exchange of information.”³⁹

³⁷ Subsequent studies on the Northeast include: Tânia Bacelar de Araújo, “Northeast, Northeast: What Northeast?,” trans. Paulo Simões, *Latin American Perspectives* 31, no. 2, Brazilian Northeast: Globalization, Labor, and Poverty (March 2004): 16–41; Jack A Draper III, “Forró’s Wars of Maneuver and Position: Popular Northeastern Music, Critical Regionalism, and a Culture of Migration,” *Latin American Research Review* 46, no. 1 (2011): 80–101; Jan Hoffman French, “Buried Alive: Imagining Africa in the Brazilian Northeast,” *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 3 (2006): 340–60; Mary Lorena Kenny, “Landscapes of Memory: Concentration Camps and Drought in Northeastern Brazil,” *Latin American Perspectives* 36, no. 5 (September 2009): 21–38; Megwen May Loveless, “The Invented Tradition of Forró: A ‘Routes’ Ethnography of Brazilian Musical ‘Roots’” (PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, 2010).

³⁸ Stanley Blake, “The Invention of the Nordeste: Race, Region and Identity in Northeastern Brazil, 1889-1945” (PhD Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2001); Stanley Blake, “The Medicalization of Nordestinos: Public Health and Regional Identity in Northeastern Brazil (1889-1930) The Americas 60, No. 2 (2003),” *The Americas* 60, no. 2 (October 2003): 217–48; Stanley Blake, *The Vigorous Core of Our Nationality: Race and Regional Identity in Northeastern Brazil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011).

³⁹ Lomnitz-Adler, “Concepts for the study of regional culture”: 195.

This dissertation focuses on this neglected aspect of Northeastern regional identity formation, accepting Weinstein's argument that centralization inspires further regionalization and Oliven's suggestion that globalization can serve as a force that also intensifies this process. For the purposes of this dissertation, Homi Bhabha's insistence on the ambivalent nature of identity is fundamental.⁴⁰ In *Nation and Narration*, Bhabha presented the nation as "a powerful historical idea" that is represented symbolically and ambivalent by nature. National (and I add regional) culture is neither "unified nor unitary in relation to itself."⁴¹ Instead, these cultures and their complicated identities are always both inside and outside of themselves, representing self and reflecting the other, incorporating the new and reinventing the old.

Regional identity, too is ambivalent, or rather, multivalent by nature and in a process of constant negotiation between state and intellectual invention and popular imagination, mediated by the region's inhabitants and exiles. The multivalence of Northeastern regional identity resides not only in its relation to the nation, but also to international forces participating in this process. International pressure, in this view, does not only imply the views of the outsider, but also those of the represented self. As Kolig, Angeles and Wong have argued, processes of globalization in the twentieth century required the "fundamental reorientation of traditional identities to take note of one's embeddedness in a world-wide context."⁴²

Yet, for Kolig et al.'s statement to stand, there must be firm, static, traditional identities in the first place, a notion that the various forms of presenting the Northeast and popular culture put into

⁴⁰ Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (New York: Routledge, 1990). Doris Sommer applied the notion of the narrated nation to an analysis of romantic national literature in Latin America. Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

⁴¹ Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, 4.

⁴² Erich Kolig, Vivienne SM. Angeles, and Sam Wong, *Identity in Crossroad Civilizations: Ethnicity, Nationalism and Globalism in Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 11.

question. Identity, then, is better understood as a process than as a descriptive noun – a process of negotiation, mediation, contestation, and only brief moments of consensus. It is a multivalent process of narration and creation, embedded in a world-wide context.

In her historiography of nationalism and national identity in Latin America, Nicola Miller urged scholars to incorporate new approaches from cultural studies into their analyses of identity.⁴³ Miller further stressed that scholars are beginning to consider the interplay between national and regional identities, but that much work still needs to be done on “the international context in which national identities evolved, about the transfer of people, ideas and images in both directions ...” and the “local, regional, and supra-national” competition between collective identities.⁴⁴ This dissertation contributes to these debates, building upon approaches to region in human geography, participating in the historiography of identity studies with approaches from cultural studies, and examining the role of international cultural influence in the construction of regional identity.

The Brazilian Northeast⁴⁵

Once considered part of the more expansive Brazilian Northern region, in the 1920s the Northeast arose as a separate region that suffered frequent drought. Most authors agree that a series of droughts (from 1877 to 1880 and in 1888, 1900, 1915, and 1919) caused both mass migration to the Amazon (where there existed opportunities to work in the rubber industry) and an increase in banditry throughout the sertão. The Northeast relied primarily on the agricultural and livestock

⁴³ Miller, “The Historiography of Nationalism and National Identity in Latin America,” 214. Miller referred here to Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, trans. Christopher Chiappari and Silvia López, 4 ed. Latin American Studies: Anthropology (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

⁴⁴ Miller, “The Historiography of Nationalism and National Identity in Latin America,” 216.

⁴⁵ For an annotated bibliography to guide you through an introduction to the history of the Brazilian Northeast, see: Courtney J. Campbell, “History of the Brazilian Northeast,” ed. Ben Vinson, *Oxford Bibliographies in Latin American Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

industries.⁴⁶ Sugar had long been the Northeast's most important agricultural product, relying heavily on a plantation system and both free and slave labor until the abolition of slavery in 1888, promoted nationally and internationally by Northeastern abolitionists.⁴⁷ In the sertão, livestock production (especially cattle and goat) was prominent, controlled by a landed class pertaining to a handful of prominent families who established patron-client relations with peasants. The patriarchs of the prominent families, referred to as *coronéis* (coronel in the singular), had long ruled over the sertão, providing votes to elected state governors who then assured the coronéis sovereignty over the sertão. President Getúlio Vargas' New State (1937-1945), or *Estado Novo*, established federally appointed governors and a modern, professional army, marking the beginning of the decline of the coronel system, which would continue to disintegrate throughout the military dictatorship.⁴⁸

The droughts and the lack of political infrastructure to mitigate their consequences on the living conditions of the Northeastern peasantry not only destabilized the region, but also adversely affected the national economy, becoming, to some, “the greatest *national* economic problem.”⁴⁹ Consequently, beginning in 1919, governmental geographical institutes separated the Northeastern

⁴⁶ In 1938, for example, some prominent products in the region were salt (RN), babaçu (a variety of palm used to make palm oil – MA and PI), pineapple (PE, PA and BA), cocoa (BA), coconut (throughout), and papaya (BA, CE and PE). Carlos Augusto Ribeiro Campos, *Atlas estatístico do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional do Café, 1941), 30, 32, 38, 45, 47, 50, 55, 60 and 65.

⁴⁷ Joaquim Nabuco, from Pernambuco, is among the most famous of the Brazilian abolitionist politicians. As a senator, he promoted abolition, but also brought publicity to cases of obvious abuse, as in the case I analyze in: Courtney J. Campbell, “‘Tinha Apenas Em Vista Chamar a Atenção:’ Joaquim Nabuco, Os Abolicionistas Britânicos E O Caso de Morro Velho,” in *Conferências Sobre Joaquim Nabuco: Joaquim Nabuco Em Wisconsin*, ed. Severino Albuquerque Júnior (Rio de Janeiro: Bem-te-vi, 2010), 381–405. Certain popular abolitionist groups are covered in more detail in Chapter 2 of this dissertation

⁴⁸ Marcos Vinícios Vilaça, *Coronel, coronéis: apogeu e declínio do coronelismo no Nordeste*, 5 ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2006).

⁴⁹ The emphasis on “national” is my own. Antonino da Silva Neves, *A Sêcca de 1919, Nordeste, a Bahia e o Norte de Minas Geraes: o maior problema economico nacional* (Rio de Janeiro: Oficinas Graphics do Jornal do Brasil, 1919). For more on drought in the Northeast, see Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, “Falas da astúcia e de angústia: a seca no imaginário nordestino, de problema á solução (1877-1922)” (Master’s thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1987); Eve Elizabeth Buckley, “Drought in the sertão as a natural or social phenomenon: establishing the Inspetoria Federal de Obras Contra as Secas, 1909-1923,” *Boletim Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi Ciências Humanas* 5, no. 2 (May/August, 2010).

states from the Northern region, considering it a distinct geological and meteorological unit prone to drought.⁵⁰ The 1940 census was the first to break the country into regions, placing within the Northeast the states of Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, and Alagoas.⁵¹ The 1950 census would add the archipelago Fernando de Noronha (which would later become part of the state of Pernambuco), while Bahia and Sergipe would not officially join the Northeast until the 1970 census. It is important to note, however, that not everyone agreed with the definition of the Northeast offered by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística). The Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento, for example, in 1960 included Bahia and Sergipe in the Northeast, while the National Council of Economy (*Conselho Nacional de Economia*) included Bahia but excluded Maranhão.⁵² Antonino da Silva Neves, in his previously cited work, listed Bahia separately from the Northeast, but within the drought zone.

Narratives of drought and migration have imbued the Northeast with a sense of emptiness, masking population growth, rising population density, and urbanization. While throughout the period studied in this dissertation (1926-1968) the Northeast did suffer an annual net loss of migrants and the relative proportion of the national population residing in the region declined, the overall population of the region and its population density steadily rose.⁵³ Further, peasants suffering drought

⁵⁰ Albuquerque Júnior, *A invenção do nordeste e outras artes*, 81.

⁵¹ The *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*, or Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) is responsible for providing census information. The 1920 census did not refer to regions at all.

⁵² IBGE, *Atlas nacional do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1966), I-4.

⁵³ According to the IBGE's statistics (which exclude Bahia and Sergipe), the population density of the Northeast was 10.21 people per square kilometer in 1940 and 20.81 in 1960. Compared to other Brazilian regions in 1960, the population density in the Northeast was twenty times that of the Northern region (1.01), nearly ten times the Central Western region (2.10), slightly lower than the Eastern region (24.84), while considerably less than the Southern region (30.52). IBGE, *Atlas nacional do Brasil*, I-1.

conditions not only emigrated outside of the region, but within it. While rates of urbanization in the Northeast remained below the national average, they, too, steadily rose over the period studied here.⁵⁴

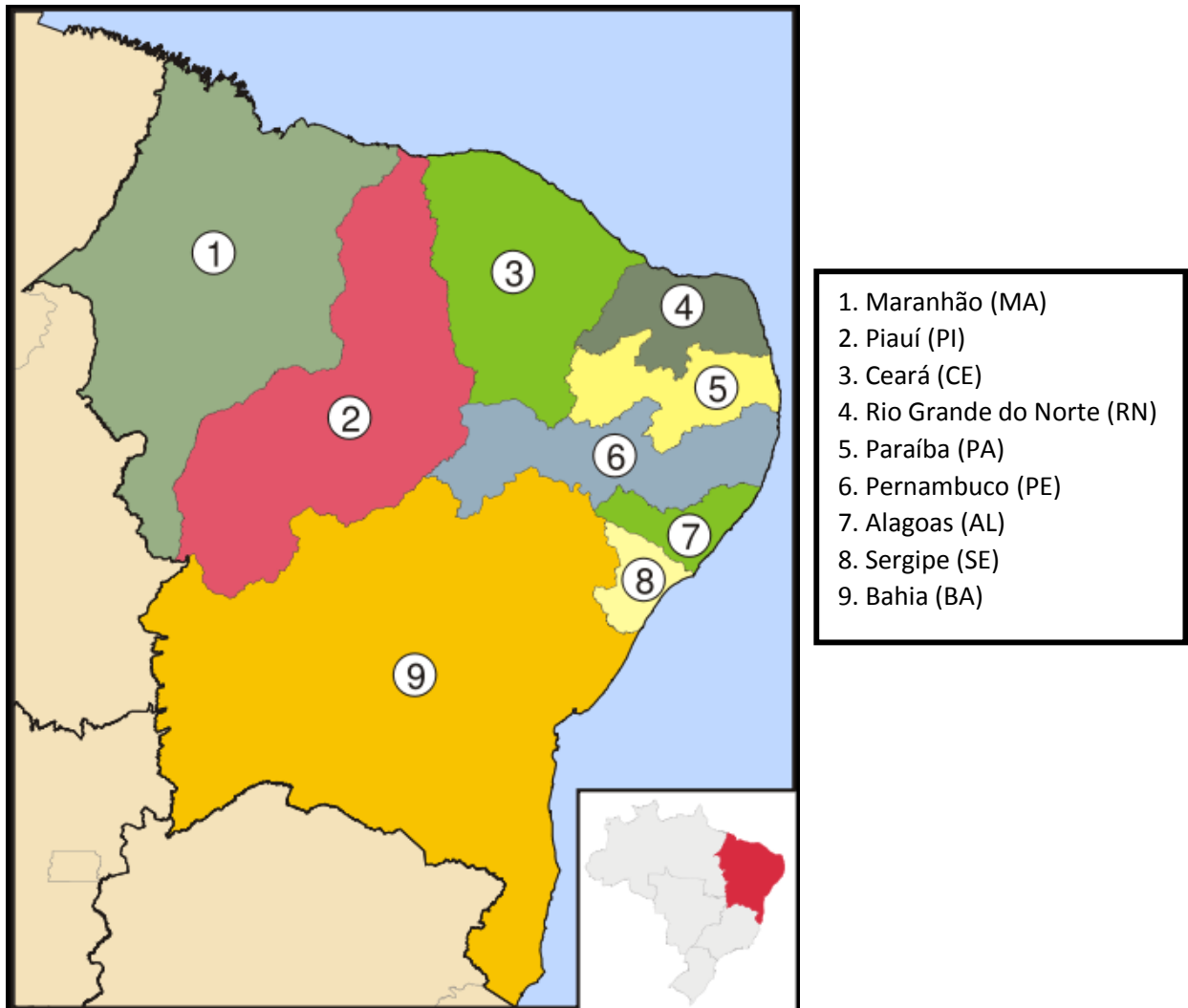


Figure 1: Map of the Brazilian Northeast⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The population of Natal, for example, doubled after the construction of U.S. military bases in the city, from 51,479 in 1940 to 106,254 in 1950. In the same period, the population of the city of Recife rose from 323,177 to 534,468. "Estado da população, II – População do Brasil, na data do recenseamento geral de 1940," in *Estatísticas do século* (CD-ROM), sheet 4 and 5; and "Estado da população, III – Resultados preliminares do recenseamento geral de 1950," in *Estatísticas do século* (CD-ROM), sheet 3.

⁵⁵ Raphael Lorenzeto de Abreu, "Região Nordeste do Brasil, Creative Commons License, http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Brazil_Region_States_Nordeste.svg, 2006.



Figure 2: Map of the Sub-Regions of the Brazilian Northeast⁵⁶

Since the government began to collect life expectancy and infant mortality rates in the 1930s, the Northeast has always earned the worst grades. From 1930 to 1980, average life expectancy in the region rose from 38.17 to 52.2 years, remaining 6.58 years less than the national average and 15.35 years less than the South.⁵⁷ In the same period, infant mortality rates fell drastically from 178.71 deaths

⁵⁶ Raphael Lorenzeto de Abreu, “Map of the Subregions of Brazil’s Nordeste Region,” Creative Commons License. Available at: http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Brazil_Region_Nordeste_Subregions.svg2006.

⁵⁷ It would be misleading, however, to state that life expectancy rose steadily, as there was just as much of a tendency for it to fall from one census to the next as there was for it to rise. IBGE, *Estatísticas históricas do Brasil: séries econômicas, demográficas e sociais de 1550 a 1988*, 2 ed. (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1990), 52.

(per thousand) to 118.81, but remained twice that of the Southern region.⁵⁸ Migration from poverty- and drought-stricken rural areas of the Northeast to the Amazon and to the metropolitan areas of the South and Southeast made the boundaries between Northeastern and national appear both strikingly visible and geographically blurred.

Year	Population of Northeast	Population of Brazil	% Total Population
1872	4,638,560	9,930,478	46.71
1890	6,002,047	14,333,915	41.87
1900	6,749,507	17,318,556	38.97
1920	11,245,921	30,635,605	36.71
1940	14,434,080	41,236,315	35.00
1950	17,973,413	51,944,397	34.60
1960	22,181,880	70,070,457	31.66
1970	28,111,927	93,139,037	30.18

Table 1: Population of the Brazilian Northeast based on current (nine-state) understanding of regional boundaries (1872-1970)⁵⁹

While the idea of the Northeast as a separate region resulted from meteorological, socio-economic, and political factors, the region was expressed in cultural terms. In the 1920s, a lively intellectual debate on Brazilian culture and international cultural influence (referred to as Brazilian Modernism) took place throughout Brazil. Beginning in the 1930s, the national government also participated in cultural politics, espousing a centralized national identity, creating governmental agencies in charge of regulating this identity, and placing several Brazilian Modernist artists in public positions throughout the state cultural apparatus. Yet the greater the pressure to centralize national identity, the stronger definitions of regional identity became. As we will see in the first chapter, the Northeast produced the first influential regionalist movement, represented at the Regionalist

⁵⁸ Ibid., 52.

⁵⁹ In 1872, an important law referred to as the “Free Womb Law” or the “Rio Branco Law,” besides ruling that all children born of enslaved mothers be freed upon reaching adulthood, required registering all slaves to be included in the census. In 1872, 405,470 of the 1,510,806 enslaved people listed in the census resided in the Northeast. Brazil went from monarchy/empire to republic in 1888, two years before the second census. The census was not performed in 1910 and 1930. The sudden decrease in Northeastern population relative to the nation in 1960 is probably due to the construction of Brasília, which also recruited an impressive amount of Northeastern laborers. Ibid., 32,34, 36-38.

Conference in Recife in 1926 by Northeastern intellectuals.⁶⁰ Northeastern intellectuals formulated a regionalist movement to define the region's culture, defend it from outside cultural influence, and emphasize its equality in relation to the South within the nation.⁶¹ The Northeast, according to this formulation, was not just dry, poor and unhealthy, but also the most racially mixed and authentically Brazilian region, resistant to the cosmopolitanism of the country's southern and southeastern cities. According to the regionalists, the Northeast was not different from Brazil, but was truly Brazilian, embodying many ideal qualities not only of regional but also of national identity.

Chapter Outline

This dissertation begins with the initial attempts at imbuing the newly formed Northeastern region with a cultural identity through the Regionalist Conference in Recife in 1926, a conference on regionalism in Charlottesville, Virginia in 1931, the *Diário de Pernambuco*'s promotion of the regionalist movement, and Gilberto Freyre's *Manifesto regionalista*. I focus on the writings of Gilberto Freyre, who called for a regional culture that was both culturally authentic and ecologically organic to the region. Freyre not only exalted a distinct Northeastern culture and regional identity, but also inserted Northeastern regionalism into an international historiography and movement. For Freyre and his fellow regionalists, regionalism was a way to re-envision the nation as a system of regions. The Regionalist Conference, *Manifesto regionalista*, and *Diário de Pernambuco* set the vocabulary for discussions

⁶⁰ A later movement, the Movimento Tradicionalista Gaúcho (Traditionalist Gaucho Movement) out of Rio Grande do Sul, did not appear until 1948, but does seem to have been a more cohesive unit than the Northeastern Regionalist Movement. Ruben George Oliven, *A parte e o todo: a diversidade cultural no Brasil-nação* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1992).

⁶¹ This is in agreement with Rama's statement that the defensive reaction to the capital cities is only possible through "the existence of an intellectual team with estimable levels of preparation, capable of taking on the challenge ..." and Rosa Maria Godoy Silveira's assertion that regional identity was the discourse of a class in crisis. In other words, at least initially, it is a group of well-trained intellectuals that articulates a defense of the region against the more modernized, dynamic, capital cities. "la existencia de un equipo intelectual con estimables niveles de preparación, capaz de recoger el desafío y oponerse a él entablando el debate en un mismo plano," Ángel Rama, *Transculturación narrativa en América Latina* (México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1982), 68; Silveira, *O regionalismo nordestino*, 16.

of the Northeast as more than just drought and for demanding constructive attention to the economic problems and responsible development of the region.

While Freyre's regionalist movement set out to define the contours of the Northeastern region's culture, to understand how the notion of the Northeastern region as having a distinct cultural identity became hegemonic, we must move away from intellectuals and toward popular movements. Toward these ends, the second chapter of this dissertation considers a group of fishermen – referred to as *jangadeiros* – relying on rustic sail-rafts who sailed from Fortaleza, Ceará to Rio de Janeiro to protest national labor law, becoming national heroes along the way and drawing the attention of *Life* magazine, Orson Welles, and a film crew. This chapter relies on newspaper articles, a scrapbook that the fishermen asked people to sign in each port, popular literature, and song to show how in their attempt at inclusion in the national state, these fishermen became symbols of the Northeastern region. Newspapers and artists used the jangadeiro raid to create a figure that could represent the Northeast of the sertão and the Northeast of the coast. They use this symbol to draw attention to regional inequalities, but also to exalt the positive characteristics of the region, which, in turn, they also emphasized as positive qualities of the nation as a whole. Orson Welles' attention is initially accepted as granting even greater resonance to the importance of the region, but, after the tragic death of one of the jangadeiros during filming, the press begins to treat the jangadeiros in a tone of ridicule. Nonetheless, the jangada and jangadeiro figure were converted into a romantic symbol of the Northeastern region, expressed in popular literature and song, described by folklorists and anthropologists, and incorporated into the region's visual culture.

The presence of thousands of U.S. troops in the Northeast during World War II jarred the brave, stoic Northeast represented by the jangadeiro. The third chapter analyzes how the conversation about regional identity changed while hosting the U.S. military bases during World War II. In this chapter, I examine how Northeastern women who dated U.S. soldiers were later portrayed as

prostitutes, as naïve girls, or as scheming but equally naïve temptresses, ridiculously pandering to the soldiers in the hopes of moving up the social ladder. I argue that narratives created in art, literature, and carnival blocks about the romantic, sexual, and matrimonial relationships between Northeastern women and U.S. soldiers sketch out the contours of a new version of Northeastern identity. These groups borrow the plotline of a classic foundational fiction, *Iracema*, but invert the romantic relationship that it portrays. In the end, the Northeast is left alone and disappointed, with future generations fundamentally changed by U.S. presence in the region.

From this narrative of disappointment sprouts a more powerful and longlasting narrative: that of the resistant Northeast. The fourth chapter studies the transformation in Northeastern identity from one of naiveté and abandonment to one of resistance and potential for revolt. After World War II, intellectuals, like Roger Bastide, and activists, like Germano Coelho and Norma Pôrto Carreiro, begin to draw comparisons between the French Resistance and movements that it spurred and the need to exalt and safeguard popular culture in the Northeast. Activists create the MCP, a movement dedicated to popular education, adult literacy, and the preservation of popular culture. Through the convergence of activities of the MCP, the socialist mayor-then-governor Miguel Arraes, and the Ligas Camponesas, the association of Northeastern culture with a sense of “resistance” becomes politicized, eventually internationally represented through the cangaceiro, or bandit, figure.

The fifth and sixth chapters of this dissertation take a different approach in examining narratives of Northeastern identity. In these chapters, I examine popular, mass, spectacle events that were widely famous, even before the advent of national television. Through these events, we learn how the conversation about the Northeast is take up by a broader swath of the population. The fifth chapter focuses on World Cup soccer in the Northeast, examining newspaper discourse on the campaign to bring a match to Recife in 1950 and analyzing soccer in newspaper, regional music, and literature. This chapter demonstrates that within the space provided by mass spectator events like

World Cup soccer, journalists, fans, and artists discussed the region, its place within the nation, and its international reputation. Newspapers explicitly discussed the region, expressing the importance of representing the Northeast and its potential to the nation and world through a World Cup soccer match. Found throughout are the symptoms of an inferiority complex and fears that the Northeast might lag behind the nation in terms of development and international exposure. Regional art, on the other hand, expressed soccer within Northeastern genres (cordel literature, clay art, popular music), but emphasized harmony with national culture through soccer.

While discussions of the Northeast within World Cup events show desires for inclusion, discussions of Miss Universe contestants, presented in the sixth chapter, provide the opportunity to analyze discussions of regional exclusion. Chapter 6 presents women from Northeastern states who won the Miss Brazil contest and participated in the Miss Universe pageant. Through an examination of art and press coverage of four Miss Brazils, we find the limits of Northeastern regional identity. In discourse on the Miss Brazils, we find that Salvador was not considered Northeastern by local newspapers nor by the *Diário de Pernambuco*. Salvador, instead, defined its identity through local cultural symbols, based on an Afro-Bahian identity and the rejection of U.S. consumer culture. The Bahian sertão, nonetheless, was considered Northeastern, underlining its drought, poverty, underdevelopment, potential for unrest, and need for governmental aid.

CHAPTER I

“AT A TIME WHEN WE WERE ONLY DROUGHT”: THE REGIONALIST MOVEMENT, REGIONALIST CONFERENCES, AND THE *MANIFESTO REGIONALISTA*

Reflecting on the Congresso Regionalista fifty years after the event, a *Jornal do Commercio* (Recife) article stated: “At a time when we were only drought – since it was only drought that called the attention of public federal powers to this Region – the concept of Regionalism was the beginning of a policy of integration that today we see anxiously demanded.”¹ The development of a Regionalist Movement and its insertion within an international context began not only a process of inscription of cultural qualities onto the region, but also a movement to study the region’s social and economic issues and to assert its place within the nation. The movement was meant to place the Northeast within a system of regions in Brazil that neither favored nor ignored any individual region, correcting a system that the regionalists sensed as unjust. International intellectual support made the movement appear sensible and sophisticated, instead of whiny, while the tenets of international regionalism protected the movement from handing the content of the region’s culture or definition to foreigners. The *Diário de Pernambuco* served as a mouthpiece for the movement, giving it wide dissemination throughout the Northeast, as it would for socio-economic issues in the Northeast for decades to come. In this way, the Regionalist Movement also set up a structure and provided a language for demanding constructive national attention for the economic problems and development of the new region, which the *Jornal do Commercio* article quoted above seems to recognize.

¹ “Numa época em que éramos apenas a seca -- pois só a seca chamava a atenção dos poderes públicos federais para esta Região -- o conceito de Regionalismo era o início duma política de integração que hoje vemos ansiosamente reclamada.” This article was originally published in the *Jornal do Commercio* in Recife on December 5 1976 and was reprinted in: “Regionalismo,” in *Anais do cinquentenário do Congresso Regionalista do Recife* (Recife: Editora Massangana, 1980), 63.

That, as insinuated in the article, fifty years later the Northeast was still not fully integrated into the national economy and politics, only reinforces this aspect of the Regionalist Movement – it was a movement responding to the region’s placement in a position of inferiority as a problematic drought zone, and the language and structure the movement provided reflected this and would reverberate in future movements. In 1976 the *Jornal do Commercio* saw the movement as still relevant, because “its message contains a warning cry of who we are, of the cultural richness that is the Northeast.”² That message was launched at the Congresso Regionalista do Recife and later articulated in the *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, which was released at the 25th anniversary commemoration of the Congresso Regionalista, printed in the Instituto Joaquim Nabuco’s first *Boletim*, celebrated at the Congresso’s 50th anniversary, and is now on its seventh edition through the Editora Massangana of the Fundação Joaquim Nabuco.

The Regionalist Movement had strong repercussions not only in other regions of Brazil, but in the U.S. South and even on the historiography of history itself.³ Gilberto Freyre, who organized the

² “Porque o que se contém nessa mensagem é um grito de alerta pra o que somos, para a riqueza cultural que é o Nordeste.” “Regionalismo.”

³ Fernand Braudel cited Freyre frequently in his well-known work *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1949) that came to represent the Annales School of history. Braudel even complimented Gilberto Freyre’s work directly on page 276. Braudel so esteemed Freyre’s work as to invite him to represent Brazil in the “comité de patronage” of the journal *Annales, Sociétés, Economies, Civilisations*, for which Braudel was editor. Fernand Braudel, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” November 8, 1945, Correspondência de Estrangeiros (CODE), Fundação Gilberto Freyre (FGF), Recife, Pernambuco (PE); Fernand Braudel, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” July 27, 1946, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE. Nonetheless, Peter Burke stressed that while the “new history” of Braudel and Freyre were similar, they were not imitating each other, but referred to similar movements within a new school of thought. Peter Burke, “Gilberto Freyre e a nova história,” trans. Pablo Rubén Mariconda, *Tempo Social* 9, no. 2 (October 1997): 1–12. Carlos Guilherme Mota later claimed that Freyre’s conciliatory form “came to obfuscate a critic of the dimensions of F. Braudel, who considered him ‘of all the Brazilian essayists the most lucid.’” “O ensaísmo de Freyre chegou a ofuscar um crítico do porte de F. Braudel, que o considerava ‘de todos os ensaístas brasileiros o mais lúcido,’” Carlos Guilherme Mota, *Ideologia da cultura brasileira (1933-1974)*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Ática, 1977), 58–59. The quotation to which Mota referred is found in a 1943 article in which, after a little over two pages of praise, Braudel compared Freyre to Euclides da Cunha, Paulo Prado, Afranio Peixoto, and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. Braudel stated: “Of all the essayists, Freyre seems to me if not the most brilliant – which each of them are – at least the most lucid and the richest, the best documented in any case.” “De tous ces essayistes, Gilberto Freyre me paraît sinon le plus brillant – ils le sont tous – du moins le plus lucide et le plus riche, le plus documenté en tout cas.” Fernand Braudel, “À travers un continent d’histoire. Le Brésil et l’oeuvre de Gilberto Freyre,” *Mélanges d’histoire sociale* 4 (1943): 5. Regardless of whether one agrees or disagrees with Freyre, it is apparent that his writing had an effect on Braudel.

Congresso and wrote the *Manifesto*, was to become one of the most influential (if not the most influential) intellectuals of both national studies and the regionalist movement. After Samuel Putnam's translation of *The Masters and the Slaves*, he was internationally recognized as the author of an exciting version of Brazilian national identity – one modeled on the history of the Northeastern region that his *Manifesto* tried to define.⁴ However, this national and regional figure was also firmly embedded in an international intellectual community and he inserted his version of Northeastern regionalism within an international historiography, giving it a framing similar to nationalism.

In this chapter, I place both the manifesto and the movement within an international historiography, stressing their ecological foundations. Accepting that this early phase of regionalism was part of an international trend, we are able to consider regionalism not as opposed to, but as a form of nationalism.⁵ Just as Benedict Anderson highlighted the portability and universality of nationality as a way of imagining social relations (akin to kinship), Freyre posited regionalism as a portable and universal way of imagining the nation.⁶ Freyre's regionalism represented a different way of imagining and organizing the nation (and, even, the international system of nations), but was not a protest against it.

⁴ Thomas D. Rogers described this as Freyre making of the Northeast “uma metonímia da nação como um todo.” Thomas D. Rogers, “Pensamento geográfico de Gilberto Freyre nos anos 1920 e 1930,” *Cadernos de História* VIII, no. 8 (2011): 97. At the age of 70, Freyre stated in an interview that his writings from the time of *The Masters and the Slaves* onward were narcissist in that they were modeled not just on the Northeast, but on his own experiences at home and with his family. In this sense, he said, his work is “mais psicológico que lógico.” José Augusto Guerra, “Gilberto Freyre no tempo tribú,” *Cultura*, March 1971, 30, *Obras Raras e jornais (ORJ)*, Fundação Joaquim Nabuco (FUNDAJ), Recife, PE.

⁵ Daniel Pécaut considered the thought of both Gilberto Freyre and Mário de Andrade to contribute to the formulation of national identity that focused on recognition of popular practices. Mota also agreed that “Regionalism, as an ideology, on the other hand, did not necessarily occur in detriment to or counterposition to the national project.” “O Regionalismo, enquanto ideologia, por outro lado, não ocorre necessariamente em detriment ou em contraposição a projeto nacional.” Daniel Pécaut, *Os intelectuais e a política no Brasil: entre o povo e a nação*, trans. Maria Júlia Goldwasser (São Paulo: Ática, 1990), 39; Mota, *Ideologia da cultura brasileira (1933-1974)*, 73.

⁶ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

For this reason, the Regionalist Conference of 1926 and the *Manifesto regionalista* that it (eventually) engendered provide a rich starting point for a study of the Northeastern region as inside out – that is, as both serving as an arena within which both national and international events unfolded and representing interpretations of the region on a national and international stage, thereby influencing the world around it. While the conference and the manifesto would not have the same contours as the events involving more mass participation and media coverage in subsequent chapters, it inserted regionalism within an international intellectual tradition and conceived of the Northeast as belonging to a more expansive national and international system of regions.

This chapter first studies the organization of the Regionalist Conference of Recife in 1926 and the realization of subsequent conferences, including the Regionalist Conference in Charlottesville, Virginia in 1933, through an examination of newspaper articles published in the *Diário de Pernambuco*, essays housed in the Papers of the Institute of Public Affairs (PIPA) Collection of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections (ASSSC) of the University of Virginia Library (UVAL), and correspondence housed at the Fundação Gilberto Freyre (FGF) and the Special Collections and Archives of the Greenwood Library at Longwood University. I then turn to an analysis of the *Manifesto regionalista de 1926* that is at once a close reading and an extrapolation of elements of the *Manifesto* in a wider, international intellectual conversation on regional studies. For this analysis, I accept that Freyre wrote the *Manifesto* in more than one period and, then, return to the document. While recognizing Freyre's major works written between 1926 and 1952 in this analysis – works produced during the high point of Freyre's career and that, to a great extent, define his intellectual legacy – I avoid the temptation to place a single date on the *Manifesto* assuming instead that it is a hybrid document representing at times the introduction and at others the conclusion to Freyrian influence on the regionalist movement. I then carry out a close reading of the *Manifesto* focusing on one paragraph that

pins together ideas relevant to the span of the regionalist movement through central, repeated arguments. I interlace the relevant historiography of regionalism, ecology and geography throughout.

This reading supports interpretations of Freyre's regionalism as poised between modernism and traditionalism, demonstrating Freyre's calls for a regional culture based on an economy and a society that sprout organically from a tropical ecology.⁷ In the spirit of Peter Burke and Maria Lúcia Pallares-Burke's call for comparative social history as a way to introduce non-Western perspectives into the study of human problems, I read the *Manifesto* and the movement within an international perspective.⁸ I argue that the *Manifesto* was more a reaction to foreign cultural influence than to the centralized state and more concerned with culture and ecology than with imperialism or domination. Re-reading the *Manifesto* also leads to rethinking the relationship between region and nation. In the bigger picture, I argue that Freyre conceived of the region as an intrinsic part of the nation, rather than as opposed to it; he considered regionalism as not a threat to nationalism, but as an ideal form of it, and even, as a way to protect it.

⁷ The papers presented at the Cinquentenário do Congresso Regionalista in December 1976 and published in 1980 also emphasize regionalism as part of the modernist movement. Recently, scholars have emphasized the similarities, instead of differences between Gilberto Freyre and the Brazilian modernist Mário de Andrade. Gilda de Mello e Souza, for example, pointed out that in the 1920s, both authors wrote of a modern Brazil, connected to popular culture and influenced by the past. Dimas referred to Freyre and Andrade as "more complementary than adversary." "mais complementar que adversário." Even Mota admitted that "one could call him [Freyre], in a synthetic manner: a modernizer." "poder-se-ia denominá-lo, de maneira sintética: um modernizador." Edson Nery da Fonseca provides the best-documented argument that Freyre was a conciliator of modernist and regionalista ideas in *Em torno de Gilberto Freyre*. Finally, José Maurício Gomes de Almeida's rather matter-of-fact conclusion seems the most reasonable and straightforward: "... no fundo, modernismo e regionalismo são apenas faces diferentes de um mesmo processo de luta pelo aprofundamento da consciência nacional, na arte como na cultura ...". These readings stand in sharp contrast with the longstanding view of Freyre as opposed to modernism. *Anais do cinquentenário do Congresso Regionalista do Recife* (Recife: Editora Massangana, 1980); Gilda de Mello e Souza, "O mestre de Apipucos e o turista aprendiz," *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Culture and Ideology in the Americas: Essays in Honor of Richard M. Morse, 32, no. 2 (Winter 1995): 36; Antonio Dimas, "Um manifesto guloso," in *Gilberto Freyre em quatro tempos*, ed. Ethel Volfzon Kosminsky, Claude Lépine, and Fernanda Arêas Peixoto (Bauru, SP: EDUSC, 2003), 335; Mota, *Ideologia da cultura brasileira (1933-1974)*, 61; Edson Nery da Fonseca, *Em torno de Gilberto Freyre: ensaios e conferências* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Editora Massangana, 2007), 223–226; José Maurício Gomes de Almeida, "Regionalismo e modernismo: as duas faces da renovação cultural dos anos 20," in *Gilberto Freyre em quatro tempos* (Bauru, SP: EDUSC, 2003), 325.

⁸ Peter Burke and Maria Lucia G. Pallares-Burke, *Gilberto Freyre: Social Theory in the Tropics* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008), 16.

Understanding the *Manifesto* is important because, as seen in its continual re-publication and celebration, it came to represent the ideas of the regionalist movement, even if retrospectively. The spread of Freyre's ideas depended initially on the support of the *Diário de Pernambuco* and the careful positioning of the movement within an international framework, with international supporters. Yet, the longevity of the movement and the endurance of its ideas relied on the creation of additional conferences and institutions that often point back to the *Congresso* and *Manifesto* as points of origin, while constantly publicizing and reframing the *Manifesto*. The *Manifesto*, conferences, and the *Diário de Pernambuco* set the themes and terminology with which to consider the region as more than just drought-stricken and poor, while also demanding constructive attention for the economic problems and development of the region.

International Regionalists, their Conferences, and the Making of a Regionalist Movement

Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) was born in Recife to a family descended from rural distinguished plantation owners, but that, by the time of Freyre's birth was "relatively impoverished," for an upper middle-class family. Freyre learned English early in life, tutored by an English teacher, and then studied at the Colégio Americano Gilreath (Gilreath American High School – now referred to as the Colégio Americano Batista), a Baptist school with sister universities in the United States. It is through the Colégio Americano Gilreath that Freyre was able to study at Baylor University in Waco, Texas from 1918 to 1921.⁹ After completing his undergraduate studies at Baylor, Freyre completed graduate

⁹ In his oral memoir for Baylor University, Freyre describes the Colégio Americano Gilreath as appealing to male students of elite Recife families. Gilberto Freyre, *Oral Memoirs of Gilberto de Mello Freyre*, interview by Thomas Lee Charlton, May 16, 1985, 7–8, Baylor University Institute for Oral History.

studies in the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University from 1921 to 1922, before traveling through Europe and, then, back to Recife in 1923.¹⁰

Freyre's time abroad changed the way that he viewed his country, region, and city.¹¹ Freyre's studies at Baylor in Waco, Texas and then at Columbia University in New York under anthropologist Franz Boas brought him in contact with new ideas and a network of regionalist friends, such as Lewis Mumford, Frances Butler Simkins, and Rüdiger (or Ruediger) Bilden. Freyre encountered "New Poetry," importantly that of Amy Lowell, at Baylor through his English Professor, A.J. Armstrong.¹² Later, in Europe, where Freyre traveled after leaving the U.S., he expanded his contacts with vanguard movements. He became acquainted with the work of Ganivet, Unamuno, Ortega y Gasset, the regionalist work of Lafcadio Hearn and the activities of Charles Maurras and the integralist *L'action française* movement.¹³ This international contact led Hermano Vianna to refer to Freyre as a

¹⁰ Burke and Pallares-Burke, *Gilberto Freyre: Social Theory in the Tropics*, 23–50.

¹¹ See: Mota, *Ideologia da cultura brasileira (1933-1974)*, 61; Hermano Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music & National Identity in Brazil*, trans. John Charles Chasteen (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 55; Burke and Pallares-Burke, *Gilberto Freyre: Social Theory in the Tropics*, 23–50; Maria Lucia G. Pallares-Burke, *Gilberto Freyre: um vitoriano dos trópicos* (São Paulo: UNESP, 2005); Vamireh Chacon, *Gilberto Freyre: uma biografia intelectual* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 1993), 49–168; Enrique Rodríguez Larreta and Guillermo Giucci, *Gilberto Freyre uma biografia cultural, a formação de um intelectual brasileiro: 1900-1936*, trans. Josely Vianna Baptista (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007), 65–210. Vianna also mentions the influence of the geologist John Casper Branner on the young Gilberto Freyre on 56. Freyre's time abroad is also highlighted in the cordel pamphlets: Marcelo Soares, *Gilberto Freyre: o mestre de Apípuços* (Timbaúba, PE: Folhetaria Cordel, 1999), Acervo Pós-Átila (APA), Biblioteca Átila Almeida (BAA), Universidade Estadual da Paraíba (UEPB), Campina Grande, Paraíba (PB); Homero do Rêgo Barros, *ABC do sociólogo-antropólogo Gilberto Freyre* (Recife, 1979), Acervo Átila Almeida (AA), BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB and ORJ-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. Freyre spoke at length about his interactions with poets, historians, English professors, and musicians at Baylor in Freyre, Oral Memoirs of Gilberto de Mello Freyre. In addition, Freyre, apparently, was creatively social at Baylor, producing hand-drawn portraits of Baylor professors and alumni. Gilberto Freyre, "Baylor Faces by a Baylor Pen," 1920, The Texas Collection, Baylor University Archives, Waco, TX.

¹² Freyre, Oral Memoirs of Gilberto de Mello Freyre.

¹³ Elide Rugai Bastos, *Gilberto Freyre e o pensamento hispânico: entre Dom Quixote e Alonso El Bueno* (Bauru, SP: EDUSC, 2003), 10; Azevêdo, *Modernismo e regionalismo*, 121–122. Freyre cites Hearn as early as 1924 in Gilberto Freyre, "Do bom e do mau regionalismo," in *Antecipações*, ed. Edson Nery da Fonseca (Recife: EDUPE, 2001), 22. Freyre refers to *L'action française* in a letter to Francis Butler Simkins, where he mentions that the student of a friend of his, Regis de Beaulieu, had been arrested. Gilberto Freyre, "Letter to Francis Butler Simkins," c 1923, Box 2, Francis Butler Simkins Collection (FBSC), Special Collections and Archives (SCA), Greenwood Library (GL), Longwood University (LU), Farmville, VA. Freyre referred to Beaulieu, who was active in *L'action française* and *Camelots du Roi*, as René in this first letter, but as Regis in a later

“cosmopolitan regionalist” who learned to study not only Brazil, but its regions from outside the country.¹⁴

Upon Freyre’s return from the U.S. and Europe in 1923, after five years away from Brazil, he maintained contact with many of his international colleagues. His friendships with Francis Butler Simkins (historian of the American South) and Rüdiger Bilden (historian of Brazil) were among the most enduring. Freyre, Simkins, and Bilden shared books, journals, magazines, gossip, and intellectual criticism through the mail for decades to come. Simkins sent Freyre *The Carolina Chansons*, *American Negro Poetry*, *The Book of Burlesques*, *South Carolina during Reconstruction*, George Santayana’s *Soliloquies in England*, Amy Lowell’s *Modern Tendencies*, *The Southern Plantation*, batches of *Nations* and *Freeman*, and copies of his own articles.¹⁵ Freyre sent Simkins a selection of works on Brazilian history and literature, an Oliveira Vianna book, his talks and essays, and copies of *The Masters and the Slaves* before it was translated to English.¹⁶ Bilden sent Freyre Ludwig Lewisohn’s *Don Juan* and they shared suggestions of journal articles throughout the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁷

letter. Gilberto Freyre, “Letter to Francis Butler Simkins,” April 21, 1924, Box 2, FBSC-SCA-GL-LU. L’action française was founded by Charles Maurras.

¹⁴ Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music & National Identity in Brazil*, 31 and 55.

¹⁵ Francis Butler Simkins, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” May 11, 1923, FBS 11.05.23, Francis Butler Simkins Folder, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE; Francis Butler Simkins, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” November 14, 1923, FBS 14.11.23, Francis Butler Simkins Folder, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE; Francis Butler Simkins, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” October 24, 1938, FBS 24.10.38, Francis Butler Simkins Folder, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE; Gilberto Freyre, “Letter to Francis Butler Simkins,” June 22, 1923, Box 2, FBSC-SCA-GL-LU, Farmville, VA; Gilberto Freyre, “Letter to Francis Butler Simkins,” August 15, 1927, Box 2, FBSC-SCA-GL-LU, Farmville, VA.

¹⁶ Gilberto Freyre, “Letter to Francis Butler Simkins,” May 26, 1923, Box 2, FBSC-SCA-GL-LU, Farmville, VA; Gilberto Freyre, “Letter to Francis Butler Simkins,” April 8, 1925, Box 2, FBSC-SCA-GL-LU, Farmville, VA; Francis Butler Simkins, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” September 20, 1934, FBS 20.09.34, Francis Butler Simkins Folder, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE.

¹⁷ Rüdiger Bilden, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” December 16, 1923, RB 16.12.23, Rüdiger Bilden Folder, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE; Rüdiger Bilden, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” March 29, 1936, RB 29.03.36, Rüdiger Bilden Folder, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE, among others.

Freyre did not just copy ideas that he learned abroad; he interacted with these ideas and compelled his international friends to consider, if not read, works by Brazilian and Latin American intellectuals. Simkins had a student translate one of Freyre's papers.¹⁸ Freyre did invite both Simkins and Bilden to give talks in Recife and to send papers for inclusion in the *Livro do Nordeste*, described below.¹⁹ Further, Simkins sent Freyre's works on to Percy Martin of Stanford, who later offered Freyre a fellowship, and Simkins intervened for Freyre with Alfred Knopf on the translation and publication of *The Masters and the Slaves*.²⁰ Perhaps more importantly, Freyre, Simkins, and Bilden exchanged their own intellectual production and offered each other important critique. In one letter, Freyre scolds Simkins on an article the latter had published on Pan-Americanism. "I can not understand why," Freyre states, "Oliveira Lima, the best Latin American authority on this subject is not even mentioned; neither is Zeballos (Argentine) mentioned."²¹ Perhaps the most important of such exchanges within North American historiographical production would be that between Freyre and Frank Tannenbaum, who visited Freyre in Recife and relied heavily on his untranslated work in the production of *Slave and Citizen*.²² Freyre served as a cultural mediator, capable of weaving between cultural, intellectual, and political boundaries; he influenced and was influenced by more than one cultural context.

¹⁸ Rüdiger Bilden, "Letter to Gilberto Freyre," March 5, 1925, 05.03.25, Rüdiger Bilden Folder, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE.

¹⁹ In one letter, Freyre asks Simkins if he still intends to send an essay on Inter-American relations for the *Livro do Nordeste*: Gilberto Freyre, "Letter to Francis Butler Simkins," April 21, 1924, Box 2, FBSC-SCA-GL-LU, Farmville, VA. Bilden apologizes for not sending an article for the collection in: Bilden, "Letter to Gilberto Freyre," March 5, 1925, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE.

²⁰ Francis Butler Simkins, "Letter to Gilberto Freyre," June 26, 1934, FBS 26.06.34, Francis Butler Simkins, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE; Gilberto Freyre, "Letter to Francis Butler Simkins," November 28, 1949, Box 2, FBSC-SCA-GL-LU, Farmville, VA.

²¹ Freyre, "Letter to Francis Butler Simkins," c 1923, SCA-GL-LU, Farmville, VA. This letter is undated; however, Freyre mentions that [Estanislao Severo] Zeballos will soon be in the United States and that Simkins should try to see him. Zeballos traveled to the states in 1923, then to Liverpool where he died in October of the same year. As Freyre did not return to Brazil until 1923, this letter must have been written at some point during that same year.

²² Tannenbaum nostalgically remembers a trip to visit Freyre in Recife, while also inviting him to give a talk at Columbia University in: Frank Tannenbaum, "Letter to Gilberto Freyre," May 27, 1964, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE. Tannenbaum relies heavily on Freyre in Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen, the Negro in the Americas* (New York, A.A. Knopf, 1946).

Freyre's return to Brazil in 1923 was not without conflict. While, in his preface to Freyre's *Região e tradição*, regionalist author José Lins do Rêgo describes Freyre's writing in a celebratory tone as something "entirely new to Brazil," with a natural but lyrical prose that revealed Joyce, Meredith, Maritain, Browning, and Ganimet, Freyre's reliance on foreign writers also inspired complaints of pedantry.²³ An article, roughly translated as "Gilberto Freyre, the Wormy Fruit of Brazilian-Yankee Literature," appeared in the paper *O Fian* in May 1923, ridiculing Freyre.²⁴ It seems that it is this article that Freyre refers to in a letter to Simkins stating, "I have here a number of fervent enthusiasts and a large number of people who think that I am nothing but a refined pedant. Some one – I do not know the ass's name – wrote a furious article on my pedanterie."²⁵ Freyre repeats, again, that he has more detractors than admirers in a letter to Simkins in June.²⁶ The most vocal of these detractors was Joaquim Inojosa, who would come to write several volumes dedicated to discrediting Freyre. While in Antonio Dimas' view, Joaquim Inojosa's obsessive campaign against Gilberto Freyre stemmed from Inojosa's feeling that his own writing (which in Dimas' view was "small potatoes") had been slighted, the appearance of the wormy-fruit article in a local paper coupled with Freyre's complaints in letters to Simkins suggest that Inojosa's campaign had sympathizers.²⁷

²³ "Começou Gilberto a agitar nos seus artigos temas inteiramente novos para o Brasil, a falar de gente inteiramente desconhecida para nossos meios literarios, revelando um Joyce, um Meredith, o neo-thomismo de Maritain, os Browning, Ganimet, a escrever de um jeito que era novo sem ser 'moderno', a dar á lingua portuguesa uns accentos melodicos, a descobrir soluções poeticas para certos accentos asperos de nossa lingua. A prosa de Gilberto Freyre por esse tempo era uma coisa inteiramente original, sem que fosse bizarra ou exotica. Uma prosa que era ao mesmo tempo do falar natural e simples e de uma força lyrica de grande poema." José Lins do Rêgo, "Prefácio," in *Região e tradição*, by Gilberto Freyre, Coleção Documentos Brasileiros 29 (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1941), 15.

²⁴ "Gilberto Freyre, fruto bichado da literatura brasilio-ianque," *O Fian*, May 7, 1923 as cited in Azevêdo, *Modernismo e regionalismo*, 126.

²⁵ The underlining is from Freyre's letter, used to mark the use of French. Note that using French to argue that he is not pedantic might give us hints as to why he was perceived as such. Freyre, "Letter to Francis Butler Simkins," May 26, 1923.

²⁶ Freyre, "Letter to Francis Butler Simkins," June 22, 1923, SCA-GL-LU, Farmville, VA.

²⁷ Dimas claimed that Inojosa's obsession stemmed at least in part from envy. Inojosa took particular offense at Freyre's claims that the Regionalist Conference and Movement inspired the birth of regionalist literature, since Inojosa himself had published an article two years prior calling for the renewal of Northeastern literature. Inojosa gave a different justification for his obsession: not contesting Freyre's claims would lead to the rewriting of history. "seu texto é tiro de curto alcance.

It was collaboration with the *Diário de Pernambuco* that pulled Freyre out of this crisis, though Inojosa's campaign would continue for decades. Freyre had already been writing regularly for the *Diário* for years. By the end of November, Freyre told Simkins that he had come to appreciate the criticism, placing this change within the context of his designation as editor of the *Livro do Nordeste*. In Freyre's words:

I am about to become the editor of the Centennial Book of [the] *Diario de Pernambuco (1825-1925)*. It will be a social history of the North of Brazil. The invitation for this work was an honour – and it shows that a few intelligent Pernambucans appreciate me. I am still a most discussed topic. Not even a mass of human beings like the Brazilians – who are now in a phase of crude materialism and interest in low politics – are able to maintain an icy indifference towards my articles. I like to be discussed in all sorts of ways – not only in a friendly and sympathetic way. I wrote the other day that mere praise, continual praise reminds me of funeral flowers.²⁸

Freyre's international influence along with the collaboration of the *Diário de Pernambuco* proved important for lending credence to the regionalist movement in Recife. Upon his return, Freyre worked at the *Diário de Pernambuco* under Carlos Lyra Filho, who Freyre later referred to as “one of the strongest leaders of the Movement started in Recife in 1924 in favor of the Northeast and its values.”²⁹ Freyre used the *Diário* as a tool for publishing regionalist thought and activities and of reporting his connections with international visitors to the city. Simkins, then professor at Randolph Macon College in Virginia, came to Recife in 1924, according to an anonymous article, “to study certain aspects of

Inojosa não cria, não elabora, nem articula um projeto ... Enquanto Gilberto cria mitos novos, Inojosa repete-os.” Dimas, “Um manifesto guloso,” 341; Joaquim Inojosa, *Pá de cal* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Meio-Dia, 1978), 10. Ibid., 10. Jaci Bezerra offered a similar assessment, stating “Espíritos um tanto ou quanto despreparados muitas vezes têm tentado, a nível de circunstâncias meramente cronológicas, contestar o pioneirismo e a importância de algumas idéias do autor de *Nordeste* no que diz respeito ao Movimento Regionalista do Recife ... Tudo, porém, perde-se em veredas e caminhos de desimportância.” Jaci Bezerra, “O cinquentenário do Movimento Regionalista,” in *Anais do cinquentenário do Congresso Regionalista do Recife* (Recife: Editora Massangana, 1980), 8.

²⁸ Gilberto Freyre, “Letter to Francis Butler Simkins,” November 26, 1923, Box 2, FBSC-SCA-GL-LU, Farmville, VA.

²⁹ “um dos mais fortes líderes do Movimento iniciado no Recife em 1924 a favor do Nordeste e dos seus valores.” Gilberto Freyre, “Mensagem a Alagoas,” in *Anais do cinquentenário do Congresso Regionalista do Recife* (Recife: Editora Massangana, 1980), 53.

our life and landscape.” While in town, the article informed, he stayed at Freyre’s home.³⁰ Bilden and his wife, Jane, came to Recife in 1926 and attended organizational meetings for the Regionalist Conference.³¹ The *Diário de Pernambuco* publicized their participation in the meetings and published a summary of Freyre’s speech introducing Bilden at the Colégio Americano Gilreath do Recife.³² Freyre was careful to indicate in this speech that he had met Bilden in 1921 while at Columbia, making a connection between his ideas, time abroad, and association with international intellectuals.

Freyre also used the *Diário de Pernambuco* as a way to display his early thought on regionalism. In an article titled “A physionomia das novas cidades,” Freyre outlines his beliefs in cultural relevance and ecological organicity that, as demonstrated later in this chapter, he develops in his *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*. Freyre begins the article by stating that the Northeast needs to defend its physiognomy (personality/character/appearance) by protecting the architecture of its cities, large and small. This includes the “physiognomy of its houses at the sugar mills – whose traditional type of pyramid-shaped roof, held over pillars, is exactly the best type of house that corresponds to our climate and our life habits.”³³ A special commission of the Centro Regionalista do Nordeste had taken on the problem of preserving the physiognomy of the region’s cities, according to Freyre, while organizing “the first Regionalist Conference.”³⁴

³⁰ “Mr. Francis Butler Simkins,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 15, 1924, Setor Microfilmagem (SM), FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

³¹ “Centro regionalista do Nordeste,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, January 15, 1926, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

³² Gilberto Freyre, “Sobre as idéas geraes de Rudiger Bilden,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, January 17, 1926, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. This article was later reprinted with modified spelling in Gilberto Freyre, “Sobre as idéas gerais de Rüdiger Bilden,” in *Antecipações*, ed. Edson Nery da Fonseca (Recife: EDUPE, 2001), 34–39. In the article, Freyre indicates that Bilden saw the study of civilization as the study of the use of energy.

³³ “A physionomia de suas casas de engenho -- cujo typo tradicional de telhado em pyramide, cahido sobre os pilares, é exactamente o que melhor corresponde ao nosso clima e aos nossos habitos de vida.” Freyre saw smaller cities as being even more vulnerable to falsely modernizing influences in architecture and highlighted the importance of defending João Pessoa. Gilberto Freyre, “A physionomia das novas cidades,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, March 19, 1925, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

³⁴ “Do problema da defeza da physionomia das nossas cidades occupou-se terça-feira ultima a comissão encarregada pelo Centro Regionalista do Nordeste de organizar o primeiro Congresso Regionalista.” *Ibid.*; “1.o Congresso Regionalista

The Centro Regionalista do Nordeste, started in 1924 with Odilon Nestor as president and Freyre as secretary, would organize the Congresso Regionalista in meetings at Nestor's home.³⁵ In the *Diário de Pernambuco*, Freyre defines the conference and the regionalist movement as an "effort at concentration."³⁶ He means "concentration" in the sense of gathering – in this case, pulling together "affinities that only lightly slumber, to liberate the Northeast from the systematization of its inferiority as an economic vassalage; as an intellectual parasite; as a rotten burgh of Brazilian life."³⁷ Recognizing that some (unnamed) people had referred to the regionalist movement as "separatist," Freyre is careful to highlight that the movement and conference's meaning were opposite the idea of separatism. Instead, "It aims, on the contrary, to develop shared values and traditions, fleeing the tyranny of Distance; it aims to collaborate in the work of Brazilian integration, instead of simply repeating that which Rio [de Janeiro], over the last few years, repeats of the worst foreign models."³⁸

The *Diário de Pernambuco* gave the upcoming Regionalist Conference ample publicity. In the same issue as Freyre's article defining regionalism, the *Diário* published an article announcing the opening of the conference at the Theatro Santa Isabel and that the conference would take place from November 7-15 of the same year (though the conference would not actually take place until the following year). The conference, according to this article, would include the presentation of theses,

do Nordeste," *Diário de Pernambuco*, September 27, 1925, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; "1.o Congresso Regionalista do Nordeste," *Diário de Pernambuco*, February 9, 1926, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

³⁵ Fonseca, *Em torno de Gilberto Freyre*, 145.

³⁶ "esforço de concentração." Gilberto Freyre, "Regionalismo creador," *Diário de Pernambuco*, March 26, 1925, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

³⁷ "O que o regionalismo quer é, pela concentração de afinidades que apenas dormitam somno leve, libertar o Nordeste da systematização de sua inferioridade de feudo economico; de parasita intellectual; de burgo podre da vida brasileira." Ibid.

³⁸ "Visa ao contrario desenvolver os mesmos valores e tradições, refugindo á [sic] tyrannia da Distancia; visa colaborar na obra de integração brasileira, em vez de simplesmente repetir o que o Rio vem, nestes ultimos anos, repetindo dos peiores [sic] modelos estrangeiros [sic]." Ibid.

tourist and historic excursions, visits to churches, and lunch outside, probably in Gurjahú.³⁹ Themes for the conference included “economic and social problems” and “artistic and intellectual life.”⁴⁰ Meeting minutes from the Centro Regionalista printed in *A Provincia* emphasize the important role the *Diário de Pernambuco* played in publicizing the movement.⁴¹

The press also took care to underscore that the conference represented the entire Northeast, not just Pernambuco where its organizers resided. An article reprinted in the *Diário de Pernambuco* from the *Jornal do Commercio* of Ceará argues that the conference represents the interests of the entire northeast. “Instead of just looking to develop a strict regionalist action restricted to the interests of local life,” the cearense article announced, “the Pernambucan conference aims at a broader action, encompassing the interests of all of the vast zone of the Brazilian Northeast...”⁴² The correspondent in Alagoas of another Recife newspaper, *A Provincia*, announced the conference and urged Alagoans to send a representative and to collaborate with the Centro Regionalista “to save of our traditions

³⁹ Gurjahú (also Gurjaú) is a river in Cabo de Santo Agostinho, belonging to the municipality of Recife. In the 1920s, it was probably best known for its waterfalls, which came to grace postcards (now for sale on www.mercadolivre.com.br). In fact, just a month prior to the publication of this article, the *Revista de Pernambuco* printed a photo of a well-dressed group standing atop the waterfalls. By the 1990s, however, a dam and reservoir were built and the area was made into an ecological reserve that attracts eco-tourism. Cabo de Santo Agostinho, in general, is known for its warm, clean, rural beaches, tranquil fishing and tourist towns, and good surfing conditions. For more on Gurjahú, see Renata Maria Caminha Mendes de Oliveira, “O desafio da inserção da comunidade local na gestão de unidades de conservação: um estudo da Reserva Ecológica de Gurjaú-Cabo Agostinho, Jaboatão dos Guararapes e Moreno-PE” (Master’s thesis, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 2002), <http://www.liber.ufpe.br/teses/arquivo/20030930114931.pdf>. For the image of the waterfalls, see “A ‘Revista’ nos municípios,” *Revista de Pernambuco*, February 1926, ORJ-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁴⁰ “Problemas economicos e sociaes” and “Vida artistica e intelectual.” Gilberto Freyre, “Centro Regionalista do Nordeste,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, March 26, 1925, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁴¹ “Centro regionalista,” *A Provincia*, November 3, 1925, Hemeroteca Digital (HD), Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (FBN).

⁴² “em vez de buscar desenvolver uma acção regionalista, estreita, adstrieta [sic], aos interesses da vida local, o congresso pernambucano visou uma ação mais ampla, abrangendo os interesses de toda a vasta zona do nordeste brasileiro, tão característica e uniforme no seu fácies physico, na sua natureza, como na sua natureza, como na mentalidade e função social da sua população. D’ahi essa comunidade de interesses, de finalidade histórica e social, em que se affirmam e positavam as necessidades fundamentaes de toda a zona.” “Centro regionalista do Nordeste,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, April 16, 1925, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

what it is still possible to save.”⁴³ Similarly, a *Jornal do Brasil* article, also reprinted in the *Diário de Pernambuco*, reinforces that the Regionalist Conference’s program brings up issues related not only to Pernambuco, but also to “its neighbors, all of which are identified with a likeness in life and creative orientation, that powerful connection that is the community of [common] interests.”⁴⁴ Yet another article in the *Diário de Pernambuco* emphasizes that people have registered for the event from Paraíba (then Parahyba), Alagoas (then Alagôas), Ceará, and, of course, Pernambuco, listing the names and titles of presenters and boasting that the eminent sociologist Oliveira Vianna sent word of his support for the movement and his desire to attend the conference.⁴⁵ The Instituto Nacional de Architectos do Rio de Janeiro, Manoel Bomfim, and others sent solidarity for the project and interest in sending theses or attending.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, Joel Pontes, at the fiftieth anniversary of the Regionalist Conference would refer to the event and the movement as “centripetal” – gathered around Recife to define and celebrate the region and to promote the idea of a federation of regions.⁴⁷ The insistence of several newspapers on the multi-state nature of the regionalist conference suggests that they might have felt the need to respond to criticism based on the Recife-centeredness of the movement.

⁴³ “E’ preciso que Alagôas se faça representar no 1.º Congresso Regionalista e collabore efficientemente com o Centro Regionalista do Nordeste para salvar das nossas tradições o que ainda for possível salvar.” “‘A Provincia’ em Alagôas,” April 14, 1925, HD-FBN. It is interesting to note that the Universidade Federal de Alagoas held its own celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Congresso Regionalista. The Instituto was not the only organization to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the event. *Relatório do exercício de 1976* (Recife: Instituto Joaquim Nabuco de Pesquisas Sociais, 1977), 59, Biblioteca Blanche Knopf, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁴⁴ “os seus vizinhos, identificados todos elles numa semelhança de vida e de orientação creadora desse vínculo poderoso, que é a comunidade dos interesses.” “Partidos regionaes,” *Jornal do Brasil*, March 29, 1925, HD-FBN; “Partidos regionaes,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, April 15, 1925, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. This article stresses that the regionalist movement will take on how to organize the country and argues for regional political parties.

⁴⁵ “1.o Congresso Regionalista do Nordeste,” September 27, 1925.

⁴⁶ “Centro regionalista do Nordeste,” January 15, 1926.

⁴⁷ Joel Pontes, “O manifesto regionalista de 1926,” in *Anais do cinquentenário do Congresso Regionalista do Recife* (Recife: Editora Massangana, 1980), 14–15.

Not everyone saw him/herself reflected in the Regionalist Movement, the Centro Regionalista, or its conference, nor did everyone likely even consent to the designation of “Northeast” or “Northeasterner.” In the newspaper *A Província*, one writer argues that “maintaining tradition is demanding slavery; regionalism is the search for a new soul for lords of the land, for the new rich and for the petit bourgeoisie, fruits of the Middle Ages.”⁴⁸ Another writer ridicules the Congresso Regionalista, stating that conferences, by nature, should be open and international and regionalism is restrictive. The writer then lists the themes to be covered at the conference and adds a hint of sarcasm stating: “Certainly Gilberto Freyre will be responsible for all of this.”⁴⁹

The conference was rescheduled to give way to the 100th anniversary celebration of the *Diário de Pernambuco* and its publication of the *Livro do Nordeste*, coordinated by Freyre, and released in November, 1925.⁵⁰ The *Livro do Nordeste* is a compilation of articles from several authors, including C. Lyra Filho (then editor of the *Diário de Pernambuco*), Freyre, and Simkins, presenting different social, historical, and cultural aspects of the Northeast. Articles covered the themes of the history of the newspaper, Brazil’s international relations, medicine and hygiene in the Northeast, poetry, painting, literature, railroads, and sugarcane culture, among many others. According to the introduction to the original edition, the book “unites a group of studies and authorized opinions, fixing and commenting

⁴⁸ “Manter a tradição e [sic] exigir a escravidão; o regionalismo é procurar dar alma nova aos senhorios aos novos ricos e á pequena burguezia, frutos da edade media.” Novaes de Campos, “Na mesma tecla ...,” *A Província*, May 5, 1925, HD-FBN.

⁴⁹ “Certamente de tudo isto ficara encarregado o sr. Gilberto Freyre ...” (ellipsis is in the original). Costa Monteiro, “Um congresso regionalista,” *A Província*, March 29, 1925, HD-FBN. An amusing twist to this criticism is that Freyre would come to edit *A Província* from 1928-1930. Lewis Hanke, *Gilberto Freyre* (New York: Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, 1939), 5; Sergio Cohn, ed., “Cronologia do autor,” in *Gilberto Freyre* (Rio de Janeiro: Beco do Azougue, 2010), 211.

⁵⁰ “Livro do Nordeste,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, February 9, 1926, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “O Livro do Nordeste,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, January 20, 1926, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

on aspects and tendencies of Brazilian life in general and of Northeastern life in particular...”⁵¹ In describing the Northeast, the book also “wrote in blood the superscript or address of Brazilian nationality.”⁵² The book, then, set the stage for studying the Northeast and demanding that its qualities uphold the nation.

With the publication of the *Livro do Nordeste*, the region was defined in Recife by the largest newspaper in the region carrying the name of a particular state. The introduction to the *Livro* justified its title and aim stating: “The effort this book represents was animated by the fraternal regional spirit; by the spirit of the Northeast. It is natural that it be this way: very early on the DIÁRIO DE PERNAMBUCO identified itself with the aspirations and interests of the entire region, above the simple interests of the state.”⁵³ Freyre later reflected that the *Livro do Nordeste* should be “considered one of the most significant expressions of the Regionalist Movement of the North.”⁵⁴ Northeastern poet Mauro Mota saw the *Livro do Nordeste* as anticipating the “ideas and the force of agglutination” which the Movimento would have as base.⁵⁵ Later, as Director of the Arquivo Público do Estado de Pernambuco, Mota would have a second edition of the *Livro do Nordeste* published in 1979.⁵⁶ Yet, ultimately, by choosing the title *Livro do Nordeste* for a book intended to commemorate not the

⁵¹ “REUNE este livro um grupo de estudos e de opiniões autorizadas, fixando ou comentando aspectos e tendências da vida brasileira em geral e da nordestina, em particular ...” Gilberto Freyre, *Livro do Nordeste (Comemorativo do 1.º centenário do Diário de Pernambuco)*, 2nd ed. (Recife: Secretaria de Justiça, Arquivo Público Estadual, 1979), 3.

⁵² “se escreveu a sangue o sobrescripto ou endereço da nacionalidade brasileira.” Ibid., 4.

⁵³ “Animado foi todo o esforço que representa este livro pelo espírito de fraternidade regional; pelo espírito do Nordeste. Era natural que assim fosse: muito cedo se identificou o DIÁRIO DO PERNAMBUCO com as aspirações e interesses de toda a região, acima dos simples interesses do estado.” Ibid., 3.

⁵⁴ “considerado uma das expressões mais significativas do Movimento Regionalista do Norte.” Freyre, “Mensagem a Alagoas,” 53.

⁵⁵ “idéias, as diretrizes e a força de aglutinação.” Mauro Mota, “O manifesto regionalista de 1926 e a poesia,” in *Anais do cinquentenário do Congresso Regionalista do Recife* (Recife: Editora Massangana, 1980), 21.

⁵⁶ Gilberto Freyre, “Relendo a 1.ª edição do Livro do Nordeste,” in *Livro do Nordeste (Comemorativo do 1.º centenário do Diário de Pernambuco)*, 2nd ed. (Recife: Secretaria de Justiça, Arquivo Público Estadual, 1979), s.p.

anniversary of the newly defined region, a battle of unification, or a multi-state movement, but instead the 100-year anniversary of one, singular yet influential state newspaper also set the stage for a debate that continues today: Does the term “Northeast” culturally represent a group of states or just Pernambuco?

The Congresso Regionalista’s inauguration would take place three months after the publication of the *Livro do Nordeste*, on February 7, 1926 in the great hall (salão nobre) of the Faculdade de Direito. In the opinion of the *Diário de Pernambuco*, its success was evidence of “the interest that the regionalist movement has begun to awaken.”⁵⁷ Present were the representative of the state governor, representative of the president of the Superior Tribunal, representatives of high schools and associations, Dr. Salomão Filgueira representing the governor of Rio Grande do Norte, intellectuals, students, and others. The opening speaker was Moraes Coutinho, who had organized the event alongside Nestor and Freyre. In his talk, Moraes Coutinho again made clear the differences between regionalism and separatism and “showed that regionalism is a force, a movement, in the sense of the true and sincere federation of Brazil.”⁵⁸ Moraes Coutinho added that regionalism and nationalism did not “repel” cosmopolitanism; instead, “The difficult art of harmonizing [regionalism and nationalism with cosmopolitanism] is up to man’s intelligence.”⁵⁹ After the opening talk, Ascenso Ferreira recited the poems “Samba,” “Sertão,” and “Catimbó,” a musician from Alagoas nicknamed “o Ceguinho” played the guitar, and a capoeirista named Samuel Campello (who also contributed an essay to the *Livro do Nordeste*) performed. Telegrams from distant supporters (the governor of Paraíba, João Suassuna, who wrote to request that Joaquim Inojosa represent the state during the conference; the

⁵⁷ “1.o Congresso Regionalista do Nordeste,” February 9, 1926.

⁵⁸ “mostrou que o regionalismo era uma força, um movimento, no sentido da verdadeira e sincera federação brasileira.” Ibid.

⁵⁹ “Não se repellem propriamente regionalismo e nacionalismo, de um lado e cosmopolitanismo de outro. A’ intelligencia dos homens é que incumbe a arte difficil de os harmonizar.” Ibid.

governor of Alagoas, Costa Rego, who asked that Odilon Nestor represent the state at the conference; a telegram from Nestor Figueiredo sending support) were read and, then, the conference officially began. As promised, conference presenters spoke on a wide range of topics related to the newly articulated region. Themes included cerebral hygiene, traditional parties and games, silviculture, architecture, and food.⁶⁰

That Amaury de Medeiros (doctor, politician, and professor) emphasized, again, in his closing speech for the event that regionalism was not separatist drives home that not everyone in Gilberto Freyre's Northeast agreed with or understood the regionalist movement. Assis Chateaubriand, the paraibano who had only recently purchased *O Jornal* but would soon become the head of the Diários Associados (Associated Press) in Brazil, also published an article on this subject. The article, originally published in *O Jornal* and reprinted in the *Diário de Pernambuco*, addressed telegrams received after the event. The telegrams included questions about the objectives of the conference and the intentions of the regionalists. Nationalists worried that the regionalists in Recife would start a separatist movement, but Chateaubriand assured them that Northeastern regionalists had no political intentions. Just as São Paulo had its own culture, Chateaubriand states, so does the Northeast and they are equally Brazilian.⁶¹ The Congresso Regionalista came on the tails of the Congresso de Produtores de Açúcar carried out in the same city in 1920, which, according to Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior had “acquired a separatist tone” in denouncing the privileges of the coffee-producing South.⁶² The regionalists of the Congresso Regionalista had to manage the reputation of the movement with care, distancing

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Assis Chateaubriand, “O Congresso Regionalista do Nordeste,” *O Jornal*, February 14, 1926, HD-FBN; Assis Chateaubriand, “O Congresso Regionalista do Nordeste,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, February 24, 1926, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. Of course, his argument would not have worked so well had it come six years later, when São Paulo attempted to separate.

⁶² “adquire tons separatistas.” Albuquerque Júnior, *A invenção do nordeste e outras artes*, 84.

themselves from separatism and the Movimento Autonomista em Pernambuco, while emphasizing patriotic participation in the nation.

Amaury de Medeiros' explanations in his closing talk also insinuate that, at this time, there were several brands of nationalism in circulation. Medeiros is careful to point out that the movement did not deny modernity, but sought to preserve tradition while seeking progress. He argues that he prefers the kind of patriotism that patriotically collects historical documents, folklore, and recipes, conserving art and tile work, "defending the old gates and old trees," over the kind of patriotism that requires insulting foreigners and participating in loud political rallies.⁶³ Regionalism might have seemed political and separatist to some outsiders, but to those within the movement, it was an alternative form of nationalism perceived as more authentic because it valued each region's culture. Regionalists did not see themselves as giving in to cosmopolitanism or modernism, but rather as preserving the history and culture of the region while carefully mediating between foreign and national, traditional and progressive.

The Congresso Regionalista represents a concerted, organized attempt to revindicate the newly formed region culturally. It was an initial, multi-tendency, multi-disciplinary attempt to narrate the region – to describe it and relate its history in a way that gave it cultural value. It provided the opportunity not only to steal the region away from the official drought-polygon narrative, but also to mobilize its newly begun cultural conversation behind another purpose: it defined the region's culture, but also purported to defend it from the outside influence emanating northward from the nation's cosmopolitan southeastern cities. Yet it protected the region's culture not by cloistering the region away, but by inserting it into an international discussion on regionalism.

⁶³ "defendendo os velhos portões e as velhas arvores." "1.o Congresso Regionalista do Nordeste," *Diário de Pernambuco*, February 12, 1926, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

The Congresso Regionalista, according to Freyre, inspired another regionalist conference abroad. In his *Manifesto regionalista*, Freyre creates a causal relationship between the Congresso Regionalista of 1926 and what he refers to as the “Conferência Regionalista de Charlottesville” in 1931. Freyre emphasizes that this conference was supported by Franklin D. Roosevelt and that Freyre himself attended on Ruediger Bilden’s invitation.⁶⁴ The conference to which Freyre refers was not, specifically, a regionalist conference, but rather the fifth of the Institute of Public Affairs’ annual sessions, taking place from June 28th to July 11th, 1931 at the University of Virginia.⁶⁵ The Institute held these sessions to present and discuss domestic issues of importance in the United States and emphasized the role of “men charged with the task of public administration” within the sessions. The 1931 session had nine roundtables, held each morning during the week, whose subjects were limited to those “of immediate concern and interest to the American people.” Among these nine round tables, that of “Regionalism” appeared for the first time at this fifth session. Nonetheless, Freyre had hardly exaggerated – several of the other sessions also emphasized a focus on the American South, including “The Plight of Southern Agriculture” and “The New Industrialism in the South.” The roundtable on regionalism, on the other hand, was to consider regionalism as “an extension of the idea of city planning to larger areas” and aimed to “foster in each region the fullest use of natural resources and economic opportunities so as to improve its social and cultural life.”⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 12.

⁶⁵ This event influenced the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933. Joseph Gray Aelred and David A. Johnson, *The TVA Regional Planning and Development Program: The Transformation of an Institution and Its Mission* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005), 163; Ben F. Johnson, *Fierce Solitude: A Life of John Gould Fletcher* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 189; Fred Hobson, *Tell about the South: The Southern Rage to Explain* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 219.

⁶⁶ “Institute of Public Affairs, Preliminary Announcement,” *University of Virginia Summer Quarter Bulletin* V, no. 6 (April 1, 1931); “Institute of Public Affairs: Announcement and Program,” *University of Virginia Summer Quarter Bulletin* V, no. 9 (May 15, 1931), both in Printed Miscellaneous (1927-1951), Box 145, Papers of the Institute of Public Affairs (PIPA), University of Virginia (UVA), Accession #RG-2/4/1.891, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections (ASSSC), University of Virginia Library (UVAL), Charlottesville, VA.

Roosevelt at this time was governor of the state of New York. He presented an evening address on the excessive cost of local government on July 7, 1931 as well as an improvised paper on state planning at the Regionalism roundtable on July 6.⁶⁷ Bilden presented not at the “Regionalism” roundtable, but on the “Our Latin American Relations” panel, whose aim was “to foster better cultural, economic and political understanding between the countries of North and South America and to promote a better understanding of our common problems.”⁶⁸ Yet his central thesis and the portion of his argument related to Brazil fit well within the topic of regional studies. In his paper, Bilden argues that while scholars lump all of Latin America into one cultural category based on Iberian heritage, they should recognize the diversity of the countries based on their racial heritage. In the case of Brazil, Bilden emphasizes that Brazil’s culture is founded on the mixture of three “radically different ethnic types, White, Indian, and Negro, and the creation of all the necessary conditions for the evolution of a hybrid, composite culture indigenous and unique to Brazil.”⁶⁹ Bilden claims that Brazilian nationality is only loosely cohesive, but “it is also elastic and within it is contained an astounding [sic] regional diversification,” which in his view is defined by environment, race, and culture.⁷⁰

While many of the papers presented at the roundtable on regionalism focus on local and state planning, those that turn to culture and sociology do have points of confluence with Gilberto Freyre’s

⁶⁷ Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Excessive Cost of Local Government” (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1931); Franklin D. Roosevelt, “State Planning” (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1931), Folder 11, Evening Addresses Box 25, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Folder 87, Roundtable on Regionalism, Box 24, respectively, of the PIPA-UVA, Accession #RG-2/4/1.891, ASSSC-UVAL. Roosevelt’s talks were widely reported within New York newspapers, such as in “Roosevelt Assails ‘10-Layer’ Tax Load as Outworn Relic,” *New York Times*, July 7, 1931.

⁶⁸ “Institute of Public Affairs, Preliminary Announcement.”

⁶⁹ Rüdiger Bilden, “Race Relations in Latin America with Special Reference to the Development of Indigenous Culture” (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1931), 7, Rüdiger Bilden, Latin American Relations Roundtable 1931, Box 26, PIPA-UVA, Accession #RG-2/4/1.891, ASSSC-UVAL, Charlottesville, VA.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

idea of regionalism. Benton MacKaye's paper on "Cultural Aspects of Regionalism" was less about defining regional culture than about how to plan a city as a community around the movements of its people.⁷¹ John Gould Fletcher's paper of the same title, however, asserts "first, the wider and broader aspects of cosmopolitan culture can only rest on a basis of regional culture; second, that regional culture cannot exist and flourish in an atmosphere of intensive industrialism."⁷² Fletcher goes as far as asserting that if a society values local culture, it has to rid itself of industrialism. Charles W. Eliot's paper, "Historical Considerations in Regional Planning," mentions the importance of taking the history of a region into account when considering its planning and Lewis Mumford's paper on regional planning (discussed further below), examines regional cities.⁷³

Two papers from the Roundtable on Regionalism at the 1931 Institute of Public Affairs deserve our particular attention, as they make the backdrop to this conference and to this roundtable clear to the reader (or audience). Howard W. Odum's paper on sociological aspects of regionalism sounds quite reminiscent of ideas outlined at the Congresso Regionalista. According to Odum, to understand human society, we must study regional conditions. Odum explains that "Regionalism involves the local; but much more. It involves the past but not merely the past. The local becomes media for the understanding and characterization of the universal. The past becomes material for the

⁷¹ Benton MacKaye, "Cultural Aspects of Regionalism" (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1931), Benton MacKaye Folder 82, Roundtable on Regionalism Box 24, PIPA-UVA, Accession #RG-2/4/1.891, ASSSC-UVAL, Charlottesville, VA.

⁷² John Gould Fletcher, "Cultural Aspects of Regionalism" (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1931), 1, John Gould Fletcher Folder 83, Roundtable on Regionalism Box 24, PIPA-UVA, Accession #RG-2/4/1.891, ASSSC-UVAL, Charlottesville, VA.

⁷³ Charles W. Eliot, "Historical Considerations in Regional Planning" (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1931); Lewis Mumford, "Regional Planning" (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1931), Charles W. Eliot Folder 78 and Lewis Mumford Folder 80, both of Roundtable on Regionalism Box 24, PIPA-UVA, Accession #RG-2/4/1.891, ASSSC-UVAL, Charlottesville, VA.

study of the present and the future.”⁷⁴ Odum, like Freyre in the *Manifesto regionalista*, refers to the regional sociology of Mukerjee and claims that the region is smaller than society as a whole; nonetheless, it is the region that defines society.⁷⁵ Odum makes clear through his references and examples rooted in the American South – particularly in the southern portion of the Piedmont – that the purpose of this conference is to discuss issues related to this region.

Stringfellow Barr’s paper demonstrates that while neither the Congresso Regionalista nor Gilberto Freyre were mentioned in these papers, there were cultural and economic tendencies at play in the U.S. South similar to those that the regionalists in Recife faced. To avoid abstraction, Barr centers his paper around the question: “What is there peculiar to Virginia that Virginians should cherish even at the expense of their nationalism-hundred per centism[sic]?”⁷⁶ Barr assures the audience that the question has a wider significance, because if the answer applies to the Virginians then it applies to other cultures as well. The question, further, is important for the same reasons that the Northeastern regionalists faced: the traditional Virginian economic system, within a modernizing nation, was in crisis.⁷⁷ As the agricultural system was forced to give way to the factory system, in Barr’s words: “Socially, our lives are being modernized, vulgarized, ‘Americanized’.”⁷⁸ To deal with this

⁷⁴ Howard W. Odum, “Sociological Aspects of Regionalism” (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1931), 3, Howard W. Odum Folder 84, Roundtable on Regionalism Box 24, PIPA-UVA, Accession #RG-2/4/1.891, ASSSC-UVAL, Charlottesville, VA.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁷⁶ Stringfellow Barr, “Cultural Aspects of Regionalism” (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1931), 1, Stringfellow Barr Folder 81, Roundtable on Regionalism Box 25, PIPA-UVA, Accession #RG-2/4/1.891, ASSSC-UVAL, Charlottesville, VA.

⁷⁷ Compare this to Thomas D. Rogers’ analysis of Freyre’s return to Brazil: “Depois de quatro anos de universidade nos Estados Unidos e viagens pela Europa, Freyre voltou para Recife e encontrou uma sociedade em transição. Na indústria açucareira, o sistema de usinas estava se consolidando, resultando na absorção de muitos engenheiros, a acelerada construção de ferrovias, e a expansão do território plantado em cana ... Essas mudanças agrícolas e industriais tiveram um impacto ambiental visível, e também geraram tensões políticas e sociais. Na sua obra intelectual, Freyre respondeu a essas transformações.” Thomas D. Rogers, “Pensamento geográfico de Gilberto Freyre nos anos 1920 e 1930,” *Cadernos de História* VIII, no. 8 (2011): 84.

⁷⁸ Barr, “Cultural Aspects of Regionalism,” 1.

vulgarization, Virginians – that is, white Virginians – in Barr’s assessment followed one of two paths: either they left the region to make money, which they used to return to Virginia and to patch their plantation lifestyle back together, or they accepted that their old way of life could no longer exist and turned it over to tourism.⁷⁹ Barr offered a third path: know your culture, and allow it to transform in shape, but not spirit. The plantation, according to Barr, was a symbol of the Southern way of life, but the physical structure itself became untenable after the Civil War. Sounding eerily similar to Freyre’s thesis in *Casa Grande e Senzala*, Barr argued that the “soul” that was the plantation, could transfer to a “body” other than the brick structure supported by slavery. In this way, in words strikingly similar to those pronounced by Amaury de Medeiros at the close of the Congresso Regionalista – they could move beyond a choice between “blind traditionalism and blind progressivism.”⁸⁰

While the roundtable on Regionalism at the 1931 Institute of Public Affairs and the Congresso Regionalista shared some similar topics, interpretations, and context of overarching social change, support for Freyre’s claim that this conference was inspired in Recife’s Congresso is either well-hidden or absent from the papers safeguarded in the University of Virginia’s Special Collections. That Freyre connected the two conferences through his statement and physical presence, while mentioning both his friendship with Bilden and the presence of Roosevelt (who by the time of publication of the *Manifesto* had served three terms as president of the United States) testifies to Freyre’s ability to raise the status of the movement by emphasizing its international connections and embeddedness.

The Congresso Regionalista inspired other conferences within Brazil, notably the Congresso de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros.⁸¹ The conference took place in November 1934 and included not only

⁷⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁸¹ Jaci Bezerra, “Permanência do movimento regionalista,” in *Anais do cinquentenário do Congresso Regionalista do Recife* (Recife: Editora Massangana, 1980), 32–38.

academic papers (on ethnography, art, medicine, folklore, anthropology, and sociology), but also art exhibits and visits to Afro-Brazilian temples.⁸² In addition to many new names, we find the names of participants and organizers of the Congresso Regionalista within the Congresso de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros: Gilberto Freyre, Cicero Dias, Manuel Bandeira, José Lins do Rego, and others.⁸³ Importantly, this conference brought a constant stream of articles on Afro-Brazilian culture to the pages of the *Diário de Pernambuco* on a daily basis throughout the month of November, many on the front page.⁸⁴ The conference consolidated the idea of interdisciplinarity started at the Congresso Regionalista and, according to Artur Ramos, brought “to studies of the issue of black people in Brazil new points of view, new methods of research, new guidelines for the future of such studies.”⁸⁵

Perhaps the most important of the Congresso Regionalista’s legacies is the Fundação Joaquim Nabuco. In 1948, now as federal senator, Freyre introduced Project 819 to the senate for the creation of an institute dedicated to studies of the Northeast. In his arguments, Freyre frames the proposed institute within the Ministério da Educação e Saúde’s initiative to celebrate the 100-year anniversary of Ruy Barbosa’s birth, but Freyre adds that it is also the 100-year anniversary of the birth of Joaquim Nabuco.⁸⁶ The Institute would dedicate itself, Freyre argued, not only to folkloric, but importantly

⁸² “Primeiro Congresso Afro-Brasileiro,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, September 7, 1934, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “1.o Congresso Afro-Brasileiro,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 9, 1934, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁸³ “1.o Congresso Afro-Brasileiro,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 11, 1934, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “Convidando uma geração a depôr,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, April 28, 1935, sec. 2, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁸⁴ For example: “O 1.o Congresso Afro-Brasileiro,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 13, 1934, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁸⁵ “para os estudos sobre o problema do Negro no Brasil, novos ângulos de visão, novos métodos de pesquisa, novas diretrizes para o futuro para o futuro de tais estudos.” As quoted by Fonseca, *Em torno de Gilberto Freyre*, 146–147 from preface to *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros: Trabalhos apresentados ao I Congresso Afro-Brasileiro do Recife*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1937.

⁸⁶ Gilberto Freyre, “Discurso do Deputado Gilberto Freyre apresentando o projeto de criação do Instituto Joaquim Nabuco,” *Boletim do Instituto Joaquim Nabuco* 1, no. 1 (1952): 3–4.

economic, sociological, and nutritional studies.⁸⁷ Freyre's project was approved, creating the Instituto Joaquim Nabuco de Pesquisas Sociais, connected to the Ministério de Educação e Saúde. The Instituto was later renamed Fundação Joaquim Nabuco in 1980.⁸⁸

The Instituto Joaquim Nabuco would become the most permanent and influential of Freyre's regionalist building blocks.⁸⁹ It was the Instituto Joaquim Nabuco that organized the fiftieth-anniversary events for the Congresso Regionalista, with support of the Fundação Nacional de Arte, the Academia Pernambucana de Letras, Empresa Metropolitana de Turismo, Empresa Pernambucana de Turismo, the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Recife's City Government, Municipal Secretary of Education, and State Secretary of Education. The Instituto Joaquim Nabuco (which would also soon become a publisher of literature and studies related to the Northeast through its editing house, Editora Massangana) launched the sixth edition of the *Manifesto regionalista* at the event. The celebration included contests for the confection of traditional Northeastern *licor* and traditional *batidas* and regional sweets, an exposition of typical foods, the presentation of popular folklore, musical expositions by the symphonic orchestra, and talks covering several aspects of the regionalist movement.⁹⁰ In the same year, the Instituto created a Centro de Estudos Folclóricos with the objective of preserving "national memory by registering documents, films, and recordings of folkloric manifestations that are authentically Brazilian, particularly Northeastern."⁹¹ Three years later, in 1979, the Instituto Joaquim

⁸⁷ Gilberto Freyre, "Discurso pronunciado pelo Deputado Gilberto Freyre no dia 4 de dezembro de 1948, justificando a criação do Instituto Joaquim Nabuco," *Boletim do Instituto Joaquim Nabuco* 1, no. 1 (1952): 6–14.

⁸⁸ Gilberto Freyre, *De menino a homem: de mais de trinta e de quarenta, de sessenta e mais anos* (São Paulo: Global Editor, 2010), 103, n. 154.

⁸⁹ *Relatório do exercício de 1976*, 59.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 60. Licor is a cachaça-based beverage. Generally, sugar and fruit is added to cachaça and, after some time of soaking, the mixture is strained producing a liquor. Batidas, in most cases, are similar to smoothies, but can include anything that is well blended, including desserts of a mousse or pudding consistency.

⁹¹ "a memória nacional através de registro e documentários, filmes e gravações de manifestações folclóricas autenticamente brasileiras, nordestinas particularmente." *Ibid.*, 61.

Nabuco opened the Museu do Homem do Nordeste, a description of which opened the introduction of this dissertation. The Museu combined three museums – the Museu de Antropologia, Museu de Arte Popular, and Museu do Açúcar – into one.⁹² The Museu and headquarters of the Fundação Joaquim Nabuco are still on Avenida Dezanete de Agosto in the Casa Forte neighborhood in Recife, while the archives are on the same avenue but in Apipucos, next to Gilberto Freyre’s home, now converted into a museum and preserved as historical patrimony.

Rereading Gilberto Freyre’s *Manifesto regionalista*

While Gilberto Freyre claimed to have read his *Manifesto regionalista de 1926* at the Regionalist Conference of Recife in 1926, he only revealed the document in its entirety at the 25th anniversary of the conference on March 20, 1951, leading to controversy over the sincerity of his statement.⁹³ Freyre’s modernist contemporary, journalist Joaquim Inojosa, dedicated a startling amount of energy to discrediting the *Manifesto*, and through it, the reputation of the regionalist movement, declaring the *Manifesto* a “fake” and the Regionalist Movement a “pseudomovement.”⁹⁴ Inojosa wittily quipped: “Like father, like son; like ‘manifesto’, like ‘movement.’”⁹⁵

⁹² Brayner, “Uma gota de sangue no Museu do Homem do Nordeste,” 313–314.

⁹³ Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955. In the introduction to this edition of the *Manifesto* Freyre mentioned two previous publications of the *Manifesto Regionalista de 1926*: one in 1952 by the editor of *Região* and another in 1953 by the Instituto Joaquim Nabuco de Pesquisa Social in its *Boletim*. The year of the *Boletim* edition seems to be a misprint, as it was actually published as: Gilberto Freyre, “Manifesto regionalista de 1926,” *Boletim do Instituto Joaquim Nabuco* 1, no. 1 (1952): 22–43. I use the 1955 edition because it is the most accessible of the early editions.

⁹⁴ Inojosa declared the *Manifesto* “falso” and the movement a “pseudomovimento.” Inojosa, *Pá de cal*, 8. In addition to this work, Inojosa dedicated the following to this topic: Joaquim Inojosa, *O movimento modernista em Pernambuco*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica Tupy, 1968); Joaquim Inojosa, *Carro alegórico: nova resposta a Gilberto Freyre* (Guanabara: Edição do autor, 1973); Joaquim Inojosa, *Sursum Corda!* (Rio de Janeiro: Olímpica, 1981).

⁹⁵ “tal pai tal filho, tal ‘manifesto’ tal ‘movimento’”. Inojosa, *Pá de cal*, 8. With this statement, Inojosa was probably playing off of Freyre’s mention that “the [Regionalist] Institute is in some ways son or grandson of the Regionalist Movement.” “Porque o Instituto é de algum modo filho ou neto do Movimento Regionalista,” Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 10. Inojosa also reasoned: “Cessada a causa, cessa o efeito,” Inojosa, *Pá de cal*, 12.

For Inojosa, the *Manifesto regionalista* was simply a lie. He argued that the *Manifesto* was not read at the Congresso Regionalista. Instead, a small group of people had written a short manifesto that fit on one small piece of paper. What really got under Inojosa's skin was that Freyre's *Manifesto*, published in 1952, had a "universal" feel unmatched in his original 1926 presentation.⁹⁶ According to Inojosa, Freyre even related the name of the conference incorrectly, calling it the "First Brazilian Conference on Regionalism" instead of the "1st Regionalist Conference of the Northeast" in order to give it a more universal Brazilian feel.⁹⁷ In fact, Freyre did not hide the re-naming of the *Manifesto*. In a later talk, Freyre referred to his speech at the Congresso Regionalista as only receiving that title once published.⁹⁸

Inojosa's diligence raises enough doubt for historians to believe that Freyre did not write the entire *Manifesto* in 1926.⁹⁹ However, unintentionally, Inojosa also demonstrated that sections of the *Manifesto* continued unchanged. For example, Inojosa set out to show that Freyre presented a paper on regional cooking at the Regionalist Conference by quoting a *Diário de Pernambuco* article from February 9, 1926 in which it is stated that Freyre presented the "aesthetics and traditions of Brazilian cooking" tracing "the history of Northeastern cooking, highlighting it as one of three great traditions of gluttony in Brazil."¹⁰⁰ While this newspaper article demonstrates the limited scope of Freyre's

⁹⁶ Inojosa, *Pá de cal*, 23.

⁹⁷ That is, the "Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro de Regionalismo" and not the "1.º Congresso Regionalista do Nordeste." Ibid., 14.

⁹⁸ Pontes, "O manifesto regionalista de 1926," 47.

⁹⁹ Inojosa's most convincing argument is that while Freyre complains on page 37 of the *Manifesto* that the names of several streets had been switched from regional names to names of contemporary politicians, in 1926, only one street had suffered that fate. The others listed followed suit in the time between 1926 and 1952, Inojosa, *Pá de cal*, 48.

¹⁰⁰ Inojosa refers to Freyre's work on "estética e tradição da cozinha regional" on Ibid., 9. He quotes the *Diário de Pernambuco* as referring to a work on "estética e as tradições da cozinha brasileira" ... "O sr. Gilberto Freyre traça o histórico da cozinha nordestina, destacando-a como uma das três grandes tradições de glotoneria no Brasil," Ibid., 15. The article that he refers to is the previously cited "1.º Congresso Regionalista do Nordeste," February 9, 1926.

presentation, it also suggests that the portions of the *Manifesto* dealing with Northeastern cooking did find root in the original text. In fact, the article includes quotations that match excerpts from the second half of the *Manifesto* nearly verbatim.¹⁰¹

Over the decades that followed, critics have supported Inojosa's claims. Editors dropped "1926" from the title of the *Manifesto*, a move supported by literary critic Wilson Martins who alleged that Freyre had misled publishers.¹⁰² In his study on regionalism and modernism in the state of Pernambuco, Neroaldo Pontes de Azevêdo later declared that Freyre's *Manifesto* was not representative of its period and, hence, was not worthy of analysis.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, between the Regionalist Conference of 1926 and the publication of the *Manifesto* in 1952, Freyre produced an extensive, sophisticated body of work, traces of which we find throughout the *Manifesto*. While *Açúcar* (1932), which contains several Northeastern recipes, might be the product of Freyre's presentation at the Regionalist Conference in 1926, we can assume that by 1952, Freyre's arguments on regionalism had settled into a framework also capable of incorporating his theses on racial and cultural mixing (found in *Casa-grande e senzala*, 1933), his belief that mucambos (shanties) are quintessentially Northeastern (found in *Sobrados e mucambos*, 1936 and *Mucambos do nordeste*, 1939), his ecological savvy (demonstrated

¹⁰¹ For example, the article that Inojosa cites, published on February 9 in the *Diário de Pernambuco*, quotes Freyre as stating that "Toda essa tradição ... está em declínio. A nova geração de moças já não sabe fazer doces. Já não tem gosto para ler os livros de receitas de família. A verdadeira leitura para mulheres além dos livros de missa," Inojosa, *Pá de cal*, 21–23. In the *Manifesto*, Freyre states "Tôda essa tradição está em declínio ou, pelo menos, em crise, no Nordeste ... As novas gerações de moças já não sabem, entre nós, a não ser entre gente mais modesta, fazer um doce ou um guisado tradicional e regional. Já não têm gôsto nem tempo para ler os velhos livros de receita de família. Quando a verdade é que, depois dos livros de missa, são os livros de receita de doces e de guisados os que devem receber das mulheres leitura mais atenta," Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 42. The article also points out Freyre's appeal for restaurants that serve Northeastern food and his enchantment with the lyrical names of Northeastern desserts, both themes that repeat in the *Manifesto*.

¹⁰² Neroaldo Pontes de Azevêdo stated that publishers removed the year from the fourth edition of the *Manifesto* in 1967 due to Wilson Martins claims. Azevêdo, *Modernismo e regionalismo*, 153. However, Inojosa claimed that it was his work *O movimento modernista em Pernambuco*, published in 1958, that inspired Mauro Mota, as director of the Instituto Joaquim Nabuco de Pesquisas Sociais to remove "1926" from the title, Inojosa, *Pá de cal*, 13.

¹⁰³ Azevêdo, *Modernismo e regionalismo*, 153.

in *Nordeste*, 1937) and his concerns with cultural vulnerability (found in his essay “Uma cultura ameaçada,” published in 1940).¹⁰⁴

It is likely, then, that Freyre wrote the *Manifesto regionalista de 1926* in several moments, including: a preface, written by “A.R.” for the 1952 edition; Freyre’s introduction (pages 6-12), written for and read at the 1951 conference; the first section of the *Manifesto* (pages 13-28) which provides a political and theoretical understanding of regionalism and stresses ecological organicity probably written in 1951, and; the second section of the *Manifesto* (pages 28-54), quoted in the *Diário de Pernambuco* in 1926 and focused on cultural mixing and food preparation. That Freyre wrote the document in more than one moment might lead us to question his judgment, but it does not reduce the *Manifesto*’s worthiness for analysis; to the contrary, it lends the *Manifesto* to an even richer textual analysis, spanning the breadth of the regionalist movement and Freyre’s most influential writings.

How we have read the *Manifesto* has more to do with debates outside the text and outside the moment(s) in which Freyre wrote it than with the document itself or its extended context. We have read it through Joaquim Inojosa’s words.¹⁰⁵ We have read it through the knowledge of subsequent events. We have read it through *dependentistas* and *modernistas*. Today, we read it through Post-Modernists, like Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, who emphasize the constructed and invented nature of region and nation. Each step along the way we have imbued the text with further layers of meaning, creating a document that calls upon the past while looking to the future, that was written in

¹⁰⁴ Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande & senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime de economia patriarcal*, 8th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1954 [1933]); Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos: decadência do patriarcbado rural no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1936); Gilberto Freyre, *Nordeste: aspectos da influência da cana sobre a vida e a paisagem do Nordeste do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1961 [1937]); Gilberto Freyre, *Mucambos do Nordeste: algumas notas sobre o tipo de casa popular mais primitivo do Nordeste do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1939); Gilberto Freyre, *Uma cultura ameaçada e outros ensaios* (Recife: Fundação Gilberto Freyre, 2010 [essay 1940]); Gilberto Freyre, *Região e tradição*, Coleção Documentos Brasileiros 29 (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1941).

¹⁰⁵ In his groundbreaking *A invenção do nordeste e outras artes*, 4th ed. (São Paulo: Cortez, 2009), for example, Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior quotes Inojosa directly to support his analysis of the Regionalist Conference, 86.

more than one period and context, and then rewritten according to the moment of its historiography. I propose that the only way to move beyond these readings, is to recognize the *Manifesto's* hybridity and return to the document once again.¹⁰⁶ Shaking the regionalist movement and the *Manifesto* free from these analyses allows us to place the movement within an international framework of regional geography, ecology and anthropology linked through the figure of Gilberto Freyre.

“The alliance of the regional with the language born of a period ...”

In one particularly representative paragraph of the *Manifesto regionalista*, which I will use as a center pin for our analysis, Freyre summed up the desires of the Regionalist Movement in this way:

To want museums that hold clayware, knives, country pipes, rustic sandals, miniature horse mills, ceramic figures, cloth dolls, [and] ox carts, and not just the relics of war heroes and martyrs of glorious revolutions. To exalt bumbas-meu-boi,¹⁰⁷ maracatús,¹⁰⁸ mamulengos,¹⁰⁹ festivals and popular carnival clubs, instead of working for the development of the ‘Radio Club’ or competing for the glitter of dances at the ‘International Club.’ To rise up against the crowding of older sectors [of the city] arguing that cities need trees [and] gardens as much as they need houses and streets. To want large public buildings and squares to be decorated with the figures of working men, mestiços,¹¹⁰ men of color at work, muleteers, black men working mill ovens, horse and sugar mills, black men carrying sugar, ox carts full of cane, fishing boats, cowboys, women making lace – and not [decorated] with the conventional rosy images of European Goddesses of Fortune and Liberty, of Roman Gods of this or that, of figures representing the four seasons. To want a regional museum full of memories of productions and of labor from the region and not just lazy bourgeois antiquities with baronesses’ jewels and adorned canes from the time of the Empire.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ I refer to the *Manifesto* as hybrid based on Néstor García Canclini’s explanation of “multitemporal heterogeneity,” that is, the presence of distinct epochs – the pre-modern, modern and post-modern – within a culture or cultural artifact. Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, trans. Christopher Chiappari and Sylvia López, 4th ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

¹⁰⁷ A type of music and celebratory dance with a large, adorned fake bull.

¹⁰⁸ A type of music and dance with a strong drum beat.

¹⁰⁹ A type of puppet show.

¹¹⁰ People of mixed race, usually African, Indian and European.

¹¹¹ “Querer museus com panelas de barro, facas de ponta, cachimbos de matutos, sandálias de sertanejos, miniaturas de almanjarras, figuras de cerâmica, bonecas de pano, carros-de-boi, e não apenas com relíquias de heróis de guerras e mártires de revoluções gloriosas. Exaltar bumbas-meu-boi, maracatús, mamulengos, pastoris e clubes populares de carnaval, em vez de trabalhar pelo desenvolvimento do ‘Rádio Clube’ ou concorrer para o brilho dos bailes do ‘Clube Internacional’.

In the *Manifesto regionalista*, Freyre relied on two criteria for cultural authenticity, which I refer to as cultural relevance and ecological organicity.¹¹² An object, behavior, or idea is culturally relevant if it relates to Freyre’s foundational myth of the Brazilian nation – that is, if it is derived from (or filtered through) European (primarily Portuguese or Dutch), African and/or indigenous cultures, and preferably, from all three.¹¹³ Reminiscent of Freyre’s more famous *The Masters and the Slaves*, Freyre emphasized that “Brazil is this: combination, fusion, mixture. And the Northeast is the main basin in which these combinations are processed, this fusion, this mixture of bloods and values.”¹¹⁴

The trees mentioned in the excerpt above are very important recurring characters in the *Manifesto*. Freyre’s statement that cities need trees and gardens is not merely aesthetic. For Freyre, curvy, tree-lined streets are culturally relevant to the Northeast, as it was the Portuguese who brought this Arabic tradition to Brazil. While Freyre recognized that the wide streets and boulevards inspired by the United States served their purpose, he stressed the need to conserve “a certain amount of

Levantar-se contra o loteamento de sítios velhos alegando que as cidades precisam de árvores, de hortas de mato tanto quanto de casas e ruas. Querer os grandes edificios públicos e as praças decoradas com figuras de homens de trabalho, mestiços, homens de côr em pleno movimento de trabalho, cambiteiros, negros de fornalha de engenho, cabras de trapiches e de almanjarras, pretos carregadores de açúcar, carros de boi cheios de cana, jangadeiros, vaqueiros, mulheres fazendo renda – e não com as imagens convencionais e côr-de-rosa de deusas européias da Fortuna e da Liberdade, de deuses romanos disto e daquilo, de figuras simbólicas das Quatro Estações. Desejar um museu regional cheio de recordações das produções e dos trabalhos da região e não apenas de antiguidades ociosamente burguesas como jóias de baronesas e bengalas de gamenhos do tempo do Império.” Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 26–27.

¹¹² Elide Rugai Bastos referred to Freyre’s sociology as “genética e ecológica.” I prefer cultural relevance to genetic, as Freyre’s arguments on race are culturally, not genealogically based. Bastos, *Gilberto Freyre e o pensamento hispânico: entre Dom Quixote e Alonso El Bueno*, 10. For more on Freyre’s approaches to geography and landscape, see Rogers, “Pensamento geográfico de Gilberto Freyre nos anos 1920 e 1930.”

¹¹³ For example, referring to food: “But as with other arts, the three great cultural influences that form the foundation of the main Brazilian regional dishes and of their aesthetics are Portuguese, African and Amerindian, ...” “Mas como noutras artes, as três grandes influências de cultura que se encontram à base das principais cozinhas regionais brasileiras e de sua estética são a portuguesa, a africana e a ameríndia ...” Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 32–33.

¹¹⁴ “o Brasil é isto: combinação, fusão, mistura. E o Nordeste, talvez a principal bacia em que se vêm processando essas combinações, essa fusão, essa mistura de sangues e valores que ainda fervem ...” *Ibid.*, 48.

welcomingly narrow streets in which the wisdom of the Arabs, the old lords of the tropics is conserved.”¹¹⁵

Freyre was, ultimately, less concerned with the streets than with the trees – a subject that he had presented a paper on at the *Semana da Árvore* (Tree Week) organized by the Centro Regionalista in 1924.¹¹⁶ Freyre’s arguments in the *Manifesto* are purposefully nested in the ecology of the region.¹¹⁷ Lining streets with trees was an idea that flowed organically from the ecology – in this case, the climate – of the region. In other words, it made sense to have shade in the tropics because of the hot sun. It did not make sense to remove shade (also due to the hot sun). In Freyre’s words, winding roads with arches of trees should be protected as they “defend men against excessive light, sun and heat or that protect them with the sweetness of their shade.”¹¹⁸ Further, it made sense to have tropical trees, while it did not follow to import pine trees for Christmas merely to mimic the U.S. in a false search for progress and modernity. In fact, to do so, in Freyre’s view, was “ridiculous,” as ridiculous as importing a Santa Claus figure, dressed in boots, coats and other garb that had nothing to do with the Northeastern climate.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ “convém certo número de ruas acolhedoramente estreitas nas quais se conserve a sabedoria dos árabes, antigos donos dos trópicos ... que defendam os homens dos excessos de luz, de sol e de calor ou que os protejam com a doçura das suas sombras. A sabedoria das ruas com arcadas, de que o Recife devia estar cheio.” Ibid., 25. Freyre also mentions the need for tropical trees in the introduction, 10-11.

¹¹⁶ “A semana das árvores,” *A Província*, November 12, 1924, HD-FBN.

¹¹⁷ In the words of Mário Hélio: “No other Brazilian historian, sociologist, or anthropologist constructed his ideas as much upon ecological bases as did Gilberto Freyre.” “Nenhum historiador, sociólogo ou antropólogo brasileiro construiu as suas idéias mais em bases ecológicas do que Gilberto Freyre.” Mário Hélio, *O Brasil de Gilberto Freyre: Uma introdução à leitura de sua obra* (Recife: Comunigraf, 2000), 95.

¹¹⁸ The complete quotation is found in n. 111.

¹¹⁹ “De modo particular, nos Estados ou Províncias, o que o Rio ou São Paulo consagram como ‘elegante’ e como ‘moderno’: inclusive êsse carnavalesco Papai Noel que, esmagando com suas botas de andar em trenó e pisar em neve, as velhas lapinhas brasileiras, verdes, cheirosas, de tempo de verão, está dando uma nota de ridículo aos nossos natais de família, também enfeitados agora com arvorezinhas estrangeiras mandadas vir da Europa ou dos Estados Unidos pelos burgueses mais cheios de rique-fifes e de dinheiro.” Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 19. Freyre also expressed concern over cultural mimicry in his 1924 article Freyre, “Do bom e do mau regionalismo,” 22. Originally published in the *Revista do Norte*, 5 (October 1924): 3-4.

Although Freyre does not refer to this as ecological organicity, his arguments fit within an international concern with space, ecology and culture in the 1920's and 1930's.¹²⁰ In the introduction to the *Manifesto*, Freyre placed his work and the regionalist movement within an international framework. Freyre cited Siegfried Giedion's *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* in which Giedion described transformations in chair design from the craftsman to the rietveld, the rietveld to tubular, tubular to the cantilever, and iron cantilever to wood cantilever.¹²¹ When he arrived at the wood cantilever, Giedion explained that the idea to create wooden cantilever chairs came from Finland, which "abounds in birch forest."¹²² Giedion saw Alvar Aalto as an "artistic impulse" fused with the fruits of the soil in Finland. Giedion emphasized that Aalto had "never lived outside Finland for long," but nonetheless traveled internationally to conferences on a regular basis. Due to these travels, "Aalto mastered the expression of our time and fused it with the things of his native

¹²⁰ In the late 19th century, C. Hart Merriam, chief of the federal Division of Economic Ornithology and Mammology and later of the Bureau of Biological Survey, advanced the concept of "life zones." Merriam's life zones equated shifts in elevation to movement toward the poles, measuring the ecology of a space by its temperature. According to Donald Worster, the significance of Merriam's concept of life zones is that its basis was habitat, not political boundary. For Worster, Merriam's life zones were a transition from geography to modern ecology. This step represented "a reordering of the old data into a distinctly ecological scheme that would stimulate a new kind of research into the structure and dynamics of each of these zones." Meanwhile, in Europe, the Danish botanist Eugenius Warming developed studies in "oecological plant geography." More importantly, he advanced the theme of "the communal life of organisms." Warming saw each "natural assemblage, whether a heath or a hardwood forest" as a "society made up of many species, all having similar environmental tolerances." Warming offered this important contribution to understandings of ecology: if you introduce change at any point in the community, it will cause far-reaching changes to other points. Finally, back in the U.S., Frederic Clements of the University of Nebraska advanced Herbert Spencer's ideas of evolutionary organicism in both the human and ecological realm. In 1939, Clements and Victor Shelford come up with idea of "biomes" where "All living organisms – the 'biota' – henceforth would be included whenever they discussed the climax state or the superorganism created through developmental succession." Alongside these studies, geographers turned to the study of region. As Arline R. Standley outlined, by the first decade of the twentieth century, understandings of region had shifted from ecological determinism to "Possibilisme" ("the idea that the immediate environment permitted mankind a range of response") and then to a focus of the effect of man on nature. By 1920, "geography" could refer to a broad range of studies, including physical and human geography and human ecology, as well as "something close to cultural anthropology." Later the term "regional" came into use in several disciplines, including anthropology, biology, economics, political science and sociology. Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 196–199 and 214; Arline Standley, "Here and There: Now and Then," *Luso-Brazilian Review* xxiii, no. 1 (1986): 61–62.

¹²¹ Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).

¹²² *Ibid.*, 504.

surroundings. This alliance of the regional with the language born of a period has been fruitful in every age.”¹²³ The “language” that Giedion referred to is the universal expression of a time; the regional is the products of the earth and the person who can translate between the language and the region (in Vianna’s terms the cosmopolitan regionalist or cultural mediator). Freyre so identified with this idea as to quote Giedion verbatim (though he replaced “This” with “The”).¹²⁴

In the *Manifesto* Freyre translated these ecological arguments to the social realm. Freyre directed the rhetoric in the excerpt above to the upper classes. For Freyre, the popular classes already interacted organically with the ecology of the region through their labor. The popular classes were not concerned with the jewels of aristocracy, the idols of Europe, ballroom dancing, or international snobbery; they were culturally relevant and organically connected to their region. The tools of their work (clayware, pots and pans for cooking, knives for working, fishing boats, yokes and carts) were authentic, as they coincided with the needs of the region, represented through labor, directed at production of goods (sugar, cane, sandals, figurines, dolls, lace, cuisine made from food grown in the region) that arrived with or preceded the Portuguese, Dutch, or African, were made from locally grown materials, and represented or lined up with tropical needs. Their forms of expression (dance, music, and festivals) were perfect mixtures of the ordinary elements of Brazilian culture, as were their black, *mestiço*, or *mulato* bodies.

According to Freyre, the region should represent the popular classes, not abandon them to cosmopolitan adornment or political entrapment; the region should become, for them, a living museum.¹²⁵ Street names should not reflect the names of politicians, but rather the names of popular

¹²³ Ibid., 505.

¹²⁴ Freyre cited the latter sentence, in English, Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 11.

¹²⁵ This is a case where Lewis Mumford’s and Freyre’s vocabulary are similar. In *The South in Architecture*, Mumford describes Williamsburg as “a vast outdoor museum: a museum that belongs to the twentieth century.” It is important to highlight that structures, for Mumford, do not have meaning in and of themselves. He is careful to note that “The forms that people used in other civilizations or in other periods of our own country’s history were intimately a part of the whole structure of

artisanry and food.¹²⁶ Buildings should bear and represent their figures, their labor, their culture and their race.¹²⁷ This because, while some saw reviving popular arts as “the greatest sin against Civilization and Progress, against Good Sense and Good Taste and even of Good Manners,” to Freyre, “in the Northeast, he who approaches the people gets down to the roots and the sources of life, of culture and of regional art. He who arrives at the people is among teachers and becomes an apprentice, no matter how much of a bachelor of arts or doctor of medicine he may be.”¹²⁸

Freyre provided the shanty as example of a popular creation, organically related to a tropical ecology, that – analogous to Aalto’s wood cantilever chair – became a “regional value,” and “by extension, a Brazilian value, and, moreover, a tropical value.” The shanty, “with all of its primitiveness,” was an example of a “human construction harmonized with nature.”¹²⁹ The shanty was economically accessible to the popular classes, hygienic (Freyre insisted that it was the location of the shanties, not the shanties themselves that lacked hygiene), made from local materials, adapted from indigenous and African tradition and harmonious to a tropical environment. It was, almost perfectly, Northeastern, Brazilian, tropical.

their life,” Lewis Mumford, *The South in Architecture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941), 15 and 14, respectively.

¹²⁶ Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 40.

¹²⁷ Here again, we see similarities between Mumford and Freyre, as noted above.

¹²⁸ “o pecado maior contra a Civilização e Progresso, contra o Bom Senso e o Bom Gôsto e até os Bons Costumes que estaria sendo cometido pelo grupo de regionalistas a quem se deve a idéia ou a organização dêste Congresso, estaria em procurar reanimar não só a arte arcaica dos quitutes finos e caros ... como a arte – tão popular como a do barro...,” Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 30. “no Nordeste, que se aproxima do povo desce a raízes e a fontes de vida, de cultura e de arte regionais. Quem se chega ao povo está entre mestres e se torna aprendiz, por mais bacharel em artes que seja ou por mais doutor em medicina,” *Ibid.*, 48.

¹²⁹ “Com tôda a sua primitividade, o mucambo é um valor regional e, por extensão, um valor brasileiro, e, mais do que isso, um valor dos trópicos.” “da construção humana harmonizada com a natureza. Valor pelo que representa de adaptação higiênica; a do abrigo humano adaptado à natureza tropical,” Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 22.

But to Freyre, the Brazilian body – the Northeastern mestiço body, the Brazilian mulato body – had been violated. To heal the “body of Brazil, victim, since it became a nation, of foreign customs that were imposed upon it, without any respect to the peculiarities and inequalities of its physical and social configuration,” the Northeast needed to revise its political organization as well to make it organically harmonious with its history, geography and culture.¹³⁰ The regionalist movement intended to “inspire a new organization of Brazil,” to clothe the Brazilian body not with “exotic clothing, velvets for cold, furs for frosts that do not exist here” but rather with “a tunic leisurely sewn at home.”¹³¹ This tunic would not be yankee federalism or French monarchism, but regionalism. To Freyre, not only the Northeast, but all regions needed to recognize that the only organic unit was the unit based on a culture that sprouted forth from goods, labor, and production relevant to a geographic area. Each region was to form its own regionalism, and then, the regions were to intertwine, forming, together, a nation of regions. Freyre, in effect, had married geological notions of ecology to socio-political notions of region.¹³²

In this imagining of organizing the nation by region, similarities with the ideas of Freyre’s friend and ex-classmate Lewis Mumford is apparent. Freyre referred in the introduction of the *Manifesto* to Mumford, briefly comparing his work to that of Giedion. Mumford (like Spencer) had applied ecological organicist concepts to the social realm. However, (unlike Spencer) Mumford went

¹³⁰ “o caminho indicado pelo bom senso para a reorganização nacional parece ser o de dar-se, antes de tudo, atenção ao corpo do Brasil, vítima, desde que é nação, das estrangeirices que lhe têm sido impostas, sem nenhum respeito pelas peculiaridades e desigualdades da sua configuração física e social; e com uma outra pena de índio ou um ou outro papo de tucano a disfarçar o exotismo norte-europeu do traje.” Ibid., 16–17.

¹³¹ “Uma nova organização em que as vestes em que anda metida a República – roupas feitas, roupagens exóticas, veludos para frios, peles para gêlos que não existem por aqui – sejam substituídas não por outras roupas feitas por modista estrangeira mas por vestido ou simplesmente túnica costurada pachorrentamente em casa ...” Ibid., 16.

¹³² Freyre mentions this idea of interdependent regions in his 1924 article “Do bom e do mau regionalismo,” but in much less detail. He states: “Cuido que as diferenciações regionais, harmonizadas, serão no Brasil, condição para uma pátria interdependente na suficiência econômica e moral do seu todo.” In this article, he attributes the idea to Sylvio [Silvio] Romero. Freyre, “Do bom e do mau regionalismo,” 23.

beyond the application of social laws to society; he saw social organization as relying on a system of interdependent parts. In Mumford's understanding, within any complex social unit, there is, in Robert Casillo's words, an "organizing nucleus" dependent on parts. These elements – the nucleus and the parts – do not dominate each other, but exist in a state of symbiosis.¹³³ For example, in his presentation at the Conference on Regionalism at UVA, Mumford focused on the region as a natural and human grouping organized intelligently around regional cities. Mumford describes this organization in terms of balance, where "Each city would perhaps be a regional center for at least one function ... no city would attempt to be the regional center for everything."¹³⁴ Similarly, in Freyre's regionalism, both region and center form part of the nation, relating to each other symbiotically. For Freyre, these parts are defined by ecology and economy.

The anxieties that Freyre mentioned over cultural mimesis were not due to notions of Marxist or Leninist anti-imperialism but rather derived from concerns with ecological organicity. "Progressives" according to Freyre, "blindly and uncontrollably imitated foreign novelties" that did not derive organically from the region's ecology.¹³⁵ Traditional and regional dishes were under threat.¹³⁶ Cafés no longer sold coconut water, sweet rice, and *munguzá*, but rather French pastries and bottled

¹³³ Robert Casillo, "Lewis Mumford and the Organicist Concept in Social Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 1 (January-March 1992): 99.

¹³⁴ Lewis Mumford, "Regional Planning" (presented at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1931), 11-12. Lewis Mumford Folder 80, Roundtable on Regionalism Box 24, PIPA-UVA, Accession #RG-2/4/1.891, ASSSC-UVAL, Charlottesville, VA. This paper was later reprinted as: Lewis Mumford, "Regional Planning," in *Planning the Fourth Migration: The Neglected Vision of the Regional Planning Association of America*, ed. Carl Sussman (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976), 207–208.

¹³⁵ "passam por adiantados e 'progressistas' pelo fato de imitarem cega e desbragadamente a novidade estrangeira. A novidade estrangeira de modo geral." Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 19.

¹³⁶ "Não é só o arroz doce: todos os pratos tradicionais e regionais do Nordeste estão sob a ameaça de desaparecer, vencidos pelos estrangeiros e pelos do Rio." *Ibid.*, 39.

drinks.¹³⁷ Women no longer cooked traditional dishes at home. As, according to Freyre, it was within Northeastern agrarian cooking that “the three influences on Brazilian culture best balance and harmonize,” the threat to Northeastern culture, and through it to Brazilian culture, was grave.¹³⁸

For Freyre, the only defense against cultural invasiveness was balance; in Freyre’s case, this balance was a strong region-based national organization.¹³⁹ If Brazil did not cloak itself with its regions, it would become vulnerable to cultural invasion. In effect, unlike Giedion’s chairs, the products of the Northeast – and through it Brazil – might no longer be the alliance of the regional with the language of the period.

An International Regionalist Movement

Some writers have attributed the causes of regionalism in the nineteenth century either to the shift in economic power caused by the coffee boom of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais or to the fall of the Empire in 1889 and creation of a federalist system. According to those who place the beginnings of regionalism in the nineteenth century, either regional elites saw their power and wealth threatened and drew intellectuals under their wings to create a regionalist ideology, or, to the

¹³⁷ “a água de côco verde era refresco que não se servia nos cafés elegantes do Recife onde ninguém se deve lembrar de pedir uma tigela de arroz doce ou um prato de munguzá ou uma tapioca molhada ... Os cafés elegantes do Recife não servem senão doces e pastéis afrancesados e bebidas engarrafadas.” Ibid., 40.

¹³⁸ “Onde parece que essas três influências melhor se equilibraram ou harmonizaram foi na cozinha do Nordeste agrário onde não há nem excesso português como na capital do Brasil nem excesso africano como na Bahia nem quase exclusividade ameríndia como no extremo Norte, porém equilíbrio. O equilíbrio que Joaquim Nabuco atribuía à própria natureza pernambucana.” Ibid., 33. Freyre also described regionalism as a way to protect the region from foreign cultural influence in: Freyre, “Do bom e do mau regionalismo,” 23.

¹³⁹ Here, again, Warming’s influence on ecological thought is visible. Worster summarized Warming’s understanding of ecological communities in this way: “... there are aggressive opportunists waiting for a chance to invade. These constantly push out against their borders, trying to expand into their neighbor’s range or, in some cases, to gain a foothold on bare, unpopulated soil.” In effect, Freyre’s arguments are the sociological application of Warming’s ecological communities, with the aggressive opportunists represented not by invasive plant or animal forms, but by invasive cultures, pushing beyond their own borders. In Warming’s ecological communities, internal imbalance caused the ecological community’s vulnerability to invasion. Worster, *Nature’s Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas*, 201.

contrary, they enjoyed increasing power as elites at the national level recognized their dependence upon regions.¹⁴⁰ Other scholars charged the centralization of the federal government under Getúlio Vargas (1930-1937; 1937-1945; 1950-1954) with bringing about regionalism.¹⁴¹

However, while the notion of region finds its origins in nineteenth-century Brazil, and regionalist writers did call upon memories and traditions of the nineteenth century to uphold their claims, regionalism as a movement and discursive formation does not appear until the 1920s. Further, regionalists sowed the seeds of the movement prior to the centralizing cultural politics of the Estado Novo and even of the Second Republic. After all, there was a Regionalist Conference in 1926 – four years before the Revolution of 1930 – led by members of the Regionalist Center of the Northeast (Centro Regionalista do Nordeste) created in 1924. Federalism in the First Republic and centralization

¹⁴⁰ Consuelo Novais S. de Quadros attributed the rise of Brazilian regionalism to the shift of economic power from what she referred to as the “North-Northeast” to the “Center-South,” creating a significant economic gap between the two regions while causing accelerated modernization in the latter. Similarly, Stanley Blake expressed that the rise of the coffee economy in the South “led to considerable economic disparities between North and South,” eventually explained in cultural terms. Barbara Weinstein argued that decentralization during the First Republic (1889-1930) did not weaken regions, but rather strengthened the power of regional elites whose support those seeking national power needed. Blake emphasized, though, that disputes also arose between regional elites and that it was within this context that the Regionalist Conference of 1926 took place. Consuelo Novais S. de Quadros, *Formação do regionalismo no Brasil: Bahia e São Paulo no século XIX* (Salvador: Centro de Estudos Baianos, Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1977), 6 and 13; Blake, *The Vigorous Core of Our Nationality*; Weinstein, “Brazilian Regionalism,” 263.

¹⁴¹ Ruben George Oliven concluded that the homogenizing force of nationalism promotes regional identity formation. Meanwhile, in “Racializing Regional Difference: São Paulo versus Brazil, 1932,” Weinstein returned to the thesis of her review essay published eighteen years earlier, adding that with the formation of a strong centralized state, regions did not disappear, but rather gained strength as a “new variety of regionalism . . . emerges together with the very uneven spread of modernity and capitalist development.” Carlos Guilherme Mota stated that we must study regionalism within “the context of the transition in which it was produced, with several regional oligarchies seeing their power contested by the revolutionaries of 1930 bearing a new national project . . .” “no contexto de transição em que foi produzido, as diversas oligarquias regionais vendo contestado seu poderio pelos revolucionários de 1930, portadores de um projeto nacional . . .” Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, in his much celebrated *A invenção do Nordeste e outras artes*, recognized regionalism as a reaction to two “universalizing processes that cross paths.” The first is the “globalization of the world through social and economic capitalist relations,” while the second is “the nationalization of power relations, their centralization in the hands of the ever more bureaucratized State.” “A procura por uma identidade regional nasce da reação a dois processos de universalização que se cruzam: a globalização do mundo pelas relações sociais e econômicas capitalistas, pelos fluxos culturais globais, provenientes da modernidade, e a nacionalização das relações de poder, sua centralização nas mãos de um Estado cada vez mais burocratizado . . .” Ruben George Oliven, *A parte e o todo: a diversidade cultural no Brasil-nação* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1992); Weinstein, “Racializing Regional Difference: São Paulo versus Brazil, 1932,” 239; Mota, *Ideologia da cultura brasileira (1933-1974)*, 58; Albuquerque Júnior, *A invenção do nordeste e outras artes*, 91.

under Vargas surely influenced conceptions of the regional make-up of Brazil, but they are not alone sufficient to explain the emergence of regionalism as a movement and discursive formation in Brazil.

The *Manifesto* gives us an alternative to these readings. Freyre states that the Regionalist Conference of Recife was the first of its kind held in Brazil and maybe in all of the Americas, but was not the first regionalist conference in the world. He emphasizes that regionalism had been around elsewhere as it had been “animated in France by the poetic spirit of [Frederick] Mistral and the realist intelligence of [Charles] Maurras.”¹⁴² Freyre refers to Giedion, Mumford, Simkins, Bilden, and Radhakamal Mukerjee.¹⁴³ Freyre did not, however, simply soak up or filter ideas from outside Brazil for consumption at home; he participated in an international movement. He stresses in the introduction of the *Manifesto* that the Conference on Regionalism of Charlottesville held in the United States had modeled itself around the Regionalist Conference of Recife, not the other way around. A.R., in his preface, highlights that Simkins claimed Freyre had “taught me to interpret the history of the U.S. South.”¹⁴⁴ Freyre also lists regionalist scholars (mostly ecologists) who came from outside Brazil to study the Northeast, including Von Luetzelburg, Samuel Hardman, Jane Bilden, Regis de Beaulieu, and Charles Maurras.¹⁴⁵ Freyre’s regionalism was a loud voice in an international movement, not a provincializing trend in response to the centralization of authority.

¹⁴² “animada na França pelo espírito poético de Mistral e pela inteligência realista de Maurras.” Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 28. In 1924, Freyre had also mentioned Mexico City as an inspiring example of a return to regional roots, Freyre, “Do bom e do mau regionalismo,” 24.

¹⁴³ Mumford also placed his work within an international group of scholars working in human geography including “Humboldt in Germany, Buyot in France, George Perkins Marsh in the United States, followed by Ritter, Reclus, Vidal de la Blache, Le Play, Herbertson, and Geddes – to say nothing of our own contemporaries in America like Fenneman, Mark Jefferson, and J. Russell Smith,” Mumford, “Planning the Fourth Migration,” 200.

¹⁴⁴ “Ensinou-me a interpretar o passado do Sul dos Estados Unidos.” A.R., “Prefácio,” in *Manifesto regionalista de 1926* (Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Imprensa nacional, Os Cadernos da Cultura, 1955), 3–5. Freyre later highlighted the influence that his work had on U.S. historian Francis Butler Simkins and how the Regionalist Conference of Recife inspired the Regionalist Conference of Charlottesville, Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 13.

¹⁴⁵ Freyre, *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, 1955, 15.

Like Father, Like Son?: Concluding remarks

Any project that attempts to place an exact date on the *Regionalist manifesto of 1926* is futile. Yet, placing in doubt the date in its title does not invalidate the document; in fact, the hybrid nature of the *Manifesto* makes it a historically and analytically rich document. The mere endurance of the Regionalist Movement implores us to take its study seriously. Papers presented at a conference organized to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Regionalist Movement in Recife followed the same themes as that of the original Regionalist Conference without giving any impression of anachronism. Instead, Jaci Bezerra stated in the opening of the later conference's published annals, that the movement "maintains, today, the same organic vigor as fifty years ago. It is as if with the advance of time, instead of aging, it continues to light up our eyes ..." ¹⁴⁶ Freeing the *Manifesto* from modernist and post-modernist debates demonstrates its usefulness as a lens through which to reevaluate the movement, the region, and the nation. Returning to Inojosa's metaphor, in this case, there is much we can learn about the son (the movement) by analyzing the father (the manifesto).

Nonetheless, as the following chapters show, there are limits to the father/son metaphor. As Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior and Stanley Blake demonstrate, the "invention" of the Northeast was borne of discourse on drought by governmental agencies and health professionals, and was then given a cultural character by the regionalist movement. Yet, the story of Northeastern regional discourse, culture, and identity does not end with Gilberto Freyre, his *Manifesto*, or the regionalist movement. In order for regionalist discourse to become hegemonic – that is in order for the notion of a Northeastern region with distinct cultural attributes to become widely accepted instead

¹⁴⁶ "Conserva, hoje, o mesmo vigor orgânico de há cinquenta anos atrás. É como se, à medida que avança no tempo, continuasse, ao invés de envelhecer, a incandescer os nossos olhos com a superfície polida de um espelho que reflete imagens e sugestões provocadoras de visgo criador." Bezerra, "O cinquentenário do Movimento Regionalista," 8. The same author repeats this idea in another paper written for the same convention: Bezerra, "Permanência do movimento regionalista," 37.

of just another intellectual token to be posited at conferences – ideas on the Northeast had to circulate and find relevance among a greater portion of the population of the region. As we will see in subsequent chapters, Northeastern regional discourse did circulate through the region, nation, and even abroad, through cordel literature, music, poetry, newspapers, movies, and even cachaça labels and visual art. While it moved through one group of the Northeastern population and into another, notions of what the Northeast meant and what made up its culture were constantly revised and recirculated.

In this vein, in the next chapter, we turn to a group of fishermen from the state of Ceará who set out on a journey by sail-raft from Fortaleza to Rio de Janeiro to influence President Getúlio Vargas' labor laws. En route, they became representatives of the region that Gilberto Freyre and the participants in the regionalist movement had attempted to describe, influencing and redefining the region as they went, eventually becoming actors on an international stage.

CHAPTER II

JANGADAS, JANGADEIROS CEARENSES, AND ORSON WELLES

“Along came a British ship on the high seas, when from the deck a *jangada* came into view. They thought, naturally, that these were survivors of a shipwreck, holding on to that rustic raft. They [the British sailors] stopped, threw a line, shouted in English. The *jangadeiros* grabbed the line, without understanding.

-- What do you think they want, boss?

The *mestre* (leader) of the *jangada* thought about it, smiled, and interpreted:

-- I think they need a lift ...”¹

Jangada, *n. f.* Structure made with a ship’s wood to save the shipwrecked; heap; light construction, in the form of a grid, for transportation over water; (Brazil) flat vessel used by Northeastern fishermen, made of five logs (the one in the middle is called *meio*, the two extremes are *mimburas*, and the other two, which are the thickest, are called *bordos*) and furnished with a mast (*boré*); -- *do alto* (Brazil, Northeast): *jangada* made for navigating the high seas.²

Jangadeiro -- adj. Said of the fishermen of the North of Brazil who use *jangadas*; the owner of a *jangada*, the maker of a *jangada*. From *jangada+eiro*.³

¹ “Vinha um navio inglês em mar alto, quando de bordo se avistou uma *jangada*. Pensaram naturalmente que eram naufragos, agarrados àquela balsa rude. Pararam, atiraram uma linha, gritaram coisas em inglês. Os *jangadeiros* apanharam a corda, sem entender. Que será que eles querem, compadre? Até que o mestre da *jangada* pensou, sorriu, interpretou: -- Acho que eles estão querendo é reboque ...” Rachel de Queiroz, *Seleções do Reader’s Digest*, February 1952; Luis da Câmara Cascudo, *Jangada: um estudo etnográfico* (São Paulo: Global Editor, 2002), 27.

² “Armação feita com as madeiras de um navio para salvamento de naufragos; conjunto de pequenas embarcações ligadas umas às outras; caranguejola; ligeira construção, em forma de grade, para transportes sobre água; (Bras.) embarcação chata usada pelos pescadores nordestinos, formada de cinco paus roliços (o do centro chama-se *meio*, os dois extremos, *mimburas*, e os outros dois, os mais grossos, *bordos*) e munida de mastro (*boré*); -- *do alto* (Bras., Nordeste): *jangada* própria para navegação do *alto mar*.” Aurelio Buarque de Hollanda Ferreira, “Jangada,” *Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1961), 693. Ferreira’s definition of “jangada” and “jangadeiro” suffer minimal changes in subsequent dictionaries by the same author. See, for example, Ferreira, Aurelio Buarque de Hollanda, “Jangada,” *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1975), 796; Ferreira, Aurelio Buarque de Hollanda, “Jangadeiro,” *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1975), 796.

³ “Jangadeiro -- adj. Diz-se dos pescadores do norte do Brasil, que se utilizam de *jangadas*; dono de *jangada*, fabricante de *jangada*. De *jangada+eiro*.” Bueno, Francisco da Silveira, “Jangadeiro,” *Grande Dicionário Etimológico-Prosódico da Língua Portuguesa* (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1963), 2023. The use of “Northeastern” in Ferreira’s definition and “North” in Bueno’s shows that in certain (though limited) circles, there was still some overlap in these terms in the early 1960s.

In December 1941, Orson Welles read an article in *Time* magazine entitled “Four Men on a Raft,” about a “Homeric voyage that wrought a political miracle in Brazil.”⁴ Four fishermen, or *jangadeiros* – Jerônimo André de Souza (mestre Jerônimo), Manuel Olimpio Meira (Jacaré), Manuel Pereira da Silva (Manuel Preto), and Raimundo Correia Lima (Tatá) – had protested their labor conditions by traveling nearly 2,000 kilometers for 61 days from Fortaleza to Rio de Janeiro on a rustic sail-raft called a *jangada*. The story took up less than half a page, but that was enough to bring Welles to Fortaleza to film an episode for his movie *It’s All True*, irrevocably altering the lives of the *jangadeiros* and creating an incident where regional fishermen who had become national heroes became an embarrassment when brought to the international screen.

In this chapter, after briefly presenting the *jangada* and *jangadeiros*’ usable past, drawn upon during their journey to gain popular support, I examine the *jangadeiros* cearenses and their journey along the coastline and into the national state. First, I examine media accounts alongside the *Diário dos jangadeiros* – a scrapbook of sorts in which supporters left messages for the *jangadeiros* at each port. I consider the press and *jangadeiros*’ ability to successfully draw upon popular imaginings of *jangadas* and the *jangadeiro* figure and garner support as regional representatives. Next, I turn to the international attention that this raid attracted, mainly through Orson Welles’ unfinished film, *It’s All True*, concentrating on the importance of international attention in popular imaginings of the Northeast and its representation. Finally, I briefly examine the *jangada* and *jangadeiro* figure in music, image, and study post-1942.

This examination demonstrates that regional identity formation was not just the turf of elite intellectuals and state actors, but also of workers (in this case, *jangadeiros*), journalists, popular artists,

⁴ “Four Men on a Raft,” *Time*, December 8, 1941; Berenice Abreu, *Jangadeiros: uma corajosa jornada em busca de direitos no Estado Novo* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2012), 237; Catherine Benamou, *It’s All True: Orson Welles’s Pan-American Odyssey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 39.

and international cultural intermediaries, who successfully drew upon historical and romantic notions of the Northeastern fisherman, incorporating their narrative and their struggle into the national and international spheres. By not accepting a distinct intellectual-popular divide in the creation of cultural symbols, it emphasizes the permeability of identity formation in Brazil to both intellectual and popular debate and highlights the circulation of ideas among and between social classes. Here, the jangadeiro “raid” from Fortaleza to Rio de Janeiro served two functions. Structurally, the jangadeiros’ protest pulled the most rustic element of the region into the modern legal apparatus of a centralized state, demonstrating their desire to become modern Brazilians in a very Northeastern way. Symbolically, the jangadeiros’ journey generated a stereotypical figure that provided a way to talk about the Northeast, developing characteristics of its people that united the backlands and the coast. Once the film crews were gone and the protest long over, the anthropologists, folklorists, and artists moved in, leaving a jangadeiro that served as a nameless, nostalgic symbol of the backward Northeast and a way not only to discuss the region’s characteristics, but to visualize them.

The jangadeiros’ journey was inspired by changes in national politics represented through the figure of the president, Getúlio Dornelles Vargas. Following the 1929 international economic crisis and the dispute between the political elite of São Paulo and Minas Gerais that led to the removal of President Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa from office by army generals (referred to as the “Revolution of 1930”), Getúlio Vargas became chief of the Provisional Government. The Vargas era spanned from 1930 to 1954 and included the provisional revolutionary government from 1930 to 1937 when Vargas brandished his skills of mediation by neither fully pleasing nor fully abandoning the rural and urban elites and the burgeoning urban labor movements (with the exception of the Brazilian Communist Party - PCB); the *Estado Novo* (New State) from 1937 to 1945 when Vargas ruled as a dictator; the presence of Vargas in Congress (at least in theory) from 1945 to 1950 as an elected representative; and finally, the re-election and return of Vargas to the executive office as president

from 1950 until his suicide in 1954. During his time in power, Vargas performed an exceptional balancing act negotiating between elite and laborer, urban and rural, and strategically pursued Brazilian interests abroad.⁵ Vargas created a vast network of governmental institutions, pulling the country together under a centralized national government and identity. In this way, the jangadeiros' voyage opened a conversation not only on labor law, but on the inclusion of the most rustic symbols of the Northeastern region into a modern, centralized state.⁶

A usable past - Jangadas, jangadeiros, and raids in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Jangadas and jangadeiros have served important, if often forgotten roles in the history of Brazil. The origin of the term is the Malayalam word *changadam*, still in use today.⁷ Malayalam is one of the languages of the Southern Indian province of Kerala, a province that, like the area where the jangada is found in Brazil, was dominated by Portuguese merchant ports in the sixteenth century and caught between Dutch and Portuguese disputes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

⁵ An example of the centralizing force of President Vargas' new administration was the replacement of state governors with appointed federal *interventores*. The *interventores* could not, as their predecessors had, directly broker their own foreign loans, allocate more than ten percent of their state budget toward their state militias or possess arms more powerful than those owned by the federal government. In the words of Lesley Bethell, "They were there to weaken the political power of the state oligarchies," and that, effectively they did. The *interventor* system is also an example of President Vargas' ability to disarm political tension. Many of the first *interventores* were *tenentes*, as were termed a movement of young military officers who desired a strong centralized national government, military reform (organization, investment, promotion), and agrarian and social reform. The president chose many of the initial *interventores* from this group, easing their desires for power with this important new position (that also was in agreement with their plank of centralization) while also dispersing them around the expansive country. Leslie Bethell, "Politics in Brazil under Vargas, 1930-1945," in *Brazil since 1930*, vol. 9, *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3–86, rules for *interventores*, 22; goals of *interventores*, 10 and 19; comings and goings of *interventores* in first few years of Vargas administration, 21.

⁶ See Abreu, *Jangadeiros* for a thorough discussion of the jangadeiros journey within the framework of the Estado Novo.

⁷ Francisco da Silveira Bueno, "Jangada," *Grande Dicionário Etimológico-Prosódico da Língua Portuguesa* (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1963), 2022–2023; Antenor Nascentes, "Jangada," *Dicionário etimológico resumido* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1966), 426; Ferreira, Aurelio Buarque de Hollanda, "Jangada," 796; J. Almeida de Costa and A. Sampaio e Melo, "Jangada," *Dicionário da língua portuguesa* (Porto: Porto, 1994), 1060. I thank Ananth Aiyer of the University of Michigan-Flint for his help in confirming that this term is, in fact, still in use.

According to Câmara Cascudo, the Portuguese became familiar with the light and efficient jangadas of India that carried warriors toward Portuguese ships. Later, they saw the rafts of Brazil's coastal populations and drew upon colonial imagery and vocabulary informed by their presence in southern India to describe this vessel.⁸ By the nineteenth century, this derivation of the Malayalam term had become an internationally recognized designation for a raft in the Atlantic World, whether in French, Spanish, English, Malayalam, or Portuguese.⁹

Yet, as highlighted by the dictionary entry that serves as epigram to this chapter, “jangada” became a symbol in Brazil that signifies not Mexico, Southern India, or the greater Atlantic World, but specifically the Brazilian North or Northeast. Nineteenth-century travel literature aided this reduction in geographical expanse. The jangada – often the first thing that European travelers saw upon arriving in Brazil – became a motif in nineteenth-century travel literature by authors who repeatedly described this mode of transportation and subsistence with fascination.¹⁰ These writers

⁸ Cascudo, *Jangada*, 60.

⁹ We find perhaps the earliest reference to jangadas in Brazil in Pero de Magalhães Gândavo's text published in 1576, where he describes the fishing practices of Brazilian Indians in “jãgadas.” As Magalhães Gândavo directed this text to a former governor of the southern provinces of India, it is likely that he chose this term consciously and carefully. Pero de Magalhães Gândavo, *Historia da prouincia Sãcta Cruz a que vulgarmete chamamos Brasil (...)* (Lisbon: Officina de Antonio Gonsaluez, 1576), 76, <http://purl.pt/121.res-365-p>, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Later, jangada appears as a term in Antonio Vieyra's 1773 English/Portuguese dictionary as “paos boyantes ligados entre fi.” Antonio Vieyra, *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages, in Two Parts (...)*, vol. 2 (London: printed for J. Nourse, Bookseller to His Majesty, 1773), 188. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Vanderbilt University. 18 Mar. 2013. The jangada as “radeau brésilien” appears very briefly in the epic poem *Caramurú* in 1781. Jose de Santa Rita Durao, *Caramurú, ou La découverte de Babia*, vol. 1 (Paris: E. Renduel, 1829), 196, gallica.bnf.fr. Romans portugais et brésiliens collection, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF). In their 1833 publication, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Courcelles and David Baillie Warden describe the 1645 Portuguese-Dutch disputes in Pernambuco, qualifying a *radeau* as a jangada. Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Courcelles and David Baillie Warden, *L'art de vérifier les dates, depuis l'année 1770 jusqu'à nos jours (...)*, vol. 14, L'art de vérifier les dates 3 (Paris: Imprimerie A. Moreau, 1833), 9, gallica.bnf.fr. 2009-23285, Département Collections Numérisées, BNF. While in the French version of Alexander Von Humboldt's essay on New Spain published in 1811 he describes a trip down the Rio Mescala in Mexico on a “radeau”, in the 1822 translation to Spanish, the *radeau*, surprisingly, becomes “a jangada or raft.” Alexander Von Humboldt, *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris: F. Schoell, 1811), 334. Google Books. Alexander Von Humboldt, *Ensayo político sobre el reino de la Nueva-España*, vol. 4 (Paris: En Casa de Rosa, 1822), 45, <<http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/mome/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=MOME&userGroup=Nash87800&tabID=T001&docId=U104463573&type=multipage&contentSet=MOMEArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>>. Making of the Modern World (MOMW). Gale. Vanderbilt University. 18 Mar. 2013.

¹⁰ The British traveler Maria Graham (later Maria Callcott) mentions the jangada as a “curious” type of boat that “resembles nothing I have seen before.” Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence There during Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), 99, gallica.bnf.fr. 4-Px-5, BNF. Expressing

create an image of the jangada as an object of wonder and distinction, while connecting the marvelous object to a limited geographic space along the Brazilian coast – the area that in the twentieth century would become the Brazilian Northeast. In the 1941 translation of Koster’s *Travels*, Câmara Cascudo even uses the anachronistic designation of “Nordeste” (Northeast) in the title.¹¹ These travelers’ wonder led them to commit their observations not only to words, but to sketched images (see figures 3, 4, and 5), contributing to an early visual catalog of Northeastern cultural referents.

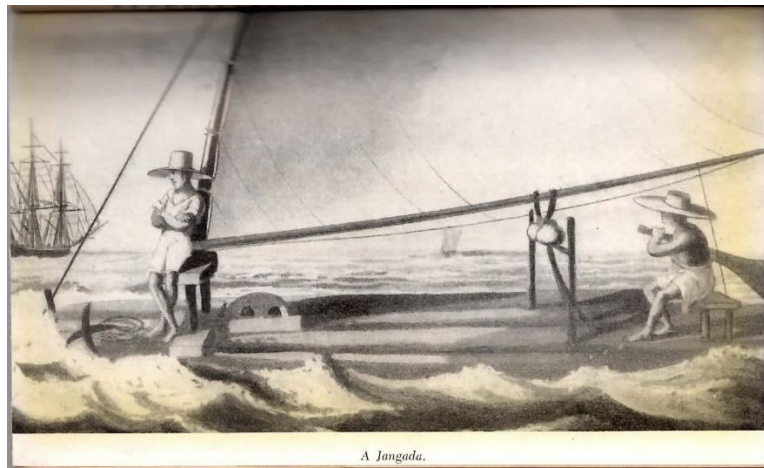


Figure 3: A Jangada, from Henry Koster, *Viagens ao Nordeste do Brasil*.¹²

admiration at finding jangadas in the high seas, the French historian M. Ferdinand Denis describes the jangada as “une sorte d'embarcation essentiellement propre à la côte de Pernambuco, et que frappe presque toujours d'étonnement le voyageur.” M. Ferdinand Denis, *Brésil, L'Univers. Histoire et description de tous les peuples*. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1837), 256 (image 379 in Google Books pdf). Google Books. 18 Mar. 2013. Writing of his time in Ceará, German Prince Maximilian Alexander Philipp Wied-Neuwied explains that “Plus au sud les jangadas disparaissent, on ne voit plus que des pirogues; plus au nord, au contraire, celles-ci sont rares et les autres bien plus communs. Peut-être ce canton est-il le plus méridional de ceux où croît le bois de jangada.” Maximilian Alexander Philipp Wied-Neuwied, *Voyage au Brésil dans les années 1815, 1816 et 1817*, vol. 2 (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1821), 331, gallica.bnf.fr. 8-OY-150 (2), Département Réserve des livres rares, BNF. As James Henderson and his party arrived at the coast of Pernambuco, traveling northward from Bahia, “The jangadas, or catamarans, now passed near us on all sides, with their triangular sails, producing no inconsiderable surprise amongst the whole party.” James Henderson, *A History of the Brazil: Comprising its Geography, Commerce, Colonization, Aboriginal Inhabitants* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821), 357–358 (image 404–405), <http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/mome/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=MOME&userGroupName=nash87800&tabID=T001&docId=U104397622&type=multipage&contentSet=MOMEArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. MOMW. Perhaps the most famous and most widely read of these travelers, Henry Koster described the arrival of his ship to the port of Recife, stating that “Nothing this day created so much astonishment on board our ship, amongst those who had not been before upon this coast, as the *Jangadas*, sailing about in all directions.” Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966), 3. This text was originally published in 1816 as Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1816).

¹¹ Henry Koster, *Viagens ao nordeste do Brasil*, trans. Luis da Câmara Cascudo (Recife: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1942).

¹² *Ibid.*, 31b.



Jangada

Figure 4: A jangada, from M. Ferdinand Denis, *Brésil*.¹³

Notably, in these travel accounts, it is the vessel and not the fishermen that is important. But in the late nineteenth century, the jangadeiro stepped out of anonymity and into Brazilian history in the form of Francisco José do Nascimento (1839-1914), popularly known as the “Dragão do Mar” (“Sea Dragon”), and his colleagues of the Clube dos Jangadeiros.¹⁴ In 1850, Brazil banned international trade in slaves, but did not ban slavery itself. As the coffee market expanded in the southern states and the sugar market began to suffer reduced importance, an internal slave trade flourished.¹⁵ Following a brutal drought and a small-pox epidemic that devastated the economy of the state of

¹³ Denis, *Brésil*, page between 256 and 257 (image 380 on Google Books pdf).

¹⁴ In Ceará, Francisco José do Nascimento was originally known as “Chico da Matilde” (Matilde was his mother’s name). It was when he visited Rio de Janeiro in 1883, invited by abolitionists of that city, that he received the nickname “Dragão do Mar.” Luiz Geraldo Silva, *Os pescadores na história do Brasil*, vol. 1, Colônia e Império (Recife: Comissão Pastoral dos Pescadores, 1988), 184.

¹⁵ According to Oswaldo Riedel, of the 28,008 enslaved Africans and Afro-Brazilians sold from the North to the southern states, 7,104 of them were from Ceará. Oswaldo de Oliveira Riedel, *Perspectiva antropológica do escravo no Ceará* (Fortaleza: Universidade Federal do Ceará, 1988), 25; Oswaldo Evandro Carneiro Martins, *Sobre o proletariado de Fortaleza* (Fortaleza: Barraca do Escritor Cearense, 1993), 23.

Ceará, slaveowners became increasingly dependent on the sale of their slaves to southern markets.¹⁶ On January 27, 1881, jangadeiros in the state of Ceará charged with carrying slaves from the shore and unloading them on ships joined the Sociedade Libertadora Cearense (Ceará Freedom Society) in a coordinated effort to stop this trade.¹⁷ Refusing to load 14 slaves onto the *Espírito Santo*, the jangadeiros closed the port.¹⁸ The jangadeiros repeatedly refused to transport slaves throughout the year.¹⁹ The news of the jangadeiros' strikes spread quickly, inspiring abolitionist movements around the empire, making the Dragão do Mar one of surprisingly few memorialized popular heroes in the Brazilian abolitionist movement.²⁰ His participation in the abolitionist movement led not only to his popular fame, but later to the preservation of his memory in the form of a large cultural center in Fortaleza that bears his name, offers free classes to the community, and houses a cinema, the Museu de Arte Contemporânea, the Memorial da Cultura Cearense, rotating exhibits, a cultural archive, and a library.

The jangadeiros' participation in abolitionism went beyond the closing of the interprovincial slave trade. The jangadeiros also policed the seas and provided safe transport for refugees who fled to the first Brazilian state to abolish slavery.²¹ They were visible and active members in abolitionism in

¹⁶ Celso Castilho, "Abolitionism Matters: The Politics of Antislavery in Pernambuco, Brazil, 1869-1888" (Doctoral dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 2008), 73–74; Riedel, *Perspectiva antropológica do escravo no Ceará*, 25. Up to half a million cearenses died in this drought, Marshall C. Eakin, *Brazil: The Once and Future Country* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1997), 71.

¹⁷ Lusirene Celestino França Ferreira, "Nas Asas da imprensa: a repercussão da abolição da escravatura na província do Ceará nos periódicos do Rio de Janeiro (1884-1885)" (Master's thesis, Universidade Federal de São João del-Rei, 2010), 31. The Sociedade Libertadora Cearense was formed on December 8, 1880 and included 225 members, all "intellectuals and liberal professionals [meaning doctors and lawyers, and other groups that require a formal education and do not perform manual labor]"; Silva, *Os pescadores na história do Brasil*, 1, Colônia e Império: 179.

¹⁸ Silva, *Os pescadores na história do Brasil*, 1, Colônia e Império: 180.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, Colônia e Império: 181–182.

²⁰ Ferreira, "Nas asas da imprensa," 32; Castilho, "Abolitionism Matters," 74–75.

²¹ In a letter from João Cordeiro of the Sociedade Libertadora Cearense to João Ramos of the Sociedade Nova Emancipadora in Recife, Cordeiro mentions seizing two "inglezes" – a code word for slaves – from a ship. "It was a good take," he punned, "for the jangadeiros." Later in the same letter, he asks Ramos to let him know by telegram if a previously

Ceará. A French abolitionist society, recognizing the importance of the jangadeiros and specifically Nascimento in Ceará abolitionism remarked: “The *jangada*, that little board skimming the waves, floating flotsam upon which the fish leave the green seas of the North of Brazil, has become a symbol of abolitionism.”²²

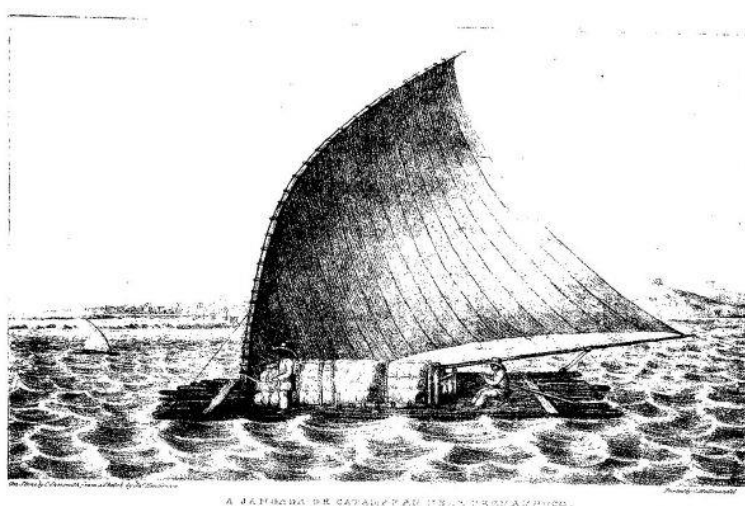


Figure 5: A jangada or catamaran near Pernambuco, from James Henderson, *A History of the Brazil*.²³

mentioned black man named Aróxa is coming to Ceará so that he has time to send a jangada for him. From this letter, we see that the role of the jangadeiros in the abolitionist movement of Ceará went beyond that of the rebellious striker. “Hoje arrancamos de bordo do vapor Pern[ambucan]o 2 ingleses que ão destinados ao mercado do Rio de Janeiro. Foi uma bonita pesca feita pelos jangadeiros.” And later, “Se o negro hoje Aróxa embarcar p.^a aqui, faz-me um telegrama para eu ter tempo de preparar jangadas para o Desembarque d’elle. Quero dar-lhe um banho-mar.” “João Cordeiro to João Ramos,” August 22, 1883, 2, Bundle 3, Box 218, Correspondência João Ramos (1884-1896), Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano (IAHGP). I thank Celso Castilho for introducing me to this collection in Recife in 2009 and for helping me with the code. According to Silva, the *Dragão do Mar* also built a small structure on land that he had near a beach to hide escaped slaves. Silva, *Os pescadores na história do Brasil*, 1, Colônia e Império:183.

²² The full reference is: “Les esclaves du Nord étaient exportés en masse vers le Sud, où les prix étaient quadruples. Au Ceara, pour arriver à bord des paquebots qui les portaient aux marchés de vente, ils devaient prendre l'embarcation, le radeau à voile, qu'on appelle *jangada*. Poussés par les abolitionnistes, dont les chefs étaient Joao Cordeiro et Amaral, les *jangadaires*, avec un nommé Nascimanto [sic] à leur tête, se refusèrent au transport de la marchandise humaine. Il y eut des grèves, presque des combats, mais le cabotage noir fut bloqué, et l'esclavage, enfermé dans la province, disparaissait bientôt par un effort d'amour-propre local, par le désir du Ceara d'être la première province à sol libre du pays. La *jangada*, le petit plancher rasant les flots, l'épave flottante sur laquelle les pêches se font au large sur les mers vertes du Nord du Brésil, devient le symbole abolitionniste" *Congrès international antiesclavagiste, tenu à Paris les 6, 7, 8 août 1900: compte rendu des séances* (Paris: Société antiesclavagiste de France, 1900), 91–92, bnf.fr. 8-R-18388, Département philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF). The French abolitionist society likely read of the jangadeiros through the widely disseminated French version of a pamphlet that the abolitionist José de Patrocínio wrote after visiting Ceará: José de Patrocínio, “L’Affranchissement des esclaves de la province de Ceará au Brésil” (Bibliothèque nationale, 1884), BNF.

²³ Henderson, *A History of the Brazil*, image number 403.

The jangada and jangadeiro figure, then, already carried a connotation of wonder, singularity, social engagement, and geographic specificity before the turn of the twentieth century. They were symbols of resistance, determination, individuality, and freedom. The jangadeiros that we turn to in the next section of this chapter also relied on a history of “raids” in the Brazilian Northeast.

The Portuguese term “raid” is a mutation of the English word, likely imported through discussions of banditry in the Brazilian Northeast.²⁴ By the 1920s, a raid in Portuguese was not simply an incursion, but a long-distance feat that at times demonstrated endurance, at others speed or technological advance. In the late 1920s, airplane raids became more prevalent in the Northeast as the attempt to push aviation technology to its limits made necessary a search for short routes between cities, countries, and continents.²⁵ As the Brazilian Northeast holds several of the closest cities in the Americas to the African continent, it became a common stopping ground.²⁶ By 1940, the term was already in use for long-distance jangada trips as well. Mestre Filó, a jangadeiro from Natal, led three jangadas on a 23-day Natal-Rio de Janeiro raid in 1922, inspiring an epic poem and a popular song to

²⁴ The term appears occasionally as “raide,” and rarely “reide.”

²⁵ Flávia de Sá Pedreira, *Chiclete eu misturo com banana: Carnaval e cotidiano de guerra em Natal, 1920-1945* (Natal: Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Norte, 2005), 26.

²⁶ On April 28, 1927, Brazilians became the first to cross the Atlantic in one plane on the “Raid Jahú,” so named after the aircraft. They traveled from Italy to Spain, Spain to the Canary Islands, then over to the archipelago Fernando de Noronha, from there to Natal in Rio Grande do Norte and down along the Brazilian coast. Alexandre Ricardo Baptista, *O voo do Jahú*, Rede da Memória Virtual Brasileira (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional), accessed November 21, 2012, <http://bndigital.bn.br/redememoria/jahu.htm>. In July of 1928, two Italians flew from Italy to Rio Grande do Norte on the first Italy-Brazil raid. See Rostand Medeiros and Frederico Nicolau, *Os cavaleiros dos céus: a saga do voo de Ferrarin e Del Prete* (Natal: Fundação Rampa, 2009). In the 1930s, Mussolini gifted to the state of Rio Grande do Norte a Roman column, currently showcased in front of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Norte (IHGRN) to thank the state for its hospitality to those early pilots. In 1930, a German zeppelin traveled across the Atlantic to Recife, with the governor declaring a national holiday and Gilberto Freyre serving as the host of the welcoming events. Rose Saconi, “Zeppelin é recebido com festa no Recife,” *Estadão*, May 22, 2010, <http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/impresso,zeppelin-e-recebido-com-festa-no-recife,554979,0.htm>. Famously, Amelia Earhart stopped in Fortaleza and Natal during her 1937 attempt at an around-the-world raid. “Aventura no céu de Natal: Aviadora americana realiza viagem ao mundo num avião da década de 30 e pousa no Augusto Severo hoje,” *Diário do Natal*, April 8, 1997, Clyde Smith’s Personal Archive, Natal, Rio Grande do Norte.

register the feat.²⁷ In 1928 another group of jangadeiros went from Prainha, Ceará to Belém do Pará, later stating that they were an incarnation of the Dragão do Mar.²⁸

These raids were sources of pride and inspiration and created faith in Brazilian and local possibility. For example, in 1926 the governor of Ceará, José Moreira da Rocha, sent a circular to each municipality in the state in an attempt to raise funds to purchase a plane for a Rio-Ceará-Mexico raid, stating:

I do not need to explain to you the highly patriotic importance of this attempt, with which before the world the name of Brazil will be extolled and the moral value of *cearenses* will be lauded at this exact moment when the achievements of air navigation astound people and nations ... I make this appeal to you so that our precious Ceará will gain and maintain among the states of the Union and abroad its rightful place of prominence.²⁹

The importance of the raids was expressed not only in official correspondence, but in cordel literature, as in the “*Raid*” *New=York=Rio, Das glórias brasileiras o raid do Jabú*, and *Os jangadeiros de Ceara*, the latter describing the Prainha-Belém raid of 1928.³⁰

²⁷ The poem is by Catulo da Paixão Cearense, and according to Cascudo, is titled “Almirante;” the song, by Otoniel Meneses and Eduardo Medeiros is “A Praieira.” Cascudo, *Jangada*, 19.

²⁸ “Ainda vivem os jangadeiros de 1928,” *O Povo*, November 7, 1941, Setor Microfilmagem (SM), Biblioteca Pública Governador Menezes Pimentel (BPGMP), Fortaleza, Ceará (CE).

²⁹ “Eu não preciso encarecer á vossa autoridade o alcance altamente patriótico desse *tentamen*, com o qual será, mais uma vez perante o mundo, enaltecido o nome do Brasil e elevado o valor moral dos cearenses no actual momento em que as conquistas da navegação aerea assombram povos e nações. Confiante nos sentimentos mais nobres do povo desse municipio, faço-lhe por vosso intermedio, o presente appello, afim de que o nosso querido Ceará consiga e mantenha, entre os Estados da União e no exterior, o lugar de destaque a que lhe sobram direitos.” “‘Raid’ Rio-Ceará-México,” *Correio da Serra*, May 7, 1926, Roll M67, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

³⁰ Apolinario de Sousa, *Os jangadeiros de Ceara* (Manaus: Casa Editora, n.d.); Ernesto Vera, “*Raid*” *New=York=Rio* ([Belém]: Typ. Guajarina, 1923); Ernesto Vera, *Continuação do “Raid” New=York=Rio* (Belém: Typ. Guajarina, n.d.); José Esteve, *Das glórias brasileiras o raid do Jabú* ([Belém], n.d.). AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB. From the texture and color of the pages and type of print of *Das glórias brasileiras* and *Os jangadeiros de Ceara*, I believe these cordel to be from the late 1920s or early 1930s. On the back cover of each, there are advertisements with prices in mil-reis, which were replaced by the cruzeiro in 1942. On the back cover of *Os jangadeiros de Ceara* there is also a four-digit telephone number. It is notable, too, that these jangadeiros also connected their voyage to the Dragão do Mar. In a later interview, Bernardino Nascimento, the mestre of the 1928 raid, told reporters: “Eu sou o ‘Dragão do Mar’, o principal piloto da jangada ‘7 de setembro’ que fez o ‘raid’ audacioso dem 1928. Foi no Pará que eu ouvi da boca dos oradores este apelido. Fiquei com ele.” It is also notable that they, like the jangadeiros of 1941, chose to arrive on a national holiday, demonstrating their feeling of connection to the history of the nation. “Ainda vivem os jangadeiros de 1928.” SM-BPGMP-CE, Campina Grande, PB.

Both the jangadeiros who set out in 1941 on the Fortaleza-Rio raid and their supporters took full advantage of this usable past, drawing from the history of their locality the wonder of the jangada, the association of social justice and jangadeiro, and the excitement and pride of raids to and from the Northeast.

“Jangadeiros, workers of the sea!” - The jangadeiros’ raid along the coast and through the newspapers

According to Brazil’s famed anthropologist, historian, journalist and folklorist Luis da Câmara Cascudo, by the time Henry Koster described it in 1809, the jangada had already reached the peak of its technological advance.³¹ Up to 1950, the jangada in the state of Ceará usually consisted of six carved logs of up to eight meters either lashed or pegged together, a triangular sail, a center keel, a bench for seating, and baskets and decanters for storage.³² In the 1940s, these vessels had a value of about 1:700\$000 (about \$102 in 1940) and lasted about eighteen months of daily use.³³ Four fishermen, the *jangadeiros*, accompany each jangada out to sea, serving the roles of *mestre* (leader and navigator), *proeiro* (person who sits near the fish basket and wets the sail before setting to sea), *rebique* (who fishes from the very front of the jangada), and *bico de proa* (who sits behind the rebique and wets the sail when traveling from sea to land).³⁴ Their roles are important – jangadeiros frequently die at sea and following

³¹ Cascudo, *Jangada*, 80.

³² Ibid.; Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 44.

³³ Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 44, though she states that the *São Pedro* cost 1:600\$000. The timber comes from the pau-jangada (*Apeiba tibournoi*), imported from Pará. It is the importation of the wood that justifies the elevated price. The currency is in contos and mil-réis (one conto, 700 mil réis). \$102 dollars in 1941 would equate to \$1,610.95 in 2013. I calculated an exchange rate of \$1 = 16\$666 based on the chart published in T.H. Holloway, *Imigrantes Para O Café* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1984), 268. This chart is available online at “Dólar Americano,” accessed March 23, 2013, <http://www.ocaixa.com.br/bancodedados/dolaranualmedio.htm>. I used the Bureau of Labor Statistics inflation calculator to translate 1941 dollars to 2013 here: <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>.

³⁴ Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 46; Cascudo, *Jangada*, 15 & 18.

one's role carefully might put off that fate, if only for one more day.³⁵ The fishermen of the state of Ceará took their *jangadas* either on day trips or for longer stays of up to six days on the high seas, subsisting on fish roasted over small burners with manioc flour mixed with drippings (*pirão*), while their wives and children wove hammocks and *renda* lace on shore, anxiously praying for their return.³⁶

The *jangadeiros* of Ceará in the 1940s tended to fish over rocky bottoms where large fish sought easy prey of mollusks and smaller schools.³⁷ Nets were generally too expensive for them to purchase. Instead, they used hook and line, gathering around 30 or 40 fish per day on average, but as few as 7 or 8 in the winter and up to 200 in high season.³⁸ The *jangadeiros* did not usually own their own *jangada*. Instead, the *jangada's* owner allowed them to use it (and at times the fishing equipment) in exchange for half of their harvest. The fish, once brought to shore, were sold to *atravessadores*, who dressed up as *jangadeiros* to sell the fish on the streets and in markets, to middlemen, restaurants, or housewives. The *atravessadores* set the prices for the fish, creating a system that the *jangadeiros* were dependent upon because they had no way to conserve the fish, but that kept their earnings at the lowest possible for basic subsistence.³⁹

Mestre Jerônimo, Jacaré, Manuel Preto, and Tatá, like many cearenses, moved to Fortaleza in the first decades of the twentieth century, giving the city, by 1940 a population of 149,670 inhabitants – almost double the population in 1920.⁴⁰ Tatá moved to Fortaleza in 1906, while the others arrived

³⁵ As Cascudo stated in the introduction to his study of *jangadeiros*, “He who lives from the Sea dies in it.” “Quem vive do Mar morre nele.” Cascudo, *Jangada*, 9.

³⁶ Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 47.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Berenice Abreu lifts a quote from Jacaré from the newspaper *A Manhã* for this information on *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁹ The *atravessadores* continued to be a problem through 1950, as seen in: “Os *jangadeiros*,” *Diário do Povo*, January 17, 1950, Hemeroteca, Instituto do Ceará (IC), Fortaleza, Ceará.

⁴⁰ Waldery Uchôa, *Fortaleza na sua expressão histórica, geográfica e estatística* (Fortaleza: Estado do Ceará, 1946), 35. The population in 1920 was 78,536. There was no census in 1930.

in the 1920s and 1930s.⁴¹ When the wealthier classes began to move into the beach communities of Fortaleza in the 1920s and 1930s, most jangadeiros gave in to the economic pressures to move away from the beach to the hills beyond, but Tatá and Jerônimo resisted, living near the Iracema and Meirelles Beaches, respectively.⁴² Manuel Preto and Jacaré lived in the hills, called *morros*, of Alto Alegre and Altamira alongside other working class *cearenses*.⁴³ Like 70 percent of cearenses in 1940, all but Jacaré were illiterate.⁴⁴ The jangadeiros participated in communities referred to as *colônias*, or colonies, organized under the Federação de Pescadores (Federation of Fishermen). Most belonged to the oldest colônia formed in Fortaleza in 1922 – the Z-1, of which Jacaré was president. Mestre Jerônimo belonged to the Z-2.⁴⁵ These four jangadeiros formed part of what historians variably refer to as the masses, the proletariat, or the people – terms that emphasize their homogeneity, anonymity, subalternity, and, importantly, their function as laborers and potential for rebellion. Nonetheless, these jangadeiros rewrote labor law under the Estado Novo in 1941.

On September 15, 1941, Mestre Jerônimo, Tatá, Jacaré, and Manuel Preto set out on a raid from Ceará to Rio de Janeiro. They sought to pressure the president, Getúlio Vargas, to include jangadeiros in the state's expanding centralized labor laws. Vargas frequently employed populist rhetoric, beginning his speeches with “Workers!” and calling on nationalist unity and pride. His administration expanded the central government, creating an extensive series of cultural apparatuses,

⁴¹ Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 43.

⁴² Ibid., 39 and 43. The movement of the elite classes to the beaches and the fishing communities to the hills is detailed in Eustógio Wanderley Correia Dantas, *Mar à vista: estudo da maritimidade em Fortaleza* (Fortaleza: Museu do Ceará, 2002), 47–102.

⁴³ Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 39.

⁴⁴ IBGE, *Alfabetização da população de 18 anos e mais*, Census, Estatísticas do Século (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2003). CD-ROM. The literacy rate in Ceará was actually slightly higher than the average for the states considered Northeastern at this time, which was 27.1%, an easy 8% behind the next lowest literacy rate in the Center-West.

⁴⁵ Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 40.

creating technical schools, and solidifying labor laws. One of the first steps taken by Vargas in November 1930 was to create the Ministry of Education and Public Health (Ministério da Educação e Saúde Pública) and the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce (MTIC – Ministério do Trabalho, Indústria e Comércio, also nicknamed the *Ministério da Revolução*).⁴⁶ The MTIC, through Decree 19.700 of March 1931, dismantled independent labor unions, replacing them with MTIC controlled unions with state-appointed leaders.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the MTIC pushed through legislation on the minimum wage, working conditions, pensions, unemployment compensation, and maximum working hours.⁴⁸ The weight placed on industrial labor was the result of Vargas' emphasis on modernization through industrialization. As such, the new work laws initially applied only to formal, urban, industrialized labor, and not to agricultural labor, much less the *jangadeiros*.⁴⁹

The National Service for Industrial Training (SENAI – Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial), created in 1942, resulted from Vargas' concern with industrialization, labor and education. The purpose of SENAI was to organize and administer industrial training schools and, optionally, to offer continuing education classes for workers.⁵⁰ Industrialists successfully convinced politicians and the working class that industry was good for the nation and that industrialists held the unique technical

⁴⁶ Bethell, "Politics in Brazil under Vargas, 1930-1945," 23; Otaíza de Oliveira Romanelli, *História da educação no Brasil (1930/1973)*, 29th ed. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 2005), 131; Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 53. Williams emphasized that the cultural programs carried out under Vargas should not be attributed to him, but to his ministers as "Vargas's interests in cultural patronage were generally limited to ceremonial galas, inaugurations, and civic parades," 14. Nonetheless, Vargas *did* create the structure within which the ministers acted, which is important for this discussion.

⁴⁷ Bethell, "Politics in Brazil under Vargas, 1930-1945," 23.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; Eakin, *Brazil: The Once and Future Country*, 45.

⁴⁹ Bethell, "Politics in Brazil under Vargas, 1930-1945," 23; Eakin, *Brazil: The Once and Future Country*, 44; Romanelli, *História da educação no Brasil (1930/1973)*, 166.

⁵⁰ Attendance was obligatory for workers registered in SENAI courses, and classes were offered during normal working hours. Romanelli, *História da educação no Brasil (1930/1973)*, 166.

expertise to make it happen, yet opposed government interference in “the social question.”⁵¹ Hence, administration of SENAI was left to the Federal Confederation of Industry (Confederação Nacional da Indústria). Barbara Weinstein found that labor leaders, instead of resisting or revolting, adopted the same discourse as the industrialists and government bureaucrats. John D. French also found that the relationship between populist and laborer was one of alliance, rather than cooptation.⁵² The resolution of labor laws and working conditions by the Vargas administration, the dissolution of independent labor unions, the creation of national unions, and the creation of schools dedicated to the industrialized labor force, mitigated tensions between urban labor, industrialists, and the state, but it left workers in more traditional sectors without unions and without representation.

The jangadeiros had organized and prepared for their trip to Rio de Janeiro in an effort to claim their stake in the Estado Novo’s expanding labor apparatus. Jacaré, the unspoken leader of the group on land, approached a schoolteacher two years before the trip to refine his literacy skills with the objective of approaching Getúlio Vargas, directly, with his concerns about the labor laws.⁵³ In 1939, the jangadeiros heard of the creation of a school for fishermen, the Escola de Pesca Darcy Vargas, on the island of Marambaia near Rio de Janeiro. The school was founded by a Catholic organization, but had as *patroa* the first lady, Darcy Vargas. This was the first school of its kind; until 1939, the jangadeiros learned their skills on the beach from their fathers. This school proposed to

⁵¹ Barbara Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920-1964* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 3; Barbara Weinstein, “The Industrialists, the State, and the Issues of Worker Training and Social Services in Brazil, 1930-1950,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (1990): 379 and 381.

⁵² John D. French, *The Brazilian Workers’ ABC: Class Conflict and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 268.

⁵³ Berenice Abreu hypothesizes that Jacaré thought literacy necessary to deal with the bureaucratic elements of the trip, read and dispute the existing legislation, and record the trip. Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 71–74.

teach the children of fishermen modern techniques alongside moral and civic values.⁵⁴ News of the school coupled with Darcy Vargas stating that she would like a jangada of her own provided the initial inspiration for the trip to Rio de Janeiro. Over time, the jangadeiros became increasingly convinced that President Vargas would listen to their concerns and respond. Through their trip, they spoke with jangadeiros along the coast who added to their list of complaints and helped them to systematize their request.

This launching of a regional vessel into national media and governmental structures was significant at this time. The political conditions in 1941 were quite different than were those in the previous chapter – now, a centralized cultural apparatus was spreading its fingers throughout the nation, pulling regions into the national political fold. The jangadeiros’ journey incorporated a traditional profession associated with the states of the Northeast into the centralized governmental agencies of a modern state. The jangadeiros’ insistence on state regulation of their profession demonstrates their faith that the state would protect them, as well as their belief that they needed to be trained in order to participate in the modern state. To be part of the nation, they needed to be educated, regulated, and guaranteed security.

Without support, the jangadeiros’ risky efforts would not likely have translated to success. Their supporters, in turn, generated sources through which we can study the fishermen’s journey into the national, international, and symbolic spheres. The jangadeiros first gained local support from religious authorities and the local government. On September 8, 1941, the local priest Pedro Perdigão Sampaio blessed the jangada and Brigida Pimentel (the Interventor Federal’s wife) became the “madrinha” or “godmother” of their voyage on paper, though Mariinha [sic] Hollanda, the Director

⁵⁴ Ibid., 73.

of the Associação de São Pedro da Praia de Iracema, is often referred to as the madrinha as well.⁵⁵ The people of Fortaleza donated the jangada, *São Pedro*, along with food and supplies, and Fernando de Alencar Pinto (president of the Jangada Club) and Ms. Hollanda promised to care for their families in their absence.⁵⁶ Once they received the all clear for their voyage, the local colônias de pescadores sent word to the Federações de Pescadores of each state they would pass, requesting that they inform their colônias to ensure that the jangadeiros would have housing and support in almost every port.⁵⁷ Local support and the support of fishing unions along the coast proved fundamental to their success.

Ms. Hollanda prepared the *Diário dos jangadeiros*. The jangadeiros presented the book to supporters in each port, creating a rich source for analyzing the terms with which they were described by governmental representatives, literate representatives of fishing colonies, students, local religious authorities, and unidentified citizens. The *Diário* has one notable mystery – we cannot know how the jangadeiros presented it to the signers. For example, while the signers overwhelmingly refer to the jangadeiros as representative northeasterners, we do not know if the jangadeiros presented the book to them referring to themselves as such. Nonetheless, even assuming that signers referred back to previous pages to decide what to write, we see steady repetition of this theme.

The institutions of the press – newspapers, magazines, and radio – were an essential ingredient in the jangadeiros’ success and also provide us with a step-by-step account of the raid, though the quotations journalists provide from the jangadeiros should be taken with anecdotal caution. The

⁵⁵ Berenice Abreu de Castro Neves, “O Livro do Raid,” in *Diário dos Jangadeiros: Fortaleza - Rio de Janeiro 1941* (Fortaleza: Museu de Ceará, Secretaria de Cultura, 2004), 20; Miguel Ângelo de (Nírez) Azevedo, *Cronologia ilustrada de Fortaleza: roteiro para um turismo histórico e cultural* (Fortaleza: Banco do Nordeste, 2001). Mariinha Hollanda, in the *Livro dos jangadeiros*, lists Brigida Pimentel as the madrinha. “Diário dos jangadeiros,” in *Diário dos jangadeiros, Fortaleza-Rio-1941* (Fortaleza: Museu do Ceará, 2004), p. 4 of manuscript, p. 41 of published book.

⁵⁶ “O fatalismo dos homens do mar,” *A Tarde*, November 14, 1941, *Jornais e revistas raras (JRR)*, Biblioteca Pública Estadual da Bahia (BPEB); “O ‘Diário de bordo’ da jangada S. Pedro,” *O Povo*, November 13, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Campina Grande, PB. These are Jacaré’s words, as printed in these two newspaper accounts.

⁵⁷ In their *Diário de bordo*, Jacaré relates that no one greeted them in Touros, provoking disappointment and fear of abandon among the jangadeiros. “O ‘Diário de bordo’ da jangada S. Pedro.”

journalist João Calmon of the *Diários Associados*, at this time working in Fortaleza for the *Correio de Ceará*, sent a national plea through the *Diários Associados* for press support.⁵⁸ This plea emphasized that the jangadeiros had already gained the necessary local support, but that the port authority would not permit their trip without authorization of the merchant marine.⁵⁹

Their request for support in the press worked, greasing the bureaucratic machine into permissiveness. Within days, cearense reporters working for the *Diários Associados* in the nation's capital responded with the message:

The tenacity of the heirs of the *Dragão do Mar* has won the first battle, and now, with their sails loose and inflated by the whiteness of Aracatí they will set out on the waves of the green seas. The cearenses of Rio wait anxiously for that white cloth, symbol of [our] homesickness, trembling above the heroic craft. Come!⁶⁰

The *Diário de Pernambuco*, in Recife, was one of the earliest newspapers to report, publishing the initial request of support and following the jangadeiros throughout the raid. But other newspapers around the region and the country soon picked up on the story. By the time the jangadeiros arrived in Natal on September 27 – not even two weeks into their trip – their fame had spread. In Natal, they were met by a representative of the Federação dos Pescadores, nautical clubs, and the Interventor Federal. The Interventor Federal, Bishop of Natal, Director of the local high school, presidents of local fishing colonies, port authority, representative of the regional Sea Scouts, and others signed their *Diário*.⁶¹ The

⁵⁸ “Jacare’ deu conta do recado,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 22, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. In the November 22nd article, Jacaré stated that it was João Calmon that put out this original plea.

⁵⁹ “Em jangada de Fortaleza ao Rio,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, September 10, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; Austregesilo de Athayde, “Deixem vir os jangadeiros,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, September 17, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁶⁰ “A tenacidade dos herdeiros do *Dragão do Mar* venceu o primeiro lance, e agora, de velas soltas e infladas do branco Aracatí vão saltar sobre as ondas dos verdes mares, os cearenses do Rio esperam ansiando pelo pano branco, simbolo da saudade que tremula do topo do lenho heroico. Venham!” This telegram was signed by Austregesilo Ataíde [sic], Edmar Morel, Carlos Cavalcanti, Oscar Andrade, Pedro Rocha, Elias Malmann, Raimundo Ataíde, Paulo Domingues, and Antonio Pires Cavalcanti. “Herdeiros do *Dragão do Mar*,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, September 14, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁶¹ “Diário dos jangadeiros,” 14–25 in manuscript, 51–63 in book.

city received them with such festivity and excitement that mestre Jerônimo reportedly commented that the Northeast had not seen such enthusiasm since Juarez Távora had arrived in Ceará after the 1930 Revolution.⁶²

The press followed the jangadeiros sixty-one days and dozens of ports along the Brazilian coastline, creating an atmosphere of euphoria. In each main city port on their trip, the jangadeiros met with colônias de pescadores and local authorities, giving each state's Interventor a miniature of the jangada *São Pedro*. They arrived in Recife on October 9th, met with the Interventor Federal Agamenon Magalhães, received several visits at the boarding house they stayed in downtown, received gifts of sweets and money, and were taken to lunch by a local cearense.⁶³ In Salvador, a holiday was declared for their arrival on October 17th. They were announced and received by the Federação de Pescadores, led to shore by a Bahian fisherman, given money and presents, and hosted at the Yacht Club.⁶⁴ Even smaller fishing villages greeted and received them with hospitality and good cheer.

It is notable that in every major port, migrant cearenses greeted the jangadeiros. While less than a decade later, Luiz Gonzaga's *Asa branca* would become the theme song of drought and migration in the Northeast, the migration from Ceará was not limited to the drought-stricken *retirante*.⁶⁵ Northeastern migrants were also workers who went to the Amazon to work in the rubber boom or

⁶² "O 'Diário de bordo' da jangada S. Pedro." Juarez Távora, a cearense, was a member of the Prestes Column that later became one of Vargas' most important military supporters in the North.

⁶³ "Chegaram ao Recife os jangadeiros cearenses," *Diario de Pernambuco*, October 10, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; "Partem, hoje para o Rio os jangadeiros cearenses," *Diario de Pernambuco*, October 11, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁶⁴ "De Fortaleza ao Rio em fragil jangada," *A Tarde*, September 18, 1941, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Aguardados na Bahia os jangadeiros cearenses," *O Povo*, October 16, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Salvador, BA; "Chegam a' Bahia os jangadeiros cearenses," *A Tarde*, October 16, 1941, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Do Ceara' ao Rio numa jangada," *A Tarde*, October 17, 1941, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Todo o Rio receberá os jangadeiros cearenses!," *Gazeta de Notícias*, October 19, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁶⁵ For more on forró and migration, see: Draper III, "Forró's Wars of Maneuver and Position: Popular Northeastern Music, Critical Regionalism, and a Culture of Migration"; Loveless, "The Invented Tradition of Forró."

to São Paulo to work in factories.⁶⁶ Others were students, businessmen, or bureaucrats. In Cabedelo, a cearense bank manager and governmental figures – also cearenses – greeted the jangadeiros.⁶⁷ In Recife, the jangadeiros sent special thanks to the cearenses who met with them and took them to lunch.⁶⁸ In Bahia, the “República Potiguar,” self-described as a “Traditional cearense student boarding house in Bahia,” signed their *Diário* expressing pride for their “conterrâneos” (people from the same place).⁶⁹ When they left Macaé, en route to Cabo Frio, they were approached by reporters from Rio who later published excerpts from their “Diário de bordo,” akin to a ship’s log. Among them was Edmar Morel, the cearense reporter who later served as intermediary between the jangadeiros and Orson Welles. When relating this encounter to journalists, Jacaré said “They’re right in saying that everywhere in the world you will find a cearense.”⁷⁰ This trip served as a way to unite cearenses of various social classes throughout the country behind one common cause. The four jangadeiros – poor, dark-skinned, and mostly illiterate – came to serve as ambassadors of cearense migrants – rich or poor, educated or otherwise – around the nation.

The jangadeiros’ reception in Rio de Janeiro exceeded their expectations (see figures 6, 7, and 8). They timed their arrival to coincide with the Brazilian national holiday commemorating the

⁶⁶ For more on nordestinos in São Paulo, see Paulo Fontes, *Um Nordeste em São Paulo: trabalhadores migrantes em São Miguel Paulista (1945-66)* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2008); Paulo Fontes, “‘With a Cardboard Suitcase in My Hand and a Pannier on My Back’: Workers and Northeastern Migrations in the 1950s in São Paulo, Brazil,” *Social History* 36, no. 1 (2011): 1–21. According to Marshall Eakin, in the 1960s, “some 18 million *nordestinos* abandoned their home, followed by another 24 million in the 1970s. They migrated to all regions of the nation, some seeking land in the Amazon basin and the Far West, others seeking jobs in the factories in the Southeast. Many helped build Brasília in the late fifties and early sixties.” Eakin, *Brazil: The Once and Future Country*, 74.

⁶⁷ “Chegam a Cabedêlo os jangadeiros cearenses,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, October 7, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁶⁸ “Partem, hoje para o Rio os jangadeiros cearenses.”

⁶⁹ “Tradicional casa de estudantes cearenses na Bahia,” “Diário dos jangadeiros,” 35 in manuscript, 83 in book.

⁷⁰ “Bem se diz que se encontram cearenses até no fim do mundo,” “A chegada dos jangadeiros ao Rio,” *O Povo*, November 17, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

Proclamation of the Republic. This timing not only assured that the symbolic nature of the trip would not be lost, but also allowed for thousands of people who might have otherwise been working to greet them at the port and follow them and their jangada down the Avenida Rio Branco. According to press accounts, two bands and thousands of people were waiting on shore and so many people went to the top of Sugar Loaf to watch the procession from above that they had to close the lift.⁷¹ Upon arriving, hundreds of boats and jangadas escorted the jangadeiros to shore, the *São Pedro* was loaded onto the back of a truck, and the jangadeiros walked directly to the Palácio Guanabara to speak face-to-face with the president of Brazil, followed by a procession of hundreds of cars.⁷²



Figure 6: The jangadeiros, on top of the jangada, watching Minister [of Education] Gustavo Capanema's speech⁷³

⁷¹ “A Praça Mauá, o Cais Pharoux a Praça Quinze, a Avenida Beira Mar, a Avenida Atlântica, toda a orla da Guanabara, enfim, está apinhada de pessoas, a espera dos jangadeiros cearenses. Numerosas pessoas subiram ao Pão de Assucar, para assistir lá de cima o desfile das embarcações que vêm comboiando a jangada ‘São Pedro.’” Ibid. “Apoteótica recepção no Rio!,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, November 16, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; “Chegaram ao Rio os jangadeiros cearenses,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 18, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁷² “A chegada dos jangadeiros ao Rio”; Artur Eduardo Benevides, “Os heróis vão regressar,” *O Nordeste*, November 19, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP. All consultation of *O Nordeste* took place at Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁷³ “Os jangadeiros, no alto da jangada, assistindo ao discurso do Ministro Gustavo Capanema,” 1941, Arq.1,1,5(11), Edmar Morel Collection, Fotos, Manuscritos, FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ. The images from this collection are included here with permission from Marco Morel.



Figure 7: Tribute to the jangadeiros cearenses in Paris Square⁷⁴

It was Jacaré, known for being the most eloquent public speaker of the group, who delivered the jangadeiros' message to President Vargas. According to press accounts, he referred to the president as their “father,” and assured him that their problems were not particular, but pertained to “an entire class [of fishermen].” He continued:

Mr. President, we thought, when we left the Iracema beach to come to Rio, that the crisis was ours only. However, during the trip, in each city our peers told us: ‘Tell President Getulio that we also need him’ ... We believe in you! We are certain that we will leave Rio with good news for our peers in the North.

Jacaré described to Vargas their living conditions, assuring him that even vultures lived a better life than a jangadeiro. Vargas responded that the Brazilian social legislation was among the most advanced and that there was room to “assure the welfare and subsistence of everyone ... the jangadeiros can be sure that they too will have this assistance and their wishes will be fulfilled.” After about an hour of

⁷⁴ “Homenagem aos jangadeiros cearenses na praça Paris,” 1941, Arq.1,1,5(11), Edmar Morel Collection, Fotos, Manuscritos, FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

discussion, surrounded by masses of people on the streets, Vargas closed the conversation, stating “Don’t worry, because the government knows how to help you and to give you justice.”⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the jangada – considered a present to first lady Darcy Vargas – was set up in the Praça Floriano, where it would remain on display during the week of festivities.⁷⁶

The jangadeiros were not given much time to relax upon arriving. They had a full week of events in Rio, with the itinerary printed in the newspapers before their arrival. Over a one-week span, they were to meet with the president, the first lady, the Confederação Geral dos Pescadores, the president of the Federações Trabalhistas, the mayor of Rio de Janeiro, the governor of Rio de Janeiro, the Cardinal (Cardeal Leme), the Brazilian Press Association, and directors of unions. A special mass was held for them at the Igreja da Candelária and another at São Sebastião.⁷⁷ They also visited the Edifício dos Correios e Telégrafos, the statue for Almirante Tamandaré, the Corcovado, Sugarloaf, the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of the Marines, the fishing warehouse, the Fishing Union, the Anchieta Foundation, local fishing colonies, and the Darcy Vargas school for fishermen. At the end of this whirlwind tour of Rio de Janeiro, the jangadeiros – surely exhausted after a sixty-one day odyssey – would go to Petrópolis.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ “mas de toda a classe;” “Mas, sr. presidente, julgavamos que, quando deixamos a praia de Iracema para vir ao Rio, a crise fosse apenas nossa. Entretanto, na viagem, em todas as cidades, os companheiros nos diziam: ‘Falem com o presidente Getulio, que, tambem, precisamos dele’ ... Nós confiamos no senhor! Estamos certos que sairemos do Rio com uma boa noticia para os nossos companheiros do Norte;” “assegurar amparo e assistencia a todos, mostara como os jangadeiros podiam estar tambem certos desse amparo e de serem atendidos nas suas pretensões;” “Fiquem tranquilos, porque o governo saberá ampara-los e dar-lhes justiça.” “Chegaram ao Rio os jangadeiros cearenses.” News footage of this scene is included (starting around 00:05:19) in Rogério Sganzerla, *Nem tudo é verdade* (Embrafilme, 1986), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F6tlS5iPt00>.

⁷⁶ “Os jangadeiros serão homenageados durante oito dias,” *O Povo*, November 13, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE. They also had a miniature jangada *São Pedro* for the Vargas’ grandson, “Do Ceara’ ao Rio numa jangada.”

⁷⁷ “Os jangadeiros serão homenageados durante oito dias;” Assis Memoria, “Os jangadeiros vistos de perto,” *O Nordeste*, December 13, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁷⁸ “Os jangadeiros serão homenageados durante oito dias;” “Desfraldada, em plena Cinelândia, a vela da jangada ‘São Pedro,’” *O Povo*, November 17, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

On the day they arrived in Rio, newspapers back home already reported one success – the Escola de Pesca Darcy Vargas would receive the children of eight more fishermen (two had already arrived) from Ceará.⁷⁹ By the end of their third day in Rio, the jangadeiros made the front page of the newspapers again when Vargas issued Decreto-Lei 3.832, incorporating the jangadeiros into the national labor system of social welfare. The new law included fishermen who worked for businesses as well as those who were “legally qualified” to carry out this profession through self-employment. The jangadeiros would now benefit from the services of the Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões dos Marítimos (Institute of Retirement and Pensions of Maritime Workers), ensuring that they must earn at least a local minimum wage. The Instituto would now “within its possibilities” establish in the colônias dos pescadores stations to assist the jangadeiros and provide first-aid, while mandating that the public hospitals care for those who needed more invasive treatment. It also ushered the fishing industry into the modern nation, stating that businesses and individual fishermen must now register everything from profits to sales of fishing boats.⁸⁰ The jangadeiros of Ceará asked to be incorporated into the nation, and their request was granted.

On November 30, the jangadeiros cearenses returned to Fortaleza. While they had initially planned to return by ship, the Brazilian airline Navegação Aérea Brasileira, founded in 1940, donated trips in a Beechcraft plane back to Ceará.⁸¹ Newspapers noted the discrepancy in time of travel to and

⁷⁹ “8 filhos de pescadores cearenses para a Escola de Pesca Darcy Vargas, no Rio,” *O Povo*, November 15, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁸⁰ The full text of this legislation is available at Getúlio Vargas, *Decreto-Lei n. 3.832 de 18 de novembro de 1941*, 1941, <http://www010.dataprev.gov.br/sislex/paginas/24/1941/3832.htm>. Sections of the law were published in newspapers as well, as in “Amparo aos pescadores brasileiros,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, November 19, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; “Resultados imediatos da façanha heroica dos jangadeiros cearenses,” *O Nordeste*, November 19, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁸¹ “Chegaram ao Recife os jangadeiros cearenses.” The *Diário de Pernambuco* article stated that they would return by ship. “Jacaré” joga bilhar com o presidente da navegação aérea brasileira,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, November 23, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

from Rio – “They took two months to carry out their audacious feat but only seven and a half hours to return.”⁸² “We came like fish,” Jacaré reportedly commented, “and return like vultures.”⁸³



Figure 8: Regresso dos jangadeiros cearenses (Jacaré with trophy in hand, Tatá, Mestre Jerônimo, and Manuel Preto)⁸⁴

In Fortaleza, the city was already preparing for their return.⁸⁵ Two hundred cars met them before their reception at the Jangada Club. A representative of the Centro Estudantal [sic] Cearense spoke as did the Delegado Regional do Trabalho, Dr. Raul Domingues Uchôa, a representative of the Colonias de Pescadores, and Mrs. Utilinda Barros Bittencourt (teacher and wife of the businessman

⁸² “Levaram dois meses para completar o audacioso feito e apenas 7 horas e meia a efetuar o retorno, num poderoso avião da NAB.” “O regresso triunfal dos jangadeiros cearenses,” *O Nordeste*, December 1, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁸³ “Vim feito peixe e vou voltar que nem urubú,” “Os jangadeiros cearenses vão regressar num avião da N.A.B.,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 21, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁸⁴ “Regresso dos jangadeiros cearenses,” 1941, Arq.1,1,5(13), Edmar Morel Collection, Fotos, Manuscritos, FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

⁸⁵ “O povo e o governo receberão os jangadeiros,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, November 27, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

Gentil Bittencourt Sampaio).⁸⁶ The Interventor, Menezes Pimentel, gave them medals and a special mass was celebrated by the Archbishop in front of the Jangada Club.⁸⁷ Their journey and return were especially meaningful for cearenses, with one cearense writing: “Ceará needs to receive them with open arms, glorifying them and shaking with enthusiasm at their great feat. Because they are the heroes of this vibrant poem that the Land of Light just wrote on the pages of heroisms of the history of man and Brazil.”⁸⁸ Another writer commented that the whole Northeast was eager to “embrace the brave caboclos.”⁸⁹

The press expressed admiration for the raid and the jangadeiros in different ways, but there were some salient themes. The first was to emphasize the fit between the raid’s objective and the Estado Novo. In an early article announcing the jangadeiros’ raid in the Fortaleza newspaper *O Povo*, journalist João Jacques placed the jangadeiros within the rhetorical framework of the Vargas reforms, while still drawing upon and responding to the recognized symbols of the jangada’s past. Under the title “Operários do mar” – “Workers of the Sea” – Jacques stated that the time for creating literature and art about the jangadeiros had passed. Now, it was time for the jangadeiros to demand their rights – the rights found in literature that did not feed them, nor educate them (as they could not read). There was no space in the jangadas for trophies, but rather, this raid, according to Jacques, was for “bread, books, and shelter for their children,” as the jangadeiros were “husbands, fathers, and citizens,

⁸⁶ “O regresso triunfal dos jangadeiros cearenses.”

⁸⁷ “Chegarão, às 14 horas, os bravos jangadeiros,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, November 30, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁸⁸ “O Ceará precisa de recebê-los com os braços abertos, exultando e fremindo de entusiasmo pelo seu grande feito. Porque eles são os heróis desse poema vibrante que a Terra da Luz acabou de escrever na página de heroísmos da história do homem do Brasil!” Benevides, “Os heróis vão regressar.”

⁸⁹ “O Nordeste ' muito [ilegível] em abraçar os valentes caboclos que tão bem souberam desempenhar sua aspera missão,” “O regresso triunfal dos jangadeiros cearenses.”

not tourists on eternal summer vacation.”⁹⁰ Jacques criticized rich yacht-goers, exalting the jangadeiros who “work in the cold, under the rain, in the sun, and through uncertainty, often giving their lives as fish bait ...”⁹¹ He concluded with an exclamation. “Jangadeiros, workers of the sea!” he exclaimed, “God help you ... on your route to Liberty!”⁹² This journalist quickly pulled together the wonder-provoking jangada, the jangadeiro as seeker of freedom, the history of previous raids, and the industrialist proletarian rhetoric of Vargas’ labor apparatus.

As the raid drew on, journalists quoted the jangadeiros on their understanding of the Estado Novo. The jangadeiros told the press that they “carried an important message for president Getulio Vargas, in which they will expose the living conditions of their class and their plea for help.”⁹³ Why go on this long journey? “You can’t talk from far away,” one journalist quoted them as responding.⁹⁴ Another journalist quoted them as saying that a petition simply would have taken too long. The result of printing these simplistic responses was not a trivialization of the jangadeiros’ motives; it highlighted, instead, the jangadeiros’ dry yet lighthearted humor. This was effective because the journalists also emphasized that the jangadeiros’ were knowledgeable of labor law in the Estado Novo. They were “enthusiasts of the social work of Mr. Getulio Vargas. They know that he helped

⁹⁰ João Jacques, “Operários do mar,” *O Povo*, September 15, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² “Jangadeiros, operários do mar! Que Deus vos ajude, além da ‘risca’, na rota para a Liberdade! Ibid.

⁹³ “responderam serem portadores de uma mensagem ao presidente Getulio Vargas, na qual expõem as condições de vida de classe o seu pedido de apoio,” “Deixaram Natal os jangadeiros cearenses,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, October 1, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. A similar quotation is found in “Chegam a’ Bahia os jangadeiros cearenses.”

⁹⁴ “Não há como falar de perto. E foi isso que resolvemos quando empreendemos a viagem. Somos portadores de uma missão muito elevada -- pedir ao Chefe da Nação -- uma providencia, um amparo para a numerosa classe dos pescadores do norte.” “O fatalismo dos homens do mar.”

the industrial working class with regulations, a minimum wage, and so many other benefits.”⁹⁵ Jacaré was quoted as saying that he had heard “so much about improving social classes that I am certain that provisions will be taken by President Vargas.”⁹⁶ They even, reportedly, had a list of issues that they would discuss with the president, including social security, boat safety, the price of fish, housing, the general discomfort they lived with, and the lack of support they received from the Federação dos Pescadores.⁹⁷

The pre-existing romantic notion of the jangadeiro did not always align well, however, with the discourse of a modernizing industrial state. In this case, reporters – regardless of state of origin – called upon notions of the cearense as a resistant sufferer to emphasize the stoic nature of the jangadeiros. The suffering was caused by the frequent and severe droughts that shaped the cearenses’ character, making them noble figures by nature. Nelson Firmo described the cearense as “naturally a strong individual” due to the droughts that improved his “physical organization, virile vitality, [and] stoicism, preparing him admirably to face and defeat tremendous obstacles. He neither admits nor accepts life without struggle, without productive and constructive labor.”⁹⁸ Manuel dos Santos agreed,

⁹⁵ “entusiastas da obra social do sr. Getulio Vargas. Sabem que o governo amparou o operariado com a regulamentação do trabalho, salário mínimo e tantos outros benefícios. O pescador, porém, não conhece esses benefícios. Está ainda mais ou menos desajudado da proteção do poder público,” “Do Ceara’ ao Rio numa jangada.”

⁹⁶ “Ouço falar tanto em melhorias de classes que estou certo nas providencias que serão tomadas pelo presidente Vargas,” “O fatalismo dos homens do mar.”

⁹⁷ Manuel dos Santos, “O feito dos jangadeiros,” *O Nordeste*, November 13, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; “O fatalismo dos homens do mar”; “... E a mensagem foi entregue,” *A Tarde*, November 17, 1941, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁹⁸ “O cearense é naturalmente um forte. A drama das grandes secas periodicas parece que o plasmou assim, que lhe completou melhor a organização física o animo viril, o estoicismo, preparando-o admiravelmente para enfrentar e vencer obstáculos tremendos. Ele não admite, nem aceita, a vida sem lutas, sem o trabalho fecundo e construtivo. Dentro dele há um mundo de energias admiraveis, prontas a serem postas ao serviço de um ideal superior, de uma finalidade nobre.” Nelson Firmo, “Bandeirantes do Nordeste,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, November 8, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE. This was re-printed from the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *O Imparcial*.

adding, “the rugged man cares not about insults or compliments. His character, melded in the school of suffering, only discerns, in his thoughts, the sought after ideal!”⁹⁹

Describing cearenses in terms of their noble suffering was not a new theme. In his classic plea for intervention and description of the horrific 1915 drought in Ceará— later the subject of Rachel de Queiroz’ famed *O Quinze* – Rodolfo Teófilo stated: “Nature gave the cearenses astonishing organic resistance so that they could brave the droughts.”¹⁰⁰ Another famed historian of Ceará, Gustavo Barroso, in his “Prayer for Ceará” explained that the cearenses’ “martyrdom” gave them “glory” and should be a cause of pride, as “no other people could be capable of facing with bravery and tenacity the disgrace that, through more than three centuries of suffering, they have faced.” This suffering caused the “sharpness of their intelligence, the courageous resolution of their temperament, of their audacity and of their tenacious patience. Drought molds and shapes a strong race.”¹⁰¹

This insistence on the strength of the drought-worn cearense is reminiscent, in the end, of Euclides da Cunha’s admiration of the sertanejo. Da Cunha had witnessed the destruction of the millenarian and monarchist community of Belo Monte by the newly formed Republican government’s army in 1897. It took four military campaigns to put an end to Belo Monte, in what da Cunha would refer to as a massacre. Da Cunha’s *Rebellion in the Backlands* documents the military campaigns, provides

⁹⁹ “Ao homem rude pouco importam os doestos como tambem os elogios. O seu carater, caldeado na escola do sofrimento, só divisa, nas suas cogitações, o ideal acalentado!” Santos, “O feito dos jangadeiros.”

¹⁰⁰ “A natureza dotou o cearense de resistência orgânica assombrosa, para que pudesse enfrentar as secas,” Teófilo, *A seca de 1915*, 31.

¹⁰¹ “Longo martirio tem feito tua grandeza e tua gloria. Dele todos os cearenses devem orgulhar-se, porque nenhum povo seria talvez capaz de enfrentar a desgraça com a valentia e tenacidade com que, durante mais de três seculos de dôr, eles têm enfrentado ... Essa desgraça é o maior fator da acuidade de sua inteligencia, da corajosa decisão do seu temperamento, da sua audacia e da sua paciencia tenaz. A seca molda e forma uma raça de fortes.” Gustavo Barroso, “Oração ao Ceará,” *O Nordeste*, February 14, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE. The cearense novelist, Antônio Sales, the one-year anniversary of whose death was being remembered during the jangadeiros’ journey, wrote a passage nearly identical to Barroso’s, stating: “A seca, si é o nosso martirio, tambem é a nossa glorificação. E’ essa adversidade, a que outros povos não resistiriam, que põe á prova nossa coragem, nossa tenacidade, nossa impavidez perante o infortunio.” Antônio Sales, “Em defesa do Ceará,” *O Povo*, November 15, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

a description of the climate and geography of the sertão and a eugenic examination of the sertanejo, and serves as one of the foundational texts of the Brazilian nation. In *Rebellion in the Backlands*, da Cunha describes the sertanejo as “above all else, a strong individual.”¹⁰²

This excerpt became problematic to the elite classes during the raid. In the *Diário dos jangadeiros* the Interventor Federal of Rio Grande do Norte referred to the jangadeiros as “legitimate representatives of the strong, proud, and brave race that inhabits the Northeast,” as “eugenic and audacious men” creating a “Northeastern civilization” – all terms reminiscent of da Cunha.¹⁰³ The head of the regional sub-section of the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce in Alagoas, Paulo de Oliveira, quoted Euclides da Cunha as describing the North as “the living bedrock of our nationality.”¹⁰⁴ They, like Edison Melo Pinho, who signed the *Diário* in Maceió, chose to focus on da Cunha’s portrayal of the strong sertanejo (man of the arid interior).¹⁰⁵

Da Cunha, however, juxtaposed the sertanejo with the man of the coast, and found the latter lacking. The man of the backlands, “does not exhibit the debilitating rachitic tendencies of the neurasthenic mestizos of the seaboard.”¹⁰⁶ During the jangadeiros’ raid, José Lins do Rêgo took issue with this very excerpt of *Rebellion in the Backlands*. “The genius behind *Rebellion in the Backlands*,” he stated, “saw the man of the coast as a poor sickly man.” But Rêgo saw the jangadeiro on the beaches of Paraíba, where he grew up, and he knew that this was not the case. Rêgo grasped the

¹⁰² “O sertanejo é, antes de tudo, um forte.” Euclides da Cunha, *Os sertões* (São Paulo: Martin Claret, 2002), 115. The English translation is from the reprinted Samuel Putnam’s translation, Euclides da Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, trans. Samuel Putnam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 89.

¹⁰³ “legítimos representantes da raça forte, ativa e brava que povôa o nordeste brasileiro,” “homens ousados e eugênicos,” and “civilização nordestina,” in “Diário dos jangadeiros,” 14 in manuscript, 51 in book.

¹⁰⁴ “a rocha viva da nacionalidade,” *Ibid.*, 30–31 in manuscript, 74–75 in book.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁰⁶ “Não tem o raquitismo exaustivo dos mestiços neurastênicos do litoral,” Cunha, *Os sertões*, 115; Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, 89. The Secretary of Agriculture of the State of Rio, Dr. Rubem Fárula, also made reference to da Cunha on p. 45 of the manuscript and 104 of the book.

misunderstanding – if you catch jangadeiros napping on shore, it is hard “to imagine them capable of struggle, of work.” Nonetheless, “they live the most difficult life possible.” Rêgo tells the story of Seu João, a jangadeiro who goes out to sea, comes back with fish, sells them, takes care of his family, and then sets out to sea again at 3:00 a.m. the next day. “These, without doubt, are not the ‘neurasthenic mestizos of the seaboard.’”¹⁰⁷ By combining the longstanding belief in the stoic resistance and strength of the drought-wrought sertanejo with a revised vision of the man of the coast, the journalists and regional authors facilitated a new representative character, broad enough to encompass not only the sertanejo or the cearense, but also the jangadeiro throughout the Northeast. They united what Gilberto Freyre referred to as the “two Northeast” – the agrarian and the pastoral, the coastal and the sertanejo – into one.¹⁰⁸

Nonetheless, while the character of the cearense was molded by his environment, he was also an active participant in the creation of that environment. An article in the newspaper *O Jaguaribe* from the town of Aracati – birthplace of the original Dragão do Mar – described the northeasterner as the “transformer of natural environments” and “constructive agent,” who, supported by the “new politics” of Brazil, mainly in the form of the Inspetoria Federal de Obras Contra as Secas (Federal Inspectorate of Anti-Drought Works, created in 1909), would transform the Northeast into a hospitable environment. The jangadeiro, the nordestino – they were positioned within the Estado Novo to mold their fate through participation in federal state apparatuses.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ “Quem os vê no descanso dos caiçaras, de papo para o ar, não os imagina capazes de lutas, de trabalhos, de canseiras. E no entanto a vida que levam é a mais dura possível.” And later, “Estes não são sem dúvida 'os mestiços neurastênicos do litoral.’” José Lins do Rego, “Os jangadeiros cearenses,” *O Povo*, November 6, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁰⁸ Gilberto Freyre, “Prefácio á 1.a edição,” in *Nordeste: aspectos da influência da cana sobre a vida e a paisagem do Nordeste do Brasil*, 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1961), XI.

¹⁰⁹ “homem transformador de meios naturais,” “agente construtor,” and “política nova,” “Política e sociologia do Nordeste,” *O Jaguaribe*, September 28, 1941, Hemeroteca, Portal da História do Ceará. This newspaper is available through the *Portal da História do Ceará* at <http://www.ceara.pro.br/Hemeroteca/JA1941.html>.

These jangadeiros, agents of change, faced a hostile and dangerous environment, and instead of taking careful measures, threw themselves headlong on “fragile” jangadas into a two-month commitment to it.¹¹⁰ They faced dangers, such as the killer whales that followed the jangada outside Natal, sharks, storms, and unexpected reefs.¹¹¹ For days, between Maceió and Salvador, no one on shore knew where they were at all, creating mystery, suspense, and relief at their arrival.¹¹² As a result, the newspapers presented them as “brave,” “intrepid,” “audacious,” and “heroic.”¹¹³ There are so many references to their bravery in the *Diário de jangadeiros* that it would be exhausting to the reader to list them here. The jangadeiros, then, were molded by their environment, but also brave agents of change.

Journalists repeatedly associated the jangadeiros with other historical heroes. The most frequent association was with the Dragão do Mar. The jangadeiros had “the same fiber” and the “same blood” as the Dragão do Mar.¹¹⁴ An additional common (and obvious) choice was Homer’s Odysseus. The priest Assis Memória described their similarities for paragraphs, but found the limits of this comparison in Odysseus’ access to basic navigational technology. Even the ancient Athenians, in his

¹¹⁰ For fragility of rafts: Athayde, “Deixem vir os jangadeiros”; Assis Memória, “Jangadeiros,” *O Povo*, September 30, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹¹¹ “Do Ceará ao Rio numa jangada.”

¹¹² “Aguardados na Bahia”; “Chegam a Bahia os jangadeiros cearenses.”

¹¹³ For brave (bravos, corajosos) and bravura (bravery, coragem): Faustino Nascimento, “Os jangadeiros,” *O Nordeste*, November 8, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; “Chegam a Cabedêlo os jangadeiros cearenses”; “Chegarão sábado, ao Rio, os jangadeiros cearenses,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, November 13, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP; “O fatalismo dos homens do mar”; Memória, “Jangadeiros.” For intrepid (intrépidos, denodados): “Aguardados na Bahia”; “De Fortaleza ao Rio em fragil jangada”; Athayde, “Deixem vir os jangadeiros.” For audacious: Nascimento, “Os jangadeiros.” For heroic: Filgueiras Lima, “Mensagem de esperança,” *O Povo*, September 20, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; Nascimento, “Os jangadeiros.”

¹¹⁴ “Os jornais dizem que o jangadeiro de je [sic] possui a mesma fibra do ‘Dragão do Mar’, o herói da Abolição.” “O raide dos jangadeiros cearenses,” *O Povo*, September 15, 1941, M67, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE. “Em suas veias estua o mesmo sangue do velho Nascimento, o nosso Dragão do Mar,” Jorge Freire, “Jangadas audazes,” *O Jaguaribe*, October 19, 1941, Hemeroteca, Portal da História do Ceará. Also making the Dragão do Mar comparison: Memória, “Jangadeiros.” The poet, Sobreira Filho, in a speech in Rio also compared them to the Dragão do Mar, “O Presidente e uma vida nova para os pescadores,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 21, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

opinion, had more nautical technology than the jangadeiros.¹¹⁵ Other creative comparisons were drawn with Noah and the chivalrous knight Roland.¹¹⁶



Figure 9: Image of Francisco José do Nascimento as representative of the Clube dos Jangadeiros among other abolitionists. The Dragão do Mar is in the middle.¹¹⁷

The jangadeiros, in turn, only expressed a connection with the Dragão do Mar. They mention, in their *Diário*, that they had hoped to stop in Aracatí, “the land of Dragão do Mar, our symbol,” but

¹¹⁵ Memória, “Jangadeiros.” Other Homeric comparisons include: “Novos Ulisses, enfrentando as vagas / dos mares que Homero não cantou,” in Filgueiras Lima, “Ode aos jangadeiros cearenses,” *O Povo*, October 18, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; and “façanha homérica” in Eustorgio Wanderley, “Jangadeiros,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, November 22, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹¹⁶ Jacques compared the jangadeiros to Noah, as “they made with their own hands the floating timber in which they wait, with a biblical and very Northeastern confidence, to survive with their class the social and economic flood of this century.” Jacques, “Operários do mar.” Neves stretched the comparisons further, stating that the jangadeiros “Cavalgam os mares assim como os Rolando e os Oliveira da Idade Média cavalgavam corcéis árdegos, que penetravam nas regiões misteriosas da Lenda e da Tradição. Dominam o velho Netuno, á custa de um monte miserável de paus ligados por cordas de embira ...” Berilo Neves, “Os jangadeiros,” *O Povo*, November 13, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹¹⁷ *Quadro do Clube dos Jangadeiros. Chefe dos Jangadeiros, Francisco José do Nascimento “Chico da Matilde” ou “Dragão do Mar” e companheiros.*, n.d., Image 14, box 1, Iconografia, IC, Fortaleza, CE.

the winds did not allow it.¹¹⁸ In his telling of the *Diário de bordo* to the journalist Edmar Morel, Jacaré stopped mid-reading to relay a humorous story that occurred in Natal. Jacaré said:

- When it was time to drink, when they held their glasses up to us, a learned man asked who was writing the ship's log. I said that I was. And he drank his beer and said:
- Long live the Pero Vaz Caminha of the heroic jangada ...
- I was confused:
- Long live who?
- He repeated:
- Pero Vaz Caminha ...
- That's when Tatá corrected him:
- Sir, that man didn't come along.¹¹⁹



Figure 10: Francisco José do Nascimento, O Dragão do Mar, on the front cover of the *Revista Ilustrada*, 1884.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ “Se os ventos tivessem sido nossos amigos, teríamos ido a Aracati, no rio Jaguaribe, a terra do ‘Dragão do Mar’ jangadeiro e nosso simbolo,” “O ‘Diário de bordo’ da jangada S. Pedro.”

¹¹⁹ “Na hora das bebidas, quando levantavam a taça prá nós, um doutor perguntou quem estava escrevendo o diario de bordo. Eu disse que era eu. E ele bebeu a cerveja e disse: -- Salve o Pero Vaz Caminha, da jangada heroica ... Eu fiquei intrigado: --Salve quem homem? Ele tornou a repetir: -- Pero Vaz Caminha ... Ai o ‘Tatá’, emendou: -- Esse não veio, não senhor ...” Edmar Morel, “<<O tempo começou a escurecer e amarramos a jangada>>,” *Diário da Noite*, November 12, 1941, HD-FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ. This same story is told, but with slight variations in “O ‘Diário de Bordo’ da jangada de S. Pedro,” *O Povo*, November 14, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE. Pero Vaz de Caminha wrote the official report of Pedro Álvares Cabral’s voyage to Brazil in 1500.

¹²⁰ Ângelo Agostini, *Francisco Nascimento*, Litografia, 1884, n. 376, *Revista Ilustrada*; José do Patrocínio, *Campanha Abolicionista: Coletânea de Artigos* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Dep. Nacional do Livro, 1996), 69.

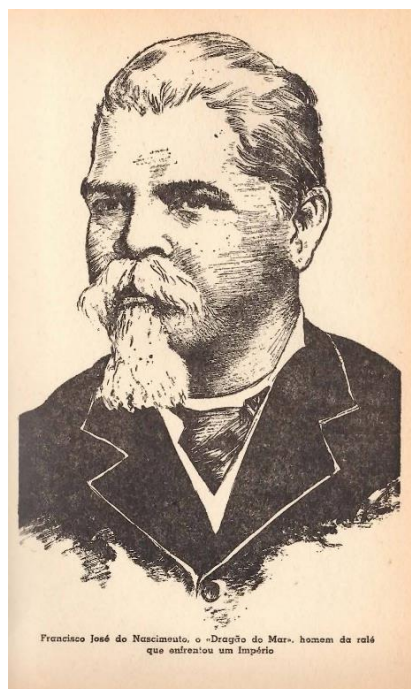


Figure 11: “Francisco José do Nascimento, the ‘Dragão do Mar’, man of the populace who took on an Empire.”¹²¹

After so many references to the *Dragão do Mar* – a mulato abolitionist fisherman – it might seem surprising that the newspapers repeatedly accentuated that the *jangadeiros* and their culture were *caboclo*, but not African, Afro-Brazilian, mulato, or even *cafuzo* (of mixed indigenous and African ancestry). The *jangadeiros* are described as “rugged *caboclos*” who are “burned by the sun and ignorant of their individual worth.”¹²² The courage this “*caboclada*” exhibits is even “very particular to the Northeastern *caboclo*.”¹²³ Signers of the *Diário* also emphasized the connection between *jangadeiro* and *caboclo*, with the president of the Z4 colônia dos Pescadores of Natal emphasizing the

¹²¹ “Francisco José do Nascimento, o <<Dragão do Mar>>, homem da ralé que enfrentou um Império.” Edmar Morel, *Dragão do Mar* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições do Povo, 1949), 17.

¹²² “*caboclos* rudes” and “*caboclos* queimados de sol e ignorantes da valia propria e singular,” Neves, “Os *jangadeiros*.” Jacaré is also described, individually, as a “*cabôclo* forte,” “O fatalismo dos homens do mar.”

¹²³ “muito proprio dos *caboclos* do nordeste.” Edigar de Alencar, “Os *jangadeiros* cearenses,” *O Povo*, November 11, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

“courage of the Caboclo do Norte” and Luiz Silveira of Maceió calling them the “4 northeastern caboclos.”¹²⁴

This tendency to extol the caboclo and ignore Ceara’s African past is not limited to the jangadeiros. In *História do cangaceirismo no Ceará*, Abelardo F. Montenegro admitted that the militias received a large number of “afros, mazombos, mulatos ...” but that “in Ceará, this fact never had much importance, as there was such a small percentage of black people in our ethnogeny.”¹²⁵ Nonetheless, in 1864, 88.3% of the fishing population was reported as free blacks, and only 2.2% indigenous.¹²⁶ This was not the enslaved population, but free individuals working in a trade that is generally passed down from one generation to the next. In the 1940 census, out of a total state population of 2,091,032 inhabitants, 487,407 people were recorded as *preto* (black) and 498,449 as *pardo* (of mixed racial background). While far from being the majority (which was white, with 1,100,092 people), the black population of Ceará was hardly insignificant.¹²⁷ Images of the Dragão do Mar also seem ambiguous, with sketches produced by abolitionist groups highlighting his mulato characteristics, and other reproductions seeming to make his African heritage fade (see figures 9, 10, and 11). While in chapter six, we see anxieties over the election of a white woman to the Miss Brazil and Miss Universe contest representing Bahia (a state asserting Afro-Brazilian culture), in 1941, the Brazilian press seemed determined to present the tendencies considered caboclo, while de-

¹²⁴ “coragem do Caboclo do Norte,” “Os 4 caboclos nordestinos,” “Diário dos jangadeiros,” manuscript 21, book 59; manuscript 29, book 72.

¹²⁵ “no Ceará, tal fato não teve grande importância, em virtude de pequena porcentagem de elemento negro na nossa etnogenia,” Montenegro, *História do cangaceirismo no Ceará*, 9.

¹²⁶ Silva, *Os pescadores na história do Brasil*. This information is in a table on an unnumbered page in the Appendix of this book. Abreu explains in n. 54 that the Indian has been declared extinct in 1863, so most probably just migrated over to the category of “black.” However, as earlier tables show that in 1858 the black population of Ceará was at 82.2%, in 1859 it was 81%, in 1860 it was 82%, in 1861 it was 82%, and in 1863, it was 83%, I find her explanation unsatisfying. The percentage of indigenous people over this same time period did waver – from 5% down to 2.2%, but the increase and decrease is hardly enough to explain away the black population of the state. Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 277–278.

¹²⁷ *Sinopse do censo demográfico: Dados Gerais* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1946), 14–15.

emphasizing any African heritage. It is not necessarily that Afro-Brazilians were written out of Ceará's history entirely, but that the national and local press did not accept them as physically or culturally representative of the region. The jangadeiro Manuel Preto might have earned his nickname due to his Afro-Brazilian characteristics, but as a regional ambassador, he was caboclo.

This is, at least partially, due to associations between the jangadeiros and the famous novel by cearense writer José de Alencar, *Iracema*. The novel, first published in 1865, is a foundational text of the state of Ceará, narrating the impossible love between the indigenous Iracema (an anagram of America) and the white Martim Soares Moreno. Their child, Moacir, becomes the first Brazilian, a manifestation of miscegenation. The association in the press and in the *Diário* is easy to understand. The jangadeiros not only set out from Ceará, but from the Praia de Iracema, so named after the novel. The president of the Federação das Colônias de Pescadores de Alagôas referred to them as “sons of the land of Iracema,” the Captain of the Ports of Bahia mentioned the “seas of Iracema” that sent them on their raid, an officer of the Secretary of Public Security of the State of Bahia referred to the “romantic beaches of Iracema,” and the vicar of Macaé mentioned the “land of Iracema.”¹²⁸

The press presented the jangadeiros as cearenses, but beyond cearenses they were representatives of the North, and within the North, the Northeast. When describing the jangadeiros cearenses, Assis Memoria referred to memories of jangadeiros in Maranhão and José Lins do Rêgo to memories of jangadeiros in Paraíba, allowing the jangadeiros cearenses to be representative of the figure throughout the region.¹²⁹ They were simple, “like all fishermen of the North.”¹³⁰ They were not just brave, but brave and Northeastern, and represented the needs of all of the “Northeastern

¹²⁸ “filhos da terra de Iracema,” “os mares de Iracema,” “das românticas praias de Iracema,” “da terra de Iracema,” “Diário dos jangadeiros,” manuscript 32, book 77; manuscript 33, book 79; manuscript 42, book 97.

¹²⁹ Memoria, “Jangadeiros”; Rego, “Os jangadeiros cearenses.”

¹³⁰ “Gente simples, como o são todos os pescadores do norte, ...” “Do Ceara’ ao Rio numa jangada.”

fishermen.”¹³¹ As Northeasterners, they “showed the reality of ... legends of the adventurous life of the Northeast.”¹³² The journalists even considered their confidence and sails Northeastern.¹³³

In the *Diário dos jangadeiros* it would be easier to list those who did not refer to them as Northeasterners, than those who did. They were “fearless Northeasterners” and “incomparable jangadeiros of the Northeast!”¹³⁴ According to the president of the Z4 in Natal, “we only see such bravery and audacity in the Northeastern fisherman.”¹³⁵ In the words of the mayor of Vitória, they represented the “bravery, tenacity and intrepidity of the Northeastern people.”¹³⁶

Journalists and jangadeiro supporters, like the nineteenth-century travelers, associated the jangadeiros with a geographic location, but now, as we saw in Chapter One, this region had earned a name. Journalists and spectators inscribed upon the region, through the jangadeiros, characteristics of the Northeasterner. These characteristics separated the Northeast from the center of power in Rio de Janeiro as if they were two different countries. As one journalist in Rio de Janeiro stated, “Those men who are coming ... they did not just overcome almost two thousand dangerous miles of winds and diluvian rains: they overcame the distance that separates one world from another, and one Brazil from the other Brazil ...”¹³⁷ The jangadeiros’ trip gave journalists a way to talk about the Northeast and its

¹³¹ “Os bravos jangadeiros nordestinos, acabam de escrever uma pagina cheia de heroismo, ...” “O fatalismo dos homens do mar.” And, “Vão dizer ao Chefe da Nação o de que necessitam os pescadores nordestinos,” and “embaixadores de seus colegas nordestinos,” Freire, “Jangadas audazes.”

¹³² “Mostrariam assim aos nossos olhos a realidade de uma das mais belas lendas da vida aventureira do nordeste,” Athayde, “Deixem vir os jangadeiros.”

¹³³ Jacques, “Operários do mar,” 3. And, “A vela que lhes move a embarcação não é latina, nem grega: é nordestina e original, ...” Neves, “Os jangadeiros.”

¹³⁴ “destemerosos nordestinos,” “Jangadeiros incomparáveis do Nordeste!,” “Diário dos jangadeiros,” manuscrito 12, book 49; manuscrito 17, book 54.

¹³⁵ Ibid., manuscript 21, book 59.

¹³⁶ Ibid., manuscript 38, book 90.

¹³⁷ Neves, “Os jangadeiros.”

particular traits, but it also served as a way to unite the Northeast with the South, to bring the country together. Similar to the regionalist arguments of Gilberto Freyre presented in the previous chapter, this regional rhetoric did not pit the Northeast or the jangadeiros against the nation. On the contrary, it placed the jangadeiros and the Northeast firmly within the growing imagined community of a nation of regions. The jangadeiros were not only regional heroes, but national heroes, demonstrating that even the most rustic elements of the nation could, through integration into Getúlio Vargas' labor apparatuses become modern. These Northeastern representatives were examples that the whole nation could follow.

***A jangada voltou só and It's All True* – Dorival Caymmi, Orson Welles, Edmar Morel, and Jacaré**

The newspaper reports on the jangadeiros' raid provoked a desire to understand the jangadeiro as a folkloric or anthropological figure. Articles on the raid often came accompanied by discussions of the typical clothing of a jangadeiro and the language of the fishermen.¹³⁸ Soon, interest in the jangadeiro as a character inspired music and a short film, directed by Ruy Santos and produced by the Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda (DIP - Department of Press and Propaganda).

The well-known Bahian singer Dorival Caymmi met João Dummar, the owner of Ceará's P.R.E.-9 radio station, in Rio de Janeiro in 1941.¹³⁹ Dummar offered Caymmi a two-month contract at the P.R.E.-9 – at that time, Ceará's only radio station – for its inauguration of its new facilities on October 17, 1941.¹⁴⁰ Caymmi and his wife, Stella, in need of a postponed honeymoon, accepted the

¹³⁸ On clothing: "Do Ceara' ao Rio numa jangada." On language: Dom Antônio de Almeida Lustosa, "Linguagem de pescador," *O Nordeste*, November 8, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹³⁹ Stella Caymmi, *Dorival Caymmi: o mar e o tempo* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2001), 195.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 195 and 197. The P.R.E.-9 would continue without competition until 1948. Mario Ferraz Sampaio, *História do rádio e da televisão no Brasil e no mundo (memórias de um pioneiro)* (Rio de Janeiro: Achiamé, 1984), 101.

offer.¹⁴¹ While in Fortaleza, Ruy Santos invited Caymmi to participate in a short movie he was filming for the DIP on jangadeiros, written by Henrique Pongetti.¹⁴² Caymmi composed and sang the music for the film and acted in the principal role as a jangadeiro going out to sea. Filmed in Mucuripe, the part of the beach where most jangadeiros set sail, the filming attracted attention in Fortaleza.¹⁴³

Regional and local newspapers immediately published excited articles about the famous singer's visit to Fortaleza. Caymmi had already gained fame as the author of *O que é que a babiliana tem?* – the first song that Carmen Miranda sang on U.S. radio, launching her international fame.¹⁴⁴ “His music,” one *Gazeta de Notícias* (Fortaleza) article stated, “is folklore.” And to ensure that the reader understood what that meant, the article defined folklore as “that which Brazil has that is most its own, it is tradition, belief, the innocent soul . . .”¹⁴⁵ Caymmi described his music to another reporter as “one hundred percent popular” explaining that he saw most of his songs as folklore. He too defined his terms: “that is if we understand folklore as the presentation of poetry, music, as an interpretation of the simple soul of the people.”¹⁴⁶ In effect, the jangadeiros had earned a vocalist.

Cearense newspapers emphasized Caymmi's regional qualifications. Caymmi was from Bahia, but had moved to Rio. His music was not just any popular music, it had “the worthy renown of a

¹⁴¹ Caymmi, *Dorival Caymmi: o mar e o tempo*, 195.

¹⁴² “A jangada voltou só,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 14, 1941, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. Santos was filming another short documentary in Fortaleza on malaria at the same time. There seems to be some confusion about the origins and type of movie that “A jangada voltou só” was to be. This article lists it as a documentary, but others describe it as a musical.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*; Caymmi, *Dorival Caymmi: o mar e o tempo*, 197.

¹⁴⁴ Antônio Pedro Tota, *O imperialismo sedutor: a americanização do Brasil na época da Segunda Guerra* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000).

¹⁴⁵ “A sua musica é folclore. E’ o Brasil no que ele tem de mais seu, de mais proprio, é a tradição a crença, a alma ingenua e, às vezes, autor de 'Roda Pião' é Brasil cem por cento.” “Dorival Caymmi vem ao Ceará,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, October 8, 1941, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁴⁶ “Minha musica é popular cem por cento. Entendo mesmo que é folclore, na maioria das minhas composições. Isto se entendermos por folclore a apresentação da poesia, da musica, como interprete da alma simples do povo.” “Dorival Caymmi fala aos cearenses, por intermédio do O Povo,” *O Povo*, October 9, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

strong regional accent.”¹⁴⁷ Caymmi himself stated that he was a “nortista,” or Northerner, and that he could not turn down the opportunity to come back to the North.¹⁴⁸ The forging of Caymmi into a regional singer is significant, as Bahia’s regional status was still undecided in the 1940s, and would remain so through the 1960s. As already noted, Bahia would not officially join the Northeast until the 1970 census, although it was part of the drought zone. According to Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Júnior, it was Caymmi and the novelist Jorge Amado who were responsible for incorporating this “other Northeast” into Northeastern “image, text, and sound.”¹⁴⁹

Newspapers seemed confused about the inspiration for the short movie. They understood the objective – “to make ... the adventurous and heroic jangadeiros’ lifestyle more known,” but the origins of the idea are not uniform across publications.¹⁵⁰ *O Povo*, in Fortaleza, claimed that the movie was based on Jorge Amado’s *Mar Morto*, which told the story of the “life of suffering and poetry of the fishermen of Bahia.”¹⁵¹ The *Diário de Pernambuco* claimed that the movie was based on the eponymous Caymmi song, “A jangada voltou só” (“The Jangada Returned Alone”).¹⁵² The song and the movie tell the sad tale of a fisherman who goes on an overnight trip for the first time. The next day, his jangada appears on the beach, unaccompanied. While not apparent in the song, in the movie, the jangadeiro

¹⁴⁷ “Sua música diferia do comum. Tinha consagração merecida de um forte acento regional,” “Dorival Caymmi vem ao Ceará.”

¹⁴⁸ “Dorival Caymmi fala aos cearenses.”

¹⁴⁹ “Tanto Amado como Caymmi serão responsáveis pela instituição deste outro Nordeste, pela inclusão da Bahia na imagem, texto e escuta nordestina.” Albuquerque Júnior, *A invenção do nordeste e outras artes*, 246.

¹⁵⁰ “No sentido de tornar mais conhecido dos brasileiros meridionais a vida aventureira e heroica dos jangadeiros ...” “A jangada voltou só.”

¹⁵¹ “O cinema brasileiro resolveu filmar o grande romance poema ‘Mar Morto’, de Jorge Amado. O grande livro brasileiro, que nos conta a vida de sofrimento e poesia do pescador da Bahia, necessitava de um talento como o de Caymmi para as canções do filme.” “Dorival Caymmi no Ceará,” *O Povo*, October 8, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁵² “A jangada voltou só.”

leaves his girlfriend, a *rendeira* (weaver of lace), on the shore waiting for him. Caymmi's deep, resonant voice conveys the gravity of the lone jangada's insinuation hauntingly.¹⁵³

Along with announcing Caymmi's visit, local newspapers in Fortaleza also printed the lyrics to his songs. On November 11, *O Povo* printed the lyrics to "A jangada voltou só," next to an article extolling the courage of the jangadeiros on raid to Rio.¹⁵⁴ On November 15 – the day the jangadeiros arrived in Rio de Janeiro – *O Povo* printed the lyrics to the Caymmi song "É doce morrer no mar" ("How Sweet to Die at Sea").¹⁵⁵ These songs about the mysterious death of a jangadeiro, printed alongside the story of the jangadeiros' raid, emphasized the dangers of their journey and their profession, while also creating a morbidly romantic figure.

Caymmi's visit and the jangadeiros' raid also allowed the P.R.E.-9 to showcase its technological expansion in 1941. On October 9, *O Povo* printed a copy of a postcard that João Hortencio sent to Dummar from New York, confirming that he could hear test signals from the new short-wave facilities all the way in New York City with "absolute clarity."¹⁵⁶ This long reach of the P.R.E.-9, according to another article, made it possible for cearenses away from home, "to soften their regionalist sentiments, to soothe their great homesickness, [to hear] the voice of their land, of their people and the rhythm of their songs, of their music, along with ...the description of the political, economic, social, and intellectual panorama."¹⁵⁷ The P.R.E.-9 reported on the jangadeiros' arrival in

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Dorival Caymmi, "A jangada voltou só," *O Povo*, November 11, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; Alencar, "Os jangadeiros cearenses."

¹⁵⁵ Dorival Caymmi, "É doce morrer no mar," *O Povo*, November 15, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁵⁶ "absoluta nitidez," "O P.R.E. 9 ouvido em New-York," *O Povo*, October 9, 1941, SM-BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁵⁷ "para a suavidade de suas grandes saudades, a voz de sua terra, de seu povo e o ritmo de suas canções, de sua musica, como o relato sempre precioso de seus cometimentos, de suas realizações e a descrição de seu panorama politico, economico, social e intelectual." Jorge Freire, "P.R.E. 9," *O Jaguaribe*, October 25, 1941, 1–2, Hemeroteca, Portal da História do Ceará.

Rio de Janeiro, reaching cearenses around the country – and possibly as far as New York – with the story.¹⁵⁸

The story of the jangadeiros' raid, did, in fact reach as far as New York, if not by air, then in print. On December 8, 1941 *Time* magazine printed a short article under the title “Four Men on a Raft,” describing the “Homeric voyage that wrought a political miracle in Brazil.”¹⁵⁹ Orson Welles, who was already contemplating a movie containing several episodes from the United States and Latin America, read the article, and, intrigued, set out to include “Four Men on a Raft” as a sketch in his upcoming movie, *It's All True*. Shortly after the release of *Citizen Kane*, Welles was under contract to RKO radio studio, but had recently come to agreement with the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA) to create a film on Brazilian Carnival, which would also form part of *It's All True*.¹⁶⁰ This movie would be Welles' first attempt at a cross-cultural film, including, in addition to the Brazilian episodes, an episode in Mexico and a final chapter either on jazz or on the capture and slaying of Inka Atawallpa in Peru.¹⁶¹ It was important to Welles that each of these chapters had as its foundation non-fictional, lived experiences. The title of the movie was even a play on this porous boundary between reality and representation.¹⁶²

“My Friend Bonito,” the Mexican episode, went into production in September 1941 and filming of the Brazilian Carnival episode began in February 1942.¹⁶³ Welles had originally intended to shoot both the jangadeiros and Carnival in Technicolor. As the film crew was already in Rio, he

¹⁵⁸ “A chegada dos jangadeiros ao Rio.”

¹⁵⁹ “Four Men on a Raft”; Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 237; Benamou, *It's All True*, 39.

¹⁶⁰ Benamou, *It's All True*, 41.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 56–57.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 33 and 50.

wanted to film the reenactment of the jangadeiros' arrival in the Guanabara Bay first.¹⁶⁴ He planned to revise their historical arrival, having the jangadeiros arrive in Rio during Carnival, instead of on November 15, with their jangada becoming a Carnival float.¹⁶⁵ After shooting in Rio, Welles planned to film scenes on fishing techniques, women's tasks (dying of fabric and weaving of renda lace), Jacaré's organizing efforts, and, finally, the expedition itself through the ports of Recife and Salvador.¹⁶⁶ Welles met with Edmar Morel, the cearense journalist with the *Diários Associados* who knew the jangadeiros and had published and disseminated their previously cited *Diário de bordo*. Morel would write a short historical context for the episode, compiling social, ethnographic, and historical data, while the *Diário de bordo* would serve as a source for the voyage (see figures 12, 13, and 14).¹⁶⁷



Figure 12: Jacaré, Edmar Morel, and Manuel Preto. Tatá is peeking over Manuel Preto's shoulder.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 50.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 51.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ “[Jacaré, Edmar Morel, e Manuel Preto],” n.d., Arq.1,1,5(9), Edmar Morel Collection, Fotos, Manuscritos, FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

Welles met with Jacaré in Rio de Janeiro and was impressed with the “boldness and ease” of his speech. He requested Jacaré’s autograph and “never hid his fascination and sincere admiration of Jacaré and his friends.”¹⁶⁹ He traveled to Fortaleza on March 9, 1942 and was greeted at the airport by journalists, a representative of the state government, the president of the Jangada Club (Fernando Pinto, who would later become a great support and friend to Welles), and a group of jangadeiros. The crowd “applauded deliriously” according to local newspapers.¹⁷⁰ Welles and Edmar Morel even accompanied a jangada, led by mestre Jerônimo himself, on a jangada race during his stay in Ceará.¹⁷¹



Figure 13: Edmar Morel (with his back facing camera) with Orson Welles (on the right) in Ceará in 1942¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ “desenvoltura e o desembaraço,” and “nunca escondendo seu deslumbramento e admiração sincera por Jacaré e os amigos.” Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 240 and 241.

¹⁷⁰ “aplaudiram delirantemente.” *Ibid.*, 243–244.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 244.

¹⁷² “Edmar Morel (de costas) com Orson Welles (à direita) no Ceará em 1942,” 1942, Arq.1,1,5(15), Edmar Morel Collection, Fotos, Manuscritos, FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

In 1940, the cinemas of Fortaleza served 395,334 movie-goers.¹⁷³ The largest and most elegant cinema in Fortaleza in 1942 was the Diogo, which had only opened two years prior to Welles' visit.¹⁷⁴ Newspaper readers might have recognized the title *Citizen Kane*, and those in Ceará who traveled to Rio de Janeiro, or even to France or the United States might have even seen the successful movie, but neither the Diogo nor any other cinema in Fortaleza had shown it.¹⁷⁵ In a newspaper article for the *Correio do Ceará*, local journalist Octacílio Colares even insinuated that none of the journalists knew the film, but knew of its fame. According to the same author, Welles should be accepted in Ceará, not based on this reputation or the film he had not seen, but for the noble intention of recording the jangadeiros and for showing Ceará to the world.¹⁷⁶

Despite the lack of familiarity with his films, the arrival of a Hollywood actor, director, and writer was not likely to go unnoticed in Fortaleza in 1942 – a city which had just 2,000 telephones, 1,287 automobiles, and whose main form of public transport was a trolley (run by the Companhia Ceará Tramway).¹⁷⁷ Aside from the P.R.E.-9 and several newspapers, the main institutions for spreading news in Fortaleza in the early 1940s were the “rodas de calçadas” (“rings on the sidewalks”), which consisted of families taking chairs outside to sit and chat with their neighbors after dinner, and

¹⁷³ Uchôa, *Fortaleza na sua expressão histórica, geográfica e estatística*, 42.

¹⁷⁴ Marciano Lopes, *Royal Briar: a Fortaleza dos anos 40*, 3rd ed. (Fortaleza: Tipoprogresso, 1989), 142; Firmino Holanda, *Orson Welles no Ceará* (Fortaleza: Edições Demócrito Rocha, 2001), 11; Uchôa, *Fortaleza na sua expressão histórica, geográfica e estatística*, 42. Holanda starts his book on Orson Welles in Ceará with the anecdote of Welles arriving at the Diogo, but not being allowed to enter. He arrived with disheveled hair, mismatching clothes, and no tie. Northeastern movie theaters only relaxed their strict dress codes when faced with an influx of casually dressing U.S. soldiers during World War II.

¹⁷⁵ Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 233; Holanda, *Orson Welles no Ceará*, 9.

¹⁷⁶ Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 242–243.

¹⁷⁷ Uchôa, *Fortaleza na sua expressão histórica, geográfica e estatística*, 44.

the “bate-papo na praça” (“chat in the square”), where men met in the afternoon after work to read and discuss the news. Both were famed locations of news sharing and gossip.¹⁷⁸

After scouting for locations in Fortaleza, Welles had the *São Pedro* put back to sea in Rio and brought the jangadeiros back to the federal district from Fortaleza, but a series of unfortunate events and at least one tragedy would leave this movie unfinished.¹⁷⁹ After filming had already begun, the president of RKO denied Welles’ request for Technicolor, which did not detract from aesthetic value, but would cause a disjuncture between the jangadeiro and Carnaval episodes.¹⁸⁰ According to historian Catherine Benamou, RKO manager Lynn Shores “had regularly sent negative reports concerning Welles’ choice of shooting locations, schedules, casting of nonprofessional Afro-cariocas (black residents of Rio), and unforeseen expenditures back to RKO headquarters in Hollywood – and, incredibly, to representatives of the Brazilian DIP.”¹⁸¹

Nonetheless, Welles and the jangadeiros were able to spend two months working on the Rio scenes before tragedy hit.¹⁸² On May 19, 1942, near Tijuca beach, a motor launch towing the *São Pedro* passed the shooting location, and turned too sharply, breaking the towline.¹⁸³ The four jangadeiros fell into the water and all resurfaced, but while Jerônimo, Tatá, and Manuel Preto were rescued, Jacaré disappeared into the sea.¹⁸⁴ Like so many jangadeiros before him and like the characters of songs,

¹⁷⁸ Lopes, *Royal Briar: a Fortaleza dos anos 40*, 181–182 and 231–234. It is still not uncommon for families to set up chairs on the city sidewalk in the evening in Northeastern coastal cities, but now this tends to be limited to the sidewalk running along the beach.

¹⁷⁹ Benamou, *It’s All True*, 50 and 1.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁸² Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 246–247.

¹⁸³ Ironically, Welles had offered to transport the jangadeiros in the launch, instead of on the towed jangada, but they refused, stating that they were used to rough seas. *Ibid.*, 247.

¹⁸⁴ Benamou, *It’s All True*, 52.

poetry, and movies created around the jangadeiros' raid, Jacaré died at sea, leaving his wife with the care of their nine children, and leaving a legacy of dedicated and effective labor activism behind. Welles sobbed openly.¹⁸⁵



Figure 14: Before Orson Welles and the *Diário da Noite* reporter [Edmar Morel], Mestre Jerônimo explains how the accident happened¹⁸⁶

Welles resolved to finish the project as a tribute to Jacaré and the jangadeiros' episode was filmed with Jacaré's brother and Jerônimo's cousin filling in where Jacaré would have played himself. By the moment of post-production, however, RKO had hit a major administrative crisis and revoked Welles' contract.¹⁸⁷ Though Welles had approached Dorival Caymmi and Heitor Villa-Lobos about producing music for the episode, "Four Men on a Raft" was left without a musical or vocal soundtrack.

¹⁸⁵ Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 248.

¹⁸⁶ "Diante de Orson Welles e o repórter do *Diário da Noite*, Mestre Jerônimo conta como ocorreu o naufrágio," 1942, Arq.1,1,5(14), Edmar Morel Collection, Fotos, Manuscritos, FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

¹⁸⁷ Benamou, *It's All True*, 54. Jacaré was still to appear in the scenes filmed in Rio, which Welles planned to explain "by openly rendering him a posthumous homage in the closing narration of the film, as is indicated in the closing inter-title of the 1993 construction." *Ibid.*, 55.

The reel itself was thought lost until Fred Chandler accidentally found 150,000 meters of film in the Paramount Pictures Vault in 1985.¹⁸⁸

Notably, like *A jangada voltou só*, Welles had rewritten the jangadeiros' raid alongside a love story. José André de Souza, or "Sobrinho," (Jerônimo's cousin) was to play the role of a young jangadeiro who died at sea right after marrying a young and beautiful wife, played by thirteen-year old Francisca Moreira da Silva. In Benamou's words, "The screen death, [was] experienced and interpreted in the collective imaginary of the fishing community as a ritual of mourning for the recently departed Jacaré."¹⁸⁹ In the movie, the death of the young jangadeiro would prompt his colleagues into launching the voyage to protest their working conditions.¹⁹⁰ *It's All True* was "a passionate cause with Welles, a project close to his heart and even to the wellsprings of his creativity."¹⁹¹ Though many have been quick to blame Welles based on his personality and love for the Brazilian nightlife and women, he expressed guilt over not being able to complete his tribute to Jacaré for years to come.¹⁹² He guaranteed that Jacaré's family would receive 70:000\$000 and sent the clear message that anyone who thought they had been wronged should contact his friend Fernando Pinto for indemnification.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ Robert Stam, *Tropical Multiculturalism: A Comparative History of Race in Brazilian Cinema & Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 107.

¹⁸⁹ Benamou, *It's All True*, 54.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Stam, *Tropical Multiculturalism*, 107.

¹⁹² Tota labels Welles as "barulhento e mesmo arrogante." Tota, *O imperialismo sedutor*, 72. Stam defends Welles as having a "nonracist approach to Brazilian culture," while citing Charles Higham and John Russel Taylor as considering Welles "swayed by tropical temptations and incapacitated by a pathological terror for completion." Stam, *Tropical Multiculturalism*, 109. As seen above, Benamou blamed the RKO and Lynn Shores. Stam considers James Russell Taylor's account as anti-Carnaval, and hence, anti-Welles-enjoying-Carnaval. Ibid., 110. According to Stam, Welles wrote to his friend Fernando Pinto that he could not think of his friend with joy, because it reminded him of his "responsibility unfulfilled to you – responsibility to our common respect for the heroes of the beach, and specifically Jacaré's family." Ibid., 108. Firmino Holanda blamed the failure to bring the movie to production on Welles' vision moving away from that of the Good Neighbor Policy. Firmino Holanda, "As verdades de Welles," *Claro: Informativo da Casa Amarela Eusélio Oliveira*, September 1994, Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa (CDP), Cinemateca Brasileira (CB), São Paulo.

¹⁹³ "Uma 'estrela' morena do Pirambu vai brilhar nas telas de milhares de cinemas," *Correio do Ceará*, August 5, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; Maurício de Assis, "E 'Jacaré'?", *Correio do Ceará*, August 5, 1942, Hemeroteca,

Given Jacaré's status as national hero, the local newspapers' treatment of his death is surprising. Most of the immediate reactions were of reverence and mourning. On the day of Jacaré's death, a very small, two-sentence blurb giving the basic details of the accident appears under the very large headline on the front page of the *Correio do Ceará* "Jacaré morreu afogado!" ("Jacaré drowned!").¹⁹⁴ Other articles turned to a more direct examination of events. A *Gazeta de Notícias* article from the following day reprints Orson Welles' telegram to the Jangada Club expressing his condolences and asking that someone inform Jacaré's family. Welles is described as "profoundly dispirited" with Jacaré's death. The article quoted him as speculating that Jacaré must have suffered a blow to the head when the jangada flipped or that he was attacked by a shark. Manuel Preto explained that the seas were exceptionally rough and that he, too, had struggled.¹⁹⁵

In some articles, however, there was, as historian Berenice Abreu demonstrated, "implicitly or explicitly – a moral and social condemnation that Jacaré had stepped out of 'his place' as a poor fisherman who struggled justly for his rights and had entered the universe of fiction, the place of Hollywood stars."¹⁹⁶ The journalist Murilo Mota listed Jacaré's accomplishments and summarized that "all of this is excessive in the life of an illiterate caboclo from the Volta da Jurema [a beach on Fortaleza]."¹⁹⁷ Berilo Neves wrote that "The idea to falsely reproduce what he only knew to do in truth was unfortunate ... The Northeastern caboclo's jangada does not fit in the narrow environment of a

BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; "70:000\$ para a família de Jacaré," *Correio do Ceará*, August 6, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁹⁴ "Jacaré morreu afogado!," *Correio do Ceará*, May 19, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁹⁵ "Tragado por um tubarão ou forte pancada na cabeça!," *Gazeta de Notícias*, May 20, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁹⁶ "implícita ou explicitamente, uma condenação moral e social por Jacaré ter saído do 'seu lugar', de pobre pescador que luta justamente por seus direitos e, ter ingressado no universo da ficção, lugar de astros de Hollywood." Abreu, *Jangadeiros*, 250.

¹⁹⁷ "... que tudo isso é excessivo na existência de um caboclo analfabeto da Volta da Jurema!" As quoted in *Ibid.*

cinema lens.”¹⁹⁸ Abreu explained that these assessments are subtle condemnations of the jangadeiros’ stepping out of their class-defined space, but I add that the language suggests that the jangadeiros were expected to also stay in their racial and regional space. The jangadeiros were not just fishermen, and therefore out of their league; they were caboclos, and even more Northeastern caboclos. Jacaré’s demise was due to the distance between his regionally and racially limited capabilities and the international space within which he acted.¹⁹⁹

Months after the incident, the sarcastic treatment that the press gave the jangadeiros and the actors in Welles’ movie became even more accentuated. On August 1, the *Gazeta de Notícias* published a type of *peleja*, or verbal duel in the form of rhyming verse, between Raimundo Viana and the intellectual Osvaldo de Aguiar. After an introduction that quoted mestre Jerônimo’s account of the tragedy, Viana punned that the world must be upside down, as a “jacaré” (which means “alligator” in Portuguese) had drowned “in the calm waters of the river,” (with river referring to Rio de Janeiro, that is, the River of January). Aguiar responded that Jacaré did not die in a river, but at sea, which for an alligator is nothing strange or worthy of alarm. Viana, again, insisted that it was in a river – the river Tijuca – and that a drowning alligator is definitely a strange occurrence. Aguiar corrected Viana that Tijuca is a beach, not a river. Viana accepted his mistake and they moved on to a different subject. No insults were slung and no direct criticisms were made of Jacaré’s personality. Nonetheless, it would be hard to imagine this kind of light-hearted joking about Jacaré’s name and tragic death had it occurred during the height of the raid.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ “Foi infeliz a ideia de lhe fazer reproduzir falsamente o que ele só sabia fazer de verdade ... a jangada dos caboclos nordestinos não cabe no ambiente estreito de uma objetiva de cinema.” Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ “Partially, Jacaré had already started to lose support before the accident. He received notice in Rio in April that the Secretary of the Federação dos Pescadores had demoted him from his position as president of the Z-1 because he was no longer representing the interests of the jangadeiros now that he was acting in Hollywood films,” Ibid., 247.

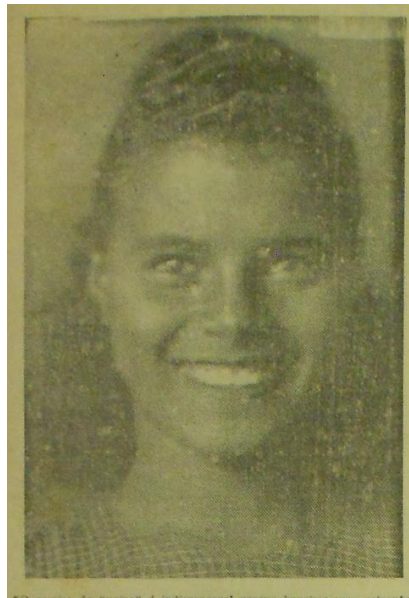
²⁰⁰ The *peleja* starts with: “Seu Osvaldo, eu desconfio / Que êste mundo está virado: / -- O 'Jacaré' afogado / nas águas mansas do Rio! ...” A key moment of Aguiar’s response includes: “Jacaré’ morrer no mar, / Acho coisa natural ... / Não é, pois, de admirar, / Essa notícia fatal.” Viana insisted: “O doutor vai perdoar / Se persisto em tom profundo: / -- Um

Perhaps more disturbing is the way that the *Correio do Ceará* portrayed the young actors Welles had contracted to interpret the love story of the movie. Still in August, before it became apparent that Welles would not be able to finish the film in post-production, the jangadeiros showed up at the newspaper office with Francisca Moreira da Silva (13) and José André de Souza (or Sobrinho, 17) to introduce them to the press. The resulting article outlines Welles' interest in the jangadeiros, Jacaré's death, and even some of the administrative problems that Welles was facing with RKO, but the centerpiece is the young, unsuspecting, actors. Francisca was described as a "moreninha" – a reference to her skin tone and hair color that was also used in the title of the article. Her father was a jangadeiro at the Pirambú beach. Jerônimo explained to the reporter that while shooting a scene at that beach, the young girl caught Welles' eye and he asked her, and later her father, if she would be in the movie. The journalist emphasized that this girl would "shine on every screen in the world (At least of the democratic world, because in the countries under Nipo-nazi-fascism, they don't show American films)."

Next, they described Francisca, Sobrinho, and Francisca's father. Her father came to the newspaper barefoot, as proven in photos (See figures 15 and 16). Sobrinho had dressed up for the visit to the newspaper, but was "visibly uncomfortable in his white suit. Accustomed to jangadeiro clothing and bare feet, he found the collar, cheap tie, and heavy shoes strange." And Francisca? "When we saw her, it was hard to believe that, at first sight, Orson Welles chose her to be the bride." Her dress was "very poor," she wore sandals, she had a "timid air," and frankly, she did not have the "mark of Hollywood." Until, that is, they got her to smile. It took jokes and prodding, but when she finally smiled she exhibited a "strange beauty on her mestizo face" and demonstrated a set of teeth "that would give a millionaire envy." Her eyes shined intensely "like the sun of the Pirambú beach."

'Jacaré' se afogar, / Isso é coisa do outro mundo!..." "<<Em torno da morte de Jacaré>>," *Gazeta de Notícias*, August 1, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP.

Sobrinho, on the other hand, would not laugh at their jokes and could not be made to smile. He was “a vigorous example of the Northeastern caboclo.” These were no longer the esteemed jangadeiros of 1941. An article about them did not need an accompanying explanation of their clothing or way of life. They were not martyrs or stoic sufferers. They were, instead, poor, dark-skinned, Northeasterners who dared to step into clothing above their class (but clearly still below that of the reporter), risking ridicule. They were a Northeastern *moreninha* and Northeastern caboclos that thought themselves Hollywood stars. In fact, cinema itself was another issue - the only cinema that Francisca knew, she told the reporters, was the film on the passion and death of Christ that was shown every Good Friday. She and Sobrinho had gone to a cinema in Salvador, but they could not even recall the names of the actors or the title of the film.²⁰¹ The journalist accepted Welles’ decision and hoped the movie would attract tourists. Nonetheless, he ridiculed the young actors subtly.



²⁰¹ “brilhar nas telas dos cinemas de todo o mundo (Quer dizer, de todo o mundo democrático, porque nos países sob o controle do nipo-nazi-fascismo não são exibidos films norte-americanos);” “ visivelmente constrangido dentro do seu terno branco. Acostumado com sua roupa de jangadeiro e de pés descalços, ele estranhava o colarinho, a gravata barata e as pesadas botinas;” “Ao olhar para a menina, a gente custa a acreditar, á primeira vista, que Orson Welles a tivesse escolhido para ser a 'noiva'. Seu vestidinho pauperrimo, suas alpercatas e seu ar timido não têm a marca de Hollywood;” “O sorriso é indispensavel, porque ele imprime uma estranha beleza á face mestiça da menina;” “uma dentadura que faria enveja a uma milionaria. Seus olhos brilham, brilham intensamente, como o sol da praia do Pirambú;” “vigoroso exemplar de caboclo nordestino.” Ibid.

Figure 15: Francisca Moreira da Silva²⁰²



Figure 16: Teófilo Moreira, Francisca Moreira da Silva, and Zé Sobrinho²⁰³

More pressing news soon overwhelmed the discussion of the jangadeiros, the film, Jacaré's death, and the actors chosen by Orson Welles. While German submarines had already attacked several of Brazil's merchant marine vessels in the Atlantic waters, on August 15, off the coast of Brazil, the passenger ships *Baependi* and *Araraquara* were attacked, leaving 398 dead. On the next day, the *Aníbal Benévolo* was attacked killing another 150. On August 17, the *Itagiba* and *Arara* were hit by torpedos, with another 59 victims.²⁰⁴ Bodies washed up on the Northeastern beaches of Sergipe and Bahia.²⁰⁵

²⁰² “Uma ‘estrela’ morena do Pirambu vai brilhar nas telas de milhares de cinemas.”

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ricardo Seitenfus, *A entrada do Brasil na Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2000).

²⁰⁵ “Cadáveres deformados dão às praias de Sergipe e Bahia,” *Correio do Ceará*, August 20, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

Fortaleza's newspapers and streets exploded in indignation.²⁰⁶ Students led anti-Nazi marches through the streets of Fortaleza on August 16, and on August 18 protestors set fire to properties owned by immigrants from Axis countries, including the Lojas Pernambucanas (the owner, Arthur Lundgren, had an unfortunate German-sounding last name, but was actually of Swedish descent), the Casa Veneza, the German consulate, a Spanish bakery, a clothing shop, and a Japanese garden. The next day, the Brazilian military was called in to calm this violent outpouring in Fortaleza's once calm streets, known as the *Quebra-Quebra* (meaning a sudden riot, literally translated as "Break-Break").²⁰⁷ The clothing of the young jangadeiros, for now, was no longer front-page news.

O jangadeiro nordestino

While newspapers in 1942 might have ridiculed the jangadeiros' fall into fame, songs and images created during and after the time of the jangadeiros' raid had a longer and stronger resonance. The folkloric figure had already been created, narrated, and romanticized in image and song. The newspaper articles that criticized the jangadeiros after Welles' movie left a shallow footprint when compared with the deep mark left by Dorival Caymmi's repetition of the lines "a jangada voltou só ..."²⁰⁸

Caymmi was not alone in writing songs about jangadeiros. In Miguel Ângelo de Azevedo's archive in Fortaleza, known as the Arquivo Nirez, there is music spanning from 1923 to 1960 on the subject of jangadeiros. Most of this music – all but three of the songs – was produced after Caymmi's *A jangada voltou só*. Several of these songs treat the jangada as a metaphorical vessel of love. Murilo

²⁰⁶ These headlines were in very large print at the very top of the front pages. See, for example, "Torpeado, o 'Baependi' afundou em cinco minutos," *Correio do Ceará*, August 19, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

²⁰⁷ Thomaz Pompeu Gomes de Matos, *O Quebra-Quebra de 1942: Registro fotográfico*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Memória e Oralidade (Fortaleza: Instituto de Arte e Cultura do Ceará, 2009).

²⁰⁸ Dorival Caymmi, *A jangada voltou só*, Mp3 (Columbia, 1941), 55.304-b, Arquivo Nirez (AN), Fortaleza, CE.

Alvarenga's 1942 *Jangadeiro* travels in search of love: "I'm a jangadeiro, jangadeiro, jangadeiro / And I travel the sea, the sea, the sea / In search of a love, of a love, of a love / I want to navigate, navigate, navigate ..."²⁰⁹ Vicente Paiva sent his jangada in search of his love: "Go, my jangada, go / Sadness has filled my heart / Go tell her / That I miss her / Go, my jangada, go."²¹⁰

Only one song made direct mention of the 1941 raid. Hervê Cordovil's *Jangada*, often re-interpreted, was a direct tribute to the jangadeiros cearenses of 1941, singing:

Jangada set sail and challenge the sea / And go / Taking a handful of brave people to the South / The stars will tell you where to go / And at night when the skies are blue / These brave and happy people will sing. / Jangada when you return to Ceará / There / Your brave and happy people will tell what they've seen / They'll tell of their fellow countryman of the South / That applauded the brave heroes."²¹¹

If most of the songs about jangadeiros do not mention the raid, they do affirm the traits of the jangadeiro figure established during the 1941 raids. For example, in the 1950 song *Jangadeiro*, the narrator reveals that he is afraid of traveling by jangada because he does not want to die in the mouth of a shark. But: "The jangadeiro of the North / Has a good heart / But when he gets mad / He is brave like a lion / He plays with alligators (jacarés) / And punches sharks."²¹² Other songs emphasize

²⁰⁹ "Eu sou jangadeiro, jangadeiro, jangadeiro / E ando pelo mar, pelo mar, pelo mar / A procuro de um amor, de um amor, de um amor / E quero navegar navegar navegar / Eu com você vou até o fim do mundo / Por ela, por ela / Enfrento o mar bravio mais profundo / Por ela, por ela." Ranchinho & Alvarenga, *Jangadeiro*, Mp3 (Odeon, 1942), 12.103-b, AN, Fortaleza, CE.

²¹⁰ "Vai minha jangada, vai / A tristeza me invade / Vai dizer a ela / A minha saudade / Vai minha jangada, vai." Chiquinho Sales, *Minha jangada* (Victor, 1942), 80-0005-b, AN, Fortaleza, CE.

²¹¹ "Jangada enfuna a vela e desafia o mar / E vai / Levando um punhado de gente valente pro Sul / As estrelas o rumo lhe dão / E nas noites em que o céu é azul / Essa gente valente e contente se põe a cantar. / Jangada quando voltares para o Ceará / E lá / Sua gente valente e contente contar o que viu / Vai dizer que o patrício do Sul / Seus bravos heróis aplaudiu." Vicente Leporace and Jimmy Lester, *Jangada* (Continental, 1952), 16.612-a, AN; Esterzinha de Sousa, *Jangada* (Copacabana, 1953), 5.141-a, AN, Fortaleza, CE.

²¹² "O jangadeiro do norte / É de bom coração / Mas na hora que se zanga / É bravo feito leão / Brinca com jacaré da sopapo tubarão." Airton Amorim and Zé & Zilda, *Jangadeiro* (Star, 1950), 191-b, AN. Another song dealing with bravery: Getúlio Alves, *Jangadeiro valente* (Polydor, 1958), 259-b, AN, Fortaleza, CE.

the difficulties of the jangadeiro's life.²¹³ Not surprisingly, several mention the name of Ceará by name, tying the jangadeiro not only to the North and Northeast, but specifically to this state.²¹⁴ Several genres of music, from around the country – even songs sung by *mineiros* – expressed the same, recurring image of the jangadeiro.²¹⁵

Anthropological, folkloric, and ethnographic studies further demonstrate the quick adoption of the jangadeiro figure as Northeastern folklore. The influential journalist and businessman Assis Chateaubriand, author of an article on the Congresso Regionalista in Chapter 1, commissioned Câmara Cascudo to write an ethnographic study of jangadas and jangadeiros in 1954. The resulting work was a detailed and highly cited study.²¹⁶ A. da Silva Mello included a description of the jangadeiros of Fortaleza in his travel accounts of the Northeast, demonstrating the necessity of at least mentioning the jangadeiros, and expressing surprise at their dependence upon the jangada owners.²¹⁷ Gustavo Barroso, in his study of Ceará, stated: “The jangada, a small stage by dimension but immense in the greatness of its heroes, especially the anonymous Northeastern fishermen, is an object of distinction in our folklore, in our poetry, in our fiction and in our history.”²¹⁸ Florival Seraine, in his work on the folklore of Ceará, broke the cearense population into three groups of people: the jangadeiro, the cowboys and farmers of the interior, and the sugar cane workers, and described the song and dance

²¹³ Tonico & Tinoco, *Jangadeiro* (Continental, 1953), 16.697-b, AN; Tião Carreiro & Carreirinho, *Jangadeiro cearense* (RCA Victor, 1959), 80-2072-a, AN, Fortaleza, CE.

²¹⁴ Armando Castro and Vagalumes do Luar, *Jangadeiro cearense* (Todamérica, 1952), TA-5.133-b, AN, Fortaleza, CE; *Vai jangada* (Todamérica, 1960), TA-5.923-b, AN, Fortaleza, CE.

²¹⁵ On the song by a Mineiro: Sidney Más, *Ai, Jangadeiro*, Mp3 (Odeon, 1951), 13.117-a, AN, Fortaleza, CE.

²¹⁶ Cascudo, *Jangada*.

²¹⁷ A. da Silva Mello, *Nordeste brasileiro: Estudos e impressões de viagem*, Coleção Documentos Brasileiros 73 (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1953), 335.

²¹⁸ “A jangada, palco pequenino nas dimensões e imenso na grandeza dos heroísmos, sobretudo anônimos, dos pescadores nordestinos, é objeto de realce no nosso folclore, na nossa poesia, na nossa ficção e na nossa história.” Gustavo Barroso, *A margem da história do Ceará* (Fortaleza: Imprensa Universitária do Ceará, 1962), 21.

(dança do coco) of the jangadeiros.²¹⁹ Ernani Silva Bruno felt compelled to include a page on jangadeiros in the *Brasiliana de Bolso* collection.²²⁰ The jangadeiro came to represent a type of Northeastern folklore, necessary to the study of the Northeast.

Further, the jangada and jangadeiro form an essential ingredient in the visual culture of the Northeast. For example, a small jangada on a cachaça label is an immediate visual clue that this cachaça is from the Northeast. In some cases, the jangada is a central image on the label, but frequently, it is a small stick figure, in the distance, beyond the image of a woman or a small detail running down the river alongside a sugar mill. This is not limited to cachaças bottled or milled on the coast: even Biturí from Arcoverde in Pernambuco and Tambaú from Campina Grande, Paraíba include an image of the jangada on their labels (see figures 17-26). Photographic collections of Brazil inevitably include photographs of jangadas in the section on the Northeast.²²¹ Regional artists and photographers chose jangadas and jangadeiros as subjects.²²² Raimundo Cela, of Ceará, emphasized the hard work and suffering of the jangadeiro (see figure 27), while others allowed the jangada to appear almost naturally on the beach.

²¹⁹ Florival Seraine, *Folclore Brasileiro: Ceará* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1978), 8 and 27.

²²⁰ Ernani Silva Bruno, "Jangada," n.d., ESB(2)2, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (IEB), Universidade de São Paulo (USP), São Paulo, SP.

²²¹ Jean Manzon, *Flagrantes do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Gráficos Bloch, 1940); Nearco Barroso Guedes de Araújo, *Jangadas* (Fortaleza: Banco do Brasil, 1985).

²²² "<<Jangadeiros>> um quadro de sucesso do prof. Martim Lima," *Gazeta de Notícias*, May 20, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP.



Figure 17: Babá²²³



Figure 18: Bolero²²⁴



Figure 19: Bela Vista²²⁵



Figure 20: Danubio Azul²²⁶

²²³ “Babá,” n.d., 3.2142, Paraíba Folder, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

²²⁴ “Bolero,” n.d., Bahia 3.33, Alagoas/Bahia Folder, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

²²⁵ “Bela Vista” (Engenho Bela Vista, n.d.), 3.2349, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

²²⁶ “Danubio Azul,” n.d., Bahia 3.51, Alagoas/Bahia Folder, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.



Figure 21: Bôa Vida²²⁷



Figure 22: Truvão²²⁸



Figure 23: Biturí²²⁹

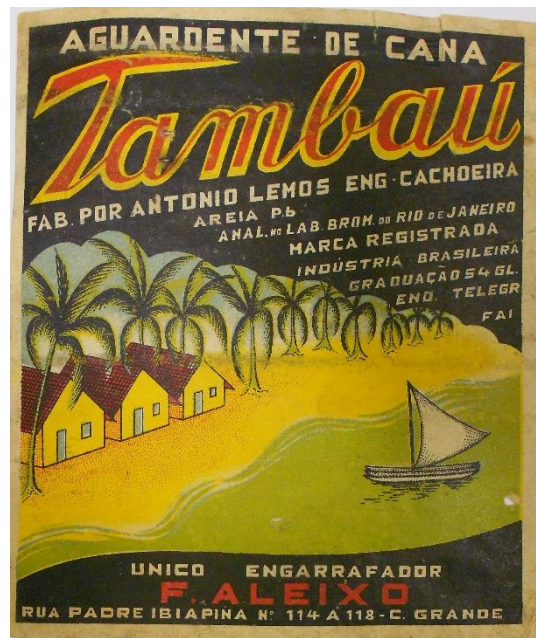


Figure 24: Tambaú²³⁰

²²⁷ “Bôa Vida” (Engenho Bom Jardim, n.d.), 3.2290, Paraíba Folder, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

²²⁸ “Truvão,” n.d., 3.2188, Paraíba Folder, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

²²⁹ “Biturí,” n.d., 3.2177, Paraíba Folder, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

²³⁰ “Tambaú,” n.d., 3.2187, Paraíba Folder, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.



Figure 25: Bituri²³¹

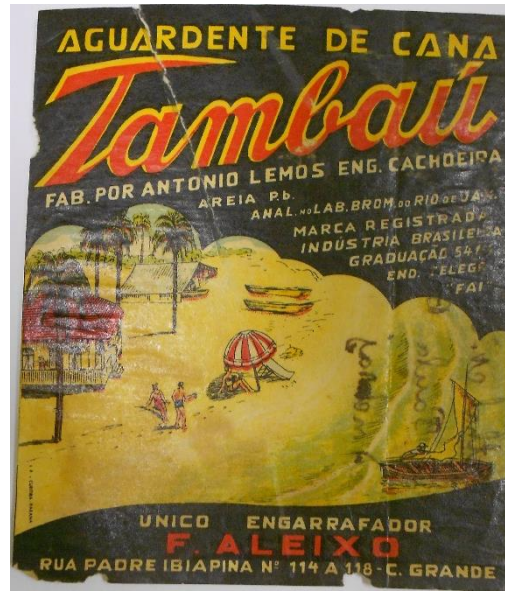


Figure 26: Tambaú²³²

The jangada entered the twentieth century already imbued with a sense of charm and the jangadeiro with an implication of social action. Through the jangadeiro raid in 1941 and the national and international attraction it garnered, the jangadeiros, journalists, and jangadeiro supporters added to this figure characteristics of perseverance through suffering and bravery, both associated frequently in the press, in the *Diário dos jangadeiros*, and in song with the Northeasterner. In a turn of cultural circularity, scholars and artists appropriated this character into their folkloric, artistic, and anthropological studies of the Northeast. This process emphasizes the permeability of identity formation to several sectors of the Brazilian population.²³³ It shows that the conversation about what the Northeast was and what it meant to be Northeastern was not limited to governmental agencies or to intellectuals associated with the regionalist movement. Instead, it was a conversation defined by its

²³¹ “Bituri?” (Pernambuco Arcoverde, n.d.), R-5-14, Diversos Folder, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

²³² “Tambaú,” n.d., 3.2186, Paraíba Folder, Coleção Almirante, Iconografia, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

²³³ It also is very similar to what Jeremy Dewaal describes as a process of “re-invention of tradition,” in a revision of Hobsbawm and Ranger’s previous suggestions. Jeremy DeWaal, “The Re-Invention of Tradition: Form, Meaning, and Local Identity in Modern Cologne Carnival,” *Central European History*, no. 46 (2013): 495–532.

multiplicity of voices. The definition of Northeastern cultural identity took place in conference halls, but also in music, among fishermen, in conversations along the sidewalk, in newspapers, and in international film projects.



Figure 27: Jangadeiro arrastando a poita, by Raimundo Cela.²³⁴

A master's thesis from the Music Department of the Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro studying popular samba music cites a song by Dito Felix that ends with the repeating line, "Our samba is a tribute to the missed (or nostalgic) Jacaré." The writer does not recognize Jacaré's name, and it appears that those that he interviews are also unaware of the reference. Instead, Jacaré is seen as a representative of jangadeiros in general.²³⁵ Written into a song about jangadeiros, this is undoubtedly

²³⁴ Raimundo Cela, *Jangadeiro arrastando a poita*, n.d., Coleção Raimundo Cela, Museu de Arte Contemporânea (MAC), Centro Dragão do Mar de Arte e de Cultura, Fortaleza, PE. Included with permission from the MAC for academic use.

²³⁵ "Nosso samba é em homenagem ao saudoso Jacaré." Sinesio Jefferson Andrade Silva, "Memória dos sons e sons da memória: uma etnografia musical da Maré" (Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro, 2009).

a reference to our Jacaré, Manuel Olimpio Meira. This slippage takes on more meaning when read alongside an article produced days before the jangadeiros arrived in Rio. On November 11, 1941, Edigar de Alencar wrote of the jangadeiros cearenses: “I did not memorize their names nor do I remember now their nicknames. But they shouldn’t be called by their names. They do not belong to them. They have become de-personalized. They are just jangadeiros. Symbols of the heroic, fearless soul of Ceará.”²³⁶ The above songs, folkloric interpretations, and images suggest that Alencar had sensed already in 1941 the beginning of a process of hybridization that blended the pre-modern rustic jangadeiro figure with the notion of a modern state, creating a depersonalized symbol of the Northeast. The jangadeiro became a way for journalists and artists to think about the Northeast, attributing it physical and social characteristics, and combining the discourse of drought and suffering with the rugged, resistant figure of the jangadeiro. Further, the jangada became a way to distinguish the Northeast visually from the rest of the country.²³⁷

Still, this process was far from uniform or complete. The use of “North” and of individual state representation (that is, Ceará) occurred frequently, especially in the newspapers. Nonetheless, this focus on Ceará – emphasizing through the jangadeiro drought, migration, resistance, and poverty – associated the Northeast with an indigenous, drought-ridden, pre-modern past. The press drew upon

²³⁶ Alencar, “Os jangadeiros cearenses.”

²³⁷ In this line of argument, I recognize that I am positioning myself between Chartier and Geertz. Chartier found that the notion of “symbol” in historical study “is not easy to use” as “we can hardly postulate stability in the relationship connecting the symbolic sign and what it represents and presents to our eyes.” Further, “variation springs from many sources: regarding the sign, a plurality of meanings can be carried by any given symbol,” and etc. Geertz, on the other hand, tied cultural symbols to nationalism. He stated: “Generalized, the ‘who we are’ question asks what cultural forms – what systems of meaningful symbols – to employ to give value and significance to the activities of the state, and by extension to the civil life of its citizens.” Chartier would argue that the use of the term “system” suggests too rational a relationship among signs and symbols. I am not trying to create a system here, though. Instead, I am merely recognizing the jangada and jangadeiro as symbols whose meaning has moved beyond that of its initial referent, coming to represent and signify a geographic region, carrying characteristics considered to represent that region culturally. Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Representations and Practice*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 104; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (Basic Books, 1973), 242.

historical notions of the Northeastern fisherman, incorporating the jangadeiros' struggle into the modern nation state, while retaining – willingly or otherwise – its pre-modern characteristics.

Even after Jacaré's death and the failure of *It's All True*, while the jangadeiros served well as a symbol of the rustic, resistant, wandering sufferer, they did not stand up as a metaphor of vulnerability to international intrusion. In the next chapter, we will examine another process by which a group of people – the women of the Northeast – offered a way to talk about the region, its relation to the nation, and vulnerability to outside influence during World War II. When the jangadeiros left Recife on October 11, 1941, they found themselves following in the wake of a U.S. war ship that had stopped in Recife to refuel and continue patrolling the seas; they followed it through the day and night, but lost sight of it in the morning.²³⁸ Here, we leave the jangada behind, and follow the war ship into the next chapter.

²³⁸ “Do Ceara’ ao Rio numa jangada.”

CHAPTER III

INVERTED FICTIONS: WORLD WAR II AND REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE BRAZILIAN NORTHEAST

In the collection of 32 paintings titled *Iracemas, Morenos e Cocacolas*, contemporary Fortaleza artist Descartes Gadelha presents his vision of prostitution, particularly sexual tourism, in Fortaleza.¹ The paintings represent three clearly delineated periods: the “rape” of Iracema by the Portuguese Martin Soares Moreno, the uneven relationships between Fortaleza women with U.S. soldiers during World War II, and contemporary prostitution and sexual tourism.² In Gadelha’s paintings, crack cocaine, HIV, abortion, transvestism, hunger, broken homes, and pedophilia find their origin – both symbolically and genealogically – in the conquest and World War II.³ Modern-day Iracemas with bleached blonde hair and Morenos wearing socks with sandals walk along the Praia de Iracema in imbalanced unions whose only fruits are pain and sorrow.⁴

Within the collection, the union of Fortaleza’s women with foreign men is not always shrouded in sadness. Unlike the downturned faces of the contemporary Iracemas, in the paintings of

¹ This collection is housed at the Museu de Arte da Universidade Federal de Ceará (MAUC-UFC). It arrived and was placed on exhibit from May 4, 2004 to June 4, 2004. “Iracemas, Morenos e Cocacolas,” *MAUC-Exposições*, May 4, 2004, <http://www.mauc.ufc.br/expo/2004/02/index1.htm>.

² Gadelha refers to this union as a “rape” that turns Iracema into a “touristic whore” in his declaration on this collection. “No romance, Moreno, o português conquistador invade o paraíso dos Tabajara e estupra a inocente Iracema tornando-a sua rapariga turística.” Descartes Gadelha, “Coleção Iracemas, Morenos e Cocacolas: Depoimento” (Fortaleza, 2003), 29, MAUC-UFC, Fortaleza, CE.

³ In his declaration on the collection, Gadelha states: “Encouraçados pelo álcool, drogas e fome, não têm nada a oferecer aos filhos, nem mesmo uma mínima orientação ética já que isso inexistente em seu meio ambiente.” In this way, these societal evils are passed down through generations. Gadelha, “Coleção Iracemas, Morenos e Cocacolas: Depoimento.”

⁴ See, for example: Descartes Gadelha, *Dia de turista*, Painting, n.d., MAUC-UFC; Descartes Gadelha, *Pela Praia de Iracema*, Painting, n.d., MAUC-UFC, Fortaleza, CE.

World War II, the young women are cheerful, smiling, and hopeful for the future.⁵ *Estoril anos 40* presents a scene from the restaurant Estoril, converted into a bar and casino at wartime (See figure 39).⁶ Young cearense women dance, converse, and kiss with young U.S. soldiers surrounded by posters of movies, of Getúlio Vargas, and of donation drives. *Convite para o filme* also has Estoril as its backdrop, but now, the focus is on one couple seated at a table in front of a *Casablanca* poster (See figure 40).⁷ A slender blonde man, wearing a khaki tank top, hat, and pants faces away from us and toward a young woman seated in front of him. Of the woman, only her face held in an innocent yet demure expression and left hand raised and holding the right hand of the soldier is visible. The women in these paintings are the famed *meninas cocacolas* (Coca-Cola girls) of wartime; women who dated U.S. soldiers and so were subject to ridicule.

From 1942 to 1946, the U.S. government maintained military bases in several coastal cities of Brazil, with most falling within the Northeast. The largest base was in Natal, followed by Recife, and Fortaleza, though U.S. servicemen were assigned to Fernando de Noronha, Maceió, and Salvador as well. The purpose of these air and naval bases was to provide a port for ships protecting the vulnerable Atlantic coast of South America and to provide a fueling point for airplanes going to or returning from North Africa, but the bases also provided hospitals for those injured en route or in the Battle of the Atlantic and social relief through USOs and visiting celebrities.⁸ The bases, hospital, and USOs

⁵ Descartes Gadelha, *Estoril anos 40*, Painting, n.d., MAUC-UFC, Fortaleza, CE; Descartes Gadelha, *Convite para o filme*, Painting, n.d., MAUC-UFC; Descartes Gadelha, *Festa da Vitória*, Painting, n.d., MAUC-UFC, Fortaleza, CE.

⁶ Gadelha, *Estoril anos 40*.

⁷ Gadelha, *Convite para o filme*.

⁸ During the Battle of the Atlantic, the U.S. military was so concerned with the possibility of German invasion of the Brazilian Northeast and the implications of possible invasion on the maintenance of the Panama Canal that “Operation Rainbow” was elaborated as a plan to invade the Brazilian Northeast with 60,000 U.S. soldiers, but rejected repeatedly by President Franklin D. Roosevelt who favored a diplomatic solution. With governmental backing, the U.S. airline Panam slowly purchased or pushed out the German (Condor) and Italian (Lati) airlines and their respective employees based in the region prior to the construction of the bases in 1941. See Frank D. McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973); Ricardo Seitenfus, *A entrada do Brasil na Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2000) for more information on the history of Brazil's participation in World War II. For examinations

also employed support personnel – both from the U.S. and locally contracted. According to Frank McCann, in Natal alone, “In addition to the military there were civilians attached to the ADP [Airport Development Program], PAA [Pan-American Airways], the PAA ferrying operations, Trans-World Airways ... Standard Oil, and a constant stream of transients.”⁹ Simply put, there was a considerable, constantly recycling influx of North Americans in the cities along the coast of the Northeast during the war period. The number of “yankee” residents, in Natal alone, is estimated at as many as 6,000 at the bases in addition to a “constantly shifting transient population” of up to 3,000 or as few as 5,000 total.¹⁰

These U.S. servicemen did not confine themselves to the bases; they interacted with Brazilians living in these cities, in business, in national defense, in diversion, in camaraderie, in Carnival, in sex, and in love. Some of these interactions were tense, but there are more reports of camaraderie from this period than of suspicion.¹¹ Nonetheless, fictionalized representations – literature, art, film, and

of World War II in the Northeast see: Stênio Azevedo and Geraldo Nobre, *O Ceará na Segunda Grande Guerra* (Fortaleza: ABC, 1998); General Paulo Q. Duarte, *O Nordeste na II Guerra Mundial: antecedentes e ocupação* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1971); Lenine Pinto, *Natal, USA* (Natal: Editora Art Print Ltda, 1995); Lenine Pinto, *Os americanos em Natal* (Natal: Sebo Vermelho, 2000); Protásio Pinheiro de Melo, *Contribuição norte-americana à vida natalense* (Brasília: s.n., 1993); Clyde Smith Jr., *Trampolim para a vitória* (Natal: EDUFRN, 1993). For a close study of the torpedo attack on the *Cruzador Bahia*, see André Valério Sales, *2a Guerra Mundial: O torpedeamento do Cruzador Bahia pelos nazistas e a História de um Herói Potiguar* (João Pessoa: Editora Universitária/UFPB, 2009).

⁹ McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945*, 237.

¹⁰ The higher estimation comes from Nelson Lansdale, “Building a World Crossroads, Part I,” *The Inter-American* (October 1945): 16, and the lower from Smith Jr., *Trampolim para a vitória*, 116.

¹¹ The following documents refer to a case in which a group of sailors with the U.S. Navy were accused of taking a jangada on a joy ride and returning it damaged: Osman Silveira, “Letter to Consul of the United States of America,” March 20, 1944, 830, Box 61, Vol. VII, 1944, 820-855, General Records (GR), Recife Consulate, Brazil, Record Group (RG) 84: Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State (RFSPDS), National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), College Park, MD; Osman Silveira, “Letter to Costa,” March 21, 1944, 830, Box 61, Vol. VII, 1944, 820-855, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; Costa, “Letter to United States Consul Leo J. Callanan,” March 21, 1944, 830, Box 61, Vol. VII, 1944, 820-855, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; Leo J. Callanan, “Letter to Osman Silveira,” March 27, 1944, 830, Box 61, Vol. VII, 1944, 820-855, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; Osman Silveira, “Letter to United States Consul Leo J. Callanan,” April 3, 1944, 830, Box 61, Vol. VII, 1944, 820-855, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD. Meanwhile, Box 3731 of RG 59, General State Records of the Department of State housed at NARA in College Park, MD, contains documents marked 811.203/9-2344 (Decimal Files) related to the murder of a Pernambucan resident by a soldier of the U.S. Navy and a U.S. Navy chauffeur who ran into a column of Brazilian soldiers in Maceió. The former of these cases generated concerns about jurisdiction that made it into newspapers,

carnival blocks – consistently emphasize romantic relations between U.S. servicemen and Northeastern women, presenting them, often, as ridiculous, uneven, and unsuccessful unions. The Northeastern women who interacted with U.S. servicemen stationed in the Northeast are referred to, alternatively, as *coca-colas* (as in Gadelha’s paintings), emphasizing both their access to the soldier’s stock of Coca-Cola and their own consumable nature; as prostitutes, highlighting their tendency to be used and abandoned; or as sad girls, underlining their youth, innocence, naiveté, and belief that they too would come to live in the U.S.A. Like Gadelha’s paintings, these interpretations and re-interpretations of Northeastern women as coca-colas, prostitutes, and sad girls are acts of contemplation of historical memory.

In this chapter, I argue that this recreated image of the relationship between Northeastern women and foreign men represents the changing nature of Northeastern regional identity in the wake of U.S. political, military, and cultural presence in the region during World War II. This changing nature is presented (synecdochally and allegorically) through wartime relationships, but they were produced during, and therefore represent, the post-World War II moment. I examine narratives produced following the war in which artists, carnival blocks, and writers represent Northeastern women and their relationships with U.S. servicemen. I focus on how, in the transformation from current event to memory, women became key tools in the telling of the story of the time of World War II in the Brazilian Northeast, and through this story, the understanding of the position of the Northeast in the world.

whose articles are clipped and saved in the same file at NARA. Frank McCann mentions a drunken scuffle between a U.S. worker and a Brazilian general and a separate incident of drunk disorderly conduct by soldiers in Natal in McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945*, 231 and 237. Rebecca Herman’s forthcoming dissertation (2014) at University of California at Berkeley has a chapter dedicated to jurisdictional disputes and another to labor disputes between Brazilian workers and the Airport Development Program in Belém in the state of Pará. See also Flávia de Sá Pedreira, *Chiclete em misturo com banana: Carnaval e cotidiano de guerra em Natal, 1920-1945* (Natal: Universidade Federal de RN, 2005) for tensions she analyzes during Carnaval in Natal.

The city of Natal dominates most of this chapter. While just seven years prior the PCB in Natal had organized the most successful of the uprisings to take place in the country as part of the *Intentona Comunista* (Communist Uprising of 1935), by 1945 the city was nearly consumed and transformed by World War II, by the arrival of U.S. military bases and soldiers, and by the attraction of U.S. cultural and consumer goods. Natal's pronounced participation in the war makes it fertile ground for the cultivation of stories about World War II in the Northeast. Nonetheless, in several moments, the chapter will find and provide support from other places that housed U.S. soldiers during the war to assure that while amplified in Natal, the phenomena described here are not isolated to Rio Grande do Norte. To show why a metaphor was needed, I will start with a (non-exhaustive) introduction to the changes felt in the Northeast – mainly in the city of Natal – during the war, emphasizing fear, demographic and infrastructural shifts, and the accelerated import of U.S. cultural and consumer goods. Next, I will present archival evidence of relations between U.S. servicemen and Northeastern women. Finally, I will present and analyze how the changed identity of the Northeast after World War II is often told through the story of Northeastern women's relationships with U.S. servicemen in literature, carnival blocks, art, and film.

This chapter finds initial inspiration in texts that offer us ways of thinking about metaphor and memory. In *La globalización imaginada*, Néstor García Canclini asserts that the “evasive and unmanageable” (along with imagined) nature of globalization inspires those who deal in it to do so “through narrations and metaphors.” From this observation, García Canclini reminds us that it is just as necessary to analyze “the stories and images” in texts related to globalization as it is to study hard data and theory.¹² Much as Daniel James stated in *Doña Maria's Story*, the stories and images present in

¹² “Sin embargo, dado que la globalización se presenta como un objeto evasivo e imanejable, quienes la gestionan la cuentan, también, con narraciones y metáforas. En consecuencia, desde una perspectiva socioantropológica de la cultura es preciso analizar tanto las estadísticas y los textos conceptuales como los relatos e imágenes que intentan nombrar sus designios.” Néstor García Canclini, *La globalización imaginada* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2001), 11.

these versions of the past leave out as much as they keep in.¹³ These omissions are intrinsic to identity formation. As Ernest Renan pointed out in 1882, forgetting is as essential to nation formation as remembering.¹⁴ In this chapter, I focus on the stories, what they include, what they omit, and how they give sense to the evasive and unmanageable nature of U.S. presence in the Northeast and the effects that these have on regional identity.

In my examination, I find support in the analytical framework provided by Doris Sommer in *Foundational Fictions*, specifically in her analysis of José de Alencar's *O Guarani* and *Iracema* (introduced in reference to the jangadeiros in Chapter 2). Her reading of *Iracema* is particularly useful for us, as the relationship between the indigenous Iracema and Portuguese Martin Soares Moreno presents structural similarities with the relationships between Northeastern women and U.S. servicemen in the literature, film, and art that I analyze in this chapter. Sommer provides both synecdochal ("that is, to assume that one character or relationship is a part for a whole race or for a social formation") and allegorical readings ("one that takes character for figures of a different, contemporary, and historically specific narrative") of Iracema's romance and searches for ways to bring the story of racial *mestiçagem* (when read synecdochally) together with the story of political compromise (when read allegorically).¹⁵

In the reading I provide of the art, literature, film, and a carnival block on romantic relationships during World War II in the Northeast, these two levels of analysis merge quite clearly from the beginning, though the stories result in an inversion of *Iracema*. In *Iracema*, the indigenous woman dies, leaving behind the Portuguese father and their caboclo child; in these World War II stories, the women live on sometimes with U.S.-Brazilian babies in the absence of the U.S. father.¹⁶

¹³ Daniel James, *Doña Maria's Story: Life, History, Memory, and Political Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 128.

¹⁴ Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, 7 and 9.

¹⁵ Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America*, 161–162 and 167.

¹⁶ While it seems clunky and ungraceful to use "U.S." instead of "American" to refer to people from the United States, I do so in this chapter not to make a political statement (though a political statement is justified), but for the purposes of

Analyzing these stories through this framework provides us with insight into the transformation in the Northeastern regional identity as it relates to the world and the nation in the post-World War II period. The stories are as much about the young women as *all* Northeasterners and the U.S. servicemen as *all* U.S. citizens (the synecdochal reading) as they are about Brazilian political and military authorities and the U.S. government (the allegorical reading). In either reading, what is at stake is the Northeast itself.

Yet the stories of World War II that I examine in this chapter differ from Doris Sommer's foundational fictions. While Sommer finds that Iracema's death and Moreno's decision to return to Brazil and leave Portugal behind forever represent that the pure indigenous past has to step out of the way and the Portuguese has to be transformed in order for the nation (the caboclo child that represents the future of Brazil) to survive, our stories provide an inverted scenario.¹⁷ The young women live on, often left pregnant; it is the U.S. servicemen, in the end, that are absent. While this situation is clearly one of abandonment, in this loss, the women are forced to face their independence. When left pregnant, their babies are 100% Brazilian – these fictional children are not registered at the U.S. consulate. They are not assured citizenship to the U.S., but in this way, they maintain their sovereignty, they remain Brazilian, and they are Northeastern, though something in their essence has changed.

Still, they are not the same Northeasterners as those that came before them. This generation born after World War II was not influenced in the same way as its parents by a face-to-face brush with U.S. presence, nor was it merely injected with U.S. values. Its mothers consumed the U.S. servicemen – and the Portuguese use of “comer” to indicate both the eating of food and the

clarity. Later in this chapter, when analyzing the movie *For All*, we will discuss Brazil and the U.S. as “America,” requiring precision in the vocabulary of nationality.

¹⁷ Sommer refers to the child as “mestiço” which fits into her argument broadly. I use “caboclo” because it is the term that Brazilians use for someone deemed to be a racial mixture of indigenous and Portuguese ancestry. Mestiço would imply that the mixture could also be of Afro-Brazilian, Asian, or other ancestry, and this, clearly, is not present in the text, as Sommer herself mentions.

consumption of another person sexually is useful here. Through this act of sexual anthropophagy, they created someone new: a new Northeasterner, a new Northeast that could never be the same as it was before the construction of the bases.¹⁸ They are not Americanized (though their mothers were), they are Brazilian-American at their very essence. This is not how these children of the future choose to be, it is who they are. The foundational fiction of *Iracema* was revolutionized, rewritten, and reset, but – as we will see later in the chapter – it was not set aside, but incorporated into this retelling of the genesis of modern Northeastern identity. While Antônio de Alcântara Machado stated in the first issue of the *Revista de Antropofagia* in 1928, that at the end of all of the anthropofagous feasting a Hans Staden (a foreigner!) would arise to tell the story, in our story, the new sons of the new Iracemas will tell their own.¹⁹ This is what, in this chapter, I refer to as inverted fictions – foundational fictions that have been turned inside out, representing a new Northeast.

Changing Cities: War Zones and Demographic Shift in the Northeast

The War Department had already started requesting information from the State Department (which it passed along to the Consuls and Vice Consuls along the coast) about the coastal cities in “Northeastern Brazil” in 1940.²⁰ Correspondence between the Vice-Consul in Natal and the Consul

¹⁸ Oswaldo de Andrade’s *Manifesto Antropófago* inspired a “cannibalistic” literary movement that allowed Brazilian writers to be Brazilian – that is, to rely on Brazilian history and folklore to define Brazilian identity – without having to denounce “los bienes culturales de la modernidad.” The idea of cultural cannibalism that emerged from the *Manifesto Antropófago* and the *Revista de Antropofagia* allowed for the consumption of thoughts, ideas, and cultures and the creation of an entirely new Brazilian culture. Oswaldo de Andrade, “Manifesto Antropófago,” *Revista de Antropofagia* 1, no. 1 (May 1928): 3 and 7. For a thorough discussion of cannibalism and national culture, see Carlos Jaureguí, *Canibalia: canibalismo, calibanismo, antropofagia cultural y consumo en América Latina* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008), 425–435. The quotation above is from page 425.

¹⁹ Antônio de Alcântara Machado, “Abre-Alas,” *Revista de Antropofagia* 1, no. 1 (May, 1928), 1.

²⁰ Col. J. A. Crane, Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, “Letter to Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle, Jr.,” August 20, 1940, 832.101/14, Municipal Government (National Archives Microfilm Publication M1515, Roll 10, Target 2); Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Brazil (RDSRIAB), 1940-1944, RG 59, NARA, College Park, MD; A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, “Letter to Reginald S. Castleman, American Consul in Bahia, Brazil,” August 29, 1940, 832.101/14, Municipal Government (National Archives Microfilm Publication M1515, Roll 10, Target 2); RDSRIAB, 1940-1944, RG 59, NARA, College Park, MD; A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, “Letter to Walter J. Linthicum, American Vice Consul in PE, Brazil,” August 28, 1940, 832.101/14, Municipal Government (National

in Recife indicates that they began to consider construction of a base in Natal in May 1941.²¹ In July 1941, workers began to clear the land and by mid-1942 the airbase in Natal, the Parnamirim Field, also known as the “Trampolim da Vitória” (Springboard to Victory), had two 6,000-foot runways, a control tower, an office, and other attached buildings leftover from Lati and Air France.²² By the end of 1943, the United States Engineering Department had paved a road into Natal (the “Pista Americana”) and constructed a pipeline for fuel from the Potengi River to the airbase.²³ By the end of the war, Parnamirim Field had more than 400 buildings, a hospital, officers’ clubs, theaters, mess halls, and a chapel spread over more than 3,300 acres.²⁴ The importance of this base in the war effort is not highlighted in traditional texts on World War II, yet it should not be taken lightly. According to a 1945 account by Nelson Lansdale in *The Inter-American*, “Through it in 1942 passed supplies and men who helped capture Africa. Through it went men and supplies that later inched their way up the Italian peninsula. Through it also went some of the supplies with which U.S. troops crawled through the jungles of India and down the Burma Road.”²⁵ In the words of Frank McCann, “without it supply

Archives Microfilm Publication M1515, Roll 10, Target 2); RDSRIAB, 1940-1944, RG 59, NARA, College Park, MD; A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, “Letter to Jay Walker, American Vice Consul in Pará, Brazil,” August 29, 1940, 832.101/14, Municipal Government (National Archives Microfilm Publication M1515, Roll 10, Target 2); RDSRIAB, 1940-1944, RG 59, NARA, College Park, MD; A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, “Letter to Elin O’Shaughnessy, American Vice Consul in Natal, Brazil,” August 29, 1940, 832.101/14, Municipal Government (National Archives Microfilm Publication M1515, Roll 10, Target 2); RDSRIAB, 1940-1944, RG 59, NARA, College Park, MD.

²¹ Walter J. Linthicum, “Letter to Mr. W. H. Sims, American Vice Consul in Natal, Brazil,” May 13, 1941, 102.5, Box 2 (1941: 050 to 1941: 891), UD 2152, Classified GR 1938-1963, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

The U.S. had already begun creating runways throughout the Americas, including in Brazil, through the Airport Development Program. McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945*, 216.

²² McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945*, 131 and 235–236.

²³ *Ibid.*, 238.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; Lansdale, “Building a World Crossroads, Part I,” 15. McCann lists the numbers as 400 buildings and 3,301 acres. Lansdale lists them as 440 buildings and 3,315 acres. Many of these buildings are abandoned, but still standing in Natal today.

²⁵ Lansdale, “Building a World Crossroads, Part I,” 15.

problems during 1942 and 1943 might have been insurmountable.”²⁶ Nonetheless, Natal was but one step in the supply chain; there were 41 airfields, 6 seaplanes, and 8 blimp bases between the U.S. and Brazil, and, between Natal and North Africa, planes also stopped at the archipelago Fernando de Noronha and at Ascension Island.²⁷

Natal’s vulnerability to attack and its status as home to one of the busiest U.S. airfields during World War II is important to the city’s sense of history and self. While to the foreign ear, the constant telling of how important Natal was during the war might seem exaggerated, World War II was intensely present in Natal from 1942 through the end of the war. In fact, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Getúlio Vargas met in Natal in 1943 to discuss Brazil’s participation in the war, resulting, among other things, in an iconic and frequently reproduced image of the two in a jeep outside of the U.S. Naval Base, popularly referred to as “Rampa,” on the Potengi River.²⁸ The U.S. presence in the city was not limited to politicians, airplanes, and the military, it invaded advertisements, music, and daily life. A fear of inevitable attack was both created and continually reinforced by constant reminders in newspapers, like Natal’s *A República*, of Rio Grande do Norte’s proximity to Africa and its potential as an axis target.²⁹

The prominent *natalense* (the term used to designate someone who is from or lives in Natal) newspaper *A República* began to express this state’s vulnerability in World War II immediately after

²⁶ McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945*, 238.

²⁷ Grazielle Rodrigues do Nascimento, “Fernando de Noronha e os ventos da Guerra Fria (a relação entre Brasil e Estados Unidos nos anos de JK)” (Masters thesis, Universidade Federal de PE, 2009), 42–59; McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945*, 239. For a discussion of the strategic importance of Fernando de Noronha in U.S.-Brazilian relations at the end of the war and during the Cold War, see also Tacito Thadeu Leite Rolim, “Brasil no contexto da Guerra Fria e seus subprodutos: era atômica e dos mísseis, corrida armamentista e espacial, 1945-60.” (PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2012).

²⁸ For more on Roosevelt’s visit, see Roberto Muylaert, *1943: Roosevelt e Vargas em Natal* (São Paulo: Bússola, 2012).

²⁹ For a study of fear during the war in a different region of Brazil, see Marlene de Fáveri, *Memórias de uma (outra) guerra: cotidiano e medo durante a Segunda Guerra em Santa Catarina*, 2nd ed. (Itajaí/Florianópolis: Ed. Univali/Ed. da UFSC, 2002).

the Minister of External Relations, Oswaldo Aranha, declared on January 28, 1942 that Brazil had broken diplomatic ties with Axis nations.³⁰ On February 12, a manifestation of support of President Vargas' break with Axis powers was held in Natal, complete with musical bands, a platoon of lancers, the army's marching band, "senhoritas" holding flags, union representatives, and, as was common in any manifestation of power at this time, a long line of cars.³¹ According to *A República*, this was an "eminently popular movement," with an "incalculable" number of attendees.³² While the purpose of this manifestation was reportedly to rally support, one reporter sensed a more sinister subtext: war was coming to Natal. The journalist Danilo, in his daily column, stated: "norte-riograndenses, creatures healthy in spirit and good at heart, have faith, because faith never abandoned you ... It is important for us to think that nothing will happen to us. God will protect our destiny."³³ While stating that it was important to think that nothing would happen, Danilo also insinuated that this act of thought was to wish away that which was already there – a belief that war was coming to Natal.³⁴

³⁰ McCann, Jr., *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945*, 257. Vargas had already sent Roosevelt a telegram declaring solidarity on December 8, 1941. Getúlio Vargas, "Cópia de telegrama de Getúlio Vargas a Franklin Roosevelt solidarizando-se com os Estados Unidos face à agressão japonesa e reafirmando os compromissos com a política continental americana," December 8, 1941, LV c 1941.12.08. Luiz Vergara Collection, O Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil (CPDOC), Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), Rio de Janeiro, RJ. See also: Seitenfus, *A entrada do Brasil na Segunda Guerra Mundial*, 277.

³¹ Interventor Rafael Fernandes was quick to express support publicly for the breaking of diplomatic relations, and Vargas, publicly expressed appreciation for that support. "O Rio Grande do Norte e a solidariedade continental: telegrama do presidente Getúlio Vargas ao Interventor Rafael Fernandes," *A República*, February 8, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN. Announcements and reports of the march are found in: "Um acontecimento cívico," *A República*, February 10, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; "Manifestação de solidariedade ao presidente Vargas pelo rompimento das relações entre o Brasil e o 'Eixo,'" *A República*, February 10, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; "A manifestação amanhã em regosijo pelo rompimento das relações entre o Brasil e o 'Eixo,'" *A República*, February 11, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; L.M., "Tópicos: manifestação expressiva," *A República*, February 11, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; "A manifestação, hoje, de solidariedade ao Presidente Vargas pelo rompimento das relações entre o Brasil e o 'eixo,'" *A República*, February 11, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

³² "eminente popular" and "incalculável multidão." "A grande manifestação, ontem, de solidariedade ao Presidente Vargas pelo rompimento das relações entre o Brasil e o 'Eixo,'" *A República*, February 13, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

³³ "norte riograndenses, criaturas sanas de espírito[sic] e boas de coração, tende fé, porque nunca fostes por ela desamparados. Hoje, na praça pública [sic], a voz do RN interpretará o sentimento da nossa gente diante dos fatos consumados no âmbito [sic] da diplomacia da guerra. E' preciso pensarmos que nada nos acontecerá. Deus protegerá o nosso destino." Danilo, "Deus protegerá o nosso destino," *A República*, February 12, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

³⁴ Similar demonstrations were held elsewhere throughout 1942, including the Quebra-Quebra riots mentioned in chapter two and the "comício anti-nazista" that took place in the Messejana (then Mecejana) neighborhood of Fortaleza on August

A República conveyed and contributed to the creation of a vulnerable Natal shrouded in uncertainty and fear. This fear was not only for the protection of the city, but of the nation. To protect the integrity of the nation, Natal had to first and foremost defend itself. Due to this, in these opinion articles, under the fear of airstrike and vulnerability lie also excitement at the city's elevated importance in the national and international sphere. Natal was vulnerable, but it existed, and even, was very important in the war. For example, the February 15, 1942 article, "Em estado de alerta" ("In a State of Alert"), advised that Brazil had not declared war, but since it had broken with the Axis, the entire country should be on alert, but Natal should be even more so.³⁵ On March 2, 1942, *A República* informed the public of Natal that President Vargas had declared that a military base would be constructed in the city.³⁶ Another article announced this project as definitive proof of "the importance that the geographic location of this city takes for the security and integrity of the national territory." The article again reminds natalenses that Natal would be the first point of "eventual attack" because of its proximity to Africa and due to its importance for maritime and aerial communication in the system of Atlantic ports.³⁷ This excitement about Natal's sudden elevation in international importance was also manifested in advertisements that show images of the war, mention the place of Natal within the war, mention "the world," and print images of the globe. Later in the war, once Brazilian troops

2, 1942. "Multidão entusiasmada no comício anti-nazista de Mecejana," *Correio do Ceará*, August 3, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

³⁵ "Em estado de alerta," *A República*, February 15, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

³⁶ "O presidente da República assinou decreto, criando uma base aérea em Natal," *A República*, March 2, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

³⁷ "a importancia que a situação geográfica desta cidade assume para a segurança e integridade do territorio nacional" and "esse ataque eventual." "Base aerea em Natal," *A República*, March 4, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

were sent to Italy, several articles in *A República* emphasize the importance of soldiers from Rio Grande do Norte in the war, reprinting their letters home from the front.³⁸

Nonetheless, excitement was accompanied by a fear that was firmly consolidated through preparations for airstrikes and the practice of blackouts.³⁹ As early as February 7, 1942 – just ten days after Aranha’s announcement – *A República* printed a warning that every siren in the city would be tested while the police chief, by way of the Departamento Estadual de Imprensa e Propaganda (State Department of Press and Propaganda - DEIP), warned that only “o Governo” (“the Government”) had the right to use sirens in the city.⁴⁰ On February 14, *A República* began to publish a column of advice for natalenses on how to prepare for possible airstrikes.⁴¹ The next day, another article announced that bomb shelters would be built in the city and that plans were available for families that wished to build their own.⁴² The first bomb shelter built in Natal was not only reported in an *A República* article, but also received its own spot in the social column reporting its inauguration.⁴³

These preparatory articles were followed by a series of “blackouts” in 1942. According to an article in *A República*, the first blackout in Natal took place on March 2, 1942. The sirens started at 8 pm and sounded in several points of the city. Airplanes flew over Natal, dropping lighted packages to

³⁸ “Mais um norte-riograndense que integrou a gloriosa FEB,” *A República*, July 11, 1945, IHGRN; “Carta de um expedicionário conterrâneo a A República,” *A República*, September 2, 1945, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

³⁹ José Nazareno Moreira de Aguiar, “Apaga a luz, ‘Quinta-Coluna,’” in *Cidade em black-out: crônicas referentes à Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Natal: EDUFRN, 1991), 45–47 offers an account of how these blackouts were incorporated into Natal’s culture.

⁴⁰ “comunica [sic] a chefia de Polícia, por intermedio do DEIP,” *A República*, February 7, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; “Aviso A’ População,” *A República*, February 7, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN. Later in the same year, the use of sirens would be prohibited throughout the country. “Terminalmente proibido o uso de sirenes em todo Brasil,” *Correio do Ceará*, October 13, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁴¹ “Conselhos á população de Natal: Iluminação,” *A República*, February 14, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

⁴² “Conselhos á população de Natal,” *A República*, February 15, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

⁴³ This first shelter was built by Amaro Mesquita for his Family and was, possibly, the first built in the country. “Inaugurado o primeiro abrigo anti-aereo de Natal,” *A República*, March 3, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; Danilo, “Sociais: o primeiro abrigo ...,” *A República*, March 3, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

simulate a real attack. The drill lasted for half an hour, after which time the sirens sounded a distinct alarm indicating that the threat was over. The drill was, apparently, a success. Reportedly, everyone turned their lights off, traffic – even the trolley – stopped. Pedestrians took cover. Overall the population “understood perfectly the instructions given by the civil government and by the military command.”⁴⁴

Again, the theme was adopted in advertisements. On July 27, 1942 the *Diários Associados* affiliated *Correio do Ceará* in Fortaleza printed a quarter-page advertisement from Sulamérica bank. The ad informs potential customers that while you will hopefully get warning for an airstrike, prior warning is guaranteed neither in airstrikes nor in banking.⁴⁵ In the same year, an ad for the Fortaleza fabric store, Casas Novas, announced a “blackout sale” under the large, bold, attention-grabbing question: “Black-out in Ceará?” (see figure 28).⁴⁶ While the advertisements make light of the situation, according to Lenine Pinto, of the blackouts that took place in Natal between March 1942 and May 1943, three were not drills, but were instead real warnings triggered by fear of imminent attack.⁴⁷ The fear caused by the possibility that a blackout not be a simple drill also surfaced in music, like the 1943 *marcha de Carnaval*, “Blecaute,” whose lyrics include: “Let’s go, Maria, let’s go / In the street we can no longer stay / The blackout is about to start, Maria / We have to take cover / ... / I already heard the siren / Give the alert warning / When you hear the second siren / Maria, take my hand.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ “Desta forma, a população compreendeu perfeitamente as instruções divulgadas pelo governo civil e pelo comando militar, facilitando-lhe assim as arduas responsabilidades que carretam nesta hora.” “Coroados de pleno exito as experiencias de defesa anti-aerea nesta capital,” *A República*, March 3, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

⁴⁵ Sulamérica, “Não se deixe apanhar por surpresa!” *Correio do Ceará*, July 27, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁴⁶ Casas Novas, “Black-out no Ceará?” *Gazeta de Notícias*, May 6, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁴⁷ Pinto, *Natal, USA*, 109. One such blackout, according to Nelson Lansdale, was called due to Germany’s threats to bomb Natal in radio broadcasts once Brazil declared war on August 26, 1942. Another, on September 7, was caused by a transatlantic clipper that was not able to land on the Potengi River and so, flew over city unexpectedly. Nelson Lansdale, “Building a World Crossroads, Part II,” *The Inter-American*, November 1945, 25.

⁴⁸ “Vamos Maria, Vamos / Na rua não podemos ficar / Vai começar o blecaute, Maria / Temos que nos refugiar / ... / Eu já ouvi a sirene / Dar o sinal de atenção / Quando ouvir a segunda alerta / Maria, me dê sua mão.” A. F. Silva and



Figure 28: Blackout in Ceará?⁴⁹

There were murmurs within the press about fear mongering.⁵⁰ To both control the dissension and to control the excessive spread of fear, the Brazilian government effected strict censorship and disciplinary measures in 1942. While Decreto N. 10.358 would not revoke the right to free expression (guaranteed by the 1937 Constitution) until the end of August, 1942, the Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda (Department of Press and Propaganda – DIP) had already limited coverage of the war in 1941.⁵¹ In Rio Grande do Norte, *A República* published notices from DEIP that anything published

Gilberto Alves, *Blecaute* (Odeon, 1943); Grácio Barbalho, “A música popular e a II Guerra Mundial,” *Tempo universitário* 1, no. 3 (1977): 51.

⁴⁹ Casas Novas, “Black-out no Ceará?”.

⁵⁰ These are mentioned in: “Conselhos a’ população de Natal,” *A República*, February 19, 1942, IHGRN; “A defesa passiva de Natal,” *A República*, February 20, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

⁵¹ On December 8, 1941 – just a day after the attack on Pearl Harbor – Vasco Leitão da Cunha ordered the federally appointed state governors to censor all media to create “one voice and one sentiment” on Brazil’s interests in the war and “maintain absolute order and tranquility.” This meant restricting any public “demonstrations against the United States and the policy followed by the Brazilian government,” as well as any anti-Japanese manifestations, which could also stir up agitation. A few days later, Lourival Fontes, Director of the DIP, sent a telegram to Agamenon Magalhães, the Interventor Federal of Pernambuco, telling him to prohibit also any communication on any media that is sympathetic to the Axis powers or critical of the Allied powers. “Now [any] newspapers [and] radio stations that up to now had sympathy [for the] totalitarian countries should radically modify [their] orientation.” And, again, a week later Lourival Fontes sent another

in the newspaper had to be first cleared by their offices and notices from DIP that opinions were no longer allowed in any media form. Newspapers were to print nothing more than “simple news of facts that took place.”⁵²

Nonetheless, even the simple news of facts that took place brought about volatile emotional responses from some Northeasterners. News of the repeated torpedo attacks on Brazilian vessels during the Battle of the Atlantic led to violent public manifestations, as already mentioned in Chapter 2. News of the attacks, reprinted editorials from Rio de Janeiro newspapers, and the governmental response to the attacks repeatedly made the front page of *A República*.⁵³ These attacks, according to one article, again reminded the population of the importance of being prepared, reducing the possible effects of a surprise attack.⁵⁴

telegram to Agamenon Magalhães informing him that newspapers and radio were no longer allowed to report on any movement in the ports nor on the merchant marine or war ships from belligerent countries, from Brazil, or “particularly” from the United States. Ministério das Relações Exteriores, “Decreto N. 10.358 - de 31 de agosto de 1942,” in *O Brasil e a Segunda Guerra Mundial*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1944), 193; Cunha, Vasco Leitão da, “Telegrama de Vasco Tristão Leitão da Cunha a Agamenon Magalhães pedindo manter ordem e evitar manifestações públicas contrárias a solidariedade prestada pelo Brasil aos EUA,” December 8, 1941, AGM c 1941.12.08, image 587, microfilm roll 2, Agamenon Magalhães Collection, CPDOC-FGV, Rio de Janeiro, RJ; Fontes, Lourival, “Telegrama de Lourival Fontes a Agamenon Magalhães proibindo [propaganda] a favor de países totalitários, assim como crítica aos países aliados,” December 11, 1941, AGM c 1941.12.11/2, image 589, microfilm roll 2, Agamenon Magalhães Collection, CPDOC-FGV, Rio de Janeiro, RJ; Lourival Fontes, “Telegramas de Lourival Fontes a Agamenon Magalhães informando ser vedado qualquer noticiário sobre movimento marítimo, por motivo de Segurança Nacional,” December 18, 1941, AGM c 1941.12.18/3, image 599, microfilm roll 2, CPDOC-FGV, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

⁵² For example: Departamento Estadual de Imprensa e Propaganda, Expediente ao Diretor Geral, “Aviso,” *A República*, February 3, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; Departamento Estadual de Imprensa e Propaganda, Expediente ao Diretor Geral, “Aviso,” *A República*, February 4, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda, *A República*, March 1, 1942, IHGRN. The quotation is from the latter and reads: “noticiário simples do fato que deu lugar.”

⁵³ Among others: “O Itamaratí distribuiu á imprensa, por intermedio do DIP, o seguinte comunicado:,” *A República*, February 19, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; “Torpedo e afundado, sem prévio aviso, o vapor brasileiro ‘Arabutan,’” *A República*, March 11, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; “O torpedeamento do ‘Cairu,’” *A República*, March 12, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; “Considerações oportunas,” *A República*, March 12, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; “A Alemanha responderá,” *A República*, March 13, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; “Os bens dos suditos do eixo respondem pelos prejuizos causados ao Brasil,” *A República*, March 14, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN; “O torpedamento do Cabedelo,” *A República*, March 13, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

⁵⁴ “A defesa passiva de Natal.”



Figure 29: Eu não sou germanofilo, não senhor!⁵⁵



Figure 30: Sou aliadofilo mas ...⁵⁶

While repression of sympathizers of the “Fifth Column” in the press are far from surprising, definitions of which ideas might be considered subversive became increasingly nebulous. In September 1942, the Fortaleza newspaper *Correio do Ceará* began publishing graphics in the style of comics on the front page. The series titled “Cuidado com ele!” depicted different characters of whom one should be suspicious (see figures 29 and 30). These images were able to convey visually and quickly not only who should be avoided or reported, but how a person should act and what he or she should not say under any circumstances. These warnings were at times as simple as translating former integralistas into pro-nazistas; at others, they warned against speaking ill of Jewish or British people. But they also took care to remove any possible spaces of neutrality – not attending parades (whether one enjoys them or not), speaking out against the USSR, suspecting that the newspapers exaggerate

⁵⁵ Darcy, “Cuidado com ele!,” *Correio do Ceará*, September 22, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁵⁶ Darcy, “Cuidado com ele!,” *Correio do Ceará*, September 30, 1942, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

their reporting of axis atrocities, admiring German culture – any of these traits should lead a sound patriot to suspect the character of his or her interlocutor.

The images also affirmed that Brazil had several internal enemies: naturalized Italians, Germans, and Japanese residents, fifth-column supporters, and self-criticism. Northeasterners were to fear not only airstrikes from foreigners advancing from abroad, but also the possibility of internal attacks at their moral integrity. DOPS made lists of foreigners in the Northeast and rounded many up into concentration camps like the “Campo de Concentração Chã de Estevam” and the “Presídio Especial” in Pernambuco.⁵⁷ Airwaves were monitored for potential signals sent by Germans with hidden radios buried in sand.⁵⁸ And even Gilberto Freyre was arrested for usurping the governmental monopoly on the creation of fear when he alleged that priests loyal to the Axis were teaching children in the Northeastern countryside.⁵⁹ These reports also made their way to the United States through U.S. informants in Brazil, with the same stories told in the classified files of the U.S. Consulate.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁷ Among others: *Relação dos súditos do eixo residentes em Pernambuco* (PE: Secretaria de Segurança Pública, s.d.), Relações de Alemães, PF: Alemanha (Eixo Alemanha, Itália, Japão), 1914-1949, Fundo SSP No. 1044, Acervo do Departamento de Ordem Política e Social (DOPS), Arquivo Público Estadual Jordão Emerenciano, Recife (APEJE), Pernambuco (PE); *Lista de presos - 1942* (PE: Secretaria de Segurança Pública, 1942), Relações de Alemães, Prontuário Funcional (PF): Alemanha (Eixo Alemanha, Itália, Japão), 1914-1949, Fundo SSP No. 1044, Acervo do DOPS, APEJE, Recife, PE; *Relação dos estrangeiros presos por esta delegacia nos dias 17 e 18 de agosto de 1942* (Recife, August 18, 1942), Relações de Alemães, PF: Alemanha (Eixo Alemanha, Itália, Japão), 1914-1949, Fundo SSP No. 1044, Acervo do DOPS, APEJE, Recife, PE; *Relação [sic] dos alemães que se encontram no campo de concentração de Chã de Estevam* (PE: Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social, August 1, 1944), Relações de Alemães, PF: Alemanha (Eixo Alemanha, Itália, Japão), 1914-1949, Fundo SSP No. 1044, Acervo do DOPS, APEJE, Recife, PE; *Relação dos estrangeiros que se encontram recolhidos ao Presídio Especial*, n.d., Relações de Alemães, PF: Alemanha (Eixo Alemanha, Itália, Japão), 1914-1949, Fundo SSP No. 1044, Acervo do DOPS, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁵⁸ Documents stored at the CPDOC of FGV demonstrate rampant xenophobic paranoia, espionage, and persecution and repression of foreign nationals from Axis countries within the Northeast (FGV-CPDOC, Agamenon Magalhães Collection, roll 2: AGM 41.12.12/2, image 590; AGM 41.12.20/3, image 600; AGM 41.12.18/3, image 599; AGM 41.12.19, image 599; AGM 41.12.20/1, image 600; AGM 41.12.20/2, image 600; AGM 42.01.24, image 605; AGM 42.03.02, image 612; AGM 42.09.21/1, image 691; AGM 43.08.10, image 732; AGM c 1943.08.17, image 735. FGV-CPDOC GCC, roll 71: GC 39.07.06, images 201, 208 and 232. FGV-CPDOC, Estelvino Lins Collection: EL 43.08.00).

⁵⁹ Anibal Fernandes, “Carta de Anibal Fernandes Freire a Etelvino Lins justificando-se por não ter evitado a publicação do artigo de Gilberto Freire sobre o Padre Ibiapina. Em anexo o depoimento de Gilberto Freire e o referido artigo publicado pelo ‘Diário de Pernambuco,’” June 11, 1942, EL c 1942.06.11, Estelvino Lins Collection, CPDOC, FGV, among many others.

⁶⁰ Such as in the letters found in 1942, 000, Box 3, Entry UD 2152, 1942-1943, [1942] 000 to [1943] 820, Classified GR, 1938-1963, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

narrative was set: Brazil was vulnerable to attack through the Northeast from the outside and from within.

Brazil's declaration of neutrality and later of war affected more than just a general sense of uncertainty. With the construction of Brazilian and U.S. military bases, the population of Natal more than doubled in the 1940s, rising from 51,479 in 1940 to 106,254 in 1950. In the same period, the population of the city of Recife rose from 323,177 to 534,468.⁶¹ These demographic changes brought unexpected stress to the infrastructure of the cities and economies of the states. Traffic problems and accidents increased dramatically. In Recife, in 1943 there were 975 vehicular accidents, in 1944 there were 1,009, and in 1945 there were 1,577.⁶² In Natal, accidents – especially cases where pedestrians were run over – were blamed on the population increase as caused by “the arrival of contingents of troops quartered here [along] with the influx of workers and technicians assigned to the Parnamirim base.” The increase in traffic of all kinds (pedestrian and vehicular) lent the city “the intense and bustling life of an industrial center.” The article quoted here from *A República* worried that the abrupt change in traffic had occurred too quickly and had not given the city's inhabitants time to adapt from their previously “peaceful and tranquil existence.”⁶³ Traffic was also a concern in Recife, where the need to defend and guard the Port of Recife led to drastic changes in the trolley and bus routes in the Recife

⁶¹ IBGE, “Estado da população, II – População do Brasil, na data do recenseamento geral de 1940,” in *Estatísticas do século*, CD-Rom (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2003), sheet 4 and 5; IBGE, “Estado da população, III – Resultados preliminares do recenseamento geral de 1950,” in *Estatísticas do século*, CD-Rom (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2003), sheet 3.

⁶² “Estatística,” in *Boletim da Cidade e do Porto do Recife*, n. 15-18 (Recife: Diretoria de Documentação e Cultura da Prefeitura Municipal do Recife, 1945), sec. Número de desastres ocasionados por veículos e outros acidentes, segundo os meses – 1943/1945. There appears to be an error in the calculation of injuries in these accidents, since the number of deaths caused by vehicles skyrocketed in the same period from 39 deaths in 1943 to 1,772 in 1945, while, mysteriously, the number of injuries associated with accidents decreased from 920 in 1943 to 24 in 1945. *Ibid.*, sec. Número de mortes e de lesões nos desastres, segundo os meses 1943/1945.

⁶³ “com a chegada dos contingentes de tropas aqui aquarteladas e também com a afluência de operários e técnicos para os serviços da base naval e de Parnamirim,” “a vida intensa e agitada de um centro industrial,” and “existência pacata e tranquila.” “Os veículos e os pedestres,” *A República*, February 13, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

neighborhood, precisely the neighborhood that housed the banks, telegraph, post office, customs office, and police station.⁶⁴ In May 1942, Recife hosted its first “Semana de Transito,” (Traffic Week) an awareness campaign aimed at training both pedestrians and drivers in basic traffic safety and etiquette that included radio programs, presentations, parades, and contests at local schools.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, older more familiar threats remained in the Northeast: scarcity of food and drought. *A República* frequently expressed concerns over a lack of rain and imminent drought, alongside faith that the state government and IFOCS would reduce the consequences of the drought and the need for migration.⁶⁶ *A República* reported that *retirantes* – people who leave the land they live on in search of temporary or permanent refuge from drought – had already begun “to overcome distance in search of bread” by March 1942.⁶⁷ Difficulties in supplying food to both the local population and the new U.S. residents in the city (with the latter receiving priority), coupled with the drought, led to food shortages.⁶⁸ The influence of the bases on the local economy through food supply

⁶⁴ Newton de Andrade Cavalcanti, *Ofício da [7ª] Região Militar ao Interventor Federal de PE sobre o Plano de Vigilância e Guarda do Porto de Recife* (Recife: 7ª Região Militar, August 16, 1943), AGM c 1943.08.16, image 734, microfilm roll 2, Agamenon Magalhães Collection, CPDOC-FGV; Agamenon Magalhães, “Ofício da Interventoria Federal ao Comandante da 7ª Região Militar informando que foram tomadas as providências necessárias à maior vigilância do Porto do Recife,” August 17, 1943, AGM c 1943.08.17, image 735, microfilm roll 2, Agamenon Magalhães Collection, CPDOC-FGV, Rio de Janeiro.

⁶⁵ Prefeitura Municipal do Recife. Diretoria de Estatística, Propaganda, e Turismo, “Primeira Semana de Transito do Recife,” *Arquivos* 1, no. 1 (March 1942): 263–72.

⁶⁶ “A ameaça da sêca,” *A República*, March 4, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

⁶⁷ “vencer as distancias em busca do pão,” “Ante da perspectiva da sêca,” *A República*, March 8, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.

⁶⁸ Worries about hygiene and the scarcity of food in the region, especially dried meat and flour, is as prevalent in governmental correspondence at the time as were concerns over foreign nationals (image 695, AGM 42.12.07/02, Agamenon Magalhães Collection, CPDOC-FGV; image 701, AGM 42.12.09, Agamenon Magalhães Collection, CPDOC-FGV; image 171, GC 39.07.06, roll 71, Gustavo Capanema Collection, CPDOC-FGV; image 171, GC 39.07.06 A, roll 71, Gustavo Capanema Collection; image 172, GC 39.07.06 A, roll 71, Gustavo Capanema Collection, CPDOC-FGV; image 173, GC 39.07.06, roll 71, Gustavo Capanema Collection, CPDOC-FGV; images 259-264, roll 71, GC 39.07.06, Gustavo Capanema Collection, CPDOC-FGV; image 290, GC 39.07.06, roll 71, Gustavo Capanema Collection, CPDOC-FGV; EL 43.09.28, Etelvino Lins Collection, CPDOC-FGV; EL 43.09.23, Etelvino Lins Collection, CPDOC-FGV; EL 43.10.20, Etelvino Lins Collection, CPDOC-FGV; EL 43.11.17, Etelvino Lins Collection, CPDOC-FGV, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

channels was, at times, catastrophic.⁶⁹ Later, preparations to send Brazilian troops to combat in Italy further highlighted both the scarcity of basic food supplies in the Northeast and the poor state of health, hygiene, and nutrition of the region on an international stage, provoking a lasting impression of Brazil's participation in the war as shameful or embarrassing.⁷⁰

Changing Cities: Ray-Ban, Coca-Cola, Uncle Sam goes to Carnaval, and the Yankees Go Home

U.S. servicemen interacted with the people and city around them. Soldiers frequently went to the beach, and in Natal, one stretch of shoreline came to be known as “Miami Beach” due to their presence.⁷¹ Hollywood actors and actresses arrived to entertain the troops in Natal, but also performed shows at the Cinema Rex and gave interviews to the local newspapers.⁷² In Recife, José Neves Barbosa, Secretary of the Clube Português, sent a letter to the U.S. Consul inviting all officers of the U.S. Navy to attend any and all parties and commemorations that took place at the club, in order to “offer the brave officials of the U.S. Navy some hours of diversion and pleasant well-being, and also ... to bring together even more the peoples of these two great nations ... in this grave hour of humanity.”⁷³

⁶⁹ As in the case of eggs, wherein the the Army ordered eggs from João Pessoa at an elevated price, causing prices to fall locally, then purchased the lower-priced local eggs and rescinded on its deal with João Pessoa producers. Lansdale, “Building a World Crossroads, Part II,” 46.

⁷⁰ While Seitenfus pointed out Brazil's constant position of compromise and limited autonomy, McCann focused on the visibility of Brazil's socio-economic problems on an international stage. To support this position, McCann pointed out that of the 200,000 young men drafted, only 25,000 were healthy enough to participate in the war; that upon arrival in Italy, the Brazilian military uniforms fell apart, forcing Brazilian military leaders to request new uniforms from the U.S. military and; that the Brazilian forces arrived so late as to make their combat seem merely symbolic. Francisco César Ferraz, on the other hand, urged Brazilians to view these challenges instead as symbols of perseverance, obstacles overcome and sources of pride. Francisco César Ferraz, *Brasileiros e a Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Jorge Zahar, 2005).

⁷¹ Carlos Sizenando Rossiter Pinheiro and Fred Sizenando Rossiter Pinheiro, *Dos bondes ao hippie drive-in: fragmentos do cotidiano da cidade do Natal* (Natal: EDUFERN, 2009), 123; Melo, *Contribuição norte-americana à vida natalense*, 63.

⁷² Pinheiro and Pinheiro, *Dos bondes ao hippie drive-in*, 122–123.

⁷³ José Neves Barbosa, “Letter to U.S. Consul Leo J. Callanan,” September 9, 1942, 840.06, Box 46, Vol. VII, 1942, 833-851.2, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

Similarly, the President of the Clube Internacional do Recife, Guilherme Martins de Albuquerque, sent a letter to the U.S. Consul inviting all ranks of the U.S. Armed Forces to their New Year's Eve Party, as long as they followed the black-tie dress code which would allow their white uniforms, but not khakis.⁷⁴

U.S. servicemen also participated in Carnival. The marcha de Carnaval "Cecília" became a hit among the U.S. servicemen in Brazil during the 1944 festivities. The song, released in 1943 was written to commemorate that the Allies had invaded and secured Sicily – in Portuguese, Sicília, pronounced almost the same as the name Cecília.⁷⁵ According to an interview with the composer, Roberto Martins, in 1991, the writer changed the spelling of "Sicília" to "Cecília" and added romantic lyrics to give the song double-entendre.⁷⁶

Pra mostrar que braço é braço Eu conquistei Cecília Enfrentei balas de aço Mas conquistei Cecília!	To show I'm a man of action I conquered Cecília I faced steel bullets But I conquered Cecília
Ai, ai, Cecília Ai, ai, Cecília Eu não sei amar a mais ninguém, E tu sabes que eu te quero meu bem,	Ay, ay, Cecília Ay, ay, Cecília I don't know how to love anyone else And you know that I love you my dear
Ai, ai, Cecília, Ai, ai, Cecília, Vem comigo e tu serás feliz, Ai, ai, Cecília	Ay, ay, Cecília, Ay, ay, Cecília, Come with me and you will be happy, Ay, ay, Cecília. ⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Guilherme Martins de Albuquerque, "Letter to U.S. Consul Leo J. Callanan," December 28, 1942, 840.06, Box 46, Vol. VII, 1942, 833-851.2, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

⁷⁵ Barbalho, "A música popular e a II Guerra Mundial," 47.

⁷⁶ Fernando Faro, "Roberto Martins - Programa Ensaio" (Fundação Padre Anchieta, 1991), begins around minute 27, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ow0Ew--OvJY>.

⁷⁷ Mário Rossi and Gilberto Alves, *Cecília* (Odeon, 1943).

According to Paulo Viveiros, by the end of Carnaval 1944, U.S. servicemen who had never before participated in a Carnaval, sang along to the song in the streets.⁷⁸ An image that is quite famous in Natal and that graces the cover of at least two books published in the city shows a U.S. sailor holding up the left breast of a popular jokester/vendor/barber, José “Zé” Areia, whose Carnaval costume had him dressed in drag.⁷⁹ Photos in U.S. sailor John R. Harrison’s photographic memoir and photos housed at the Museu da Cidade in Recife show young sailors from the Navy wandering the streets of Recife Antigo during Carnaval in 1945 (see figures 31 and 32).⁸⁰ The U.S. Consulate guided U.S. servicemen on how to behave during Carnaval to avoid problems, issuing bulletins to them in the days prior to the celebration.⁸¹ In 1944, an article entitled “Relações ‘Yankee’-Brasileiras,” appeared in the *Jornal do Commercio* emphasizing “the growing fraternization between Americans and Brazilians” through Carnaval and reminding recifenses that when these yankee soldiers leave Brazil, they will become “the best and most legitimate propagandists of our lands.”⁸² The Northeast, again, had become not only an arena within which a major international event was taking place, but a stage from which it projected its image to the world.

⁷⁸ Paulo de Viveiros, *História da aviação no RN*, vol. 1: História que se registra 1894 a 1945 (Natal: Editoria Universitária, 1974), 135–137.

⁷⁹ The image is printed on the front cover of: Pedreira, *Chiclete eu misturo com banana*; Paulo Augusto da Silva, *O bufão de Natal* (Natal: Sebo Vermelho, 2008).

⁸⁰ John R. Harrison, *Fairwing - Brazil: Tales of the South Atlantic* (by the author, 2011), 248 and 284; *Carnaval de 1945, Turistas Norte Americanos*, Photograph, 1945, 00299, vol III, Museu da Cidade, Recife, PE.

⁸¹ Callanan, Leo J., “Letter to Jefferson Caffery, American Ambassador in Rio de Janeiro,” February 24, 1944, 830, Box 60, Vol. VI, 1944, 690-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

⁸² “os melhores e mais legítimos propagandistas da nossa terra.” “Relações ‘Yankee’-Brasileiras,” *Jornal do Commercio*, February 24, 1944, Attached to Letter to Jefferson Caffery, American Ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, 830, Box 60, Vol. VI, 1944, 690-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.



Figure 31: *Carnaval de 1945, Fotografando aspectos de Carnaval*⁸³



Figure 32: *Carnaval de 1945, Turistas Norte Americanos*⁸⁴

These interactions inspired comical anecdotes. Charging one price to locals and another to soldiers became common and gave locals a way to deal with rapidly rising prices, and, perhaps, served as a way to take a jab at social hierarchies.⁸⁵ Jokes about this price gouging reportedly told by Zé Areia have found their way into print in several sources. In one anecdote, Zé Areia sells a blind parrot to a soldier and, when confronted by the American Consul in Natal asks, “Did you want a parrot that talks or that goes to the cinema?”⁸⁶ In another, Zé Areia sells a hen to an American soldier for the outrageous price of ten dollars. When the Consul complains that Zé Areia sold it for such a high price, Zé explains that the soldier had asked in English, “How much?” and Zé had replied in Portuguese,

⁸³ Alexandre Berzin, *Carnaval de 1945, Fotografando aspectos de Carnaval*, Photograph, 1945, 000224, vol III, Museu da Cidade, Recife, PE.

⁸⁴ Berzin, *Carnaval de 1945, Turistas Norte Americanos*, Photograph, 1945, 00299, vol III, Museu da Cidade, Recife, PE.

⁸⁵ Mention of price gouging can be found in several texts, including: Smith Jr., *Trampolim para a vitória*, 201; Melo, *Contribuição norte-americana à vida natalense*, 40.

⁸⁶ “Espere: O senhor quer papagaio prá falar ou prá levar pro cinema?” Veríssimo de Melo, *Sátiras e epigramas de Zé Areia* (Natal: Sebo Vermelho, 2007), 8; Silva, *O bufão de Natal*, 76.

“Tem dólar?” leading to the misunderstanding.⁸⁷ These anecdotes show that the U.S. servicemen stationed in Natal did not live isolated from the community; instead, they constantly interacted with natalenses both on and off the base. The anecdotes also highlight that in these daily interactions, power plays and shows of mistrust were more common than most memories of the war would lead to believe – a point that Flávia de Sá Pedreira argues in *Chiclete eu misturo com banana: carnaval e cotidiano de Guerra em Natal 1920-1945*.⁸⁸ More importantly for our current study, the constant retelling and reprinting of these anecdotes (along with the amount of personal memorials published in Natal that describe this period) point out their importance in the construction of identity in Natal. As the reference book *400 nomes de Natal* points out, though he was born in 1900 and lived 72 years, Zé Areia’s most famous stories were those about “Uncle Sam’s soldiers.”⁸⁹

The arrival of U.S. troops in the Brazilian Northeast also marked the accelerated arrival of U.S. consumer goods. Long before the Second World War, North American cultural presence in Brazil was already considerable, but it accelerated in the three years of U.S. military presence. Between 1928 and 1937, 85 percent of films shown in Brazil were Hollywood productions.⁹⁰ In Recife, *Flash Gordon on the Planet Mongo*, *Stagecoach* (with John Wayne), *Charlie Chan at Treasure Island*, and *The Little Princess* (with Shirley Temple) were among the movies shown in cinemas in 1940.⁹¹ In 1942, Kibon ice cream and Reader’s Digest *Seleções* arrived for consumption.⁹² In *A República* during World War II, we find

⁸⁷ Pedreira, *Chiclete eu misturo com banana*, 263–264.

⁸⁸ Pedreira, *Chiclete eu misturo com banana*. Another notable exception to this trend is Blanchard Girão, *A invasão dos cabelos dourados: do USO aos abusos no tempo das “Coca-Colas”* (Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo/Fortaleza: ABC Editora, 2008).

⁸⁹ Rejane Cardoso, ed., “Zé Areia - José Antônio Areias Filho,” in *400 nomes de Natal* (Natal: Prefeitura Municipal do Natal, 2000), 799.

⁹⁰ Thomas Skidmore, *Uma história do Brasil*, trans. Raúl Fiker (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2003), 172.

⁹¹ Roland Paraíso, *O Recife e a II Guerra Mundial* (Recife: Bagaço, 2003), 82 and 88.

⁹² Tota, *O imperialismo sedutor*, 59.

advertisements for sunglasses that are “tipo Ray-Ban” (or “Ray-Ban-like”), similar to those sold at the Base Exchange at Parnamirim Field.⁹³

Coca-Cola also arrived in 1942 as part of the promise made by the company’s president, Robert W. Woodruff that, “We will see that every man in uniform gets a bottle of Coca-Cola for five cents wherever he is and whatever it costs.”⁹⁴ In 1943, General Eisenhower requested equipment for bottling Coke in North Africa and as near the war front as possible “in the interest of maintaining morale of America’s GIs.”⁹⁵ Soon after, General George C. Marshall signed a War Department Circular allowing commanders to order Coca-Cola plants, and the plants came with Coca-Cola employees attached to the Army as “technical observers.”⁹⁶ By the end of the war, there were 64 plants worldwide, built at the expense of the U.S. government.⁹⁷ In Natal, Coca-Cola was sold at the local USO and by 1944, the Parnamirim air base had a bottling plant of its own.⁹⁸

It is important to note that these consumer products were more than just items to be purchased, listened to, or watched. According to Antônio Pedro Tota, this initial cultural presence “acted as frontline troops that prepared the invasion” and eased the job of the newly formed Office for the Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations in 1940, later the OCIAA, led by Nelson Rockefeller, which recruited cinematographers such as Walt Disney and, as we saw in Chapter 2,

⁹³ “Oculos tipo RayBan,” *A República*, August 30, 1945, IHGRN; “Oculos tipo Ray-Ban,” *A República*, September 2, 1945, IHGRN; Muylaert, *1943: Roosevelt e Vargas em Natal*, 133.

⁹⁴ Pat Watters, *Coca-Cola: An Illustrated History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), 162; Thomas Oliver, *The Real Coke, the Real Story* (New York: Random House, 1986), 20.

⁹⁵ Watters, *Coca-Cola: An Illustrated History*, 12.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁹⁷ Oliver, *The Real Coke, the Real Story*, 20.

⁹⁸ Pedreira, *Chiclete eu misturo com banana*, 261–262.

Orson Welles.⁹⁹ Tota emphasizes the concept of “Americanism” as an ideology that became a “powerful intentional weapon, with the clear objective of substituting other *-isms*, autochthonous or otherwise.”¹⁰⁰ Tota describes Americanism as connected to concepts of democracy, but more importantly, with progressivism, which he defines as “associated with rationalism, with the idea of a world of abundance and the creative capacity of the American man (the so-called American ingenuity).”¹⁰¹ This Americanism, in more traditional embodiments also carried a subtext of white racial superiority and the protestant ethic.¹⁰² However, Tota also emphasizes resistance toward U.S. cultural products, concluding that Brazil’s Americanization was not passive, but relied on exchange between American and Brazilian culture.¹⁰³ He proposes a return to the concept of cultural anthropophagy, or cannibalism, for understanding this process, stating that, “A nation only incorporates a determined cultural value from another nation if it makes sense within the general configuration of its culture. This means that cultural assimilation is not carried out through imitation, but through a complicated process of re-creation.”¹⁰⁴

While similar, Tota’s analysis of the relationship between consumer and product in 2000 contrasts with arguments circulating in the post-World War II moment in Brazil. Roland Corbisier of the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (ISEB), for example, argued in *Formação e problema da cultura brasileira*, published in 1959 from conference papers presented between 1955 and 1956 that the

⁹⁹ Skidmore, *Uma história do Brasil*, 172; Tota, *O imperialismo sedutor*, 41–92.

¹⁰⁰ “poderoso armamento intencional , com o claro objetivo de suplantar outros *-ismos*, autóctones ou não.” Tota, *O imperialismo sedutor*, 19.

¹⁰¹ “associado ao racionalismo, à idéia de um mundo de abundância e à capacidade criativa do homem americano (a chamada *American ingenuity*).” Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., 180.

¹⁰³ “Nossa americanização não se deu, obviamente, de forma passiva. Houve uma interação entre a cultura americana e a brasileira.” Ibid., 191.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 191–193.

adoption of U.S. consumer habits resulted from mimicry derived from cultural alienation.¹⁰⁵ The problem with consuming a product, according to Corbisier, was that the product also implied a system of values. He writes: “To import a finished product is to import the being, the shape that incarnates and reflects the cosmovision of those who produced it. When importing, for example, the cadillac [sic], gum, coca-cola [sic] and the cinema we are not simply importing objects or merchandise, but also a whole complex of values and behaviors that are implied in these products.”¹⁰⁶ According to Corbisier, Brazilians were consuming not only products but ideas imported from abroad without the ability to assimilate these ideas, alien to their history and authentic experience, leaving Brazilian culture as “... the empty wrapping of a content that is not ours because it is foreign.”¹⁰⁷

These national examinations help us to understand that consumption of U.S. consumer goods and cultural products during this period in Brazil carried with it ideological insinuations and fell within a greater cultural project supported by the U.S. government. They also remind us that U.S. governmental projects do not force people to consume, though they might give motivation to find the store (or perhaps even build the sidewalk that will take you there). However, as national studies, they do not factor in that regional and local identities gave this consumption yet another layer of meaning. On December 11, 1943 in the natalense newspaper *O Diário*, the folklorist and anthropologist Luís da Câmara Cascudo (whose work on jangadeiros was frequently referenced in

¹⁰⁵ I describe the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros and Roland Corbisier’s thought on cultural authenticity and imperialism more thoroughly in: Courtney J. Campbell, “From Mimicry to Authenticity: The Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros on the Possibility of Brazilian Culture (1954-1960),” *From Mimicry to Authenticity: The Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros on the Possibility of Brazilian Culture (1954-1960)* 51, no. 1 (June 2014): 157–81.

¹⁰⁶ “... produzir matéria prima é produzir o não ser, a mera virtualidade, a mera possibilidade de ser, aquilo que só virá a ser quando fôr transformado pelos outros, quando receber a forma que os outros lhe imprimirem. Importar o produto acabado é importar o ser, a forma que encarna e reflete a cosmovisão daqueles que a produziram. Ao importar, por exemplo, o cadillac [sic], o chicletes [sic], a coca-cola [sic] e o cinema não importamos apenas objetos ou mercadorias, mas também todo um complexo de valores e de condutas que se acham implicados nesses produtos.” Roland Corbisier, *Formação e problema da cultura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros, 1959), 69.

¹⁰⁷ “o invólucro vazio de um conteúdo que não é nosso porque é alheio.” *Ibid.*, 69–70.

Chapter 2) criticized the chewing of gum in Rio Grande do Norte. Foreshadowing the words of Corbisier, above, Cascudo explains that for a North American to chew gum is a bad habit, but is “legitimate.” The reasons that Cascudo gives for chewing gum to not be an acceptable habit for a Brazilian, and much less a Northeasterner, are worth quoting at length:

But for one of our Brazilians, people from here, Northeastern, bronze-skinned, a person of mixed race, with a different upbringing, habits, tendencies, and mentality, to devour gum and to not have the means or the good sense to keep from chewing at all times, grinding the rubber to no end because a foreign friend does it this way, is positively a case of visible moral subalternity, an act that would earn two zeroes on a test of rational psychological equilibrium.¹⁰⁸

Like the *jangadeiros* in the previous chapter, when these Northeasterners stepped away from their expected, rustic, traditional ways of life and toward the consumption of U.S. products, they became ridiculous figures, trying to be something they were not and, according to this line of thought, could not be. In Cascudo’s argument, a Northeasterner, a *mestiço* by race or by culture, could not possibly assimilate the cultural values implied in the consumption of chewing gum in the way that a North American could. While “Brazilians” who turned to U.S. consumer goods might have been traitors, Northeasterners who did were simply foolish.

Further, the national literature on the relationship between Brazilian culture and U.S. consumer goods in Brazil during World War II does not factor in the vacuum left in Northeastern cities – particularly in Natal – when the war ended and the North Americans left the region. In *Dos bondes ao hippie drive-in*, the authors tell the story of the ceremony planned at the Teatro Carlos Gomes in Natal to commemorate the end of the war in 1945. When the speaker, Alvamar Furtado de Mendonça stepped out to give his speech, according to the story passed down and reprinted in the

¹⁰⁸ “Mas um nosso brasileiro, gente daqui, nordestino, bronzado, muito bom mestiço, com outra educação, hábitos, tendências e mentalidade, atirar-se como gato aos bofes em cima do *chicle* e não ter medida nem juízo para deter a mastigação, em todos os momentos, triturando, sem fim, a borracha, porque um amigo estrangeiro o faz igualmente, então, é caso positivo de subalternidade moral visível, um índice que daria dois zeros num teste de equilíbrio racional psicológico.” This text is cited in Pedreira, *Chiclete eu misturo com banana*, 261.

book, he found a nearly empty audience. According to the authors, “a melancholic tone had already taken over the theater, the Streets, the people. The city seemed to be in mourning. Because the war had ended.”¹⁰⁹ The naval bases in Natal were transferred over to the Brazilian military in October of 1946 and the last contingent of U.S. servicemen left Parnamirim on November 26 of the same year. The city, in essence, had changed in so many ways through U.S. military presence, but then, was left alone.¹¹⁰

This sense of discomfort at the end of the war was not just an intangible sense of lost friendship; it had both political and economic dimensions. The way in which the U.S. withdrew troops from the Northeast and handed over the bases to the Brazilian military was wrought with tensions. Secret consular records show concerns over Brigadeiro Ajalmar Mascarenhas’ anti-American sentiments after the end of the war. Mascarenhas was frustrated that the U.S. took so long to hand over the bases and the hospital in Recife to the Brazilian military. He complained that once the hospital was handed over, the Brazilian military found that equipment had been stolen not only by Brazilians, but by U.S. soldiers (which the American Vice-Consul confirmed as true). Mascarenhas further complained that the U.S. soldiers, who had become insolent and lackadaisical after the war ended, should leave already, but while they are in the country, they should use plain clothes off duty.¹¹¹

Mascarenhas was not the only Brazilian to want to see the bases transferred and the U.S. troops withdrawn as soon as possible. According to Diógenes Arruda, the PCB had organized a mass campaign to pressure the U.S. government to hand over the military and naval bases, particularly in

¹⁰⁹ “um tom melancólico já tomara conta do teatro, das Ruas, das pessoas. A cidade parecia estar de luto. Por que a guerra havia acabada.” Pinheiro and Pinheiro, *Dos bondes ao hippie drive-in: fragmentos do cotidiano da cidade do Natal*, 119.

¹¹⁰ Smith Jr., *Trampolim para a vitória*, 193.

¹¹¹ Donald W. Lamm, “Letter to Paul C. Daniels, Charge d’Affaires of the American Embassy,” January 28, 1946, Box 1, 1943-1949, [1943] 124.2 to [1949] 885, Secret GR, 1943-1949, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

the North and Northeast. According to Arruda, “We said: Get out, Americans! Americans get out of our bases and out of our country!” Arruda goes on to indicate that rallies were organized in 1946, including one in Rio de Janeiro with over 100,000 people and one in Recife with almost 200,000.¹¹² The USSR, the U.S., and Brazil were allies during the war, but once the war was over, both the PCB and the Brazilian military were anxious to see the U.S. troops gone.

Just five months after the troops had withdrawn from Parnamirim base, a report commissioned by the editing house José Olympio to assess the possibility of opening a franchise in the Northeast, describes Natal as having developed greatly during the war, but “with the withdrawal of the Americans, the market [for books] that had increased its stock, is now suffering with the lack of movement.” On the positive side, according to Gilberto Azevedo who wrote the report, this made Natal the only city in the Northeast whose public transportation “comfortably” met the needs of the population. Azevedo reported that the city lacked nothing: “The electricity fully satisfies [the needs of the city], the water is good, and the climate is hot.” But, “The base constructed by the Americans is almost entirely abandoned, causing sadness to those who remember with affection the dedication demonstrated during its construction. They say that hundreds of houses are being taken over by the forest, and that the plumbing and electricity will soon be worth nothing.”¹¹³ Part of the complicated relationship between the Northeast and the presence of U.S. bases there during World War II is the sense that the relationship ended abruptly and conflictually, without closure. Northeasterners and their

¹¹² Diógenes Arruda, Entrevista a Iza Freaza: Diógenes Arruda, interview by Iza Freaza, June 1979, Marxists.org, <http://www.marxists.org/portugues/arruda/1979/06/entrevista.htm>.

¹¹³ “Durante a Guerra Natal teve um desenvolvimento grande, mas com a retirada dos Americanos, a praça que aumentou muito seu stock, esta sofrendo com a queda do movimento,” “confortavelmente,” “A luz satisfaz plenamente, a água é boa, e o clima quente,” and “A base construída pelas tropas americanas, esta quase que totalmente abandonada, causando tristeza aos que viramo carindo (sic) e dedicação demonstrados durante seu desenvolvimento sua construção. Dizem que uma centena de casas, estão sendo tomadas pelo mato, e que a canalização e luz, brevemente nada valerá.” Gilberto Azevedo, *Relatório apresentado sobre as praças do Nordeste-Norte* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, April 16, 1947), 79,01,004 no. 008, microfilmagem MS 613(3), Coleção José Olympio, Setor Manuscritos, FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

culture were not given the chance to define the term of their relationship with the U.S. servicemen or their base in their region. Their relationship, based on a sense of working together in a war effort, whether considered jovial or conflictive, ended in abrupt abandonment and left the Northeast in much the same position as it had been before the war.

This abandonment was not just a break in the relationship between the U.S. and Northeastern Brazil. What Northeastern cities lost with the end of the war was the sense of increased importance in the world. Natal was no longer an important trampoline to victory; instead, it returned to its status as provincial Northeastern city, as did Fortaleza. This mixture of abandon and disappointment after the war was spun into a sense of naiveté and embarrassment, attached to Northeastern identity, and expressed allegorically in poetry, stories, art, and carnival blocks about relationships between U.S. servicemen and Northeastern women during the war.

In Love and War

This complicated relationship between assimilation of U.S. cultural products and presence and resistance to them in the Brazilian Northeast was often expressed through metaphor. Loyalty to local culture could be expressed through the rejection of Coca-Cola (see Chapter 6 on beauty pageants for examples of this) and, on the other side of the coin, the rejection of local culture and values through the pursuit of U.S. cultural goods was often described through consumption of Coca-Cola, as in the *meninas cocacolas*. In literature and public performance, the temptation of U.S. consumer culture in the Northeast and the sense of abandonment before reaching full development was often described through the relationship between U.S. soldiers stationed in the region and Northeastern women.

To be clear, relationships between Northeastern women and U.S. servicemen during the war are not just metaphor. Throughout the time that U.S. bases existed in the Northeast, U.S. soldiers, nurses, pilots, and support staff did interact with, solicit, date, and marry Northeastern men and

women. Reports of sexual relations between U.S. servicemen and local prostitutes are anecdotal, but repeated frequently in historical texts on the war. Protásio Pinheiro de Melo, who was a lawyer, Portuguese teacher, English teacher, and translator, claims that prostitutes “got rich” while the base was open and many came to only accept dollars. Melo reports that their preference for the U.S. servicemen reportedly caused tensions between foreign and local men, leading to violent altercations.¹¹⁴ The soldiers eventually turned to the higher class and most famous cabaret, referred to as the “Casa de Maria Boa,” in the neighborhood of Ribeira, run by the famous Maria Oliveira Barros (better known as Maria Boa).¹¹⁵

According to historian Clyde Smith Jr., liaisons between U.S. servicemen and prostitutes made syphilis a major problem at the Parnamirim base.¹¹⁶ A report sent to the American Consul in Recife from the Secretaria de Agricultura, Indústria e Comércio (Secretary of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce) of the Departamento Estadual de Estatística (State Department of Statistics) in Pernambuco listed syphilis among the most significant diseases in Recife in 1938. According to this report, syphilis (216) killed more people than typhoid (61), cancer (143), suicide (31), homicide (26) or other violent deaths (108), but significantly less than diarrhea among children under two years of age (1,696), tuberculosis (1,318), heart disease (625), bronchial pneumonia (541), nephritis (476), premature birth and congenital problems (447), and the flu (401).¹¹⁷ The U.S. Navy had reported concerns at the high rates of venereal diseases – particularly gonorrhea and syphilis – among the

¹¹⁴ Melo, *Contribuição norte-americana à vida natalense*, 44 and 64.

¹¹⁵ Rejane Cardoso, ed., “Maria Boa - Maria Oliveira Barros,” in *400 nomes de Natal* (Natal: Prefeitura Municipal do Natal, 2000), 527–28; Smith Jr., *Trampolim para a vitória*, 201; Melo, *Contribuição norte-americana à vida natalense*, 64.

¹¹⁶ Smith Jr., *Trampolim para a vitória*, 201.

¹¹⁷ *Mortalidade geral, no Recife, segundo as causas de morte, 1938* (Recife: Secretaria de Agricultura, Indústria e Comércio, Departamento Estadual de Estatística, June 8, 1940), 812.01 Vital Statistics, Box 30, Vol. VII, 1940, 811.11-833, GR, 1943-1949, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

poorer populations of Recife, noting that prostitutes continued working through treatment and that venereal diseases were “accepted with the levity of common colds.”¹¹⁸

Nonetheless, while syphilis was significant, it did not present itself as the highest priority in communicable disease to the U.S. Consulates in Northeastern Brazil. In the Consular Sanitary Reports, filed weekly throughout the war, statistics were kept on most major diseases, but until 1945, syphilis was not included on the form (and even when it was, no statistics were compiled). Consuls had to write it in under the open-ended “Prevailing diseases in the surrounding territory” category, and even then, they wrote only the name: no statistics were kept on the illness throughout the war.¹¹⁹

This lack of apparent concern does not necessarily indicate that anecdotes about prostitution are exaggerated nor that U.S. officials did not care about the illness. Syphilis was also a problem in the United States – 72 out of every 100,000 people in the U.S. suffered from the disease in 1940.¹²⁰ At the beginning of the war, syphilis was still treatable with salvarsan, though therapy was quite lengthy and required several treatments.¹²¹ When penicillin was discovered, it became one of the top priorities of the War Department.¹²² Its development and distribution during the war was limited to the war effort.

¹¹⁸ U.S. Naval Observer, *Intelligence Report* (Recife: Intelligence Division, Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, January 10, 1944), 812, Box 5 (1944: 000 to 1944: 891), Entry UD 2152, Classified GR 1938-1963, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹¹⁹ *Consular Sanitary Reports* (Recife, 1940), 812: Public Health, Box 30, Vol. VII, 1940, 811.11-833, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; *Consular Sanitary Reports* (Recife, 1941), 812: Public Health, Box 37, Vol. VI, 1941, 811.11-833, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; *Consular Sanitary Reports* (Recife, 1942), 812: Public Health, Box 44, Vol. V, 1942, 700-812, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; *Consular Sanitary Reports* (Recife, 1943), 812: Public Health, Box 53, Vol. IX, 1943, 811.1-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; *Consular Sanitary Reports* (Recife, 1944), 812: Public Health, Box 60, Vol. VI, 1944, 690-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; *Consular Sanitary Reports* (Recife, 1945), 812, Box 65, Vol. V, 1945, 801-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹²⁰ Irwin W. Sherman, *12 Diseases That Changed the World* (Washington, D.C.: ASM Press, 2007), 101. This number fell drastically with the invention of penicillin and was down to 2.7 by 2004.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 96.

In a way, penicillin became a secret weapon in World War II, giving U.S. soldiers an advantage in disease control on and off the front. According to a letter from Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs A. A. Berle to consular officials in Brazil “No one other than a government agency can buy it; no patient who receives it may pay for it.”¹²³ Due to this directive, the consulates were bound to deny requests for penicillin from Brazilians who requested it.¹²⁴

Also due to this directive, U.S. servicemen in Brazil had access to penicillin from 1943 onward, but their fiancées did not. U.S. servicemen had to receive permission from their Commanding Officers to marry. The Commanding Officers, in turn, asked for assurance that the fiancée, if not a U.S. citizen, would be eligible for a visa to the U.S.¹²⁵ To be eligible for a visa, a young woman had to undergo a medical exam.¹²⁶ One such young lady in Fortaleza was denied her request for a visa to marry her fiancé who had already returned to the United States because she had tested positive for syphilis. The Consul not only denied her visa, but warned other Consuls in Belém, Recife, and Natal to be on the lookout for her because even though she had received treatment and a clean bill of health from a physician, he was convinced that further testing would only give a false-negative result. Further, the Consul required that her fiancé, who already knew of her ailment and had expressed continued interest in marrying the young woman, be contacted to see if he might have changed his mind. Consul Walter W. Hoffman’s insistence was because “it is my opinion that she is not a proper person to contract

¹²³ A. A. Berle Jr., “Penicillin,” August 17, 1943, 812: Public Health, Box 53, Vol. IX, 1943, 811.1-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹²⁴ For example in W. H. Sims, “Telegram to American Consul in Recife,” December 7, 1944, 812: Public Health, Box 60, Vol. VII, 1944, 690-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; Donald W. Lamm, “Telegram to H. W. Sims,” December 7, 1944, 812: Public Health, Box 60, Vol. VII, 1944, 690-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹²⁵ LaVerne York, “Letter to Donald W. Lamm,” January 30, 1945, 811.11, Box 65, Vol. V, 1945, 801-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹²⁶ Donald W. Lamm, “Letter to LaVerne York,” February 2, 1945, 811.11, Box 65, Vol. V, 1945, 801-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

marriage as matters now stand.”¹²⁷ Hoffman does not mention that her disease might have come from her fiancé. Regardless of from whom she received the germ, that she had contracted it indicated to Hoffman that her morals were not of the marrying kind.

Not all of the relations between U.S. servicemen and local women were sexual, and even when they were, not all of them involved the exchange of money or disease. According to local historians, U.S. soldiers often invited local ladies to dances, to which they would go chaperoned.¹²⁸ Photographs – like figures 33 and 34 – were snapped by servicemen stationed in the Northeast, circulated through various photo swapping, letter and email channels, and ended up in the Fundação Rampa in Natal. Not all U.S. servicemen went to Natal’s brothels; they also simply dated, as John R. Harrison, who served in Natal, was careful to mention in his photographic memoir.¹²⁹ In an article in *A República* in 1942, Danilo anecdotally alludes to these romances, discussing the sudden interest in learning English in the city. “Some people who have still not pronounced the language [English],” Danilo explains, “sometimes use their eyes instead of their mouth and their heart translates the most difficult phrases for them.” He tells the story of a U.S. pilot who asks a young female friend in Natal, “So, do you speak English yet?” to which she coyly replies, “English for two ...,” implying that she speaks just enough to communicate romantically.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Walter W. Hoffman, “Letter to Donald W. Lamm,” March 17, 1945, 811.11, Box 65, Vol. V, 1945, 801-820, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹²⁸ Pinto, *Natal, USA*, 9.

¹²⁹ Harrison, *Fairwing - Brazil: Tales of the South Atlantic*, 190.

¹³⁰ “E algumas pessoas que ainda não pronunciam a língua, servem-se às vezes dos olhos em vez da boca e o coração traduz direitinho ostrechos [sic] mais difíceis,” “Então, já sabe falar inglês?,” and “E’ inglês para dois ...” Danilo, “Sociais: Inglês para dois ...,” *A República*, March 6, 1942, IHGRN, Natal, RN.



Figure 33: Dancing 1¹³¹



Figure 34: Dancing 2¹³²

The Fundação Rampa, dedicated to preserving the memory of World War II in the city of Natal, holds photo albums belonging to U.S. soldiers previously based in Natal. The albums contain snapshots of scenery around Brazil and of the bases, but also several shots of women – women standing alone, women standing with each other, women standing with soldiers with “lover” or “wife” written on the margins of the photo. One photo displays a group of young soldiers and young women seated at a table (see figure 35 and 36). On the back, in handwritten ink is written: “The same crowd with our girls. Note the light complexions [sic] on senhoritas.” These snapshots suggest relaxed relations between servicemen and young natalense women – particularly women of light skin tone and high social standing – but they also suggest that the young women were frequently accompanied and rarely alone with their friends and suitors.¹³³

¹³¹ Unknown, [*Dancing 1*], Photograph, n.d., 1, FR, Natal, RN. Figures 33 and 34 were taken by a U.S. servicemen stationed in Brazil during World War II, though who actually snapped the images is unknown. They were sent to the Fundação Rampa (FR) by Billie Goodell who served in Brazil. Goodell said that soldiers frequently exchanged photographs. There is debate about whether the images show us Fortaleza or Natal. People in Natal claim it as their own (Lenine Pinto, for example), but people in Fortaleza insist that it was at the Estoril. Billie Goodell could only say that he did not think that it was at Natal.

¹³² Unknown, [*Dancing 2*], Photograph, n.d., 2, FR, Natal, RN.

¹³³ “Jerry Sternberg Album,” n.d., FR, Natal, RN; “Lt. Harold E. Hicks Album,” n.d., FR, Natal, RN.



Figure 35: The same crowd with our girls ... (front)¹³⁴

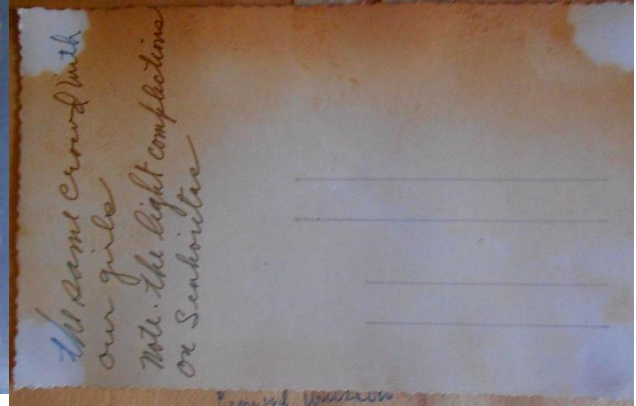


Figure 36: The same crowd with our girls ... (back)¹³⁵

Nonetheless, there were solitary moments. John R. Harrison tells of a young sailor who left a young laundry girl pregnant in Recife.¹³⁶ Protásio Pinheiro de Melo, in Natal, remembers that many of the servicemen went to his house in search of legal counsel when love affairs suffered “complications.”¹³⁷ Yet, marriage records, discussed below, also indicate several marriages that occurred just a few weeks prior to the birth of the couples’ child. While the stories that we will examine in the next section omit cases that do not fit a certain pattern, there was no single way in which these relationships began or culminated.

There are also frequent allusions in works of history from the war period to the “many marriages” between U.S. servicemen and local women and there are several specific stories to corroborate these allusions.¹³⁸ Clyde Smith refers to several marriage announcements in the Parnamirim base newspaper in June and September 1945.¹³⁹ The two sisters of Marta Rocha, Miss

¹³⁴ Lt. Harold E. Hicks, [*Front*], Photograph, n.d., Lt. Harold E. Hicks Album, FR, Natal, RN.

¹³⁵ Lt. Harold E. Hicks, [*Back*], Photograph, n.d., Lt. Harold E. Hicks Album, FR, Natal, RN.

¹³⁶ Harrison, *Fairwing - Brazil: Tales of the South Atlantic*, 246.

¹³⁷ “encrencas.” Melo, *Contribuição norte-americana à vida natalense*, 37.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 45; Smith Jr., *Trampolim para a vitória*, 201.

¹³⁹ Smith Jr., *Trampolim para a vitória*, 188 and 193.

Brazil 1954 who is presented in Chapter 6, moved to the United States because they married U.S. servicemen stationed in Salvador in this period.¹⁴⁰

The General Records of the Recife and Fortaleza Consulates hold marriage certificates and requests for visas from the period. It was possible to marry locally and not register the marriage with the Consulate; nonetheless, many of the matrimonial unions formed between U.S. and Brazilian citizens during the war were registered and led to requests for visas to the United States. These marriages, again, do not fit the patterns set out in literature and art. In 1942, the only marriage on record in Recife is between a Canadian missionary and a woman from the U.S.¹⁴¹ Of the seven marriages on record in Recife in 1943, only three had Brazilian brides, and of those, while two were from Recife, one – a teacher – was from Minas Gerais. Most of the bachelors in 1943 were with the Navy, Army, or with Panair – only one was a missionary, while one of the U.S. brides was a nurse and another was employed by the U.S. Embassy. In the same year, confusion arose as to whether a natural of Guam, serving in the Air Force, could marry a Brazilian woman and guarantee her U.S. citizenship, highlighting that nationality was not always clear on the bases.¹⁴² In 1944, there were 14 marriages registered at the U.S. Consulate in Recife. Of these, only two were with women from the U.S. (one bride was military, the other a housewife); the rest were between men from the U.S. and Northeastern women. The women were from Recife, the interior of Pernambuco, Paraíba, and Alagoas.¹⁴³ Finally, in 1945, 30 marriages were registered through the Recife consulate. Again, all of the men were U.S.

¹⁴⁰ Isa Pessôa, *Martha Rocha, uma biografia em depoimento a Isa Pessôa* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 1993), 40.

¹⁴¹ “133: Marriage of American Citizens Abroad,” 1942, Box 42, Vol. III, 1942, 130L-660, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹⁴² “133: Marriage of American Citizens Abroad,” 1943, Box 51, Vol. VII, 1943, 130.6-690, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹⁴³ “133: Marriage of American Citizens Abroad,” 1944, Box 59, Vol. V, 1944, 130W-660, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

citizens, though one was born in Germany and another in Mexico; of the husbands whose professions are listed in the documents, all were military, with the exception of one mechanic and a missionary (who married another missionary).¹⁴⁴ Of the women, one was Argentine, one was British, one was Italian, and three were born in the U.S.A. The remaining 24 were Northeastern women – 4 alagoanas, 1 bahiana, and 19 pernambucanas. Most of the Brazilian women were housewives, but one worked at the Singer Sewing Machine company, one worked in business, and another was a teacher.¹⁴⁵ The purpose of including this information is to highlight that relationships between U.S. servicemen in the Brazilian Northeast and Northeastern women did not always result in immediate abandon, nor were all Northeastern women who dreamt of marrying their U.S. beau naïve or misguided in thinking that it could happen.

Similarly, while there are stories of young women left alone to raise children conceived by U.S. servicemen, there is also evidence of U.S. citizens registering their children with the U.S. Consulate in Recife to ensure them the rights of citizenship. These records – which include some births in Natal – not only demonstrate that many U.S. servicemen registered their children with the Consulate, they also testify to how drastically the foreign population in the area shifted during the war. Throughout the early 1940s, most of the children registered were born to U.S. citizen parents, with few exceptions.¹⁴⁶ It is not until 1944 that we begin to see our first children registered to U.S. servicemen

¹⁴⁴ The record of marriage issued by the consulate does not have a space for profession, but the Brazilian marriage certificates, when available, do.

¹⁴⁵ “133: Marriage of American Citizens,” 1945, Box 64, Vol. VI, 1945, 130.2-800.1, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹⁴⁶ In 1940, there were only five births registered at the consulate – three were born to U.S. citizen parents, one to a woman born in Warsaw but a U.S. citizen and a Brazilian man, and one to a U.S. woman and a man with dual British/Brazilian citizenship. In 1942, of the 14 births registered, 7 were born to U.S. citizen parents (including two sets of twins) – all missionaries. Two additional births were to U.S. citizen parents with at least one parent born elsewhere – one man was born on the Marshall Islands, and one couple were Brazilian-born U.S. citizens. Only three of the children registered fell within our U.S. father/Brazilian mother stereotype: one couple composed of a U.S. man and a woman from Maranhão, and one couple composed of a U.S. man and a woman from Manaus that registered two children. One U.S. woman had a child whose father was only listed as “alien.” In 1943, again, most children were born to U.S. citizen parents, though one U.S. citizen was Cuban-born and two were Brazilian-born. One unmarried U.S. nurse, a 2nd Lieutenant in the

and their young, Northeastern newlywed wives. In 1944, of the eight births registered, three have fathers in the U.S. Navy and mothers from Pernambuco.¹⁴⁷ Of the ten births registered in 1945, six are to fathers in the U.S. Army or Navy and Brazilian mothers (one cearense, three pernambucanas, one alagoana, and one paulista). In one of these cases, the father, a Chief Yeoman with the U.S. Naval Reserve, presented the paperwork for the child to the Consulate, admitting that he was the father and that the mother was cearense, but that he and his wife – who was not the mother of the child and also signed the letter – wanted to bring the child back to the United States with them.¹⁴⁸ In Fortaleza, the only births registered were children born to consular officials. As there are far fewer children registered than there are weddings, and none at all between Brazilians and U.S. citizens in Fortaleza, there were, certainly, children born of unions between U.S. citizens and Northeasterners that were abandoned – intentionally or otherwise – by their American fathers or mothers. Yet, some servicemen went out of their way to claim their children.

There is another surprising statistic to factor into this discussion. In Recife, in 1943 passports were issued to only 8 women, a number that increased to 37 in 1944, and 96 in 1945 – a 1500% increase over just 3 years. While we have no reason to believe that this increase was due to marriage or even romantic relationships, it demonstrates, at the very least, an increased desire to travel among the female population in the city. This is especially apparent when compared with the amount of

Army claimed that the father of her son was also a serviceman, serving elsewhere. Only one child had a foreign parent (on paper, at least): the child's mother was a U.S. citizen, while her father was British, but had been born in Argentina. "131: Children Born to American Parents Temporarily Living Abroad," 1940, Box 27, Vol. IV, 1940, 130-592, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; "131: Children Born to American Parents Temporarily Living Abroad," 1942, Box 42, Vol. III, 1942, 130L-660, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD; "131: Children Born to American Parents Temporarily Living Abroad," 1943, Box 51, Vol. VII, 1943, 130.6-690, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹⁴⁷ "131: Children Born to American Parents Temporarily Living Abroad," 1944, Box 59, Vol. V, 1944, 130W-660, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

¹⁴⁸ "131: Children Born to American Parents Temporarily Living Abroad," 1945, Box 64, Vol. VI, 1945, 130.2-800.1, GR, Recife Consulate, Brazil, RG 84: RFSPDS, NARA, College Park, MD.

passports issued to men, which does not follow the same pattern. In Recife, 23 men received passports in 1943, a number that fell to 17 in 1944, before shooting up to 64 in 1945 – still 32 passports less than what was granted to women the same year.¹⁴⁹ On the other side of the coin, there was also a marked increase in naturalizations in Recife in the period, from 16 in 1941, down to 1 in 1942 and 1944, none in 1943, and up to 35 at the end of the war in 1945.¹⁵⁰ It was not just Northeastern women who chose or desired to leave, foreigners also chose not just to stay, but to become Brazilian in Recife.

Separations between the categories of relationships described above, each with their own distinct paragraph – prostitution, dating, marriage, parenting – were, of course, also not always so clearly distinguished. As Protásio Pinheiro de Melo states, in addition to straightforward money-for-sex exchanges “They [the soldiers] had long friendships with some of them [the prostitutes], with some of these relationships even ending in marriage.” Melo claims that he was even the best man in a wedding between a sergeant and a “‘retired’ hooker.”¹⁵¹ Just as in other relationships of love throughout history, place, and time, the relationships between men and women serving in the cities along Brazil’s Northeastern coastline and the residents of these cities sometimes followed and at others defied the laws of stereotype.

Turning fictions inside out and upside down

The success of the poem “Boletim sentimental da guerra no Recife” by Mauro Mota (editor of the 2nd Edition of o *Livro do Nordeste*) can be measured by its many reproductions. The poem first appeared shortly after the war ended in the *Boletim da cidade e do porto do Recife*, published by the city

¹⁴⁹ “Estatística,” sec. Passaportes concedidos.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., sec. Naturalizações concedidas.

¹⁵¹ “Fizeram amizades longas com algumas delas, tendo havido até casamento. Eu mesmo, já perto do final do conflito, fui padrinho de um sargento fuzileiro que casou com uma rapariga ‘aposentada.”” Melo, *Contribuição norte-americana à vida natalense*, 63.

government, in 1945.¹⁵² In 1949, it appeared in João Pessoa's *Correio das Artes* and in 1950 it appeared in Rio's *Autores e livros*.¹⁵³ In 1952, Mota included the poem in his collection *Elegias*, and from there it gained greater fame, with several positive reviews of the book appearing in newspapers in Rio de Janeiro mentioning this poem.¹⁵⁴ Since the 1950s, the poem has appeared in countless anthologies, has been recited and recorded, is scattered around blogs throughout the internet, and even appears painted onto a wall at the previously mentioned Museu do Homem do Nordeste.¹⁵⁵ Among the literature and art examined in this section of this chapter, "Boletim sentimental da guerra no Recife" is one of the most well-known.

The poem is directed at the "Girls, sad girls ... authentic heroines of the war" that fought "on the internal front with bravery and moxie." In the poem, the *meninas* (girls), brought about Allied victory through the "blood of your [their] love." The innocent love of the "daughters of Pernambuco, of Paraíba and Alagoas" that were "fifteen to twenty years old" was naïve before the American soldiers.¹⁵⁶ The soldiers, in turn, were "ready to hand over their lives / to win peace, / to sweep from the face of the earth / dictatorial regimes / and democratize all / the continental countries / starting

¹⁵² Mauro Mota, "Boletim sentimental da guerra no Recife," in *Boletim da Cidade e do Porto do Recife*, n. 15-18 (Recife: Diretoria de Documentação e Cultura da Prefeitura Municipal do Recife, Jan/Dec 1945), 241–242.

¹⁵³ Mauro Mota, "Boletim Sentimental da Guerra no Recife," *Correio das Artes*, October 9, 1949, *Obras Raras*, v. 102, Biblioteca Átila Almeida (BAA), Universidade Estadual da Paraíba (UEPB), Campina Grande, Paraíba; "Boletim sentimental da guerra no Recife," *Autores e livros*, December 1950, HD-FBN.

¹⁵⁴ Mauro Mota, *Elegias* (Rio de Janeiro: Edição Jornal de Letras, 1952). In one such article that appeared in *Letras e artes*, it was stated that the poem would appear in the next issue of *Colégio. Letra e artes: suplemento de A Manhã*, January 22, 1950, HD-FBN.

¹⁵⁵ Mauro Mota et al., *Boletim sentimental da guerra no Recife*, LP, Mauro Mota em prosa e verso (Produzido pela fonoteca da Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Memória 2, 1982), Registro L 02, Fonoteca, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. To name but a few anthologies: Edilberto Coutinho, ed., *Presença poética do Recife: antologia crítica* (Recife: Companhia Editora de Pernambuco, 1977); Nilo Pereira, *Pernambucanidade: alguns aspectos históricos* (Recife: Governo do Estado de Pernambuco, Secretaria de Turismo, Cultura e Esportes, 1983); *Presença poética do Recife* (Recife: Arquimedes Edições, 1969).

¹⁵⁶ "Meninas, tristes meninas," "autênticas heroínas [sic] da guerra," "na frente interna com bravura e destemor," "sangue do vosso amor," "filhas do Recife, da Paraíba e Alagoas," and "quinze a vint'anos." Mota, "Boletim sentimental da guerra no Recife," 241.

with the genitals / of the national girls.”¹⁵⁷ Through their love, the young women learned English and earned presents like “plastic bags / and embroidered / tunics from Hawaii, / Made-in-the-USA bicycles, / green sunglasses from Ray Ban / ... / true wonders / of the industry of Uncle Sam.” But with these presents they also received promises of “A ‘Frazer’ [car] on their birthday, / trips in the ‘Constellation’ [airplane], / in one leap to reach Miami, / have lunch at the White House, / walk along Fifth Avenue, / go to Broadway, / see a première in the cinema / with all of the actors / in the audience.” We come to understand the results of the love, the presents and the promises when we reach the question: “Naïve pregnant girls, / what is it that you have gone and done?” The girls went straight “from the pediatrician to the gynecologist” carrying “saxonized babies, / that only feed on vitamins.” In the end, with the armistice, the soldiers said “Good-bye” while the girls, sad girls, were left to hear “your [their] whole life the resonating cry of your [their] fatherless child.”¹⁵⁸

At first glance, the Mauro Mota poem seems to be a straight-forward critique of U.S. soldiers, as individuals, that through a great lack of irresponsibility seduced young Northeastern women and abandoned them pregnant. Indeed, most have accepted the poem at face value. But by reading the poem synecdochally and allegorically new meanings are gained. In the former, the Northeastern meninas become all Northeasterners and the U.S. soldiers become all U.S. citizens. The poem then, read in this way, emphasizes Northeastern gullibility at being drawn into a union with U.S. physical and cultural presence, tempted by Coca-Cola and camaraderie, only to be left alone in the end – alone, but not unchanged. The Northeasterners are left pregnant with a mixture of values and consumption

¹⁵⁷ “prontos a entregar a vida / para conseguir a paz, / varrer da face do mundo / regimes ditatoriais / e democratizar todos / países continentais / a começar pelos sexos / das meninas nacionais.” Ibid., 241–242.

¹⁵⁸ “Bolsas plásticas, a blusa / de alvas rendas do Hawaií, / bicicletas Made in USA, / verdes óculos Ray Ban. / ... / verdadeiras maravilhas / da indústria de Tio Sam.” “Um ‘Frazer’ no aniversário, / passeios de ‘Constellation’, / num pulo alcançar Miami, / almoçar na Casa Branca, / descer na Quinta-Avenida, / fazer ‘piquet’ pela Broadway, / ver a première no Cine / junto dos artistas, com / eles todos na plateia ...” “Ingênuas meninas grávidas, / o que é que fostes fazer?”, “do pediatra / para o ginecologista”, “Babies saxonizados, que só mamam vitaminas”, “Babies saxonizados, que só mamam vitaminas,” “Good bye”, “a vida toda a ressonância do choro dos vossos filhos sem pai.” Ibid., 242.

practices that, in the next generation, are no longer foreign, but innate. In this reading, it is the Northeasterners that consume – they take in all that is North American and incorporate it into their own being. When the U.S. and Brazil have parted ways, there is *saudade* – nostalgia for what once was – but, in the end, the future is crying and they, alone, can respond to it.

In one allegorical reading, on the other hand, the meninas become the representatives of the nation – say, Getúlio Vargas himself – who, tempted by new airstrips in the Northeast and the Volta Redonda Steel Mill, compromised the nation’s sovereignty by handing it over to the U.S. military whose only interest was in using Brazil’s resources (food, mineral, existing airport infrastructure, rubber). In this reading, it is the U.S. that consumes everything of value around it, while leaving the responsibilities for its actions for others to care for. For the Brazilian leaders – poignantly, Vargas who is ousted after the war when the contradiction of fighting for democracy abroad when not having it at home reaches its limits – the crying baby is the nightmarish reminder of their mistake that, instead of going away, continues to grow. In both readings, the Northeast is naiveté, embodied. In the first it is literal naiveté: the meninas/Northeast who accept anything from the U.S.; while in the latter, the way in which Getúlio Vargas *se entregou* – gave in – to his U.S. suitors was done in a Northeastern way. Vargas is, in this reading, the meninas from Recife, Paraíba, and Alagoas: he is feminine and naïve, Northeastern style. In either reading, the heart of the interactions between the U.S. and Brazil during World War II is the Northeast; it is in and through this region that the relationship was formed and is understood.

“Tangerine-Girl” is a short story by Rachel de Queiroz – cearense and the first woman elected to the Academia Brasileira de Letras.¹⁵⁹ The story, was originally published in 1948, but has since appeared in several anthologies, in several languages, including English. “Tangerine-Girl” is

¹⁵⁹ K. David Jackson, “Rachel de Queiroz (1910-2003),” in *Oxford Anthology of the Brazilian Short Story* (Cary, NC: Oxford University Press, 2006), 222.

considered to be among the best short stories in Brazil, as its inclusion in *O melhor da crônica brasileira* and *Os cem melhores crônicas brasileiras do século* shows.¹⁶⁰ Though it might not be as popularly known as “Boletim sentimental da guerra no Recife,” “Tangerine-Girl” has established itself within Brazil’s canonical literature.

“Tangerine-Girl” presents a red-headed girl who would stand outside her house to watch the U.S. blimps – we can assume from Fortaleza’s Airship Fleet Wing 4 – as they passed by overhead, fascinated not by who they might carry inside, but by the object itself. One day, when she is among the orange trees shaking crumbs out of a white towel, her movement catches the eye of the serviceman for the U.S. Navy flying overhead. Her act effectively snaps him out of a state of alienation from the environment around him:

Several times he had flown over that house, he had seen people below going in and out; and he thought of how distant men live from each other, how indifferently they pass by each other, each enclosed in his own life. He was flying over people, watching them, spying on them, and, if some looked up, none of them thought of the navigator within; they only wanted to see the silvery beauty [of the blimp] floating through the sky.¹⁶¹

He felt suddenly compelled to connect with the attractive young girl below him. The “most delicate object” that he found was a white mug “heavy like a cannonball,” which he tossed gently out the window toward the girl, “so that it might not arrive like a hissing projectile, but softly, like a gift.” As the blimp flew away, the girl wondered if he felt *saudade* – a type of longing or nostalgia – toward her. The narrator turns around a phrase that is commonly repeated to demonstrate the difference between people from the U.S. and Brazil – that there is no word for *saudade* in English. She reminds the reader

¹⁶⁰ Rachel de Queiroz, “Tangerine-Girl,” in *O melhor da crônica brasileira*, ed. Armando Nogueira (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1980), 47–51; Rachel de Queiroz, “Tangerine-Girl,” in *Os cem melhores contos brasileiros do século*, ed. Ítalo Moriconi (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2000), 159–64.

¹⁶¹ “Várias vezes já sobrevoara aquela casa, vira gente embaixo entrando e saindo; e pensara quão distantes uns dos outros vivem os homens, quão indiferentes passam entre si, cada um trancado na sua vida. Ele estava voando por cima das pessoas, vendo-as, espiando-as, e, se algumas erguiam os olhos, nenhuma pensava no navegador que ia dentro; queriam só ver a beleza prateada vogando pelo céu.” Rachel de Queiroz, “Tangerine-Girl,” in *A donzela e a Moura Torta: crônicas e reminiscências* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1948), 148.

that he could not think of *saudade* simply because “he did not know Portuguese” but, that did not prohibit him from thinking of something else that is “pungent and sweet” because “American soldiers also have a heart.”¹⁶²

And thus begins the romance between the girl and her new U.S. boyfriend – a romance between “a hawk and a gazelle.”¹⁶³ From that day on, every time the blimp passes over, the girl runs outside to watch it in the sky and receives a different gift, often youth magazines from the States, though she treasures the mug the most and uses it to store first pencils and pens, and later various species of flowers. She fantasizes about her new boyfriend from the United States, imagining that he is every actor she sees in the Hollywood movies. She gained the nickname “Tangerine-Girl,” which the narrator suspects might have come from the color of her hair, her position among the orange trees, or from the film by Dorothy Lamour, “since Dorothy Lamour is, for all of the North American Armed Forces, a model of what the brunette women of South America and the Pacific Islands must be.”¹⁶⁴ The Tangerine-Girl tries to learn English, and mentally prepares herself for the day that she moves to the U.S.A. with her soon-to-be husband. One day, the soldier throws her a magazine, on which he has scribbled the note: “Dear Tangerine-Girl. Please você vem hoje (To-day) base X. Dancing, show. Oito horas P.M.”¹⁶⁵ She puts on a dress and lipstick and is ready a half hour early to meet her suitor at the front gate. When she notices the group of sailors approaching, in what “even seemed a military maneuver,” she does not understand. But as they introduce themselves to her, little

¹⁶² “O objeto mais delicado,” “pesada como uma bala de canhão,” “a fim de que o objeto não chegasse sibilante como um projétil, mas suavemente, como uma dádiva,” “que ele não sabia português, mas em qualquer coisa pungente e doce, porque, apesar de não falar nossa língua, soldado americano também tem coração,” Ibid., 149.

¹⁶³ “gavião com gazela,” Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ “para todas as forças armadas norte-americanas, o modelo do que devem ser as moças morenas da América do Sul e das ilhas do Pacífico.” Ibid., 151. The narrator does not name the film, but it must be *The Fleet's In*, which featured the song “Tangerine.” Victor Schertzinger, *The Fleet's In* (Paramount Pictures, 1942).

¹⁶⁵ Queiroz, “Tangerine-Girl,” 1948, 152.

by little, she suddenly gets it: “There was no sailor in love – he was never anything more than a myth of her heart. There was never one, ‘he’ was never the same person. Maybe, even, the blimp had never even been the same twice ...” Realizing that she was a “collective girlfriend,” who they “certainly thought was one of those girls that date U.S. sailors in passing,” she ran away in shame. Though the sailors continued to throw her presents every day, she did not step outside to see the blimp anymore, and she paid no attention to the presents, which were left “forgotten – or, at times, picked up by boys from the area.”¹⁶⁶

There are similarities between the Tangerine-Girl and the sad meninas in Mota’s poem. They are tempted by presents, naively believe that they are loved by and will marry their soldiers, and, in the end, are disappointed at their foolishness. The soldiers, also, have redeeming qualities in each of these works – in the poem, they are courageous and sacrificing, and in the short story, they, too, have hearts. Yet there are some important differences in the relationship between the Tangerine-Girl and her U.S. soldiers and the meninas and theirs. The Tangerine-Girl barely meets the soldiers; she does not have sex with them, and does not become pregnant. Instead, she – not the Armistice – cuts off the relationship. Also, while the relationships between the sad meninas and the U.S. soldiers appear to be one-on-one, that between the Tangerine-Girl and her soldiers is one-to-many.

The one-to-many nature of the relationship makes it difficult to read the story synecdochally. This is because, similar to her story “Metonymy, or the Husband’s Revenge,” Queiroz’s story is one of a tool of figurative language within a structure of the same tool: it is synecdoche within synecdoche. That is, our soldier is already many soldiers, and, this number increases exponentially through a synecdochal reading, becoming that many more that many more times. The girl – the Northeast – is

¹⁶⁶ “Não existia o seu marinheiro apaixonado — nunca fora ele mais do que um mito do seu coração. Jamais houvera um único, jamais ‘ele’ fora o mesmo. Talvez nem sequer o próprio *blimp* fosse o mesmo...,” “namorada coletiva,” “Decerto pensavam que ela era também uma dessas pequenas que namoram os marinheiros de passagem,” and “esquecidos — ou às vezes eram apanhados pelos moleques do sítio.” Ibid., 153.

one, and naively assumes that she/it is also dealing with one person, one people. Instead – just as Corbisier warns later – behind every shiny shell of a product, vessel, technology, piece of chewing gum, can of soda, lies a whole gamut of people and values. The Northeast was never just looking up at a blimp in the sky. It was never dealing just with one person, or one people. It was relating with an entire country, economy, ethic, and culture. That blimp, it had a history and culture behind it. The soldiers within it took part in creating this culture – a caricature of which the Northeast was aware of through exposure to Hollywood films – but the people of the United States had no knowledge of Northeastern culture. Their understanding also came through Hollywood films that only provided a distorted vision of themselves, presented as South American. As Liane Schneider points out, the soldiers could throw items down to the Tangerine-Girl, but she was unable to throw anything back up to them.¹⁶⁷ Nonetheless, the U.S. and its culture was not forced on the Northeast, though its soft, delicate arrival had the same force of effect as a projectile missile, subtly destroying what had come before it, without inspiring resistance. As Tota stated, the Northeast, and Brazil through it, was not forced to accept the U.S. and its consumer products as is. It could fill its mugs with indigenous flowers and, once it realized the deception, could close its doors, and turn its back on the empty gifts offered by the U.S., or, like the little boys, could pick up what it chose to without the implied relationship. Similarly, read allegorically, the Brazilian government could protect its heartland, its vulnerable center – the Northeast – by not entering into naïve agreements with the U.S. The Northeast, in Queiroz’ story, can still make the conscious choice to protect itself, guard its honor, show the U.S. that it is not just some girl who dates the U.S. in passing. Nonetheless, it needs to take a stance that divides its past from the future. The Northeast after the war cannot be the same; it can no longer allow or choose naiveté.

¹⁶⁷ Liane Schneider, “Rachel de Queiroz e os norte-americanos: para que serve um dirigível?,” *Diadorim* 7 (2010): 120.

Presenting how the Northeast changed through U.S. presence during the war as a romance between Northeastern women and U.S. servicemen is not limited to text, but is also present in Carnaval performances. In Fortaleza, the women who dated U.S. servicemen during World War II – the women that the Tangerine-Girl was so ashamed to be associated with – were referred to as *meninas coca-colas*, “for obvious and justifiable reasons,” according to the scathing account of Blanchard Girão.¹⁶⁸ The young women earned their nickname from being among the few Brazilians to enjoy Coca-Cola at this time.¹⁶⁹ While ads in the *Diário de Pernambuco* would (creepily, in hindsight) advise that Coca-Cola, “Is here, is there, is everywhere,” the first Coca-Cola factory arrived in Fortaleza well after the war in 1950 (See figure 37 of Coca-Cola advertisement).¹⁷⁰ The coca-colas are remembered as “sultry,” seductive women who were ahead of their time, too modern for the city they lived in, and who felt they were above the local men.¹⁷¹ Their behavior was especially threatening, as they “taught the less audacious” to follow their lead.¹⁷² Yet, again, the war ended and while the soldiers left, the coca-colas remained, ridiculed, outcast, and alone.

¹⁶⁸ “por óbvios e justificáveis motivos,” Girão, *A invasão dos cabelos dourados*, 75.

¹⁶⁹ Lopes, *Royal Briar: a Fortaleza dos anos 40*, 158. I will maintain lower-case spelling on the meninas coca-colas when referring to them to avoid confusing them with the soft drink, Coca-Cola, or the carnival block, the Cordão das Coca-Colas.

¹⁷⁰ Coca-Cola, “Está aqui ...,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 22, 1949, Setor Microfilmagem, Hemeroteca, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; Miguel Ângelo de (Nirez) Azevedo, *Cronologia ilustrada de Fortaleza: roteiro para um turismo histórico e cultural* (Fortaleza: Banco do Nordeste, 2001), 215.

¹⁷¹ Lopes describes one as having an “olhar de mormaço.” Lopes, *Royal Briar: a Fortaleza dos anos 40*, 34.

¹⁷² “escolarizaram outras menos ousadas.” Girão, *A invasão dos cabelos dourados*, 81.



Figure 37: “Está aqui, está ali, está em toda parte”¹⁷³

The Carnival block *Cordão das Coca-Colas* formed sometime between 1942 and 1950 (the year the first Coca-Cola factory opened in Fortaleza) continuing through the 1950s.¹⁷⁴ The block, composed of men who dressed as exaggerated versions of the *meninas coca-colas*, served to ridicule these women. The block was directed by Gerardo Braga, officially registered with the *Federação dos*

¹⁷³ Coca-Cola, “Está aqui ...”

¹⁷⁴ I have been unable to find in secondary literature the exact year that this Carnival block began, but from the tone of the newspaper articles in 1950, I would assume that it was newly formed that year.

Blocos Carnavalescos do Ceará, and in 1950, reportedly had sixty members.¹⁷⁵ The *Diário do Povo* in Fortaleza, run by the Marxist journalist Jäder de Carvalho, became an immediate fan of the Carnival block considering it “the most original and most critical of Fortaleza.”¹⁷⁶ Articles that announce its activities were riddled with English words that became common during wartime and filled with good-humored ribbing at the Coca-Colas. Reporters refer to these caricature-versions of the coca-colas as “babyes” [sic], “girls,” and “fans of the ‘boys’” that “demonstrate their [level of] class” and are hard to beat in parades because “they were taught by the sons of Uncle Sam!”¹⁷⁷ The Cordão das Coca-Colas won the award for “Best Ensemble” in Carnival 1953.¹⁷⁸

An image of the Cordão das Coca-Colas from the Arquivo Nirez in Fortaleza displays the block in action (see figure 38).¹⁷⁹ The men are dressed in short, ruffled skirts and brassiere-type tops that leave their midriff bare. On their heads, they wear exaggeratedly large bonnets – a play on the use of the English word “baby” as a term of affection during the war. Each bonnet displays the name of a coca-cola – “Jandira,” “Belinda,” “Saly,” etc. – reminding us that this is as much an act of public shaming as it is witty satire. This public shaming seems especially harsh when read alongside Girão’s affirmation that young men kept lists of names of the meninas coca-colas for the purposes of casting them out socially and Mariano Lopes’ statement that the original coca-colas were women born into

¹⁷⁵ “Vem aí o Carnaval: estão em forma as ‘Coca-Colas,’” *Diário do Povo*, January 19, 1950, Hemeroteca, IC, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁷⁶ “No quartel das Coca-Colas,” *Diário do Povo*, January 25, 1950, Hemeroteca, IC, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁷⁷ “Ademais elas foram instruídas pelos filhos do Tio Sam!...” “Vem aí o Carnaval: estão em forma as ‘Coca-Colas.’” “fans dos ‘boys,’” “demonstrarão a sua classe através de um animado ensaio de conjunto,” from: “No quartel das Coca-Colas,” *Diário do Povo*, January 25, 1950, Hemeroteca, IC, Fortaleza, CE.

¹⁷⁸ The database of the *Cronologia ilustrada de Fortaleza* maintained by the *Portal da História do Ceará* lists this information under February 17, 1953. This is based on a more recent version of the volume than I have access to (my version is 2001, and the Portal’s is 2005), so I am unable to provide a page number. The database is found at <http://www.ceara.pro.br/Pesquisas/MenuPesquisa.php>. The award is listed as “Melhor Conjunto.”

¹⁷⁹ *Cordão das Coca-Colas*, Photograph, n.d., NA, Fortaleza, CE.

families of status that then closed their doors to them due to their behavior.¹⁸⁰ Jodi, in the front, twirls a baton with such skill that the movement is blurred by the slow closing of the camera's shutter. From the amount of slight leaping that seems to be taking place, especially by Inez, facing the camera with his/her left leg bent and crossed slightly behind the right, the coca-colas appear to be dancing frevo before a large audience of Carnaval-goers lined up along the street. The group watching demonstrates a variety of social class and ethnic characteristics in its make-up, but is overwhelmingly male toward the street with women and children gathered farther away from the road. What appears to be a woman dressed as a man (an interloper!) runs through the block holding in her hand a bottle of *lança-perfume* (a perfume whose fumes when inhaled caused a sensation of euphoria, associated with Carnaval until its prohibition in 1961) and a stick that holds up a sign.¹⁸¹ With a considerable amount of zooming in, it is possible to see the words on a cardboard sign held toward the back of the portion of the block contained in the photograph. The sign reads: "The Coca-Colas await the Martians' visit," a hyperbolic touch to emphasize how ridiculous – and even traitorous – the coca-colas' apparent cult of the foreign was to the satirists.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Girão, *A invasão dos cabelos dourados*, 76; Lopes, *Royal Briar: a Fortaleza dos anos 40*, 159.

¹⁸¹ The sign reads "Detefon para Jombrega!" and I am not exactly sure what to make of it. Detefon is an insecticide and Jombrega was the nickname given to José Francisco Róseo de Oliveira, a cearense soccer player, in the 1940s. Apparently, someone wants Jombrega to be exterminated, but I do not know the connection to the Cordão das Coca-Colas.

¹⁸² "As Coca-Colas esperam a visita dos marcianos."



Figure 38: *Cordão das Coca-Colas*¹⁸³

¹⁸³ *Cordão das Coca-Colas.*

The group, of course, has its own elaborate standard (or cloth banner) with its mascot on the front. On the top, the name of the block is displayed in large cursive, modeled after the font of the Coca-Cola brand. In the upper right-hand corner of the standard, a menacing sun wearing a crown grimaces at the mascot. On the upper left-hand corner, a comedy mask laughs at the scene. A G-clef seems to float toward the bottom of the standard under the mascot. The mascot is a representation of a coca-cola – a woman wearing the same costume as the members of the Cordão das Coca-Colas. Again, with significant zooming, her name becomes apparent on her bonnet. The mascot of the Cordão das Coca-Colas is named: Iracema.

Iracema – the same noble, Iracema that gave us the jangadeiros “from the land of Iracema” – now represents the ridiculous coca-colas? There are some initial comparisons that ease this slip of identity. Both Iracema and the coca-colas betray their people for the love they hold for a man that is not from their nation. They are both, to some extent, disappointed by the travels of their loved one. However, there is a striking point of contrast between the story of Iracema and Moreno and the story of the coca-colas and the U.S. servicemen: in Alencar’s novel, Iracema dies; it is Moreno that lives on with their child. Meanwhile, our coca-colas/Iracemas live on, in the absence of their U.S. servicemen/Morenos. In effect, the outcome of the story of the coca-colas (as it is remembered by the Carnival block, at least) is the opposite of that of Iracema. The Cordão das Coca-Colas effectively took this foundational fiction and inverted it. In the process, like Mota’s poem and Queiroz’s short story, they participate in a transformation in the narrative of regional identity in the Northeast to one that, instead of ennobling the region and its people, ridicules it for wanting products, friendships, and aspirations that do not fit the perimeters of its geography, culture, and economy. In the process, they also begin to subtly indicate that authentic Northeastern culture would eschew such influences.

The Cordão das Coca-Colas is not the only instance in which the direct comparison between Northeastern women who dated U.S. servicemen and Iracema is made. The movie, *For All – Trampolim*

da Vitória, released in 1997, tells the story of wartime in Natal. The movie focuses on two romantic relationships: a love between a young man named Miguel and a young woman named Jocilene who is a prostitute working to pay off her debt by having sex with U.S. soldiers, and Iracema (Miguel's sister) who breaks off an engagement with her fiancé, João Marreco, to date a U.S. serviceman named Robert Collins.¹⁸⁴ Miguel's father, an Italian cobbler with mixed loyalties, helps Miguel to pay off Jocilene's debt, freeing her to marry Miguel. Iracema and Robert Collins become engaged, but he dies tragically when his plane, named after Iracema, crashes into the Atlantic Ocean. João Marreco, grandiosely forgives her for leaving him and offers to take Iracema back, to which she agrees.

The movie presents us, then with two types of relationships between U.S. servicemen and Northeastern women. Jocilene's debt (which is not owed to the U.S. servicemen, but to a local barber) enslaves her to the U.S. servicemen, who exploit her sexually. Iracema, like her namesake, is tempted away from her people by a foreigner. Both Jocilene and our film version of Iracema have sex with U.S. servicemen, but handing over their bodies to these foreign men is more about the Brazilian men than about themselves. The men are losing their women and losing the virginity of their women. As a friend says to João Marreco as he cries over the break up with Iracema "15 thousand Americans have invaded our beds" – the "our," of course, is masculine.¹⁸⁵ When Robert Collins' plane goes down in the Atlantic Ocean, it does not just take Robert, it takes a piece of Iracema: the plane was named after her and was recognizable after the crash only because of her name and image painted on its side. When

¹⁸⁴ Buza Ferraz and Luiz Carlos Lacerda, *For All - O trampolim da vitória* (Columbia TriStar, 1997). The complete version of the movie is available on YouTube. The title is based on a commonly held belief that the word "forró," representing a particularly Northeastern style of music and dance, or denoting a type of party where music and dance will be present, and highly associated with the festival of São João on June 24 each year, derives from the English words "for all," which in this line of thinking, was used to designate that a party with the U.S. servicemen was open not just to U.S. citizens, but to all. There is considerable debate about the validity of this claim, with some insisting on the English explanation, and others pointing out that the term probably came from "forrobodó" which means a festive house party.

¹⁸⁵ "15 mil americanos invadiram nossas camas."

João Marreco offers to take Iracema back, she tells him, “I gave myself to him,” implying that she lost her virginity to the now deceased U.S. serviceman.¹⁸⁶

The movie lends itself easily (and from appearances, purposefully) to a synecdochal reading. The Northeast – the bed – was invaded by 15,000 U.S. servicemen, who took what they wanted and left behind a Northeast that was missing something: its innocence. The Northeast, whether a prostitute or a forlorn young woman in love, had placed its hopes in a future of camaraderie and equality with the U.S. that was rootless and had no future.

Within this analysis, one scene in the movie begs a comparison with another narrative of conquest imagined elsewhere. Soon after their initial breakup, João Marreco goes to the Parnamirim airfield to give a Portuguese class to some of the U.S. servicemen stationed there. Marreco asks each of his pupils to introduce themselves in Portuguese, and, inevitably, Robert Collins, who Marreco would recognize by name (but, notably, Collins would not recognize Marreco), introduces himself from toward the back of the class. Marreco, upon hearing the name shouts “Filho da puta!” and then explains, to the students, “Filho da puta; Son of a bitch!.” Up to this point in the scene, Marreco has had his back to a blackboard upon which is written in large, capital letters “AMÉRICA.” The camera switches focus to the students, who begin chanting, repeatedly, “Filho da puta, son of a bitch! Filho da puta, son of a bitch!” The chanting continues as our focus returns to Marreco, who has lit a cigarette in his anger. Mysteriously, while the camera was away, the letters on the blackboard scrambled into the name: “IRACEMA,” leaving the viewers with very little mystery about the names, while inspiring some new analytical questions. Is the bitch, or whore in the literal translation, to which Marreco refers, Robert Collins’ mother, the U.S.A.? Does this chanting during the name-switch from America to

¹⁸⁶ “eu me entreguei a ele.”

Iracema not associate the latter with the epithet? Was the transformation of America into Iracema caused by an act of sexual surrender?

The association of the name of an indigenous, female, foundational symbol of the nation with a phrase like “son of a whore” (and the distinction between the idiomatic translation that Marreco gives us with the literal translation is important in this analysis) is reminiscent of Octavio Paz’s analysis of “Los hijos de la Malinche” in *El laberinto de la soledad*. Paz presents an analysis of “la chingada,” (from the verb, *chingar*) as “the open Mother, raped and overcome by force.”¹⁸⁷ He compares “the raped Mother” with the Conquest, with la Malinche serving as the “symbol of surrender.”¹⁸⁸ In accepting themselves as “hijos de la Chingada,” Mexicans “condemn our origin and deny our hybridity.”¹⁸⁹ “The Mexican,” according to Paz, “breaks his connections with the past, denies his origin and hides alone within himself.”¹⁹⁰

However, Paz presents that there is a distinction between “hijos de la Chingada” and “hijo de puta” – the whore chooses, while the raped are forced, and hence, forgivable. Can the sexually anthropophagous Northeast of these inverted fictions forgive itself or be forgiven, or will it always be condemned as naïve and ridiculous? Alas, hope was not lost. As the film moralizes, the men could still redeem their Northeast, stepping in to take it back and set it on the right path again. After all, in the end, when Iracema admits that she gave herself to Robert Collins, João Marreco responds: “and I give myself to you.”¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ “es la Madre abierta, violada o burlada por la fuerza.” Octavio Paz, *Laberinto de la soledad y otras obras* (New York: Penguin, 1997), 103.

¹⁸⁸ “la Madre violada” and “El símbolo de la entrega.” Ibid., 110.

¹⁸⁹ “condenamos nuestro origen y renegamos de nuestro hibridismo.” Ibid., 111.

¹⁹⁰ “el mexicano rompe sus ligas com el passado, reniega de su origen y se adentra sólo em la vida histórica.” Ibid.

¹⁹¹ “E eu me entrego a voce.”

The movie presents the most drastic of our inverted fictions: instead of Iracema, it is the foreigner who dies at the end. In the movie, Iracema's mother approaches her after Collins' death and before Marreco's offer to take her back. The mother urges her to take João Marreco back, reminding her that he loves her and that Iracema once liked him too. This scene, right before Iracema's confession of lost virginity, seems to imply that Iracema needs to be betrothed, hinting at the possibility of pregnancy. Her child, if our film-Iracema is pregnant, will not be raised in her absence by the foreign father, as in the novel-Iracema. Instead, Iracema will raise this Brazilian-American future, together with the new/original, Brazilian father. The Northeast's past indiscretions are forgiven, but not forgotten. The region is new, different, changed by the U.S. presence, but it is still contained within the Brazilian family who will raise it according to its set of values, shared history, and culture.

Returning to Gadelha's paintings, with which this chapter opened, the coca-colas are a step in the history between Iracema and the present; yet, history seems to have reversed direction.¹⁹² In Gadelha's paintings, the present of sexual tourism, drug abuse, homelessness and desperation converts the love between Moreno and Iracema into an act of sexual aggression. In Gadelha's more expressive paintings, the women's bodies are dismembered or riddled with holes from which children emerge. These Northeastern bodies bear the region and the nation's inhabitants through suffering and pain. The light-heartedness of the coca-colas, in comparison to Iracema and the modern-day prostitutes seems more than just foolish; it seems irresponsible.

¹⁹² This historical circularity is not lost on Gadelha. The collection opens with the image of Zequinha Baliza, a former member of the Cordão das Cocacolas, seated, nude with legs crossed on the sidewalk with his back to the sea. The standard of the Cordão das Cocacolas is raised behind him. The collection starts where it ends. Descartes Gadelha, *O baliza*, Painting, n.d., MAUC-UFC, Fortaleza, CE.



Figure 39: *Estoril anos 40*



Figure 40: *Convite para o filme*



Figure 41: *Festa da Vitória*

Gadelha's painting *Festa da Vitória* depicts a "probable" snapshot catching the celebration of the end of the war (See figure 41).¹⁹³ Young cearense women hold up the flags of the U.S. and Brazil, smiling and dancing arm-in-arm with young U.S. soldiers. Our subjects look out at us through the canvas as if they were looking into a camera lens for a snapshot. They remind us that it is the painter

¹⁹³ Gadelha, *Festa da Vitória*. Gadelha says in his explanation of the painting: "O quadro ilustra uma provável comemoração da vitória dos aliados sobre os alemães, realizada festivamente no Estoril em 1945." Gadelha, "Coleção Iracemas, Morenos e Cocacolas: Depoimento," 15.

and the viewers of the painting that create this imagined scene. Gadelha and the viewers – we are the camera creating this history.

That so many works of art and performance have chosen to present relationships between U.S. servicemen and Northeastern women that end in sorrow during wartime is indicative of the changing identity in the Northeast after the war. It was a change in perception of the place of the region within the nation and the world that was felt so strongly as to invert the very foundation of the regional fiction. Our *Iracemas*/*coca-colas*/*Northeasterners* live on, aware of their folly, after loving U.S. servicemen and citizens stationed in the region. Their desire to be something else – more economically powerful, more politically influential, consumers of U.S. products, friends in equality to the Yankees, perhaps, even, a great military power in the world – became ridiculous not because the Northeast is not the U.S.A., but because, within Brazil, the Northeast has an expected position and place of inferiority in those exact areas. The shame of the *coca-colas* and the sad girls is not that they loved and lost, it is that it is so obvious to the reader or watcher in hindsight that their dream was bound to fall apart. They are Americans – as *Iracema*'s name should remind us – but these stories create a narrative that emphasizes that they are not the same kind of Americans as the U.S. of Americans. That the Northeast is portrayed as a young woman in these stories is worth noting – young, like *Iracema*, immature, silly, foolish, naïve, vulnerable, yet affectionate, aspiring, and hopeful. These girls, they are too young, perhaps, to have made the decisions that they did, and now, left alone, and independent, who will protect their culture?

CHAPTER IV

RESIST!: ROGER BASTIDE, PEUPLE ET CULTURE, THE MOVIMENTO DE CULTURA POPULAR, AND A FEW CANGACEIROS

In the closing scene of Glauber Rocha's *Black God, White Devil* (*Deus e o diabo na terra do sol*) the last of the Northeastern *cangaceiros* (bandits), Corisco, is shot by the fictional hitman Antônio das Mortes.¹ Corisco raises an arm while dropping to his knees, stares straight into the camera and shouts "The greatest power is the power of the people!"² The main protagonists of the film, the sertanejo couple Manoel and Rosa, run across the sertão toward the coast while the blind singer, Júlio, relates the story of the duel in the style of *repentista* (improvised) song, accompanied by the sound of his guitar. It is Júlio, the blind popular artist, who narrates the film, reminding the viewer in the end that these types of conflict are inevitable due to poor distribution of land (land that, he reminds us, belongs neither to God nor the Devil). It is also Júlio, as the embodiment of Northeastern popular culture, that leads Manoel and Rosa away from religious fanaticism toward the violent resistance of *cangaceirismo* (banditry). Rocha's film, released in 1964, presents a radical transformation in the position of the Brazilian Northeast within the national and international imagination following World War II. The new symbol of the Northeast by the 1960s was the resistant *cangaceiro*.

The years following the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Brazilian Northeast saw increased reflection on the nature of Brazilian culture and anxieties over how to safeguard its independence from outside influence. French activists and intellectuals and Brazilians who had lived in France after

¹ Glauber Rocha, *Deus e o diabo na terra do sol* (Copacabana Filmes, 1964).

² He screams "Mais fortes são os poderes do povo!", which has been translated in various ways to English. I think my phrasing is the most straightforward.

the war drew comparisons between the Brazilian Northeast and both the French Resistance during World War II and the French movement *Peuple et Culture*, founded after the war to create a more resistant and coherent French culture through popular education. This reflection on the nature of Northeastern culture led to the creation of cultural institutions mobilized around the concept of “popular culture.” These institutions participated in an environment in which, by the early 1960s, the power of possibility was acutely felt, imbuing the Northeast with a different sense of “resistance” – a term that came to encapsulate the Northeast’s history of uprising, its tendency toward social defiance, its preservation of folklore and popular arts, and its potential toward popular leftist revolution. This transformation politicized Northeastern cultural identity and the *cangaceiro*, or bandit of the sertão, became a figure through which Northeasterners, Brazilians, and even foreigners discussed the region, its history, and its future.

However, while Northeastern “resistance” in the 1950s and 1960s often confronted U.S. cultural influence, it would be a mistake to interpret it as did the U.S. government at the time by limiting its genesis, development, growing strength, or potential influence to the Cold War. Instead, in a moment when many Northeasterners – particularly those living in cities along the coast – had to face an inversion in their narrative of cultural identity after World War II, the transformation of the Northeast into a region of resistance had much more to do with seeking an alternative path – one that included literacy, awareness, vibrancy, and pride in the face of poverty – over an identity based on a sense of naiveté and ridicule. The Cold War and the military coup sharpened this sense of resistance, giving it an increasingly political and potentially violent meaning and nature. Perhaps the most well-recognized symbol of this resistance was the *cangaceiro* figure. It is in the 1960s that the *cangaceiro* figure is converted from pariah to a nationally and internationally recognized symbol of Northeastern resistance and potential rebellion.

To demonstrate how the Northeast came to be understood as a region of not only political or labor resistance, but of cultural rebellion, I begin with a discussion of comparisons drawn by Roger Bastide between the Brazilian Northeast and French resistance. Next, I turn to the genesis and activities of the Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP – Popular Culture Movement), that was inspired by a French movement, but that quickly developed an ideology and pedagogy that was not only distinct but influenced other movements around the world. Finally, I offer a brief discussion of how the cangaceiro was transformed from social pariah and criminal to representative of the potential of rebellion supposedly held within every impoverished, persecuted sertanejo.

In this way, in this chapter, I do not argue that Roger Bastide, *Peuple et Culture*, the MCP, and cangaceiros are intentionally nor linearly connected, but rather that they each, in their own way, participate within and create a moment in which the potential for drastic social change is sensed and heightened. Further, I emphasize that the narrative of resistance became stronger, more coherent, and even, dominant at this time. This narrative of resistance has more to do with the post-World War II moment than with the historical moment in which the acts of resistance, or acts of banditry, occurred.

Roger Bastide's Thoughts of Resistance Fly over the Ocean

Roger Bastide was not a cultural activist in the way that people associated with the Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP) – the main focus of the next section of this chapter – were. Yet, his example offers us a convenient hilltop from which to survey the intercultural landscape of the Northeast during and immediately following the war. Bastide arrived in Brazil in 1938, replacing Claude Lévi-Strauss in the “Missão Francesa” (French Mission), a group of French scholars that aided in the creation of the Universidade de São Paulo.³ Bastide's dedication to Brazilian studies left an indelible mark on our

³ Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiróz, “Roger Bastide, professor da Universidade de São Paulo,” *Estudos Avançados* 8, no. 22 (December 1994): 215, doi:10.1590/S0103-40141994000300023. For more on Bastide's time in Brazil, see, among others: Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, “Roger Bastide (1898-1974),” *Revista de História* L, no. II (1974): 873–77; Maria Isaura

understandings of race and Afro-Brazilian religions, especially in the Northeast. Bastide left Brazil in 1954, returning to France to teach at the Sorbonne in the *École Pratique des Haute Études de l'Amérique Latine*, but he came back to Brazil as a visiting professor twice (in 1962 and in 1973), before his death in 1974.⁴

Bastide's exile in Brazil began shortly before war broke out in Europe. The outbreak of war and, later, the occupation of France in 1942 provoked anxieties in Bastide that he expressed in letters and newspaper articles. Bastide's anxieties over the war intermingle with a sense of nostalgia provoked by distance, amplifying the acuteness of his sentiment. In 1943, for example, he published a review of the book *O ambiente de guerra na Europa* by the well-recognized Brazilian neurologist Miguel Osório de Almeida. The book details the changed atmosphere in Europe during the war, but focuses especially on occupied Paris. In his review of the book, Bastide recalls an engraved stone that he once read at the Epigraphic Museum in his hometown of Nîmes. The stone belonged to a florist who had died during adolescence and read, "Non vendo nisi amantibus coronas," meaning, roughly, "I only sell my flowers to lovers." Bastide draws a parallel between the florist's motto and the soul of occupied Paris:

Like the small vendor of flowers in ancient Neumausus, Paris does not hand over its enchantment, its secret of spiritual beauty, but to those that, like M. Osorio de Almeida, are its lovers. But for those who wish to take it by force, Paris sidesteps, it makes the ambience that only in Paris exists disappear, as if by magic; the real Seine disappears and what remains is only a flow of water; the Louvre, Notre Dame, Tuilleries disappear and what remains is a monument that is visited, a church that sleeps, an abandoned garden. The soul of Paris fled before the invaders that could not take, in their conquistador fists, anything more than a bit of clay. They thought they took our beauty but had only some prostitutes; they thought they took our intelligence but had only Marcel Deat. Non vendo nisi amantibus coronas.⁵

Pereira de Queiroz, "Os anos brasileiros de Roger Bastide," *Cadernos (Centro de Estudos Rurais e Urbanos)* 10, no. 1 (November 1977): 131–43; Paul Arbousse-Bastide, "Mon ami Roger Bastide," *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, no. 20 (Dez 1978): 41–51.

⁴ Queiroz, "Roger Bastide (1898-1974)," 876.

⁵ "Como a pequena vendedora de flores da antiga Neumausa, Paris não entrega o seu encanto, e todo o segredo de sua beleza espiritual, senão àqueles que, como M. Osorio de Almeida, são seus enamorados. Mas para aqueles que querem tomá-lo à força, Paris se esquivava, faz desaparecer, como por encanto, esse clima que só nele existe; o Sena real desaparece e não fica senão um curso d'água; o Louvre, Notre Dame, Tuilleries desaparecem e resta apenas um monumento que se visita, uma igreja que dorme, um jardim abandonado. A alma de Paris fugiu diante dos invasores que não puderam recolher,

What Bastide claims to have taken away from Osorio's book is an understanding that after the storm, there was "resistance: the fall of France was a military fall, the soul of the country had not changed ..."⁶

While Bastide's anxieties provoked by the war and nostalgia for his home country under attack are not surprising, the connection between his anxiety and his desire to study the Brazilian Northeast is. In 1939, Bastide began to exchange letters in French with Gilberto Freyre, expressing respect for Freyre's sociological works and a desire to travel to the Northeast. In his second letter to Freyre, Bastide apologizes for taking so long to write, explaining that he had been waiting to see how events unfolded in Europe, as, "Upon them my planned trip to the Northeast effectively depends." Bastide explains that the outbreak of war has shrouded his projected trip in uncertainty.⁷

The war, in this way, creates a state of double-exile: Bastide is far from his home country and powerless before its occupation, but, due to the same war that occupies his country, he finds it impossible to travel to the Northeast where he would like to carry out his research in Brazil. Similarly, the war creates a space for a parallel, and perhaps displaced, nostalgia. Paul Arbousse-Bastide, Roger Bastide's friend since they met during military service in 1919, described Bastide as, like him, "du midi", or from the South of France. Bastide's regional origins, according to his friend, shaped his speech into intonations that were "specific like the scent of thyme in the Nimoise garrigue [shrubbery]." Bastide and Arbousse-Bastide, as the latter described, were "cévenols" – people from

nos seus punhos conquistadores, senão um pouco de lama. Acreditaram possuir a beleza e apenas possuíram algumas prostitutas; acreditaram possuir a inteligência e não possuíram senão Marcel Deat. Non vendo nisi amantibus coronas." Roger Bastide, "Um brasileiro na tormenta," *Diário de São Paulo*, August 27, 1943, RB-P08-001, A Produção Intelectual de Roger Bastide, IEB-USP, São Paulo, SP.

⁶ "resistencia; a queda da França foi uma queda militar, a alma do país não tinha mudado." Ibid.

⁷ "D'eux devait dépendre en effet mon projet de voyage dans le Nordest." Bastide, Roger, "Letter to Gilberto Freyre," September 24, 1939, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE.

the Cevennes mountain area – descendants of the Calvinist protestant “camisards” that defied Louis XIV.⁸ According to Arbousse-Bastide, “the Cévenol is a man of non-conformism, of resistance to abusive power, of the *maquis*, that ‘desert’, refuge of liberty, as was said after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV.”⁹ Roger Bastide, according to his friend, “felt viscerally ‘Cévenol’.”¹⁰

In a letter Bastide wrote to Freyre in 1941 about Freyre’s *O Nordeste*, Bastide states frankly that he feels nostalgia for the Northeast – a region that he does not yet know personally – due to his own sense of regional belonging in France and his inability to travel due to the war. In this letter, Bastide identifies himself as “born in Provence, close to Camargue where cows and horses play a role analogous to those of ‘the other Northeast’, where there are pastoral landscapes like in your country ...” Bastide expresses solidarity with the Northeastern regionalists who were trying to maintain their values “against certain dangers of European or North American standardization” admitting that his own sense of regional belonging allows him to feel “so close to you, I sense the danger against which you and your friends fight.” Near closing the letter, Bastide states: “It is true that I am nostalgic for the Northeast, that I would like to see it all, to study it: the war has prevented this, but I do not lose hope that I will go there one day.” Bastide closes his eyes and can see it all, “the sobrados, the churches, the narrow streets ...”¹¹

⁸ “spécifiques comme les senteurs de thym des garrigues nîmoises.” Arbousse-Bastide, “Mon ami Roger Bastide,” 42.

⁹ “cévenol est l’homme du non-conformisme, de la résistance au pouvoir abusif, du maquis, ce ‘désert’, refuge de la liberté, comme on disait après la révocation de l’Edit de Nantes par Louis XIV (1685).” Ibid., 43.

¹⁰ “Roger Bastide se sentait viscéralement ‘cévenol’.” Ibid., 42.

¹¹ “né en Provence, près de cette Camargue où les taureaux et ces chevaux jouent en sôle analogue à celui do ‘Outro Nordeste’, où il y a des Pastorales comme dans votre pays,” “contre certains dangers de standardisation européenne ou nord-américaine,” “je me sens très près de vous, je mesure le danger contre lequel vous et vos amis vous avez de luttes,” “C’est vrai que je garde la nostalgie du Nordeste, que je voudrais tout le vois, l’étudier: la guerre m’en a empêché, je ne perds pas l’espoir pourtant c’y aller un jour,” and “os sobrades [sic], as igrejas, as ruas estreitas calçadas.” Roger Bastide, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” June 10, 1941, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE.

Bastide did, indeed, get his chance to travel to the Northeast and to see it for himself. In the beginning of 1944, he traveled to Salvador and Recife, where he spoke with Jorge Amado and Gilberto Freyre, respectively.¹² This trip would reset the compass of his research toward the Northeast, fueling several studies on churches and religious syncretism in the region. For Bastide's visit to Recife, the "France Combattente" Committee – a group of French ex-patriots sympathetic to the allied cause – organized a talk to take place on February 26, 1944 in the main hall (Salão Nobre) of the Medical School. Bastide spoke about "Franco-Brazilian friendship."¹³

Gilberto Freyre also wrote an article for the *Diário de Pernambuco* to publicize Bastide's talk. In his article, Freyre laments that Pernambuco has traded its dependence upon French culture for dependence on North American culture. He complains that Recife has not had an illustrious French visitor in many years and that high school students are no longer capable of reading French in perfume advertisements. Nonetheless, Freyre does not advocate dropping U.S. cultural influence in exchange for a nostalgic, French-dependent past. Instead, he asserts "exclusivity does not suit us," because it becomes a type of "monoculture." While the French initially helped Brazil to free itself from monoculture on Portuguese cultural influence, the Brazilians then became too dependent on French culture. Now, he worries, the Pernambucans were trading in French cultural influence too quickly for U.S. cultural influence. This, he says "would be an enormous error for Brazil. It would even be a political error." France – "Free France, of course" – could save Brazil from taking on a colonial status before the U.S. by affirming the "Brazilian as a people with a culture that is, as much as possible, original." For Freyre, not only Pernambuco, and not only Brazil, but all Latin American countries

¹² Roger Bastide, "Itinerário da democracia II: encontro com Jorge Amado," *Diário de São Paulo*, March 24, 1944, RB-P08-033, A Produção Intelectual de Roger Bastide, IEB-USP; Roger Bastide, "Itinerário da democracia III: Em Recife, com Gilberto Freyre," *Diário de São Paulo*, March 31, 1944, RB-P10-073, A Produção Intelectual de Roger Bastide, IEB-USP, São Paulo, SP.

¹³ Comitê "France Combattente" do Recife, "Circular," 1944, RB-P23-058, A Produção Intelectual de Roger Bastide, IEB-USP, São Paulo, SP.

needed to seek a “policulture” with the freedom to be “as much as possible and within our wishes, a work of syncretism, of combination and of re-creation of values.” Bastide, Freyre points out, represents neither Vichy France nor French cultural exclusivity. Instead, Bastide was a student of Brazilian syncretism.¹⁴ Bastide’s talk, given in French, was “widely advertised in newspaper and radio,” drawing attention not only in the *Diário de Pernambuco*, but also in the *Jornal do Commercio* and the *Jornal de Alagoas*.¹⁵

On this visit, Bastide found within the Northeast a proxy for his nostalgia for home and anxieties over the war. Bastide, in an article published in the *Revista Franco Brasileira* a few weeks after his visit, quoted Freyre’s article about French-Brazilian relations at length and mentioned that he was impressed at the solidarity formed within centers like that of France Combattente, that brought French people living in the Northeast together with sympathetic Brazilians, creating an “intensification of Franco-Brazilian friendship.” France, Bastide affirms, will continue to be a friend both to Brazil and to Panamericanism, but it will do so “without cultural imperialism, taking care to propose ideas that are assimilable by Brazilian civilization.” The war, according to Bastide, “Is perhaps felt more intensely in the Northeast ... than in the South ... a friendly cooperation reigns between the North American and the Brazilian sailors.” Bastide saw this cooperation in the streets of Recife, in the form of “the exchange of cigarettes and long walks together.” Bastide also noted that the symbol “V” – for Victory

¹⁴ “exclusividade não nos convinha,” “monocultura,” “Será, um erro enorme da parte do Brasil. Inclusive um erro político,” “a França livre, é claro,” “brasileiro como povo de cultura quanto possível própria e original,” “policultura,” and “tanto quanto possível a nosso gosto, obra de sincretismo, de combinação e de recreação de valores.” Gilberto Freyre, “Roger Bastide no Recife,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, February 24, 1944, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

¹⁵ “foi amplamente noticiada pela imprensa e pelo radio a conferencia do sociólogo francês Roger Bastide” quotation from Silvio de Macedo, “Roger Bastide e a influencia francesa no Brasil,” *Jornal de Alagoas*, October 27, 1944, RB-P23-057, A Produção Intelectual de Roger Bastide, IEB-USP, São Paulo, SP; “O minuto da cidade e do pôrto do Recife: a igreja de São Pedro dos Cléricos,” 1944, RB-P23-054, A Produção Intelectual de Roger Bastide, IEB-USP, São Paulo, SP; Mário Melo, “Crônica da cidade,” *Jornal do Commercio*, February 29, 1944, RB-P23-055, A Produção Intelectual de Roger Bastide, IEB-USP, São Paulo, SP.

– was everywhere during Carnival in Recife, symbolizing the spirit of unity and cooperation amongst this group of allies in Recife.¹⁶

Yet, there was something beyond this apparent, visible allied camaraderie that Bastide felt united his region of origin and the Northeast. There was an intangible, almost spiritual connection, an element that was soul-like enough to be transferrable to him in his exile: their very essence of resistance. During his visit to Pernambuco, Bastide visited the oldest churches in the area as part of his research. In his article in the *Revista Franco Brasileira* he recalls seeing within Northeastern churches many images of Saint Louis – Louis IX, “the missionary king,” and the only French king to be canonized. Bastide recalls:

Before these French images, my spirit, in reverie, recalled within the hidden treasure of my memory the image of Aigues-Mortes, where Saint Louis embarked to combat the infidels. I recalled, in a dreamy fog, the chapel where he prayed before boarding the ship that would carry him, the Tower of Constance dominated by salty dunes, the lakes reflecting the sun and the room where the Protestant women, condemned for their religion, carved into the stone of their cells the word: *Resist*.¹⁷

In his recounting of the dreamlike state inspired within him at the sight of Saint Louis in Northeastern churches, Bastide’s reverie blends together the historical moment(s) when King Louis IX set out for the Crusades in the thirteenth century, the historical moment when the Tower of Constance was converted into a women’s prison by another Louis – Louis XIV – in the eighteenth century, and the landscape of salty dunes and lakes that surround this/these history/ies. Bastide blends his physical act

¹⁶ “intensificação da amizade franco-brasileira,” “sem imperialismo cultural, tendo o cuidado de sempre propor idéias assimiláveis pela civilização [sic] brasileira,” “Sente-se talvez mais intensamente no Nordeste a presença da guerra do que no Sul ... Uma cooperação amistosa reina entre os marinheiros norte-americanos e os marujos brasileiros,” “as trocas de cigarros, os longos passeios em conjunto.” Roger Bastide, “Nordéste brasileiro: impressões de viagem,” *Revista Franco Brasileira*, April 1944, RB-P33-015, A Produção Intelectual de Roger Bastide, IEB-USP, São Paulo, SP.

¹⁷ “E diante dessas imagens francesas, o meu espírito em devaneio ia acordar no tesouro oculto da minha memória a imagem de Aigues-Mortes, onde São Luís embarcou para combater os infieis. Revia, numa bruma de sonho, a capela onde êle rogou na-[end p. 15]tes de subir no veleiro que o iria levar, a torre de Constança dominando as dunas salgadas, os lagos espelhando ao sol e a sala onde mulheres protestantes, condenadas devido à sua religião, gravaram na pedra do chão das suas cadeias a palavra: *Resistam*.” Ibid., 15–16.

of standing within a Northeastern church and viewing an image of St. Louis with the history of the Crusades; he mixes that blend with the religious resistance of Protestant women. “This word: Resist,” Bastide continues, “has now passed from a group of intransigent puritans to a whole people, whose soul they want to destroy, but that maintains its heroism against the Germans ... In this way, in the churches of Recife, my thoughts flew over the ocean to my people and my land.”¹⁸ In a letter to Gilberto Freyre after his visit, Bastide thanks Freyre for receiving him at his home in Apipucos, apologizing for not being able to say goodbye after his talk; he was distracted by the French troops in the city.¹⁹

Written in the same article in which Bastide quotes Freyre at length and warns against the temptation to accept North American cultural norms and products unquestionably, the reader of this article is drawn into a series of comparisons that defy historical chronology and geography. For Bastide, whose interests were in the mystical, spiritual, and religious aspects of Northeastern culture, especially within Afro-Brazilian religions, the Northeast’s point of resistance would be in its religious syncretism. This article, then, leaves the reader with a sense of Bastide’s own syncretic state in Brazil, a mix of French and Northeastern resistance. In the case of the French, this resistance was to the Germans and, perhaps, included a fear that the French would come to rely on U.S. culture now that the war was over. In the case of the Northeast, the resistance was to outside cultural influence (particularly North American). In both cases, the resistance was expressed through religious conviction. Somehow, in a church in Recife, Bastide finds his own national and regional spirit through a common theme of resistance. He faces his homesickness to southern France, in the Brazilian

¹⁸ “Esta palavra: Resistam, ei-la agora passada do pequeno grupo de puritanas intransigentes a um povo inteiro, cuja alma se quer destruir, mas que mantem, no seu heroismo contra os alemães, a honra da pátria e a cultura latina. Assim, nas igrejas de Recife, o meu pensamento voava além do oceano para o meu povo e a minha terra.” *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁹ Roger Bastide, “Letter to Gilberto Freyre,” 1944, CODE-FGF, Recife, PE.

Northeast, finding the war there as well. Bastide was not alone in finding a connection between the French Resistance and World War II and Northeastern cultural resistance; in fact, the Movimento de Cultura Popular would also find inspiration in the legacy of resistance shared by France and the Brazilian Northeast.

The Movimento de Cultura Popular: from People et Culture to a Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Behind the overwhelmingly successful literacy and popular education campaigns in the 1960s in the Northeast, there are a number of organizers, among them Norma Porto Carreiro and her husband Germano Coelho. Carreiro and Coelho were the architects of the Movimento de Cultura Popular that, with the support of socialist mayor-then-governor Miguel Arraes, would open and run schools for adults and children, develop activities intended to exalt and preserve popular culture, spearhead literacy and political awareness campaigns throughout the region, and train groups in other states, regions, and countries to replicate their success.

Norma Porto Carreiro and Germano Coelho found inspiration for this movement in their experience in France. Carreiro studied pedagogy at the Sorbonne, under Jean Piaget and Roger Cousinet. She interned at an experimental school associated with the university called “Le Source,” which followed the Freinet method.²⁰ Coelho received his doctorate in law from the University of Paris under the direction of Jean Lhomme, who urged Coelho to “leave the library behind in exchange for the world.”²¹ Carreiro and Coelho would, according to Coelho, participate in four “experiments” in the 1950s dedicated to education and culture that would influence the founding of the MCP in

²⁰ Germano Coelho, *MCP: história do Movimento de Cultura Popular* (Recife, 2012), 2.

²¹ “deixar a biblioteca e ganhar o mundo,” Ibid.

Recife.²² Principal among these was *Peuple et Culture* (People and Culture), also known initially as the *Mouvement de Culture Populaire* (Popular Culture Movement), from which the very name of the MCP was derived.²³ Coelho also identifies their meeting with Célestin and Élise Freinet, dedicated to “popular education,” at a school in Vence in the Maritime Alps in 1954; their time visiting the Dominican Louis-Joseph Lebret in La Tourette, at the Economy and Humanism Center, and; their trip to Israel where, through “living and working off the harvest of grapes and the boxing of apples” they learned what it was like to live in community, in a kibbutz.²⁴

Peuple et Culture is a movement born out of the legacy of the French Resistance to Nazi-fascism in World War II. After Liberation, according to Brian Rigby, “it was generally felt that it was education that had failed France and brought about its craven defeat.”²⁵ According to the movement’s 1945 manifesto, the experience of the Resistance forced activists from diverse ideological backgrounds to come to an understanding and work together to recognize that the spirit of the Resistance could inspire a true popular culture through education. Also in the manifesto, the movement expresses a desire to emulate movements in other countries, such as the Palace of the Pioneers in Russia, Youth Clubs in the U.S., and the People’s Houses of Sweden.²⁶ This movement is still in existence today, but

²² “experimentos” and “educação e cultura,” *Ibid.*, 7.

²³ Germano Coelho, “Paulo Freire e o Movimento de Cultura Popular,” in *Paulo Freire - educação e transformação social*, ed. Paulo Rosas (Recife: Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 2002), 35; Coelho, *MCP*, 7.

²⁴ Coelho, “Paulo Freire,” 35; Coelho, *MCP*, 7–16. The quotation “vivendo e trabalhando na colheita de uva e no encaixotamento de maçãs” is from Coelho, “Paulo Freire,” 44. In 1949, Lebret would visit Brazil. During his visit, Lebret compared Northeastern workers leaving a chemical factory in São Paulo to “a procession leaving Buchenwald.” “um desfile saído de Buchenwald.” Joseph Lebret, “Carta aos americanos,” *Diário do Povo*, June 26, 1949, Hemeroteca, IC, Fortaleza, CE.

²⁵ Brian Rigby, “Intellectuals, Education, and Culture at the Liberation: The Opposition to ‘La Culture Scolaire,’” *French Cultural Studies* 5 (1994): 241.

²⁶ *Peuple et Culture*, “Une peuple, une culture: Manifeste de *Peuple et Culture*,” 1945, <http://www.peuple-et-culture.org/IMG/pdf/doc-72.pdf>.

has since shifted its focus to work with immigrant groups in France.²⁷ Norma Porto Carreiro and Germano Coelho visited Boimandau – the workers’ community initiated by Marcel Barbu in *le maquis* during the French Resistance – then under the leadership of Marcel Mermoz. They attended meetings with Mermoz and met Joffre Dumazedier of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), the Sorbonne, and *Peuple et Culture*. Dumazedier gave the couple his books on sports and leisure and on popular education and television, which would become important to the MCP.²⁸

According to Paulo Rosas who participated in the MCP, the couple brought with them “all of the spirit of Boimondeau [sic], *Peuple et Culture*, Lebret, Dumazedier, Mounier, Freinet, the climate of the ‘kibutzin’ of Israel.”²⁹ Paulo Freire also recognized the importance of these influences, stating that due to Germano Coelho’s contact with Joffre Dumazedier, the MCP was influenced by *Peuple et Culture*, but maintained its “radically Northeastern and Brazilian profile.”³⁰ Nonetheless, Carreiro and Coelho’s experience in France did not alone create the MCP; in fact, several testimonials recorded between 1986 and 2009 affirm that the MCP was a direct descendant of earlier cultural activities in Recife. Abelardo da Hora, who would later become the Director of the Division of Art and Handicraft of the MCP, stated that members of the movement had been in a “permanent struggle” since they had “found, in 1948, the Society of Modern Art of Recife.”³¹ Hora and fellow artists formed the *Sociedade de Arte Moderna do Recife* and the *Atelier Coletivo* (1952), where they gave classes on

²⁷ Jean-François Chosson, *Peuple et Culture 1945-1995: 50 ans d'innovations au service de l'éducation populaire* (Paris: *Peuple et Culture*, 1995), 92.

²⁸ Coelho, *MCP*, 7–8.

²⁹ Paulo Rosas, “O Movimento de Cultura Popular - MCP,” in *Movimento de Cultura Popular: Memorial*, ed. Pedro Américo de Farias et al. (Recife: Fundação de Cultura, Cidade do Recife, 1986), 22.

³⁰ This is from a section of Paulo Freire’s *Cartas a Cristina* that Coelho anthologizes in: Coelho, *MCP*, 151.

³¹ “Vinhamos numa luta permanente, desde que fundamos em 1948 a Sociedade de Arte Moderna do Recife, ...” Pedro Américo de Farias et al., eds., *Movimento de Cultura Popular: Memorial* (Recife: Fundação de Cultura, Cidade do Recife, 1986), 13.

“design, press, painting and sculpture.”³² According to Hora, the idea of forming a social movement based on democratization of culture and education was already in circulation in 1949, but was then forgotten. Further, according to Hora, in 1958, cultural actors were already in negotiation with then Mayor Pelópidas Silveira over the expropriation of the Sítio da Trindade that would later become the headquarters for the MCP, and perhaps would have done so earlier had the mayor made the funds available for its purchase.³³ Maria de Jesus Costa also affirmed that “the MCP was created and we all worked together in the Atelier Coletivo of the Sociedade de Arte Moderna,” while Geraldo Menucci added that “We created the MCP because it started eight years earlier in Casa de Artes.”³⁴

Popular theater in Recife already had deep roots before the founding of the MCP. Luís Mendonça, who would become the Theater Director of the MCP began his testimonial by stating that “The Theater of Popular Culture was not born by accident: it was the result of the crystallization of several previous experiences that sought, before all else, a revolution in theater ... mainly by making theater more ample and open.”³⁵ The previous experiences that Mendonça refers to include the founding of the Teatro do Estudante do Brasil, the Teatro do Estudante de Pernambuco, and the Teatro Universitário de Pernambuco. Mendonça himself started his work with popular theater in 1951 with the newly formed Teatro do Estudante Secundário, which was closed due to “subversion.” Mendonça explains that Ariano Suassuna, who later worked with the MCP, founded a new group and

³² “desenho, gravura, pintura e escultura.” Ibid., 14. For more on the Atelier Coletivo, see José Cláudio and Renato Magalhães Gouvêa, eds., *Memória do Atelier Coletivo: Recife, 1952-1957* (Recife: Artespaço, 1982).

³³ Farias et al., *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, 15.

³⁴ “O MCP foi criado e a gente já trabalhava todos juntos no Ateliê Coletivo da Sociedade de Arte Moderna. Aí foi que se criou o MCP. Mas antes foi o Ateliê Coletivo da Sociedade de Arte Moderna ...” and “Nós criamos o MCP, porque ele começou oito anos antes na Casa de Artes. Abelardo da Hora me convidou pra participar.” Letícia Rameh Barbosa, *Movimento de Cultura Popular: impactos na sociedade pernambucana* (Recife, 2009), 74.

³⁵ “O Teatro de Cultura Popular não nasceu por acaso: resultou da cristalização de várias experiências anteriores que visavam antes de mais nada, a uma revolução no teatro ... principalmente no de fazer um teatro mais amplo e aberto.” Luís Mendonça, “Teatro é festa para o povo,” *Arte em revista*, 1964, Reproduced in Forum EJA Brasil, Acervo Multimídia, <http://forumeja.org.br/df/files/teatroefestaparaopovo.pdf>.

a course in Greek history, but this group also suffered persecution and faded away. Soon thereafter, the Teatro do Adolescente do Recife was formed, won an award in Rio for Suassuna's *Auto da Compadecida*, and upon returning to Recife was invited by Paulo Freire, then Director of the Serviço Social de Indústria, to perform for laborers in Recife; however, a lack of materials quickly brought about the end of the group. Support from the Arraes administration would change the political atmosphere and the Teatro de Cultura Popular would open two theaters in Recife in the following years.³⁶

From these testimonials, it is apparent that participants in the MCP had already garnered years, if not decades, of experience in Recife working with and formulating organizations dedicated to popular culture. Nonetheless, Carreiro and Coelho's contact with popular culture groups descended from the French Resistance movement after World War II gave the MCP a new vocabulary and ideology with which to approach the issues of popular education and popular culture in Pernambuco. They used these tools, in meetings with Mayor Miguel Arraes, to craft the MCP in 1960.

Miguel Arraes became mayor of Recife in 1959 with support from the Partido Social Democrático (PSD) and in 1963 became governor of Pernambuco with the PSD and backing from the Partido Comunista Brasileiro (PCB). It was as mayor that he met with Carreiro, Coelho, Hora, Freire, and others to discuss the state of education in Recife in 1960. In the meeting with Arraes, the activists presented a popular education project to the mayor, based on Carreiro's and Coelho's experience with People et Culture in France. Arraes immediately expressed support, suggested that the name for the movement derive from that of People et Culture, and asked for the project in writing.³⁷

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Abelardo da Hora in Farias et al., *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, 16; Coelho, *MCP*, 2.

The excitement caused by placing the knowledge and experience gained in Recife and abroad into immediate action lends perspective into the spirit of possibility created by the meeting with Miguel Arraes. In Germano Coelho's words:

That entire universe of ideas and lived experiences came together. We spent days and days, Norma and I, debating, consulting, examining, remembering, evaluating, formulating, writing. Finally a project was born, involving the partnership of public and private initiative. Not a simple organ: but a movement in progress. Not just for children and teenagers, but for adults. Not just for education, but also for culture. And with a great goal: to raise the cultural level of the people, preparing them for life and work. And with a great name, that we heard for the first time in the Communauté de Travail Boimondau, inherited from Peuple et Culture: Movimento de Cultura Popular.³⁸

Carreiro's and Coelho's example represents, to a certain extent, the feelings expressed by other participants as well: a diverse set of experiences led to the creation of the MCP, but it was the initial meeting with Arraes in 1960 that gave these experiences relevance, possibility, and movement. The choice of "movement" in the title was important to Coelho. The MCP was not to be an "organization," an "association," an "agency," or a "club;" it was a "movement," which signifies "rhythm and expresses the dynamic of an action in process."³⁹

The next meeting was held the following day and a flurry of activities began immediately.⁴⁰ Though it was not until September 19, 1961 that Germano Coelho filed the MCP's statute, the *Diário de Pernambuco* announced over a year earlier that the MCP's first ten schools would be inaugurated on

³⁸ "Todo aquele universo de idéias e todas aquelas experiências vividas vieram à tona. Passamos dias e dias, eu e Norma, debatendo, consultando, examinando, relembrando, avaliando, formulando, escrevendo. Finalmente nascera um projeto, envolvendo a parceria do poder público e da iniciativa privada. Não um simples órgão: mas um movimento em marcha. Não só para crianças e adolescentes, mas igualmente para adultos. Não apenas para a educação, mas também para a cultura. E com uma grande meta: elevar o nível cultural do povo, preparando-o para a vida e para o trabalho. E com um grande nome, que ouvimos, pela primeira vez, na Communauté de Travail Boimondau, herdado de Peuple et Culture: Movimento de Cultura Popular." Coelho, "Paulo Freire," 47.

³⁹ "A opção pela estrutura de um 'movimento', que pressupõe ritmo e exprime a dinâmica de uma ação em marcha." Farias et al., *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, 11.

⁴⁰ I am, of course, simplifying. For a more detailed explanation, see Silke Weber, "Política e educação: o Movimento de Cultura Popular no Recife," *Dados: Revista de Ciências Sociais* 27, no. 2 (1984): 233–62.

May 1, 1960, with support of the municipal government.⁴¹ Articles continued to appear in the newspapers throughout 1960 and 1961, before the filing of the official statute, announcing the openings of schools and other MCP activities.⁴² In addition to the support received from the municipal government, the schools (and the movement) received financial support from businesses and organizations, including the Lion's and Rotary Clubs of Recife, the Liga dos Servidores Municipais (League of Municipal Workers), the Comissão de Abastecimento e Preços (Commission of Provisions and Prices), the Associação Mundial de Luta Contra Fome (World Association Against Hunger), and

⁴¹ Pedro Américo de Farias et al., eds., "Estatutos do M.C.P.," in *Movimento de Cultura Popular: Memorial* (Recife: Fundação de Cultura, Cidade do Recife, 1986), 57–70.

⁴² "Mais escolas para o Recife," *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 7, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "MCP fará distribuição ampla de material escolar," June 12, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Vinte escolas municipais serão inauguradas, até 15 de setembro próximo," *Jornal do Commercio*, August 13, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Prefeitura instalará mais 20 escolas do Mov. de Cultura Popular, este mês," *Diário de Pernambuco*, August 13, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "98 professoras lecionando nas escolas da prefeitura," *Diário de Pernambuco*, August 27, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Escola despejada deverá ser reaberta: o prefeito mandou desapropriar logo o prédio," *Jornal do Commercio*, September 13, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Inauguradas 18 escolas primárias, nos bairros pela 'Cultura Popular,'" *Jornal do Commercio*, September 27, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Prefeito pediu ao Rio material escolar para grupos da Prefeitura," *Jornal do Commercio*, October 13, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Cinco mil cartilhas, INEP envia para Movimento de Cultura Popular do Recife," *Jornal do Commercio*, October 25, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Matrícula para 30 mil nas escolas da Prefeitura, em 61," *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 1, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Movimento de Cultura (com a Diretoria recém-eleita) está convocando estudantes," *Jornal do Commercio*, January 24, 1961, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Eleita diretoria do MCP: reunião sobre educação de adultos," *Diário de Pernambuco*, January 24, 1961, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Prefeito reassumiu e vai inaugurar mais 40 escolas: doação ao M.C.P.," *Diário de Pernambuco*, March 8, 1961, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Prefeitura fabricou 5 mil bancas para escolas do MCP," *Diário de Pernambuco*, March 11, 1961, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "MCP intensifica plano de educação: seleção de alunos para cursos," *Jornal do Commercio*, March 18, 1962, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Prefeito intensifica nas zonas pobres do Recife instalação de escolas populares," March 26, 1962, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Meta do Movimento de Cultura Popular: 16 mil alunos ainda em 1962," *Jornal do Commercio*, June 8, 1962, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE.

the Clube dos Diretores Lojistas (Club of Shopkeeper Directors).⁴³ At least initially, “industrial organizations” paid the new school teachers’ salaries.⁴⁴

According to the MCP’s statutes, the objectives of the organization were to:

1. Promote and stimulate, with the aid of private and public powers, the education of children and adults;
2. Serve the fundamental objective of education that is to fully develop all human potential through community-based holistic education;
3. Increase the cultural level of the people, preparing them for life and work, which ensures, also, in agreement with the Constitution, elective religious teaching;
4. Collaborate for the improvement of the material level of the people through specialized education;
5. Form panels with the objective of interpreting, systematizing, and transmitting the multiple aspects of popular culture.⁴⁵

In order to carry out these aims, the MCP divided into seven organs: a directive council, directorship, advisory council, administrative service, Department of Cultural Formation (DFC), Department of Documentation and Information (DDI), and Department of Cultural Dissemination (DDC).⁴⁶ Of these, the Department of Cultural Formation was the most active, responsible for activities ranging

⁴³ “Coap e Ascofam darão gêneros vitaminados para estudantes do Município,” *Jornal do Commercio*, November 4, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; “Funcionalismo diverge de atitudes de Arraes, não do Movimento de Cultura,” *Jornal do Commercio*, December 7, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE; “Barnabés’ oferecem apoio ao Movimento de Cultura Popular da Municipalidade,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, December 7, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; “A festa de Natal do Recife começará às 21 horas, hoje: corais Romanos e Protestante,” *Jornal do Commercio*, December 24, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁴⁴ Referred to “organizações industriais” in “167 professores e 2.524 bancas para a prefeitura atuar em Casa Amarela,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, April 19, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; “Sociedade Civil o Movimento de Cultura Popular: Escolas,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, April 26, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁴⁵ “Promover e incentivar, com a ajuda de particulares e dos poderes públicos, a educação de crianças e adultos; 2. Atender ao objetivo fundamental da educação que é o de desenvolver plenamente tôdas as virtualidades do ser humano, através de educação integral de base comunitária, que assegure, também, de acôrdo com a Constituição, o ensino religioso facultativo; 3. Proporcionar a elevação do nível cultural do povo preparando-o para a vida e para o trabalho; 4. Colaborar para a melhoria do nível material do povo através de educação especializada; 5. Formar quadros destinados a interpretar, sistematizar e transmitir os múltiplos aspectos da cultura popular.” Farias et al., “Estatutos do M.C.P.,” 57.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

from research (of which Paulo Freire was in charge), teaching, arts and handicraft, dance and song, theater, health and sports.⁴⁷

Until the military dictatorship closed its doors in April 1964, the MCP had an impressively active existence. By September of 1962, the MCP had created 201 schools, with 626 classes and 19,646 students administered by 452 teachers and 174 monitors.⁴⁸ When it was closed in 1964, the MCP had reached 414 schools that served 30,405 students (27,703 children and 2,702 teenagers), not including adults.⁴⁹ These numbers become even more impressive when compared to the state of education in the Brazilian Northeast as a whole in 1950. In 1950, of the region's school-age children, only 49.1% frequented primary school, and only 2.7% continued to secondary education.⁵⁰ In Recife alone, according to Germano Coelho's preface to the movement's adult literacy primer discussed below, 80,000 school-age children simply had no school to attend.⁵¹ Further, Recife, in 1960, was the only city in the country to have only state-, and not city-funded schools.⁵² In addition to the school-age education problem, 59.7% of the Northeastern adult population was illiterate.⁵³ In Brazil, illiteracy represented not only a social, but also a political obstacle: the illiterate, by law, could not vote. As access to education represented a class divide, the high rates of illiteracy and extremely limited access

⁴⁷ Rosas, "O Movimento de Cultura Popular - MCP," 24.

⁴⁸ Barbosa, *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, 154.

⁴⁹ Maria Betânia e Silva, "Refletindo sobre o Movimento de Cultura Popular: espaço para a arte?," *Revista Digital Arte&* IV, no. 6 (October 2006), <http://www.revista.art.br/site-numero-06/trabalhos/8.htm>.

⁵⁰ Romanelli, *História da educação no Brasil (1930/1973)*, 81.

⁵¹ Josina Maria Lopes de Godoy and Norma Porto Carreiro Coelho, *Livro de leitura para adultos: Movimento de Cultura Popular* (Recife: Gráfica Editora do Recife, 1962).

⁵² Silva, "Refletindo sobre o Movimento de Cultura Popular: espaço para a arte?"

⁵³ Sílvia Maria Manfredi, *Política e educação popular: experiências de alfabetização no Brasil com o Método Paulo Freire, 1960/1964*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Cortez, 1981), 34.

to education not only kept tens of thousands of working class Recifeans out of schools, but also out of the voting booth.⁵⁴

Amid these dismal statistics, the MCP became one of most visible manifestations of a climate of hope, possibility, and utopian ideals. The MCP, according to Rosas, gained energy from an “almost mystical climate” derived from “the belief in Brazilian and Northeastern human potential,” which, “to a certain extent resulted from that hope that Miguel Arraes awakened, to a certain extent was the fruit of the contagious optimism of Germano Coelho and, even, of the spirit that reigned at the time.” This spirit, in turn, inspired the motivation to “produce the best and fastest that we could.”⁵⁵ Activists, politicians, students, artists, and educators affiliated with the MCP often remember this sense of optimism in testimonials. Of the causes attributed to this “spirit,” the factor most often referred to is the Arraes administration that created a sense of change, revolution, and possibility. References are also frequently made to People et Culture, a greater sense of cooperation after World War II, the changes in the Catholic Church leading to the Second Vatican Council, and previous work in social movements in Recife and abroad.⁵⁶ As Freire stated, “there was within it [the MCP] a *sine qua* [non] for whomever wanted to continue as a member: to dream of the transformation of Brazilian society

⁵⁴ For an in-depth statistical analysis of marginalizing aspects of the Brazilian education system, see Romanelli, *História da educação no Brasil (1930/1973)*.

⁵⁵ “foi, a meu ver, o clima quase místico dominante, pela crença no potencial humano brasileiro e nordestino, sem ufanismos, sem milagres, e que até certo ponto decorreu daquela esperança que Miguel Arraes despertava, até certo ponto era fruto do contagiante otimismo de Germano Coelho e ainda do espírito do tempo então reinante.” And then, “... éramos motivados a produzir o melhor e mais rápido que pudéssemos.” Paulo Rosas, “Educação popular no Nordeste, nos inícios de 60,” 32nd Reunião Anual da Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência, Rio de Janeiro, 1980 cited in Coelho, “Paulo Freire,” 50.

⁵⁶ See, for example: Abelardo da Hora, “Depoimento,” in *Movimento de Cultura Popular: Memorial*, ed. Pedro Américo de Farias et al. (Recife: Fundação de Cultura, Cidade do Recife, 1986), 13–18; Anita Paes Barreto, “Educação de crianças e adolescentes,” in *Movimento de Cultura Popular: Memorial*, ed. Pedro Américo de Farias et al. (Recife: Fundação de Cultura, Cidade do Recife, 1986), 37; Rosas, “O Movimento de Cultura Popular - MCP,” 23; Barbosa, *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, 74; Paulo Freire and Sérgio Guimarães, eds., *Aprendendo com a própria história* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1987), 16; Silva, “Refletindo sobre o Movimento de Cultura Popular: espaço para a arte?”

and to fight for this dream. It was not possible to remain in the MCP without betting on utopia. Not on utopia understood as something unachievable, but on utopia as a possible dream.”⁵⁷

Andrew Kirkendall recognizes this spirit of utopian possibility in *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy* stating that “the sense of a changing historical reality is ever present in the rhetoric of this period,” while recognizing that the very ubiquity of references to revolution served to cloud the division over what the term actually meant.⁵⁸ Still, in broad terms, the spirit that Rosas refers to was an overwhelming sentiment shared by its participants that the MCP and its projects, in that specific place and at that particular moment in time were suddenly possible. This sense of real possibility moves us beyond a simple binary of a reaction to U.S. cultural influence and a direct response to it. This moment of utopian optimism in the Northeast again reset the direction of Northeastern regional identity from the naiveté of war years to resistance as a way of being, with resistance defined as optimism in the face of negative expectations or a refusal to succumb to poverty, illiteracy, pessimism, and despair. The MCP believed that a new Northeast was possible, one in which the true culture of the region was preserved in the homes of the poor and illiterate, in which the illiterate could learn to read, and in which that literacy would both set them free and allow them to cherish and save their authentic culture.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ “havia nele [o MCP] um sine qua [non] para quem dele pretendesse continuar a ser sócio: sonhar com a transformação da sociedade brasileira e por esse sonho lutar. Não era possível ficar no MCP sem apostar na utopia. Não na utopia entendida como algo inconcretizável, mas na utopia como sonho possível.” From *Cartas a Cristina*, anthologized in Coelho, *MCP*, 152.

⁵⁸ Andrew J. Kirkendall, *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 28.

⁵⁹ In an interview, Coelho once stated “Desse ponto de vista, o MCP pensou que indo buscar as raízes da cultura brasileira onde elas se encontravam, no meio do povo, nós estaríamos concorrendo para o desenvolvimento de uma cultura mais autenticamente nacional. Isso não quer dizer que se tenha cortado – o que seria também absurdo – qualquer ligação ou vinculação com o exterior. Mas, apenas que o cerne do problema cultural nosso deveria estar no país, nas matrizes culturais brasileiras.” And later: “A gente sempre tratou a cultura como um instrumento de emancipação do nosso povo. Porque nós não víamos a cultura ‘estrito senso’. A cultura no seu sentido mais amplo, envolvendo a ciência – por consequência tudo de educação --, envolvendo a técnica, envolvendo a arte. E sabíamos que, desde que o nosso povo evoluísse nesses campos da cultura, ele deixaria de ser oprimido dentro do país.” Germano Coelho, “A universidade aliena, o povo ensina [December 6, 1976],” in *Arte popular e dominação: o caso de Pernambuco -1961/77*, ed. Ivan Maurício, Marcos Cirano, and

In addition to the creation of primary schools, the MCP coordinated conferences and popular cultural events with university students, ran theater and dance groups, and organized Christmas parties, each prompting the participants to join in the creation of popular culture.⁶⁰ The MCP created a technical school for mechanics, five cultural plazas, an art gallery, and the Centro de Cultura Dona Olegarina, which offered courses in sewing as well as literacy.⁶¹ Further, the MCP created an educational radio program intended to reach thousands of listeners throughout the metropolitan area (that included a 40 to 50 minute literacy program, discussed below), as well as cultural education related to politics, music, and hygiene.

An examination of the MCP's adult education program and its spinoff programs offers insight into the ways in which culture, education, liberation, and resistance were linked within the MCP's action. In 1962, the MCP expanded its program to include literacy education for adults. Germano Coelho, as President of the MCP, signed an agreement with the Ministério de Educação e Cultura (MEC), which, in turn, provided primers for the MCP to use in its adult education courses.⁶² According

Ricardo de Almeida (Recife: Ed. Alternativa, 1978), 22 and 30. In these explanations, Coelho seems to echo the ideas on culture and authenticity emanating from ISEB at this time, particularly those of Roland Corbisier, quoted in the previous chapter.

⁶⁰ "Iniciada a Semana Universitária de Cultura Popular: palestra e debates," *Diário de Pernambuco*, May 17, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "A festa de Natal do Recife começará às 21 horas, hoje: corais Romanos e Protestante"; "Universitários: reunião para apoiar Movimento de Cultura Popular," *Jornal do Commercio*, November 24, 1960, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Início, domingo, da Segunda Semana de Cultura Popular," *Jornal do Commercio*, May 22, 1961, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Semana Estudantil de Cultura Popular vai ser instalada domingo," *Diário de Pernambuco*, May 24, 1961, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "Terceira semana estudantil de cultura popular instalou-se ontem: peça no 'Santa Isabel,'" *Jornal do Commercio*, May 6, 1962, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; "DDC fará convênio para espetáculo de música e ballet: apoio do MCP," *Jornal do Commercio*, October 23, 1962, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; Pedro Américo de Farias et al., "Festival de Teatro do Recife," in *Movimento de Cultura Popular: Memorial* (Recife: Fundação de Cultura, Cidade do Recife, 1986), 82–83.

⁶¹ Lúcia Gaspar, "Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP)," *Pesquisa Escolar Online* (Recife: FUNDAJ, Aug 31 2009) http://basilio.fundaj.gov.br/pesquisaescolar/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=723&Itemid=192; Coelho, *MCP*, 58–100.

⁶² Coelho, "A universidade aliena, o povo ensina [December 6, 1976]," 28. Again, for details on how politicians debated and envisioned the use of these primers and the politics behind the courses, see Weber, "Política e educação."

to Coelho and Godoy and Carreiro, the primers were worthless, as they were based on a vocabulary that did not align with the MCP students' reality.⁶³ Coelho elaborates: "they said things like this: at the end of the month, you must put your savings in the Caixa Econômica Federal. At the end of the year, you must paint your house. Nothing to do with the Northeast, with the poverty of our people."⁶⁴ Coelho asked Paulo Freire to head a new adult education initiative that would create a new primer, starting over from the ground up, but Freire declined. It was Norma Porto Carreiro, armed with her pedagogical training in the Sorbonne, that took on the project, elaborating a new primer with Josina Godoy.

From 1962 onward, the MCP employed the *Livro de leitura para adultos*, co-authored by Carreiro and Godoy, aimed not only at teaching reading and writing skills, but also at providing the vocabulary of social struggle to its readers. The book taught literacy by "highlighting regional values" in order to become "one more cultural instrument for the emancipation of the people."⁶⁵ Each lesson centers on "key words" (palavras-chave). The key words provide "significant ideas" but also present new syllabic formations, adding up to all 58 "sounds" that the student needed to obtain literacy in the Portuguese language.⁶⁶ A quick summary of a few lessons of this book gives a sense of the MCP's philosophy of teaching. The first lesson employs only five words. In the upper part of the page, there are two boxes. In one box the word "povo" (the people) appears both in type and in script; in the other, appears the word "voto" (vote) in the same format. On the lower part of the page, there is one sentence, also in

⁶³ Coelho, *MCP*, 28; Josina Maria Lopes de Godoy and Norma Porto Carreiro Coelho, "Apresentação do livro de leitura para adultos do MCP," in *MCP: história do Movimento de Cultura Popular* (Recife, 2012), 29.

⁶⁴ "dizia coisas assim: no fim do mês, você deve colocar sua poupança na Caixa Econômica Federal. No fim do ano, você deve pintar sua casa. Nada a ver com o Nordeste, com a pobreza de nosso povo." Coelho, *MCP*, 28.

⁶⁵ "ressaltando os valores regionais" and "mais um instrumento da cultura para a emancipação do povo." This is from Germano Coelho's introduction to the text book. Godoy and Coelho, *Livro de leitura para adultos*.

⁶⁶ "ideias significativas" and "sons." Godoy and Coelho, "Apresentação do livro de leitura para adultos do MCP," 30.

type and script: “O voto é do povo” (The vote is of the people).⁶⁷ Lesson 62 tackles the theme of “trabalho” (work), including the vocabulary words “jangada,” “peixe” (fish), and “coqueiro” (coconut palm) and phrases like “By becoming a member of the fishing colony, they [the jangadeiros] protect themselves for old age and illness. The jangadeiro is the hero of the wild seas!”⁶⁸ The final lesson (number 77), is longer, but fits on one page. On the top of the page is the word “paz” (peace), below this a short list of words ending in the letter z. Finally, the reader finds:

The Northeast will only have peace when the root of its illness is attacked. When agrarian reform assures the peasant: land, machines, technical advice, credit, market, education and health. When commerce, organized within a cooperative spirit, values to the utmost the income of the producer and of the consumer. When the installation of factories permits the industrialization of our raw materials in our own region. The voice of the people brings a lot of light to the problems of the Northeast. Problems that can be resolved with work, honesty and justice. Justice is harmony, equilibrium and equality in relations between men. Christ died on the cross preaching justice on earth. It is indispensable to have peace between men in order to have progress in the world.⁶⁹

And then, on the bottom of the page in large script: “Peace is born of justice.”⁷⁰ The text upholds social justice, agrarian reform and the rights of producers and consumers, but also industrialization, markets, peace and, even, Christian principles. The MCP used this new primer in its radio literacy classes. Carreiro and Godoy coordinated these classes, which were broadcast by the Rádio Clube do Pernambuco. Monitors, usually university students, then discussed the transmissions with the

⁶⁷ Godoy and Coelho, *Livro de leitura para adultos*, Lição 1.

⁶⁸ “Associando-se nas colônias de pesca, êles [os jangadeiros] se protegem para a velhice e a doença. O jangadeiro é o herói dos mares bravios!” Ibid., Lição 62.

⁶⁹ “O Nordeste só terá paz quando a raiz de seus males fôr atacada. Quando a reforma agrária assegurar ao camponês: terra, máquinas, orientação técnica, crédito, mercado, educação e saúde. Quando o comércio, organizado dentro do espírito cooperativista, valorizar ao máximo a renda do produtor e do consumidor. Quando a implantação de fábricas permitir a industrialização de nossas matérias primas, na própria região. A voz do povo traz muita luz sobre os problemas do Nordeste. Problemas que podem ser resolvidos com trabalho, honestidade e justiça. A justiça é harmonia, equilíbrio e igualdade nas relações entre os homens. Cristo morreu na cruz pregando a justiça sobre a terra. É indispensável haver paz entre os homens para que haja progresso no mundo.” Ibid., Lição 77.

⁷⁰ “A paz nasce da justiça.”

students.⁷¹ Germano Coelho estimates that the radio-literacy program, supported by Carreiro and Godoy's primer, reached 30,000 adult students.⁷²

The primer-based radio education program was not the only component in the MCP literacy arsenal. While Carreiro and Godoy developed the primer, Freire developed his method based on "cultural circles." Through Freire's method, students were to gain not only literacy, but "awareness of their social and political responsibility" through a "discussion of local, regional and national problems."⁷³ The Freire method did not use a primer. Instead, the "coordinators" interviewed potential students, based on a questionnaire. They asked for demographic details (age, profession, housing situation), but also asked questions about supernatural beliefs (werewolves and ghosts) to gauge critical thinking. During the conversation, the moderator took note of the words used, "especially the emotionally charged words."⁷⁴ From these notes are selected "generative words" (palavras geradoras) that, once broken down into syllables and syllabic families will generate more words. In the first session, students contemplated projected images designed by the famous Recife artist Francisco Brennand leading to a discussion of the distinction between nature and culture. This initial session emphasized that the participants in the cultural circles created the culture around them.⁷⁵ Future sessions also began with a group discussion of the "sociological situation" of a projected image. For example, the image of a brick might bring about a discussion of construction, types of houses,

⁷¹ Barbosa, *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, 135; Coelho, *MCP*, 33; Weber, "Política e educação," 248.

⁷² Coelho, *MCP*, 32.

⁷³ "consciência de sua responsabilidade social e política" and "discussão de problemas locais, regionais e nacionais torna-o mais crítico e o leva posteriormente a se conscientizar e a se politizar." Aurenice Cardoso, "Conscientização e alfabetização: uma visão prática do sistema Paulo Freire de educação de adultos" (Comissão Nacional da Cultura Popular, Ministério de Educação e Cultura, November 1963), 2, Série Produção Intelectual, Coleção Carmozina Araújo, Centro de Estudos da História Brasileira (CEHIBRA), FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁷⁴ "sobretudo as mais carregadas de emoções," *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁵ Kirkendall, *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy*, 34.

and labor. Then, they visualized the generative word (i.e. “tijolo”) projected. Next, they saw the word broken into syllables along with the phonetic family of each syllable (ta, te, ti, to, tu; ja, je, ji, jo, ju; la, le, li, lo, lu) and formed new words from the phonetic family (lata, tela, etc.).⁷⁶ Students in cultural circles using Freire’s method took longer to achieve literacy than did those enrolled in Carreiro and Godoy’s program, but Freyre’s method had the benefit of preparing the illiterate for their new lives as literate, voting citizens, while also being both locally relevant and extremely portable.

Both methods – that based on the primer and the Freire method – were adopted elsewhere in the region, nation, and abroad. Freire’s method was picked up in Paraíba by the Campanha de Educação Popular da Paraíba.⁷⁷ In 1963, the primer was adapted by the city government in Natal for use by the “Pé no Chão” literacy project, begun in 1961 by Mayor Djalma Maranhão of the Partido Social Progressista (but formerly of the PCB).⁷⁸ Yet, Freire also trained students working with Rio Grande do Norte’s governor, Aluizio Alves, with funding through the USAID.⁷⁹ Even U.S. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon referred to the program as a new “Trampoline to Victory,” invoking rhetoric from wartime at Parnamirim Field.⁸⁰ In 1963, President João Goulart created the Comissão Nacional de Cultura Popular to carry out a national literacy campaign that, in its pilot project in Sergipe alone, intended to reach 400,000 illiterate residents using the Freire method.⁸¹ The Campanha Nacional de Cultura Popular used the same interview forms as those used by Freire’s group in

⁷⁶ “situação sociológica.” Cardoso, “Conscientização e alfabetização,” 12–13.

⁷⁷ Kirkendall, *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy*, 35.

⁷⁸ Maria Diva da Saete Lucena, *Livro de leitura - de pé no chão também se aprende a ler* (Rio Grande do Norte, 1963); Kirkendall, *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy*, 37.

⁷⁹ Kirkendall, *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy*, 38–40.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 40–41.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 48–49.

Pernambuco and followed a step-by-step guide based on Northeastern experience.⁸² Though the MCP would not survive the military coup of April 1, 1964, by basing the vocabulary on the group at hand instead of on a set primer, Freire's method became replicable not only nationally, but abroad.⁸³ The MCP's cultural activities and organization were also emulated by the Centro Popular de Cultura (CPC) of the União Nacional de Estudantes (UNE).

The MCP did not attach itself to a particular political party. It espoused neither strict Marxist nor strict liberal ideology. It tended toward Christian principles and often worked with Catholic and Evangelical missionaries. It spoke of revolution, but in the sense of wanting to form a new and better democratic society. It proposed to protect a regional culture, defining culture as human creation (as opposed to the natural) stemming from the production of the working class population. The MCP did not sketch out specific characteristics of Northeastern culture, but rather focused on a culture that did not alienate them, but that came from their very hands. Like *People et Culture*, it united people of several political and ethical belief systems under one common front to promote education and the exaltation of culture that came from the working class – the people. Like *People et Culture*, they wanted to strengthen the region, to enrich and preserve its culture, and also to buttress it against national and foreign influence. Its connections with the French movement did not end when Coelho and Carreiro returned to Recife. Joffre Dumazadier traveled to Recife in June 1963, visiting the

⁸² Comissão Nacional de Cultura Popular, "Sistema Paulo Freire de Educação para Adultos: Roteiro do Coordenador," 1963, Série Miscelânea, Coleção Carmozina Araújo, CEHIBRA-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; MEC e Serviço de Extensão Cultural, Universidade do Recife, "Questionário," 1963, Série Miscelânea, Coleção Carmozina Araújo, CEHIBRA-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; "Programa Nacional de Alfabetização - Diafilme para o Estado do Rio," 1964, Diafilme e documentos do programa nacional de alfabetização do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Coleção Carmozina Araújo, CEHIBRA-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; Cardoso, "Conscientização e alfabetização."

⁸³ On the Freire method in Chile, for example, see: Andrew J. Kirkendall, "Paulo Freire, Eduardo Frei, Literacy Training and the Politics of Consciousness Raising in Chile, 1964 to 1970," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 36, no. 4 (November 1, 2004): 687–717. Ivan Illich also requested Freire's assistance in Mexico, as seen in: Ivan Illich, "Letter to Paulo Freire," January 3, 1964, General Correspondence January-December 1964 (A-L) Folder, Box 1/4, San Miguelito Mission Collection, University of Notre Dame Archives. For more on the influence of the Freire method in Central America, see Ryne Clos' forthcoming dissertation (University of Notre Dame) on Catholic missionaries from the United States and Canada engaged in liberation theology in Central America.

headquarters of the MCP at the Arraial de Bom Jesus and touring, with members of the MCP, Recife, Olinda and Jaboatão dos Guararapes.⁸⁴ Another member of the MCP, Silke Weber, traveled to France to visit People et Culture in the same year.⁸⁵

However, while the MCP found its roots in a movement born of the French Resistance, it found its demise in Cold War politics.⁸⁶ The MCP's cultural campaigns and literacy programs began to stir up reaction in 1962. During Miguel Arraes' bid for governor, political opposition began to run negative campaigns against the MCP, including public accusations that while money continued to arrive at the MCP, the schools did not exist. The MCP responded by publishing a list of all of its schools and teachers in the newspapers, inviting anyone who would like to learn more about the movement to visit.⁸⁷ At the opposite extreme, were claims that no teacher would work for so little pay – just ten cruzeiros per month – leading to accusations that the MCP paid salaries under the table with “gold from Moscow.”⁸⁸ There were also rumors that Norma Pôrto Carreiro and Josina Godoy based the primer on the one used in Cuban literacy campaigns.⁸⁹ Several individuals and organizations also published articles in support of the MCP, including President João Goulart.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Coelho, “Paulo Freire,” 8.

⁸⁵ Barbosa, *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, 69.

⁸⁶ For a more thorough discussion of the Cold War politics of literacy in the Northeast, see: Kirkendall, *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy*.

⁸⁷ Barbosa, *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, 134; Silva, “Refletindo sobre o Movimento de Cultura Popular: espaço para a arte?”; Coelho, *MCP*, 107 and 109.

⁸⁸ This accusation came from Coronel Ibiapina. “ouro de Moscou.” Paulo Cavalcanti, *O caso eu conto como o caso foi: da Coluna Prestes à queda de Arraes, memórias* (São Paulo: Alfa-omega, 1975), 288.

⁸⁹ Barbosa, *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, 137. There are some similarities between the primers, mainly the keyword system, but the themes are different. For more on the Cuban literacy campaign, see Rebecca Herman, “An Army of Educators: Gender, Revolution and the Cuban Literacy Campaign of 1961,” *Gender and History* 24, no. 1 (April 2012): 93–111.

⁹⁰ “Intelectuais do Brasil em defesa do Movimento de Cultura Popular,” *Jornal do Commercio*, September 1962, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; “Apoio ao MCP,” *Jornal do Commercio*, September 26, 1962, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE; “Ministros evangélicos em defesa

While the MCP did not choose a political party, it was created by and strongly associated with Miguel Arraes, whose politics unnerved the U.S. government, concerned with the spread of communism in Latin America after the Cuban Revolution.⁹¹ Miguel Arraes often appeared beside such well-known communist and peasant organizers as Luís Carlos Prestes, Gregório Bezerra, and Francisco Julião, who were actively plotting revolution in the Northeast.⁹² The MCP was not, however, simply guilty by association with Miguel Arraes, who the U.S. government openly disdained and secretly plotted against. We can take for example the “200,000 Peasant March on Recife,” led by the Ligas Camponesas and their vocal activist lawyer Francisco Julião. Germano Coelho and family marched alongside Francisco Julião, long identified by the CIA as a threat to U.S. influence in the hemisphere.⁹³ The song the peasants sang during the march, the “Hino do camponês,” was composed by Julião and MCP member Geraldo Menucci.⁹⁴ Pernambuco was such a flurry of popular front, communist, socialist, and peasant organizations in the 1960s that it was almost impossible for the resistance of the MCP to not transform in meaning from French-styled *Résistance* to a more acute, Cuban-resembling *Resistencia*.

do MCP,” *Jornal do Commercio*, October 13, 1962, Prontuário 29.841, Movimento de Cultura Popular, DOPS-APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁹¹ Kirkendall, *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy*, Chapter 3.

⁹² For a fascinating account of the on-the-ground attempts to mobilize the peasantry and urban populations of Pernambuco in the 1950s and 1960s, see Gregório Bezerra, *Memórias* (São Paulo: Boitempo, 2011). For historical examinations, see Florencia E. Mallon, “Peasants and Rural Laborers in Pernambuco, 1955-1964,” *Latin American Perspectives* 5, no. 4 (October 1, 1978): 49–70; Thomas D Rogers, *The Deepest Wounds a Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeast Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). For a history of the PCB in Pernambuco, see Flávio Henrique Albert Brayner, *Partido Comunista em Pernambuco: mudança e conservação na atividade do Partido Comunista Brasileiro em Pernambuco, 1956-1964* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Editora Massangana, 1989).

⁹³ See, for example: *Peasant Leagues in Northeastern Brazil* (Central Intelligence Agency, January 1, 1962), CIA Freedom of Information Act Archives, <http://www.foia.cia.gov/>; *Peasant Leagues in Northeastern Brazil* (Central Intelligence Agency, June 1, 1962), CIA Freedom of Information Act Archives, <http://www.foia.cia.gov/>; *Drought in the Brazilian Northeast* (Central Intelligence Agency, May 18, 1962), CIA Freedom of Information Act Archives, <http://www.foia.cia.gov/>. For more on Julião, see Pablo Francisco de Andrade Porfirio, “De pétalas e pedras: a trajetória de Francisco Julião” (Doctoral dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2013).

⁹⁴ Coelho, *MCP*, 100.

Nonetheless, in testimonials later recorded by members of the MCP, Cuba and the revolution are strikingly absent. While we cannot ascertain each of the MCP participants' reasons for omitting this event from their testimonials, we can speculate on a few possibilities. In 1984, Eduardo Coutinho released *Cabra marcado para morrer*, a documentary film that relates attempts by the CPC and the MCP to film a dramatic movie in the Pernambucan backlands from 1963 to 1964. The movie was to be about a man assassinated for organizing peasants around land rights. The Brazilian military shut down the filming of the original movie, which if released would have had the same title as the documentary, and forced many of its organizers and actors into exile. In the movie, Coutinho shows a newspaper article published shortly after the invasion of the set that claims that the MCP was a Communist organization, organized and controlled by Cubans. The military forces that invaded the community where the film was in process, attempted to intimidate the community's residents and to convince them that the "strange accents" of the film's organizers were not from Rio, but from Cuba. Further, the military dictatorship claimed, in other forms of media that Cubans in the backlands were filming the movie to train peasants not to hesitate to shoot landowners.⁹⁵

Until the fall of the military dictatorship in 1985, the only individuals or entities authorized to create and disseminate the memory of the MCP were those affiliated with the repressive regime that had painted the movement as overtly communist and led by Cubans. In an attempt to create a new memory of the MCP based on its action and philosophy, it is quite possible that participants in the movement intentionally avoided reference to the influence of the spirit of the Cuban Revolution in Recife (and for that matter to the PCB) while communicating their testimonials. It is equally possible that MCP members simply did not feel that this event played a part in the creation of the spirit of this movement. The MCP was a multi-tendency organization, that included, in the words of Anita Paes

⁹⁵ Eduardo Coutinho, *Cabra marcado para morrer*, Documentary (Globo, 1985).

Barreto, “the participation of a group of representatives from the most varied popular organizations,” in the words of Abelardo da Hora, “heterogeneous groups from an ideological point of view,” and finally, in the words of Paulo Rosas “intellectuals from diverse ideological tendencies.”⁹⁶ The MCP probably did have communist members, as well it did socialist, Catholic, Protestant, and atheist. As Miguel Arraes later stated in an interview while in exile in Algéria, “It was necessary for us to not restrict ourselves to just one party, to one force, to one sector of the population, but to integrate everyone, whatever their tendencies, spiritists, Protestants, masons, umbandistas, as long as they held as a common denominator the real and concrete problems of the population.”⁹⁷

A final explanation as to why reference to the Cuban Revolution does not appear in these testimonials might be the feeling of a more immediate and distinct revolution in process at home. The hope inspired by the Arraes administration is best summed up by Paulo Freire in this passage:

In Pernambuco, it is necessary to remember, that we had first Arraes in the city government; then, Arraes in the state government; then, Pelópidas [Silveira] in the city government; I mean: we had, at the state level and at the city level in Recife popular and not populist governments, as sometimes is claimed. This was a really important moment ... Now, the work of the Movimento de Cultura Popular, generally, and also in the university ... was imminently political.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ “a participação de um grupo de representantes das mais variadas organizações populares,” Barreto, “Educação de crianças e adolescentes,” 37. “grupos heterogêneos do ponto de vista ideológico,” Hora, “Depoimento,” 16. “intelectuais de tendências ideológicas diversas,” Rosas, “O Movimento de Cultura Popular - MCP,” 23.

⁹⁷ “Era preciso não ficarmos restritos a um só partido, a uma força, a um setor da população, mas integrar todas as pessoas, quaisquer que fossem as suas tendências, espíritas, protestantes, maçons, umbandistas, desde que tivessem por denominador comum os problemas reais e concretos da população.” Fernando Mendonça and Cristiane Tavares, eds., *Conversas com Arraes* (Belo Horizonte: Veja, 1979), 11.

⁹⁸ “Em Pernambuco é preciso lembrar, nós tivemos primeiro o Arraes na prefeitura; depois, Arraes no governo do Estado; depois, Pelópidas na prefeitura; quer dizer: nós tínhamos, ao nível de Estado e ao nível da prefeitura do Recife, governos populares e não populistas, como às vezes se diz. Era um momento realmente importante ... Agora, o trabalho do Movimento de Cultura Popular, de modo geral, e também na universidade ... era eminentemente político.” Fernando Paixão, ed., *Paulo Freire, Frei Betto: essa escola chamada vida, depoimentos ao repórter Ricardo Kotscho* (São Paulo: Ática, 1985), 17. Pelópidas Silveira both preceded and followed Arraes as the mayor of Recife.

The excitement caused by having a popular government in office that supported the longstanding objectives of the MCP's participants and leaders fed a sense of revolution at home that could possibly have overshadowed events taking place abroad.

Arraes himself, though, did seem to recognize the international Cold War, when he artfully connected the Pernambucan movement to both the Cuban Revolution and ideologies of freedom in the United States in his speech given when taking office as governor of the state of Pernambuco on January 31, 1963. In this speech, Arraes states that:

The cancer of the Northeast worries the North Americans, who imagine that our illness might be politically contagious and might contaminate our neighbors and for this reason, I'm not sure if so naively, they give us powdered milk, as if our hunger were different than their hunger, as if it were not, as with everyone else, a hunger of rebirth.⁹⁹

Arraes' speech is riddled with phrases that demonstrate why the participants of the MCP saw his administration as influential not only to their movement, but to the spirit of hope that reigned in Recife in the early 1960s. Arraes does not simply make promises to the people, but calls on the "participation of the people" in Brazilian society; he reminds his listeners that he too, is from "the povo," that "the era of indifference and dissimulation has ended," and that "now is the time to act." He indirectly refers to the MCP and the new schools in Recife, urging his listeners to not understand these schools as "a magnanimous donation from a political leader," but rather to recognize "that the school was constructed with your money, it's part of your life and that of your children and it belongs to them." This, to Arraes, is why "the people need to help the school, and they help it when they participate in the debates that precede its construction, when they participate in the difficulties of

⁹⁹ "O câncer do Nordeste preocupa os norte-americanos, que imaginam possa a nossa doença ser politicamente contagiosa e contaminar os vizinhos e por isso, não sei se tão ingenuamente, nos doam leite em pó, como se a nossa fome fosse diferente da fome deles, como se ela não fosse, como a de todo mundo, uma fome renascente." Miguel Arraes et al., "Discurso de posse no cargo de Governador de Pernambuco, pronunciado no Recife, perante a Assembléia Legislativa, a 31 de janeiro de 1963" (Recife: Fundação de Cultura, Cidade do Recife, 1986), 151.

constructing and maintaining a school, when they learn that it is necessary to help the teacher to integrate herself within the environment of the families where the school functions.”¹⁰⁰

Arraes’ actions in government, as well as this particular speech, embodied the philosophy of the MCP and its organizers, influenced by their diverse experiences prior to the founding of this movement, and created a spirit of possibility that, according to their accounts, motivated them to a fervor of action. Nonetheless, in addition to the desire to rescue the MCP’s actions from the narratives provided by the military dictatorship, nostalgia, surely, also influences the memory of the MCP’s story, not only on the part of the tellers of the story, but also on that of us, the readers. This nostalgia is caused by the dramatic end to the story of the Arraes moment, the MCP, and the possibility for change that they represented. Immediately following the military coup in April 1964, the headquarters of the MCP in the Arraial de Bom Jesus awoke to two military tanks “like guard dogs” on its front lawn. The MCP was invaded, the primers were burned, the library and documents ransacked. Miguel Arraes was arrested and later went into exile.¹⁰¹ The decades of repression that followed this era in Pernambuco’s history provide a stark contrast to the culmination of experience, hope, and possibility manifested throughout the MCP’s brief but active life, making the “reigning spirit of the times,” in hindsight, even more powerful and poignant.

Nonetheless, the spirit of cultural resistance that the MCP channeled and turned into a veritable force in the Brazilian Northeast did not simply disappear with the closing of the MCP’s doors. In its relatively short existence, the MCP had succeeded in again resetting the direction of

¹⁰⁰ “participação do povo,” “a era do indiferentismo e do faz-se-conta já acabou,” agora é o tempo de agir”; “uma doação magnânima de nenhum governante,” “que a escola foi construída com dinheiro seu, é parte de sua vida e da de seus filhos e a eles pertence”; and, o povo precisa ajudar a escola, e ele a ajuda quando participa dos debates que precedem a construção, quando participa das dificuldades para construir e manter a escola, quando se capacita de que é necessário ajudar a professora a integrar-se no meio das famílias onde a escola funciona.” *Ibid.*, 147–148 and 158–159.

¹⁰¹ “como cães de guarda.” Coelho, *MCP*, 132. It is interesting to note that Coelho never mentions the military dictatorship in his telling of this story. Instead, he places full blame for the closing of the MCP on the shoulders of the government and people of the United States.

Northeastern cultural identity. The Northeast was no longer simply a brave *jangadeiro* of the green seas. But it was also not a vulnerable, sad, girl or the coca-cola of wartime. Instead, the region was, again, strong, resistant, and brave. This Northeastern resistance came to be represented locally, nationally, and abroad by the figure of the *cangaceiro*.

Lampião and Maria Bonita go to the Movies

The understanding of the Northeast as resistant was a convenient identity shift because it did not require elaborate historical revision. The region does, in fact, have a long history of uprisings that fit nicely within this framework. The uprising of the Quilombo de Palmares, the *Conjuração Bahiana*, the *Confederação de Equador*, the Canudos rebellion described by Euclides da Cunha (along with other millenarian-inspired incidents), and even Ceará's history of early abolition and the *jangadeiros'* heroic journey fit nicely within this view of the Northeast. The *Ligas Camponeses*, MCP, Miguel Arraes, and the Paulo Freire Method – in this new formulation, these all become evolutions and eventualities of previous revolts and challenges to earlier hierarchies and authorities. There were abundant uprisings in the past from which to choose a hero to represent the Brazilian Northeast as resistant. Why is it that the Northeastern *cangaceiro*, or bandit, is chosen and how does he transform from villain to hero?

Banditry in the Northeast is generally accepted as having begun in the mid-nineteenth century, ending with the death of the Corisco in 1940. There are several interpretations as to the meaning and causes of *cangaço* (or *cangaceirismo*, to some). For a general introduction, we will rely on the synopsis provided by Abelardo Fernando Montenegro in *História do cangaceirismo in Ceará*. Montenegro quotes articles published in 1903 in the Fortaleza newspaper *O Unitário* to define a *cangaceiro*, offering both a broad and specific definition. In the broadest sense, this 1903 article defined a *cangaceiro* as:

a bandit, an adherent of a bilious and cruel ranch owner, of an ignorant and perverse petty political boss; the criminal persecuted by Justice, often times victim of the exacerbation of

political hatred, that lives hidden in the backwoods, carrying out revenge, committing nonsensical acts, killing careless enemies on long solitary roads; or even degenerate criminals.¹⁰²

In a more narrow sense, the article defines the cangaceiro as an individual who seeks revenge for a grievance committed against him, his family, or his home, and who then flees local justice.¹⁰³ Writers in the 1920s were keen to split the cangaceiro into several types, including those that were hired to guard and patrol ranches, those that were hired to protect political bosses in the sertão or to carry out revenge (these are also referred to as jagunços), and those criminals that kill and steal as a profession.¹⁰⁴ The most famous of the twentieth-century cangaceiros are Lampião (Virgulino Ferreira da Silva, 1898-1938), Antonio Silvino (Manuel Baptista de Morais, 1875-1944), Moreno (Antônio Ignácio da Silva, and later José Antônio Souto, 1909-2010) and Corisco (Cristino Gomes da Silva Cleto, 1907-1940).

The theme of banditry had long been important in the Northeast and inspired an ample historiography. Early studies on banditry in the Brazilian Northeast presented it as an important social ill and offered possible causes and solutions to the then pressing problem. Some of these early authors attribute banditry to a combination of racial and environmental factors (Euclides da Cunha and Lourenço Filho); social conditions such as illiteracy, unemployment, and access to land (Xavier de Oliveira); bad government (Xavier de Oliveira and Manoel Candido), and; the lack of insects in the territory to block its progress (Optato Gueiros).¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the most frequently cited work in the

¹⁰² “é o salteador, o sequeaz de atrabilário e cruel dono de fazenda, de ignorante e perverso chefe político; o criminoso perseguido pela Justiça, muitas vezes vítima da exacerbação de ódios políticos, que vive pelos matos às ocultas, exercendo vinganças, cometendo desatinos, matando inimigos descuidados nas largas estradas solitárias; ou ainda os criminosos degenerados.” Montenegro, *História do cangaceirismo no Ceará*, 9.

¹⁰³ This specific definition is in agreement with that offered by Juan Pablo Dabove in *Nightmares of the Lettered City*: “he who maintains through his actions (which may not form part of a conscious ‘political program’) his ‘right’ (usually uncoded) to engage in certain practices that collide with a legality-in-the-making that portrays such actions as out-and-out crimes.” Juan Pablo Dabove, *Nightmares of the Lettered City: Banditry and Literature in Latin America, 1816-1929* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 5.

¹⁰⁴ Montenegro, *História do cangaceirismo no Ceará*, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Cunha, *Os sertões, campanha de Canudos*; Filho, *O Juazeiro de Padre Cícero*; Oliveira, *Beatos e cangaceiros*; Candido, *Factores do cangaço de 1910 a 1930*; Gueiros, *Lampeão: memórias de um oficial ex-comandante de forças volantes*. To construct this section, I rely

historiography of the cangaço at this time is Gustavo Barroso's *Heróis e bandidos*, published in 1917, in which he expresses that only “communication, transportation, education and justice” could rid the sertão of banditry.¹⁰⁶

Eric J. Hobsbawm introduces the notion of the social bandit in 1959. In *Primitive Rebels*, Hobsbawm creates a teleology of social protest in which he compares modern social movements in Western Europe in the late eighteenth century to a more “primitive” or “archaic” social agitation.¹⁰⁷ The agitators include bandits, secret societies, millenarian movements, pre-industrial “mobs,” labor, and “revolutionary organizations.”¹⁰⁸ The language that he employs infantilizes his subject: these are people who are illiterate,

who are rarely known by name to anybody except their friends, and then often only by nickname, who are normally inarticulate, and rarely understood even when they express themselves. Moreover, they are *pre-political* people who have not yet found, or only begun to find, a specific language in which to express their aspirations about the world.¹⁰⁹

Their movements are “blind and groping,” yet by gaining political consciousness, they have “made our century the most revolutionary in history.”¹¹⁰ Hobsbawm's primitive rebels, it appears, are exactly the population that would most benefit from the MCP and the Freire method. They are illiterate, but

on Facó, *Cangaceiros e fanáticos*, 39–41; Wiesebron, “Historiografia do cangaço e estado atual da pesquisa sobre banditismo em nível nacional e internacional,” 419–425. On insects, Gueiros stated that “A zona do Nordeste é privilegiada pela natureza. Ali não existem, em quantidade avassaladora e mortífera, os insetos dos outros estados – o carrapato, muriçocas, berne, piolho-de-mocó, maruim, em quantidade tão grande que desesperam até os próprios animais selvagens, apesar de suas defesas naturais. Esses insetos, se fôssem abundantes em nossos sertões, como o são noutros Estados, estou certo de que nunca teria existido nenhum grupo de cangaceiros na vasta parte onde serve de palco aos mesmos,” quoted by Facó, *Cangaceiros e fanáticos*, 41..

¹⁰⁶ “comunicações, transportes, instrução e justiça.” Gustavo Barroso, *Heróis e bandidos*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Francisco Alves, 1917) as cited in Facó, *Cangaceiros e fanáticos*, 40.

¹⁰⁷ Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

capable of learning, of thinking socially, and of gaining the language and awareness with which to change the world. They are rustic, but full of revolutionary potential.

Within *Primitive Rebels*, Hobsbawm dedicates a chapter to the social bandit – a man, usually young and single, who commits an act considered a crime by the state, but not by the population that supports him. As the social bandit relies on the community to shelter and protect him, he is a Robin Hood out of necessity, not due to ideological reasons. He provides a form of pre-political protest by stealing only from the rich, and distributing much of his gain to the poor, becoming an example of insubordination and social ascension.¹¹¹ Hobsbawm considers these rural figures and phenomena “not simply as an unconnected series of individual curiosities, as footnotes to history, but as a phenomenon of general importance and considerable weight in modern history.”¹¹²

Within Brazil, a new school of banditry studies, referred to as the São Paulo school, arose with the publication of Rui Facó’s *Cangaceiros e fanáticos: gênese e lutas* in 1963.¹¹³ In this work, Facó unites banditry with millenarianism in the Northeast, seeing both as caused by internal and external forces. Internally, the colonial legacy of the concentration of large tracts of land in few hands led to monoculture, slavery, and semi-slavery that, in turn, impeded the implementation of modern technology and led to cultural “backwardness,” illiteracy, ignorance of the outside world, and exaggerated reliance on religion as access to knowledge.¹¹⁴ Factors external to the Northeast included the shift of Brazil’s “economic center of gravity” to the South in the nineteenth century, which left

¹¹¹ Ibid., 13–29.

¹¹² Ibid., 10.

¹¹³ While both Facó and Hobsbawm share Marxist tendencies in their interpretations, Facó does not list Hobsbawm’s 1959 *Primitive Rebels* in his bibliography and it is quite likely that he had not read it. I have not yet been able to find the date of translation of *Primitive Rebels*, but I suspect that Hobsbawm’s early thesis on banditry arrived in Brazil through Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz’s work, cited below.

¹¹⁴ Facó, *Cangaceiros e fanáticos*, 15–17.

the Northeast in a “semi-natural economic state.”¹¹⁵ Meanwhile, the growth of industry in Brazil allowed capitalism to shake the nation and awaken the countryside “as sluggish as it was under the glove of the semifeudal latifundia.”¹¹⁶ With no access to land or subsistence, the sertanejo had no choice but to rebel, and the only avenues of rebellion available were to join either the cangaceiros or the *beatos* (millenarian movement leaders). In this way, Facó imbued both the cangaceiro and the beato with a revolutionary nature. What would bring the cangaço to an end, in Facó’s view, was the entrance of capitalism in the region.

The work that internationalized the study of Northeastern cangaceiros is by a former student of Roger Bastide at the Universidade de São Paulo, Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, who was later a professor at the Institut des Hautes Études de l’Amérique Latine of the Université de Paris, at the Université Laval in Québec, and at USP.¹¹⁷ In *Os Cangaceiros: les bandits d’honneur brésiliens*, Queiroz intends to “reconstruct the cangaço within its historical setting.” While mentioning Hobsbawm’s first work on bandits in her study, she considers, “destiny” to be the main factor that led a man to banditry.¹¹⁸ Yet on the first pages, Queiroz’s work challenges the reader to consider the construction of the idea of the bandit, spread throughout the country with the help of growing mass media that carried this symbol from the regional to the national and lifted banditry to the level of fable. Queiroz’s

¹¹⁵ “centro de gravidade econômica” and “estado econômico semi-natural.” Ibid., 17.

¹¹⁶ “Acordava forçosamente o interior do Brasil, por mais entorpecido que êle estivesse sob o guante do latifúndio semifeudal,” Ibid., 22.

¹¹⁷ Queiroz, “Roger Bastide (1898-1974),” 876.

¹¹⁸ “Nous nous proposons ici de reconstituer le cangaço dans sa vérité historique” and “Désir de vengeance, sans doute, et attrait de l’aventure, et soif de vivre plus richement en pays d’austerité; mais au-dessus de tous les motifs, une raison majeure: le destin.” Queiroz, *Os Cangaceiros: les bandits d’honneur brésiliens*, 15 and 13, respectively.

study informed Hobsbawm's understanding of banditry in Brazil (particularly the case of Lampião), a fact that has, perhaps, overshadowed her early insight on the symbolic importance of the bandit.¹¹⁹

A decade later, Hobsbawm expanded his idea of the social bandit in a book-length study: *Bandits*.¹²⁰ In this work, Hobsbawm did not alter the definition of the social bandit, but added additional information on how these men “are considered by their people as heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters for justice, perhaps even leaders of liberation, and in any case as men to be admired, helped and supported.”¹²¹ Hobsbawm created a taxonomy of bandits, dividing them into three categories: the noble robber (Robin Hood), the haiduk (primitive resistance fighter unit), and the avenger (primitive terrorist). Each form of social banditry occurred in societies “which lie between the evolutionary phase of tribal and kinship organization, and modern capitalist and industrial society, including the phases of disintegrating kinship society and the transition to agrarian capitalism.”¹²² By incorporating the stories of bandits from around the world, including Lampião from the Brazilian Northeast, Hobsbawm removed the study of banditry from its local nest, inserting it into a universal structure as an “amazingly uniform” phenomenon, found “wherever societies are based on agriculture (including pastoral economies), and consist largely of peasants and landless labourers ruled, oppressed and exploited by someone else.”¹²³ For Hobsbawm, peasants might turn to social banditry during times of epidemics, political breakdowns and wars, or when an entire society is destabilized by rising

¹¹⁹ This work was published in the Collection Archives No. 34, directed by Pierre Nora.

¹²⁰ Hobsbawm, *Bandits*.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 14.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 14–15.

new classes and changes in the way of life of a community. Social banditry, then, can accompany major social movements or can itself adapt from social to political banditry.¹²⁴

In *Bandits*, Hobsbawm (famously) asked “What part, if any, do bandits play in these transformations of society?” His widely cited answer is one of the most contested portions of his study. For Hobsbawm, social bandits themselves are “not so much political or social rebels, let alone revolutionaries, as peasants who refuse to submit, and in doing so stand out from their fellows.”¹²⁵ Outside of this refusal to submit, bandits “have no ideas other than those of the peasantry (or the section of the peasantry) of which they form a part.”¹²⁶ Instead, bandits, like most peasants, preferred not revolution, but a return to a traditional order; they were, in sum, “more reformers than revolutionaries.”¹²⁷ Nonetheless, there is the potential for social banditry to become genuinely revolutionary in two circumstances: when it becomes a symbol of resistance and when some “apocalyptic” moment sweeps both bandits and peasants up in hope.¹²⁸

This chapter, so far, has traced a curvy path along which notions of Northeastern resistance have traveled. It would be too neat to consider this path, circular, but it is important to note that while the French might have given a vocabulary and some initial inspiration to the notion of the Brazilian Northeast as resistant, through the figure of the *cangaceiro*, the Northeast redistributed a powerful symbol of resistance. According to Gilbert Joseph’s historiographical essay (and challenge), Hobsbawm’s work inspired several celebratory studies of social banditry in Latin America.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 18–19.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 21–22.

¹²⁹ Joseph, “On the Trail of Latin American Bandits: A Reexamination of Peasant Resistance.”

Eventually, an entire branch of historiography was formed based on the notion of the social bandit, in part based on the Northeastern cangaceiro, Lampião.

Placed after a study of the rise and fall of the MCP and its literacy programs, it is striking how often writers refer to the cangaceiros as representative components of an illiterate peasant class. These illiterate masses, according to these studies, had no other option but to revolt. That their options of revolt were seen as limited to millenarianism or banditry forces the reader to reflect not only on banditry as a late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century phenomenon, but as a warning. Without groups like the Ligas Camponesas, the MCP, the CPC da UNE, and unions through which the illiterate, poor masses could both attempt to improve their lot and funnel their complaints and frustrations in an organized, orderly manner, the peasants would have no choice but to seek, again, a violent path. These illiterate masses, deprived of a decent living and basic education, were represented, not only in academic work, but in traditional literature, in cordel literature, and in film, as the cangaceiro – a simple man who was forced to rebel as a social bandit.

As Juan Pablo Dabove states in *Nightmares of the Lettered City*, “the bandit is a literary, historical, and scientific figure that makes conflict visible within the social realm.”¹³⁰ The conflict that interests Dabove is that of the rebel and the state, with the bandit representing a threat (as cultural other) to the state monopoly on legitimate violence and, at the same time, a justification for the strengthening of the centralized state. Among the examples of Latin American literature that Dabove uses to illustrate his point are Franklin Távora’s novel *O cabelleira* (1876) and Euclides da Cunha’s *Os sertões* (1902). Yet, while Dabove demonstrates how the bandit became the cultural other to the modernizing nation, his analysis – especially that which pertains to Brazil and the Northeast – ends decades before the end of World War II. Novels and narrative descriptions like *O cabelleira*, *O rei dos jagunços* (1862), *A*

¹³⁰ Dabove, *Nightmares of the Lettered City: Banditry and Literature in Latin America, 1816-1929*, 7.

fome (1890), *Os Brilhantes* (1906), *Os cangaceiros* (1914), were later joined by regional works like *Os cangaceiros* (1953), and *Seara Vermelha* (1963), a grouping which Alfredo Bosi describes as “a series of novels that presented banditry as the effect of poverty, of *latifundio*, of drought, and of migrations.”¹³¹

The cangaceiro is also one of the most popular heroes in cordel literature, with Lampião, Maria Bonita, and Antonio Silvino among the best represented. Many of these cordel pamphlets recount historical events, specific scenes, or biographies.¹³² A significant number of pamphlets place Lampião within amusing duels (with a feminist woman from the U.S., a one-breasted woman in the sertão, or a false version of himself) or in unexpected places (China, for example).¹³³ Lampião’s duels and bets

¹³¹ Manoel Benício, *O rei dos jagunços [1862]*, Coleção Memória brasileira 8 (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1997); Franklin Távora, *O Cabelleira* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia nacional, 1876); Rodolpho Teóphilo, *A fome: cenas da sécca do Ceará* (Fortaleza: G.R. Silva, 1890); Rodolpho Teóphilo, *Os Brilhantes* (Assis Bezerra, ed., 1906); Carlos D. Fernandes, *Os cangaceiros: romance de costumes sertanejos* (Parahyba do Norte: Imprensa Official, 1914); José Lins do Rêgo, *Cangaceiros* (Rio de Janeiro, J. Olympio, 1953); Jorge Amado, *Seara vermelha*, Obras 12 (São Paulo: Martins, 1963). “uma série de romances voltados para o banditismo como efeito da miséria, do latifúndio, das secas, das migrações ...” Alfredo Bosi, *História concisa da literatura brasileira*, 33rd ed. (São Paulo: Editora Cultrix, 1994), 146.

¹³² Rodolfo Coelho Cavalcante, *ABC de Maria Bonita, Lampião e seus cangaceiros* (Salvador: Casa do Trovador, 1976), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; José Cavalcanti e Ferreira Dila, *Amantes de cangaceiro* (Caruaru: Gráfica Sabaó, n.d.), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Manoel Camilo dos Santos, *Antônio Silvino* (Campina Grande, n.d.), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Francisco Alves Martins, *Antônio Silvino e o negro Currupião*, n.d., AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Benoni Conrado, *Antônio Silvino Na Casa Do Fazendeiro* (Fortaleza: Sociedade dos Cantadores Violeiros e Poetas Populares do Brasil, 1977), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Leonardo Gomes de Barros, *Antônio Silvino no juri: debate de seu advogado* (Juazeiro, 1957), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Francisco das Chagas Batista, *Antônio Silvino: vida, crimes e julgamento* (São Paulo: Luzeiro Editora Limitada, 1975), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; José Severino Cristóvão, *Biografia de Lampião*, 13th ed., n.d., 89.4.44, ORJ-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; Mariano Ranchinho, *O assalto de Lampeão a Mossoró onde foi derrotado: a morte de Colchete e Jararaca* (Natal: Agencia Pernambucana, 1927), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Manoel Soares da Silva, *O Bandido Beijo Bambo ou o Nordeste sangrento*, n.d., AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB.

¹³³ Zé K. Tunda, *A Aposta de Lampeão Com Satana: A Luta Do Bode Preto Contra Lampeão, Maria Bonita E Preto Raimundo* (Alagôa Grande, Paraíba, n.d.), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; José Costa Leite, *A briga de Antônio Silvino com Lampeão no inferno* (Condado, Pernambuco, 1972), Coleção de Literatura de Cordel, Museu da Imagem e do Som (MIS), Fortaleza, Ceará; Apolônio Alves dos Santos, *A briga de Lampeão com Sabino* (Guarabira, Paraíba: Tipografia da Folhetaria Pontes, n.d.), 85.10.480, ORJ-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; Francisco Zenio, *Carta de Lampeão a Saddam Hussein*, 1997, Acervo Gilmar Carvalho (AGC), BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Franklin Maxado Nordestino, *Debate de Lampeão com uma turista americana, ou o machão e a feminista* (São Paulo, 1981), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Abraão Batista, *Encontro de Kung Fu e Lampeão em Juazeiro do Norte*, 3rd ed. (Juazeiro do Norte, n.d.), AGC-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Apolônio Alves dos Santos, *Encontro do cangaceiro Vilela com o negro do Paraná* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.), AGC-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Francisco Zênio and Edgley Ribeiro, *Lampeão na China* (Juazeiro do Norte, 1980), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; José Costa Leite, *O encontro de Lampeão com a negra dum peito só* (Condado, Pernambuco: Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, n.d.), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Zé Rômulo, *O encontro de Lampeão com Lamarca no inferno* (Fortaleza: Cooperativa Artística Universitária, 1981), AGC-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; João José da Silva, *O encontro de Lampeão com “Lampeão”* (Recife, 1980), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB.

with Satan are legendary and, whether against Satan or any other adversary, Lampião always wins (or, at least, he never outright loses). A recurring theme is the cangaceiros' immortality, usually expressed through stories of his afterlife, often focusing on sin and redemption.¹³⁴ While some present cangaceiros in a negative light, and the more recent cordel literature use the cangaceiro as a way to reflect on contemporary politics, most highlight the cangaceiros' courage and emphasize their redeeming qualities.¹³⁵ Cordel pamphlets on cangaceiros are prevalent not simply because cordelistas like writing about them; they sell well. The *Biografia de Lampião* has at least 13 editions and, to give an idea of how many pamphlets that might mean, the second edition of *Visita de Lampião ao inferno* had a print run of 3,000.

A brief glance at the representation of Antonio Silvino in cordel literature gives perspective on the transformation of the cangaceiro from villainous other to regional representative. That the cordelistas have to state, justify, and explain Antonio Silvino's goodness to their readers emphasizes that this is a mutation in identity. Manoel Camilo dos Santos, for example, adds a postscript to his cordel pamphlet that reads: "ATTENTION Antonio Silvino did not die a tragic death, he died in peace, demonstrating that the good that he did outweighed the evils he perpetrated."¹³⁶ Francisco das Chagas Batista chooses to emphasize Antonio Silvino's repentance. Relating Antonio Silvino's story in the first person, Batista writes: "Today I regret / Having been a delinquent; / I offered myself to

¹³⁴ Franklin Maxado Nordestino, *A alma de Lampião faz misérias no Nordeste* (São Paulo: Cacimbinha, 1976), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; João José da Silva, *A eleição do diabo e a posse de Lampião no inferno*, n.d., C-00232, Coleção de Literatura de Cordel, MIS, Fortaleza, CE; Marcelo Soares, *A volta do cangaceiro Lampião via internet* (Timbaúba, PE: Folhetaria Cordel, 2005), APA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; José Pacheco, *Chegada de Lampião no inferno*, n.d., C-00239, Coleção de Literatura de Cordel, MIS, Fortaleza, CE; Franklin Maxado, *Lampião está vivo para muitos nordestinos* (São Paulo, 1980), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; João Pedro do Juazeiro, *Visita de Lampião ao inferno*, 2nd ed., Coleção Xilocordel 3 (Juazeiro, n.d.), Caixa 4, Coleção de Literatura de Cordel, MAUC-UFC, Fortaleza, CE.

¹³⁵ Silva presents a particularly violent and terrifying version of banditry in Silva, *O Bandido Beijo Bambo ou o Nordeste sangrento*. Paulo de Tarso makes Lampião's crimes seem petty in comparison to modern day political corruption. Paulo de Tarso, *Cem anos de Lampião neste Brasil de mutretas*, n.d., C-00049, Coleção de Cordel, MIS, Fortaleza, CE.

¹³⁶ "ATENÇÃO Antonio Silvino não morreu de morte trágica, morreu em paz, demonstrando que os bens que fez, superaram os males que praticara." Santos, *Antônio Silvino*.

the government / To go to the front / And fight the Germans, / And to die a brave man.”¹³⁷ Francisco Alves Martins describes Silvino as “bold but generous / even though he was an assassin / he had had good qualities / since he was a child.” Among his good qualities were that if given the choice, he would protect the poor instead of offending them.¹³⁸

These at times silly and at others socially responsible bandits in cordel literature are not Dabove’s threatening bandits at the gates of civilization that confirm the need for a strong centralized state or justify the state monopoly on violence. Instead, they are popular heroes, representatives of the Northeast, its ability to find a clever way out of tough positions, its survival, and its bravery. They stand up against injustice, protect the poor, and do not back down.

It was through film that the cangaceiro made the greatest social statement and gained the most widespread international fame. A few films on the cangaceiro figure preceded World War II. The 1920s and 1930s saw the films *Filho sem Mãe*, *Sangue de Irmão*, *Lampião*, *Fera do Nordeste*, and *Lampião, o Rei do Cangaço*. But it was Brazil’s first major cinema studio, Vera Cruz, that made the cangaceiro and its film genre, the “Nordestern” (Northeastern banditry presented in the style of a Hollywood Western) both nationally and internationally famous through the movie *O Cangaceiro*.¹³⁹ The movie presents a cangaceiro who falls in love with a woman his group kidnaps, reminiscent both of the plotline of *O Cabelleira* and the relationship between the cangaceiro Corisco and his hostage-turned-

¹³⁷ “Hoje estou arrependido / De ter sido um delinqüente; / Já me ofereci ao governo / Prá ir prá linha de frente / Dar combate aos alemães, / E morrer como valente.” Batista, *Antonio Silvino: vida, crimes e julgamento*.

¹³⁸ “valente mas generoso / embora que assassino / tinha boas qualidades / desde o tempo de menino.” Martins, *Antonio Silvino e o negro Currupião*, 1. Rômulo José Francisco de Oliveira Júnior analyzes representations of Antonio Silvino in José Costa Leite’s cordel pamphlets. He finds that Leite represents Antonio Silvino as a man who brings order to the sertão and who keeps women in line. Rômulo José Francisco de Oliveira Júnior, “Como se consagra um mito? Representações do cangaceiro Antonio Silvino nos cordéis de José Costa Leite,” *Revista Tempo Histórico* 5, no. 1 (2013): 1–15.

¹³⁹ Lima Barreto, *O Cangaceiro* (Vera Cruz, 1953). Other films of this genre include: Other films on cangaceiros of this genre include *A morte comanda o cangaço*, *Lampião*, *Rei do Cangaço*, *Cangaceiros de Lampião*, *Três Cabras de Lampião*, and *Entre o Amor e o Cangaço*. See Antônio Fernando de Araújo Sá, “Lampião Revisitado: Cangaço, Cinema e Identidade,” *O Olho Da História*, no. 11 (December 2008).

lover Dadá. The film “did not touch on politics” and was a massive hit throughout the country, breaking “all records of ticket sales in São Paulo.”¹⁴⁰ *O Cangaceiro* was the first Brazilian movie to receive international acclaim, competing among the top five films at VI Cannes Film Festival, winning the prize for Best Adventure, and receiving special mention for the musical score, inspiring a storm of newspaper coverage in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.¹⁴¹

The descriptions of the films’ success in 1953 newspapers are worth noting. An article printed in the carioca newspaper *A Noite* describes it as a “violent” movie that takes place in the “salvage land of northern Brazil.” The cangaceiros, in turn, are described as “cruel, brutal, and outside the law, that do not hand over their ‘panache’ and, in their own way, honor and certainty that they act rightly.” According to the *Diário Carioca*, it was its rustic subject that made the movie a hit amongst the French, as *O Cangaceiro* met the jury’s preference for “films that highlight local particularity” and that present themes that are “typical and original to its environment.”¹⁴² The French press agreed. An article from the Agence France-Press, translated to Portuguese, was reprinted in dozens of Brazilian newspapers. It states that the success of this “salvage and cruel movie” in Europe was due to the natural representation of “history, landscape, characters and customs [that are] specifically Brazilian.”¹⁴³ Another article describes the movie’s leading actress, Vanja Orico, as “an Indian whose blood mixed with an Italian.” Her face is round, her eyes almond-shaped, and the sight of her hair against her cheek

¹⁴⁰ “<<Flashes>> da Semana do Cinema Nacional,” *Diário da Tarde*, March 25, 1953, File 101, Pasta 1953-15 101 a 300, CDP-CB, São Paulo, SP.

¹⁴¹ “Festival de Cannes,” *Jornal do Cinema*, April 1953, File 164, Pasta 1953-15 (101 a 300), CDP-CB, São Paulo, SP; “O Salário do Medo,” *A Gazeta*, April 30, 1953, File 310, Pasta 1953-15 (301 a 548), CDP-CB, São Paulo, SP. The folders to which these clippings belong contain 548 articles from São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, France on the film.

¹⁴² “filmes em que a côr local predomina,” “típica e original de seu ambiente e ação.” “Os cavalos e caboclos do Brasil em Cannes,” *Diário Carioca*, April 17, 1953, File 221, Pasta 1953-15 101 a 300, CDP-CB, São Paulo, SP.

¹⁴³ “film selvagem e cruel,” “historia, paisagens, personagens e costumes epecificamente brasileiros.” “‘O Cangaceiro’, revelação no Festival de Cannes,” *Diário da Noite*, April 17, 1953, File 222, Pasta 1953-15 (101 a 300), CDP-CB, São Paulo, SP.

is enough to show “the same type of severe and beautiful Indian that the Portuguese colonized four centuries ago.”¹⁴⁴ Likewise, the well-known film critic Jean-Jacques Gautier reports his preference for *O Cangaceiro* in *Le Figaro*, adding that through this movie, “we become acquainted with the violent life of certain bandits who, in the vast lands of Northern Brazil, long ago led their brutal lives, with a mixture of religiosity, personal ethics, fierce tradition and sensuality.”¹⁴⁵ All the same, these explanations were not fully satisfying to everyone in the Brazilian press. An article in Rio de Janeiro’s *O Dia*, claims that if the French were more familiar with the Portuguese language, they would be displeased. Brazilians, the article states, were annoyed by the way the actors spoke in the film – “they don’t know how to conjugate, they speak syllabically, they don’t take full advantage of dialogues,” – almost certainly referring to attempts by the Southern and Southeastern actors and actresses to present what they perceived to be a Northeastern, sertanejo, way of speaking.¹⁴⁶ The press in São Paulo was also careful to note that this was a paulista, not Northeastern, film. As Vera Cruz (which, paradoxically, would lose funding due to immense debt the same year) was from São Paulo. “Bravo to São Paulo, Vera Cruz, and its founder.”¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the movie opened the door to other movies based on the Northeast, including *O pagador das promessas*, a film about a man prohibited by the rules of the Catholic Church from fulfilling a promise he made in a Candomblé ritual. *O pagador das promessas* won the Palme

¹⁴⁴ “une Indienne de sang mélangé à un Italien” and “le type même de ces Indiens sévères et beaux que colonisèrent il y a quatre siècles les Portugais.” Francis Rico, “Vanya Orico, vedette brésilienne: compose des chansons sur des paroles de Prévert,” *L’Espoir*, April 17, 1953, File 237, Pasta 1953-15 (101 a 300), CDP-CB, São Paulo, SP.

¹⁴⁵ “Cet ouvrage nous fait connaître la vie violente de certains bandits qui, dans les vastes landes du nord du Brésil, menaient jadis leur course brutale, avec son mélange de religiosité, de morale personnelle, de tradition sanguinaire et de sensualité.” Jean-Jacques Gautier, “‘O Cangaceiro’ un film brésilien,” *Le Figaro*, April 18, 1953, File 259, Pasta 1953-15 (101 a 300), CDP-CB, São Paulo, SP.

¹⁴⁶ “Os atores não sabem inflexionar, solettram, não tiram proveito dos diálogos.” Adolfo Cruz, “Precisa aprender a falar!...,” *O Dia*, April 28, 1953, File 304, Pasta 1953-15 (301 a 548), CDP-CB, São Paulo, SP.

¹⁴⁷ “Bravos a São Paulo, à Vera Cruz e ao seu fundador.” “A primeira vitória do cinema nacional no estrangeiro,” *A Gazeta*, April 30, 1953, File 311, Pasta 1953-15 (301 a 548), CDP-CB, São Paulo, SP. For more on Vera Cruz, its significance to Brazilian cinema, and its closing see Maria Rita Galvão, “Vera Cruz: A Brazilian Hollywood,” in *Brazilian Cinema*, ed. Randal Johnson and Robert Stam (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 270–80.

D'Or at the Cannes Film Festival in 1962 and was nominated for an Oscar in 1963. Over a decade later, in 1964, Joan Baez would record a cover of the song “O’Cangaceiro” (also known as “Mulher Rendeira”) from *O Cangaceiro* on her album *Joan Baez/5*.¹⁴⁸ The cangaceiro figure, through film, came to represent the nation as a type, but did not yet stand in as a symbol of the Northeastern region.

In the 1960s, films about cangaço took an important turn. Brazilian directors moved away from the themes of cops and robbers or romance and into the realm of social commentary. In 1965 Paulo Gil Soares created a documentary on the subject, mixing footage of Lampião and his group of cangaceiros with interviews with the coronel José Rufino (who killed at least 20 cangaceiros, including Corisco), an elderly cowboy, two cangaceiros and a cangaceira who had sought amnesty in 1940, and Estácio de Lima, a professor at the Universidade da Bahia.¹⁴⁹ Soares’ sympathies shine through in his tendency to correct the statements of everyone interviewed except for the sertanejo and cangaceiros. The movie begins with a question asked to the professor: What are the causes of cangaço? The professor replies that there is no single cause, but rather several that must all come into play, including: the geography of the sertão, the climate, a certain lack of order in a primitive society, a lack of a sufficient justice system, and the “destiny” of the individual as determined by glands (particularly, the thyroid, suprarenal, and testicular glands) and morphology (fat people do not hold grudges, so cangaceiros are always skinny grudge-holders). Soares expresses doubt at this explanation reflecting that the sertanejo is “Completely alone ... a man abandoned to his own fate. Nothing is left to him but despair or rebellion.” This abandonment, though, is different than the one expressed in literature about the Northeast after World War II. Instead, the rebellion has “deep causes” including: “an absence of justice, illiteracy, the precariousness of communications, low salaries, weak capitalism, and

¹⁴⁸ Joan Baez, *O’Cangaceiro* (Vanguard, 1964).

¹⁴⁹ He attempts to interview Dadá as well, but she angrily pushes him and the camera away.

the slow development of the productive forces.”¹⁵⁰ Soares’ movie, which also had international success, made of the cangaceiro an everyman, or rather, an every-sertanejo – the cangaceiro, for him, was what every sertanejo potentially held inside and would release if left with no other option: rebellion, inconformity, resistance.

Memória do Cangaço came out shortly after Glauber Rocha’s *Deus e o diabo na terra do sol* (Black God, White Devil), pertaining to the Cinema Novo movement and with which this chapter opened.¹⁵¹ The movie emphasizes the violent life of a sertanejo. It begins with Manoel’s murder of a coronel who swindled him and his subsequent escape with Rosa after the coronel’s henchmen invade their home and kill Manoel’s mother. Manoel submits wholly to a millenarian leader (or *beato*), Sebastião, who preaches about the sertão becoming sea and the sea sertão. Sebastião is also hunted by Antônio das Mortes, contracted by a priest and a coronel to kill the *beato*. It is not Antônio, but Rosa that kills the beato, leading them, again, to flee, led by Júlio to Corisco. Corisco also preaches about the sertão becoming sea (and vice versa), but through vengeance. Nonetheless, Manoel struggles to become a cangaceiro, repeating a lesson that he learned when the beato sacrificed a baby: neither sin nor injustice can be absolved through the spilling of blood. In the final scene, as Manoel and Rosa run across the sertão after Corisco’s death, the camera pans overhead quickly, suddenly focusing on the sea, giving the impression that the sertão really did become sea.

The movie, according to Ismail Xavier, “pleads for allegorical interpretation even while its internal organization frustrates and defies the interpreter searching for a unifying ‘key’ or implicit

¹⁵⁰ “Inteiramente só, o sertanejo é um homem abandonado a sua própria sorte. Nada lhe resta se não a desesperança ou a rebeldia que é um simples efeito de causas profundas da ausência de justiça, analfabetismo, precariedade de comunicações, baixo salários, débil capitalismo, e o lentíssimo desenvolvimento das forças produtivas.” Paulo Gil Soares, *Memória do Cangaço*, Documentary (Divisão Cultural do Itamarati / Departamento de Cinema do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, 1965). He also corrects José Rufino on two points that do not line up with the accepted story of Corisco’s death.

¹⁵¹ Glauber Rocha, *Deus e o diabo na terra do sol*, Copacabana Filmes, 1964.

‘vision of the world.’”¹⁵² Taken at a most basic interpretation, Rocha presents the Northeastern sertanejo as living through insufferable injustices that push the peasant to either submit to messianism or revolt through cangaço. The preference is clearly for the latter, but still, banditry is not portrayed as utopian. Instead, the sertanejo propels history and is propelled by destiny through a sertão that belongs to him. Again, the movie, that overtly coopts the narration and moralizing structure of cordel literature, reminds us that the Northeasterner holds the potential for revolt, rebellion, revolution, and resistance.¹⁵³

If the presence of U.S. military bases in the Northeast had left the region in a state of sad, naïve, despair, groups borne of the French resistance offered an attitude and vocabulary with which to face its culture after World War II. The cultural crisis that resulted from U.S. presence in the region was set aright with a sense of resistance not only toward outside cultural influence, but also to poverty, apathy, and despair.¹⁵⁴ This new focus was wide enough to encompass literacy campaigns, popular culture movements, and symbols of the past, but also the newly formed peasant leagues and the communist party. Within this notion of the Northeast as resistant easily fit historical events and symbols of the Northeast’s recent past – slave revolt, separatism, sedition, bandits, and millenarians. The cangaceiro figure stood out in cordel and traditional literature, academic studies, and film as a symbol at times of hope, at others of warning, but always of resistance and potential for rebellion in the face of despair.

¹⁵² Ismail Xavier, “Black God, White Devil: The Representation of History,” in *Brazilian Cinema*, ed. Randal Johnson and Robert Stam (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 134.

¹⁵³ On similarities to cordel, see *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁵⁴ I do not use the term “crisis” lightly. The Uruguayan author Alberto Zum Felde referred to a global cultural crisis caused by the loss of force of French culture after World War II which he did not see U.S. culture as able to replace. Alberto Zum Felde, *El problema de la cultura americana* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1943), 51–52. At least one intellectual from the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros quotes Zum Felde on this point, which I discuss more thoroughly in Campbell, “From Mimicry to Authenticity,” 166.

This process of transforming Northeastern regional identity from one of naiveté and disappointment to one of resistance and possibility was not simply written out by intellectuals and accepted broadly. Instead, it was forged of a convergence of intellectuals and social movements who connected Northeastern cultural tenacity with the French Resistance, of peasant and communist movements active in the region, and of the election of a socialist/communist mayor and governor, that created a spirit of possibility and change in the region. Brazilian film converted the cangaceiro figure into an internationally recognized representative of this resistant, rebellious Northeast, giving the region yet another symbol of its cultural identity. This process highlights, again, that regional and national identity were processual, developed from a multiplicity of voices, and were embedded internationally. The development of a rebellious Northeast was very much an international conversation, exoticized by the French, feared by the U.S., and promoted at home.

CHAPTER V

LAMPIÃO PLAYS SOCCER, TOO: WORLD CUP SOCCER AND REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE BRAZILIAN NORTHEAST

It is the final, deciding match of the soccer tournament. Between three and five thousand fans of the home team discuss possible results. The last match was tied 100 to 100, but the home team has not practiced all week. Fans of the visiting team enjoy free seating and receive *cachaça* (Brazilian cane liquor) popsicles upon arrival. The referee, named Berimbau, is nude. The visiting team is shirtless and wears *chapéu de couro* (leather hats), and the home team is not wearing pants. Welcome to the deciding match of the *melhor de três* (best of three) between Satan and Lampião, narrated in six-line stanzas, with an ABCBDB rhyme scheme (see figure . The cordel, *O futebol no inferno: a melhor de três*, originally written by José Francisco Soares (1914-1981), “*o poeta-repórter*” (“the poet-reporter”), is also available as a catchy song based on the *repentista* (improvised) style, performed by the duo Cajú & Castanha of Jaboatão dos Guararapes, Pernambuco.¹

There is an assumption in most work on soccer in Brazil that, as a force of identity, it is unifying – it brings the nation together as one. It becomes a blanket or flag, cut of one fabric that covers the entire national territory in an expression of nationhood with common symbols, idols and cultural representations.² It reaches out from the Center of the nation, into the Periphery, pulling the

¹ José Soares, *O futebol no inferno: a melhor de três* (s.l.: s.n., s.d.), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Cajú & Castanha, *O futebol no inferno*, Repentistas do Nordeste, 2007, N. de acesso 7933, CD 1254, Fonoteca, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

² Writers from Gilberto Freyre to Eric Hobsbawm have connected soccer to national identity. Hobsbawm stressed the ability of international sporting events to integrate nations as imagined communities represented by “a team of eleven real people.” Gilberto Freyre and Nelson Rodrigues wrote of the connection between Brazilian soccer, style, victory, loss and the Brazilian national character. Ronaldo Helal stressed that soccer reveals important traits of a culture, as it is rich in images and representations of the collective. And, in his introduction to a collection on the study of sport and culture, José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy stated that “Com certeza o futebol é uma das expressões do ‘espírito do povo brasileiro.’” Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

territorially, economically, and socially isolated into the national fold. Yet, the cordel pamphlet with which this article opened (and to which we will return later) suggests that how soccer is mobilized within narratives of national belonging and regional exception is neither uniform nor unidirectional.³ Instead, this pamphlet points to a complex intermingling of regional, national, and international symbols and genres. It suggests, for example, that regional heroes can represent the nation (or earth) in international (inter-strata?) sporting events and that regional literature can mimic, ridicule, or even stand in for the reporting of national news media.

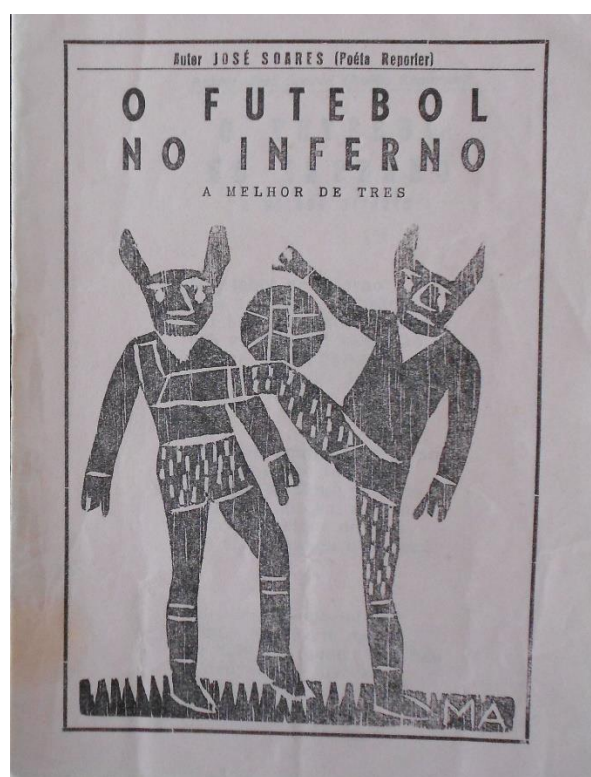


Figure 42: Capa do *Futebol no Inferno*.

1990), 143; Túlio Velho Barreto, "1958: Futebol e identidade nacional," *Continente multicultural*, January 2008, Obras raras e jornais, FUNDAJ, Recife, Pernambuco; Ronaldo Helal, "A lei, a ordem e o espetáculo: reflexões sobre a organização do futebol brasileiro," *Cultura vozes* 92, no. 2 (1998): 88; José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, "Para que serve o futebol?," in *Futebol e cultura: coletânea de estudos*, ed. José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy and José Sebastião Witter (São Paulo: IMESP/DAESP, 1982), 11.

³ In the words of Arlei Damo, "Num país tão extenso geograficamente, socialmente estratificado e culturalmente diversificado, o futebol expressaria as diversidades regionais, as hierarquias sócio-econômicas e as diferenças étnicas e raciais." Arlei Sander Damo, "Ah! Eu Sou Gaúcho," *Revista Estudos Históricos* 13, no. 23 (July 1, 1999): 88.

In this chapter and the next I examine how ideas about Northeastern regional identity circulated in mass spectacle events in the 1950s and 1960s. These events were not explicitly intended to define the region nor to preserve its culture. Nonetheless, they offer an opportunity to examine how regional discourse circulated in a popular setting, occupied not only by journalists, activists, intellectuals, and artists, but also by fans. For these ends, in this chapter, I examine how regional newspapers, intellectuals, art, literature, and popular music present regional identity in the Brazilian Northeast through World Cup soccer tournaments. In Brazil, much of the work on identity and soccer came out of the tragic 1950 loss to Uruguay that transformed the importance of soccer within Brazilian identity constructs. The loss has been referred to as a “shipwreck,” a shared “sorrow,” and the Brazilian Hiroshima.⁴ The insistence on the tragedy of the final match has drowned out other equally important aspects of the 1950 World Cup. In fact, it is precisely due to the importance of the decade of 1950 in the construction of the idea of modern Brazilianness that the 1950 World Cup in Brazil had the power to have more than one meaning attached to it.

In search of additional meanings of international soccer tournaments generated in the Brazilian Northeast or by Northeastern authors, this chapter first presents the preparations of and discourse generated around the World Cup match in Recife in 1950 between Chile and the United States. Then, it compares this discourse to attention given to World Cup soccer by regionalist intellectuals and in regional art – including music, clay art, traditional poetry, and cordel poetry. Through this comparison of sources and narratives, I argue that World Cup soccer in the Northeast provided a space within which the terms of regional (and national) identity were contested and

⁴ “naufrágio,” “mágoa,” “a nossa Hiroshima.” Luiz Carlos Tadeu, *Brasil 40 anos de Copa 1930/1970: retrospecto histórico da Taça Jules Rimet* (Guanabara: Comunicação, 1969), 5 & 53, respectively. And Nelson Rodrigues quoted in Barreto, “1958,” 22.

debated. This conclusion contributes to our understanding of globalization, as it leads to a reflection on local pluralities – in regions, like the Brazilian Northeast, marked by social inequality we might find groups that embrace international attention, others that fear it, some that exalt it, others that ignore it altogether. This reflection reminds us that while selecting the dominant debate that confronts or embraces international presence, we should remember that it relies on local issues, politics, and concerns.

In the examination of discourse around the 1950 World Cup match in Recife, I analyze articles from most of Recife's major papers: the *Diário de Pernambuco*, *Jornal Pequeno*, *Diário da Manhã*, *Folha da Manhã* and *Diário da Noite*. At times, I refer to the leftist newspaper *Folha do Povo* from Recife, the English language newspaper *Brazil Calling* from Recife, the sports newspaper *Gazeta Esportiva* also from Recife, and *A Tarde*, from Salvador and interlace sparse reference to more elusive radio communications. I read these articles focusing not only on the intended message, but also on the “noise” of their communication, that is, on the obstacles, discontinuities, ambiguities, and contradictions found in newspaper discourse.⁵ By shifting our focus away from the explicit, intended message and toward the unexpected obstacles to the creation of a narrative of unity in the 1950 World Cup campaigns in Recife and Salvador (which had an unsuccessful bid), we gain a richer understanding of the social and regional implications of World Cup soccer. Many writers in Pernambuco clearly expressed the importance of the campaign to bring a match to Recife in regional and unifying terms, but within the noise of their communication, they indicate disagreement with the project and division within what they propose to be the Northeast. Further, their insistence that the Northeast must show Brazil and foreigners that the Northeast was worthy of hosting a World Cup match and their concerns

⁵ I refer here to Michel Serres' “set of these phenomena of interference that become obstacles to communication.” According to Serres, transmitter and receiver are united through dialogue, but always exclude a third element – what he refers to as a “prosopopeia of noise”. Michel Serres, *Hermes: Literature, Science, Philosophy*, ed. Josué V. Harari and David F. Bell (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1982), 66.

that the foreign gaze upon the region could inspire shame directs our attention back to the root of the issue: the 1950 campaign in the Northeast rested upon a sense of regional inferiority based on social inequalities. These fears of inferiority were based on local, regional, and national issues, but they found expression when placed within an international scale.

Following the newspaper analysis, I examine essays, lyrics, poetry, art, and cordel literature – most produced between 1950 and Brazil’s third World Cup victory in 1970 – that present soccer within regional media.⁶ Claims to Northeastern unity through soccer are infrequent in these art forms; instead, they praise local athletes, present regional heroes, and support the national team. By expressing national soccer in typical regional forms, the artists “Northeasternize” soccer, but do not detract from its Brazilianness. In effect, what was message in the newspapers (regional unity through soccer) becomes noise in art – accepted in the background without question, demonstrating common sense notions of region and nation as harmonious.

Pernambucan newspapers reporting on the preparations for the 1950 World Cup event in Recife attempted to create a narrative of Northeastern unity and stressed the need for the Northeast to prove itself worthy before the nation and the foreign delegations. They did so amid growing complaints and confusion in their articles. They were also, notably, the only Northeastern newspapers so concerned with this event being Northeastern. While Recife’s journalists presented the event as Northeastern and inclusive, Salvador’s newspapers did not see their wishes reflected in Recife’s

⁶ The sources that I use are manifestations of the argument that Roberto DaMatta made, repeatedly, in *Universo de futebol* that society is in the soccer field, and the soccer field is in society. DaMatta urged us to “estudar os aspectos simbólicos, ideológicos e ritualísticos do futebol, tal como esse esporte é praticado no Brasil.” He explained that soccer allows us to find the heart and soul of Brazil, to discover how a collectivity works together, submitting itself to the same, unwavering rules, combining personal and universal action. Through sports, “o povo vê e fala diretamente com o Brasil” without having their communication filtered through the hierarchies of power, permitting “uma certa intimidade com os símbolos nacionais” and allowing “à massa destituída ter o sentimento de totalidade nacional, do valor do povo representado pelos seus ídolos e, mais importante que tudo isso, da vitória plena e merecida.” Roberto DaMatta, “Introdução,” in *Universo do futebol: esporte e sociedade brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Pinakotheke, 1982), 13–17; Roberto DaMatta, “Esporte na sociedade: um ensaio sobre o futebol brasileiro,” in *Universo do futebol: esporte e sociedade brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Pinakotheke, 1982), 23, 34–35.

successful bid for and realization of a World Cup event. In sum, the louder the message of regional unity in the newspaper reports on the construction of the stadium and Northeastern identity, the greater the noise of difference.

Music, art, literature, and *cerâmicas*, on the other hand, captured and transmitted the national and international through regional media. They do not explicitly do “region work” – that is, they do not define the region, create regional institutions, or organize systematic activism; their work is more subtle.⁷ By not explicitly expressing their “northeasterness,” they imply that they do not need to – the symbols, forms, and their meanings have already been accepted; the origin of their product is apparent, and yet, does not conflict with a sense of national belonging.

In 1950, Recife would become the only Northeastern city to host a World Cup match. In 1950, Recife had 534,468 inhabitants and the largest foreign population in the Northeast.⁸ At the time of the match, the state of Pernambuco had about 12,592 vehicles on its roads, 6,376 of which were common passenger vehicles (that is, excluding motorcycles, cargo vehicles, buses, or emergency vehicles) – more than any other state in the Northeast, including Bahia.⁹ Recife also had 34 meters of passenger train lines and 823 buses.¹⁰ It demonstrated the highest mortality rates, not only for the Northeast, but for the entire country, had the second highest cost of living, and employed only 6.1%

⁷ I refer here to Paasi’s distinction between “hard region work” and “soft region work.” Anssi Paasi, “Regions Are Social Constructs, but Who or What ‘Constructs’ Them? Agency in Question,” *Environment and Planning A* 42 (2010): 2300.

⁸ According to the 1940 census, Pernambuco held 6,092 foreign and 628 naturalized residents. The 1950 census details the arrival of new foreigners in the state totaling 878 between 1947 and 1949, placing Pernambuco behind only São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in the number foreign arrivals. The census lists Dutch, Hungarian, English, Italian, Lebanese, North American, Portuguese, Syrian, Swiss, Czechoslovakian, (one) Swedish and undefined new foreign arrivals. According to the same source, there were 9,776 foreigners and 1,522 naturalized residents in the Brazilian Northeast. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. Conselho Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil, Ano XI-1950* (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto de Geografia e Estatística, 1951), 27, 33, and 61.

⁹ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950), 174, http://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/periodicos/20/aeb_1950.pdf.

¹⁰ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. Conselho Nacional de Estatística., *Anuário estatístico do Brasil, Ano XI-1950*, 173 and 174.

of the country's industrial laborers.¹¹ Unsurprisingly, the campaign to bring a World Cup match to Recife often referred to an opportunity to improve the city and region's reputation both nationally and internationally. Art and literature on World Cup soccer on the other hand, tended to downplay regional inequalities, emphasizing, instead, national unity.

The World Cup match in Recife 1950

In 1949 the directors of the Sport Club do Recife began a project to expand and modernize the Ilha do Retiro stadium, starting with the construction of the *arquibancadas*, or stadium seating.¹² In February 1950, the *Diário de Pernambuco* published calls for donations of “cement, tiles, or money” that would be collected by Sport's “*caducos*” (a term they used to refer to their retired players or older members). Ary Dornelas, who wrote these initial articles, reminds readers that this is not the first of Sport's “popular” campaigns – the very land upon which the stadium was built had been purchased

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 63, 337, and 116, respectively. Cost of living was defined as cost of food. Rio Branco and Boa Vista both held the highest cost of living in 1949, followed by Recife. The percentage of industrial workers in Recife can be compared with São Paulo's 40.69%, the Federal District's 15.33% and Rio Grande do Sul's 8.33%.

¹² According to its statutes and the Recife sports journalist Jota Soares the Sport Club do Recife was founded in 1905. “Estatutos do Sport Club do Recife” (Imprensa Industrial, 1919), 3, R 2.856/85, cx 17, Obras Raras, Biblioteca do APEJE, Recife, PE; Jota Soares, “Dados sobre a fundação do ‘Sport Club do Recife’,” c 1963, JS P1p1 doc 1,1, Jota Soares Collection, CEHIBRA-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. According to another draft of a radio broadcast by Jota Soares, the idea to found Sport came from Guilherme de Aquino Fonseca, who had recently returned from Europe and was impressed by English sportsmanship (at this time, the only other sporting club in Recife was Nautico which only had a row team). Soares reported that they played their first soccer match against a team called the English Eleven a month after being founded (and lost). Jota Soares, “Traços biográficos do Sport Club do Recife: sua biografia mostra o seu vigoroso início e a sua gloriosa vida,” December 20, 1970, JS P1p2 doc 18, Dados sobre clubes brasileiros de futebol, CEHIBRA-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. “Godoy & Ferreira (De um observador esportivo),” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 8, 1949, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “A única atitude! (De um observador esportivo),” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 9, 1949, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “Foi buscar lâ ...” (De um observador esportivo),” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 10, 1949, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “Esporte Clube do Recife: Convocação do Conselho Deliberativo,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 23, 1949, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “José Lourenço foi eleito e renunciou a direção do clube,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, November 24, 1949, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE. Manoel Heleno Rodrigues dos Santos, *Memória Rubra-Negro (1905-1955): Sport Club Recife Cinquenta anos de glória*, vol. 1 (Recife: M. Inojosa, 1985), 201.

through a similar collection effort.¹³ These articles are also the first to mention that the construction of the arquibancadas could lead to a World Cup match in Recife.¹⁴

The campaign to bring a World Cup match to Recife got off to a slow start. In April 1950, Laudenor Pereira, who wrote a regular column on the World Cup for the *Diário de Pernambuco*, heard of the possibility that a match be held in Recife through an interview with Rivadavia Correia, the President of the *Comissão Brasileira de Desportos* (CBD - Brazilian Sports Commission), given to the Radio Tamoyo and retransmitted by the Ceará Rádio Clube. According to Correia, both Recife and Salvador were under consideration for World Cup matches. Pereira writes that recifenses should prepare early and put effort into the construction of the arquibancadas at the Ilha do Retiro. According to him, World Cup matches in Recife would bring money to the city and would make the city a center of tourism for the Northeast and for the world.¹⁵ He repeated his appeal in another article the next day, seemingly surprised that his original plea had fallen on deaf ears.¹⁶

Appeals to regional unity through soccer appeared the same month, but they were referring to interstate matches at Ilha do Retiro between Santa Cruz (of Recife) and Ypiranga (of Salvador, Bahia). Reporters urged pernambucanos to demonstrate an “elevated mentality, so that all is carried out in perfect harmony.” The reporters of the *Diário da Manhã* hoped “that the two great centers can regain the friendship necessary for the progress of Northeastern sports.”¹⁷ Another article explained

¹³ “cimento, tijolos, ou dinheiro.” Ary Dornelas, “Auspiciosa campanha social no Esporte Clube do Recife,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, February 28, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

¹⁴ Ary Dornelas, “Ajudai-os, desportistas,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, February 28, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

¹⁵ Laudenor Pereira, “Campeonato do mundo,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, April 27, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

¹⁶ Laudenor Pereira, “Onde estão os deportistas,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, April 28, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

¹⁷ “uma mentalidade elevada, para que tudo corra em perfeita harmonia,” and “que os dois grandes centros voltem novamente à amizade imprescindível para o progressos [sic] dos desportos nordestinos.” “Hoje, a estréia dos baianos,” *Diário da Manhã*, April 9, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

that pernambucanos and bahianos must “unite in the same block, in unison, so that Northeastern sports can gain more attention from the powers that be and the centralizing entity that is the C.B.D.”¹⁸

The CBD was an agency that united the regional sport federations in Brazil including the sports of soccer, tennis, rowing, swimming, water polo, volleyball, and handball. The CBD was subject to the *Conselho Nacional de Desportos* (CND – National Sports Council), created by Decreto-Lei 3.199 of April 14, 1941 under Getúlio Vargas (see figure 43). The CND, in turn, functioned within the *Ministério da Educação e Saúde* (Ministry of Education and Health).¹⁹ In effect, the sports writers for the *Diário da Manhã* preached interstate unity in order to strengthen regional pull within a centralizing political agency within the vast cultural apparatus created under Getúlio Vargas. This was not just an interstate match for viewing and listening entertainment, it was an opportunity to increase the possibility that a major international event – a World Cup match – take place in the Northeast, yet again inserting the region into an international scale.²⁰

¹⁸ “que pernambucanos e baianos se unam num mesmo bloco, unissono, para que os desportos nordestinos tenham mais atenções dos poderes competentes e entidade centralizadora, que é a C.B.D.” “Santa Cruz, a estréia dos bahianos,” *Diário da Manhã*, April 4, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE. Yet another article affirmed that “A união de Pernambuco esportivo e da Bahia esportiva deve existir acima de tudo, para que o norte brasileiro consiga uma situação de privilégio perante os desportos. E eis porque, a equipe representativa do 'Sport Club do Recife', atendendo a uma justa aspiração dos dois grandes centros, resolveu viajar até Salvador, deixando ali a marca vigorosa do nosso pernambucanismo e, ao mesmo tempo, convidando para uma temporada em seus domínios, a vibrante esquadra do 'Ipiranga'.” And later “Urge, portanto, que, pernambucanos e baianos compreendam a significação de tão relevante fato, abraçando-se reciprocamente, pois, nos esportes deve haver o espírito da união, no seu entender mais rígido.” “Seja bem vindos,” *Diário da Manhã*, April 9, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

¹⁹ Getúlio Vargas, *Decreto-Lei n. 3.199 de 14 de abril de 1941*, 1941, <http://www6.senado.gov.br/legislacao/ListaPublicacoes.action?id=152593>. The CBD was to have executive powers, while CND was to be normative. But, according to Ronaldo Helal, in practice the CND had executive functions, able to intervene in federations and clubs when it thought necessary, Ronaldo Helal, “A lei, a ordem e o espetáculo: reflexões sobre a organização do futebol brasileiro,” *Cultura vozes* 92, no. 2 (1998): 93.

²⁰ Another article in the *Diário de Pernambuco* accused the CBD of dividing the Northeast and suggested creating a “Confederação Nortista de Desportos” to unite the region in defense. Vitor Rodrigues, “Confederação nortista de desportos,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, March 15, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

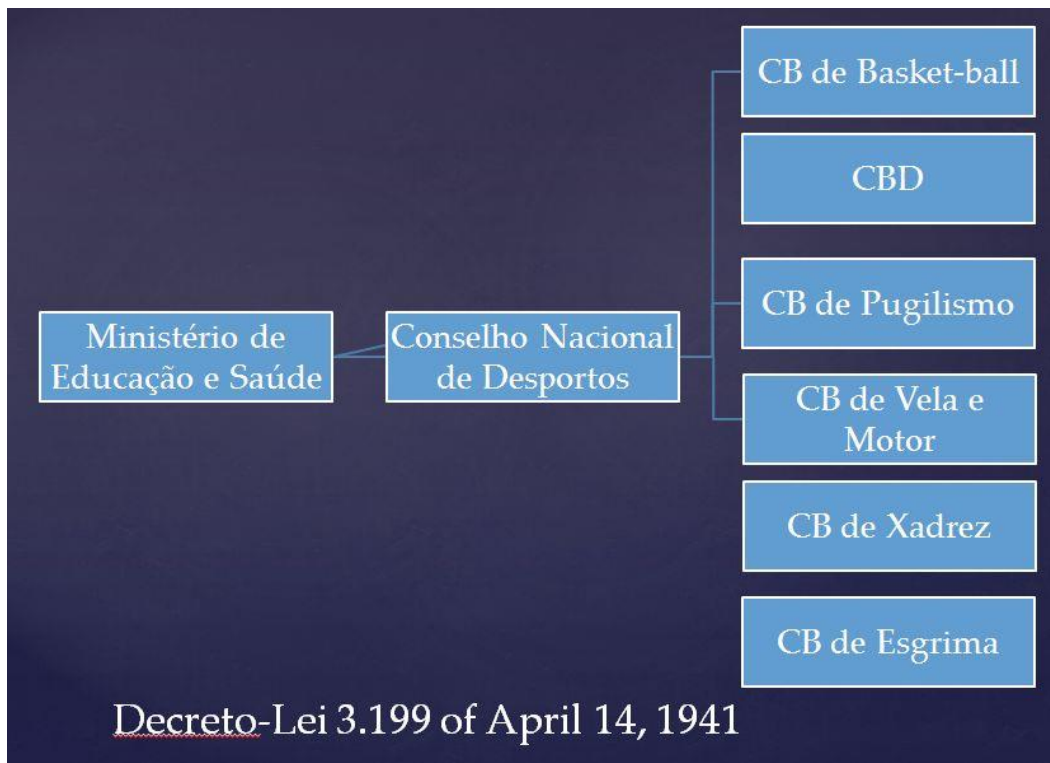


Figure 43: Decreto-Lei 3.199 of April 14, 1941- Heirarchy of State Sporting Apparatus

Soon after the Santa Cruz/Ipiranga matches, the *Jornal Pequeno* and *Diário da Manhã* announced that the superintendent of the CBD, Irineu Chaves, would come to Recife.²¹ After his visit in mid-May, Chaves announced that three matches would take place in Recife “as the Ilha do Retiro stadium, after a few minor improvements, will be in conditions to satisfy FIFA’s demands.”²² The minor

²¹ “Chega hoje ao Recife o superintendente do CBD,” *Jornal Pequeno*, May 13, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE; “Rio, 14 (Asapress),” *Diário da Manhã*, April 15, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE; “Esperado o Sr. Rivadávia Correia,” *Diário da Manhã*, April 27, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE; “Última hora,” *Diário da Manhã*, April 27, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

²² “Examinará o Estiádo [sic] do Esporte [sic],” *Diário da Manhã*, May 11, 1950, Hemeroteca, Arquivo Público Estadual Jordão Emerenciano; “O Recife assistirá jogos da Copa do Mundo,” *Folha da Manhã*, May 14, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE; “Chega hoje ao Recife o superintendente do CBD”; “O sr. Irineu Chaves, superintendente da C.B.D. ...,” *Diário da Manhã*, May 14, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE. From the latter “serão realizados nesta capital, jogos da Copa do Mundo, pois o estádio da Ilha do Retiro, após alguns pequenos melhoramentos, estará em condições de satisfazer às exigências da FIFA.” While the *Diário da Manhã* reported that there would be two matches, the *Jornal Pequeno* and the *Diário de Pernambuco* reported that there would be three. “Chega hoje ao Recife o superintendente do CBD”; “Jogos, no Recife, da <<Copa do Mundo>>,” *Folha do Povo*, May 12, 1950, MR F-12a, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “Jogos da Copa do Mundo na Ilha do Retiro,” *Jornal Pequeno*, May 15, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE; “Jogos do Campeonato do Mundo no Recife,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, May 16, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “Jogos do Campeonato Mundial no Recife (Meridional),” *Diário de Pernambuco*, May 17, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

improvements included: increasing capacity by closing the ring of seating around the field, building fences to separate the players from the public, constructing locker rooms and tunnels, and improving the pitch.²³ Chaves expected earnings of Cr\$ 700,000.00 – roughly \$209,000 in 2013 dollars – per match.²⁴ Hinting at the region’s poverty, reputation of poor housing standards, and desire to direct the foreign gaze toward its positive attributes, he urged *recifenses* (residents of Recife) to “provide dignified lodging, because these are fine people who are accustomed to good treatment and independent of this we must show our nobility ...”²⁵

Chaves arrived in Recife from Salvador, where he had inspected that city for the possibility of hosting a match as well. Chaves determined that the Graça stadium in Salvador would not host a World Cup match. He explained that the stadium did not meet FIFA size requirements and would need significant improvements to the pitch. Carrying out his recommendations would require immediately closing the stadium for repairs, but as this drastic measure would translate into significant financial losses for the local clubs, the governor chose not to intervene.²⁶ According to *A Tarde*, the Bahian clubs met in assembly soon after to schedule the *Campeonato Bahiano* (Bahian Championship) and to discuss “what happened to Bahia.” They lamented that there would be no World Cup matches in Salvador, while “our neighbors in Recife will be blessed with three great matches.” They decided to

²³ Santos, *Memória Rubra-Negro*, 1:201.

²⁴ I calculated the exchange from July 1950 Cruzeiros to July 1950 Dollars according to the exchange rate found in the table 2 of Roberto Carvalho Cardoso, “A utilização da cotação do dólar para eliminar efeitos da inflação,” *Revista de Administração de Empresas* 11, no. 2 (June 1971): 87. According to the table, \$1 in July 1950 was equal to roughly 32.26 cruzeiros. I used the Bureau of Labor Statistics inflation calculator to translate 1950 dollars to 2013 (the most recent available) here: <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpiccalc.pl> . I recognize that this is not an exact or reliable method, since it does not factor in inflation in Brazil, but it serves the purpose of giving the reader a very rough idea of the value. In subsequent conversions I use the same criteria for my calculations.

²⁵ “Seria o caso de vocês providenciarem hospedagem condigna para essas delegações, pois são pessoas finas e acostumadas a bons tratos, independente disso temos que mostrar a nossa fidalguia, sabendo hospedar esses estrangeiros.” “Jogos do Campeonato do Mundo no Recife.”

²⁶ “A Bahia e os jogos da Copa Jules Rimet,” *Jornal Pequeno*, May 16, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

create commissions to pressure the local government to “attack” the construction of the Fonte Nova Stadium head on and to resolve issues of back payment at the Graça Stadium. The article ends on a note of hyperbole: “As you see, the Graça Stadium’s situation is the most difficult, with Bahian soccer poised to lose everything.”²⁷

Bearing in mind the calls for regional unity, an article in Recife’s *Jornal Pequeno* is surprisingly sharp. The article referred to the Salvador stadium as an “estadinho” (small stadium) fitting only of “button football” (*celotex*).²⁸ The need for harmony in soccer between Bahia and Pernambuco to ensure regional progress, in this case, was set aside for competition. In the end, Salvador would not garner the necessary government or private sector support to carry out an expedited stadium construction. At the same time, there was no visible media campaign leading up to Irineu Chaves’ visit to Salvador and the issue was quickly forgotten.

Scheduling the World Cup matches in Recife proved to be complicated. Several countries – including Portugal, Turkey, Scotland, Argentina, Ecuador and Peru – cancelled their plans to participate in this first World Cup tournament played in twelve years.²⁹ Further, French authorities lodged a protest with the CBD when they found out that they would have to travel from Porto Alegre to Recife (about 1,850 miles, as the crow flies) – a distance that, when compared to previous World

²⁷ “o que aconteceu á Bahia que não poderá realizar jogos da Copa do Mundo, enquanto que os nossos vizinhos do Recife serão brindados com tres grandes jogos,” “atacar,” and “Como se vê a situação do campo da Graça é das mais difíceis, estando o futebol bahiano ameaçado de perder tudo.” “O Ipiranga foi <<pesado>>,” *A Tarde*, May 16, 1950, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

²⁸ “Depois de inspeccionar o <<estadinho>> da Graça, na Bahia, o sr. Irineu Chaves disse: <<Não>>. O <<campinho>> de Salvador é pequeno demais, do jeito que está só para <<celotex>> ...” “Jogos da Copa do Mundo na Ilha do Retiro.”

²⁹ “Não virão os portugueses,” *Jornal Pequeno*, May 19, 1950, Hemeroteca, Arquivo Público Estadual Jordão Emerenciano, Recife, Pernambuco; “Aguarda o C.B.D. a resposta de Portugal,” *Jornal Pequeno*, May 27, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “A primeira partida do certame magno,” *Diário da Manhã*, May 31, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “Não virá ao Brasil a seleção portuguesa,” *Diário da Manhã*, June 1, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “Suíça x Iugoslavia, no Recife, a 25 de junho,” *Jornal Pequeno*, May 24, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

Cup tournaments in Uruguay, France, or Italy, seemed unreasonable to the French selection.³⁰ When the CBD refused to change the schedule, France also canceled.³¹ In the end, the July 2 match between Chile and the USA was the only one played in the “*norte*” (“North”).³² To quote an article from June 23rd: “we will attend the largest soccer match held in the north of the country, between teams representing the United States of North America and Chile, in a match that will be engraved within the annals of Pernambucan sports.”³³

The use of “North” and “Northeast” in these articles deserves attention. That Pernambucan journalists repeatedly inter-mix “North” and “Northeast” is a matter of scale rather than confusion as to how to refer to the region. When referring to unity and cohesion, the writers speak of the Northeast. When desiring to speak in superlatives (the largest event, the highest earnings, the biggest stadium), they refer to the “North”, a larger, more impressive expanse of territory. For example, the *Diário da Noite*, on July 1 printed that the Ilha do Retiro stadium is “considered by specialized critics as the largest and most beautiful stadium in the nation’s septentrional [north], a spectacle ... for Northeastern sports fans of an international match ...”³⁴

³⁰ “A equipe da França jogará no Recife,” *Diário da Manhã*, June 2, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “Ameaça a França cancelar a viagem ao Brasil,” *Jornal Pequeno*, June 6, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “Fora do Campeonato do Mundo a França!,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 6, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

³¹ “Os franceses não virão,” *A Tarde*, June 7, 1950, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

³² “O mensageiro esportivo informa,” *Diário da Manhã*, June 14, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

³³ “assistiremos o maior encontro de futebol até hoje realizado no norte do país, no qual inter[ag]irão as equipes representativas dos Estados Unidos [sic] da América do Norte e do Chile, numa peleja que ficará gravada nos anais dos esportes pernambucanos.” “As vésperas de sensacionais pugnas pebolísticas,” *Diário da Manhã*, June 23, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

³⁴ “considerado pela crítica especializada como o maior e mais belo do setentrião nacional, um espetáculo de gala aos desportistas nordestinos, com a realização de um 'match' internacional ...” “Empolgando Recife a peleja de amanhã,” *Diário da Noite*, July 1, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

Major donations for the construction of the Ilha do Retiro stadium in Recife came from both private and public donations.³⁵ Senator Luiz Magalhães Melo presented a law to the Legislative Assembly proposing to donate Cr\$ 200,000 (nearly \$60,000 in 2013) to the CBD for the purposes of supporting the match in Recife.³⁶ An opinion article in the *Diário de Pernambuco* argued that this money should have been earmarked solely for Sport. Based on this criticism, Magalhães Melo changed the proposed law, suggesting Cr\$ 300,000 (nearly \$90,000 in 2013) instead to go to the *Federação Pernambucana de Desportos* (FPD – Pernambucan Federation of Sports). On June 17, 1950, the law was approved and Cr\$ 100,000 was designated for both Náutico and Sport, with the remaining Cr\$ 100,000 going to the FPD.³⁷ In addition, a man named Ademar Costa Carvalho donated an unspecified amount of money to Sport to cover the building of the locker rooms “in exchange for certain advertising privileges.”³⁸

Small donations of supplies and labor were also visible and important, lending a democratic feel to the newspaper story of the 1950 World Cup in Recife. The *Diário de Pernambuco* announced bingo fundraisers to help cover costs of the arquibancadas in December 1949.³⁹ Still, the campaign relied on the donation of materials, money, and labor. On June 1, 1950, for example, Joca de Lira Ferreira of Sport appealed to Sport fans, explaining that he worried that “the CBD is repentant of

³⁵ “A semana esportiva,” *Diário da Manhã*, May 28, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “A Copa do Mundo no Recife,” *Diário da Manhã*, June 7, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “Dinheiro mal empregado,” *Diário da Manhã*, June 24, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

³⁶ “A semana esportiva.” “Auxílio do governo do estado para o,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, May 6, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “A Copa do Mundo no Recife,” June 7, 1950; “Modificado o projeto sobre os jogos da ‘Copa do Mundo,’” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 8, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

³⁷ “Auxílio do governo do estado para a Copa do Mundo”; “Concedido o auxílio de 300 mil cruzeiros á F.P.D.,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 18, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

³⁸ “a trôco de certas vantagens propagandísticas,” “Dinheiro mal empregado.”

³⁹ Barros, “Campanha da recuperação”; “Bingo no Nautico após um grande incendio”; “Clube Nautico Capibaribe,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, December 1, 1949, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “Esporte C. do Recife: bingo das joias,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, December 17, 1949, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

having conceded with such ease this benefit to our Northern club” and might cut off promised funding and support. In his plea, he reminded recifenses of previous successful campaigns, and requested that each *leãozinho* (little lion - the Sport Club’s mascot is a lion) donate newspapers or bottles, even offering to pick them up at people’s homes if they could not drop them off at the stadium. His request also included construction materials. Ferreira requested “tiles, cement, sand, lime, iron, scrap metal, shovels, hoes, anything you might be able to contribute, even through sacrifice, we should offer freely to ‘Sport’, to see realized the golden dream not only of rubros negros, but of all of Pernambuco’s sincere sports fans.”⁴⁰ Artur Maciel pointed out that the “gigantic work in progress” was possible not only due to perseverance of the president of Sport, but also due to the “abnegados” – the volunteers, fans, laborers, and donators of meals and materials repeatedly referenced in newspapers.⁴¹

This call for abnegation and self-sacrifice is reminiscent of explanations of nation and nationality. Ernest Renan saw the nation as a moral unit that requires sacrifice and self-denial.⁴² Benedict Anderson added that the nation, like the family, is considered “interestless” and because of this, “can ask for sacrifices.”⁴³ Sport, then, directed similar pleas to its fans as that of a nation and

⁴⁰ “Compromissos vários, de grandes responsabilidades fôram tomados pelo clube e ao que parece a C.B.D. arrependida de ter concedido com tanta facilidade um beneficio a um clube Nortista, resolveu de iniciativa própria deixar de cumprir a palavra antes empenhada e quase ratificada oficialmente.” And later: “1 quilo, 1/2, ou mesmo um jornal, uma garrafa. Não custa muito. Vão juntando os jornais diários, em suas casas, e no sábado à tarde, ou no domingo pela manhã levem para o ‘Sport’. Se fôr muito trabalho, nós providenciamos apanhá-los em suas casas Mas não é só isso. Tijolo, cimento, areia, cal, ferro, metralha, pá, enxada, tudo que possamos conseguir mesmo com sacrifício, devemos oferecer de boa vontade, ao ‘Sport’, para vermos concretizado êsse sonho dourado, não só dos rubros negros, mas de todos os deportistas sinceros de Pernambuco.” Joca de Lira Ferreira, “Apêlo aos rubro-negros,” *Diário da Manhã*, June 1, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁴¹ Artur Maciel, “Tirando o chapéu,” *Diário da Manhã*, March 26, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁴² See for example: “La nation, comme l’individu, est l’aboutissant d’un long passé d’efforts, de sacrifices et de dévouements,” “Un aime en proportion des sacrifices qu’on a consentis, des maux qu’on a soufferts,” “Une nation est donc une grande solidarité, constituée par le sentiment des sacrifices qu’on a faits et de ceux qu’on est disposé à faire encore,” and “Tandis que cette conscience morale prouve sa force par les sacrifices qu’exige l’abdication de l’individu au profit d’une communauté, elle est légitime, elle a le droit d’exister.” Renan, *Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?*, 26, 26–27, 27, and 29, respectively.

⁴³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 144. Claudio Lomnitz-Adler disagrees with Anderson on this point, stating that

many Sport fans responded (see figures 44-47). According to the book *Memória Rubra Negro*, at any given time there were dozens, even hundreds of volunteers working “as if laborers” for 20 hours a day.⁴⁴ Fernando Bivar of Sport described the stadium as a “a true effort” that included “the right to breaks and lunch – sarapatel and feijoada ...”⁴⁵ Even José Lins do Rêgo offered his opinion: “The World Cup is carrying away all of the Northeasterners ... I went to the Esporte Clube and I was enchanted by the effort ... shift after shift of laborers, night and day, in intense labor. I believe if everyone did as Esporte de Recife, we would have throughout Brazil, a World Cup capable of meeting all expectations.”⁴⁶

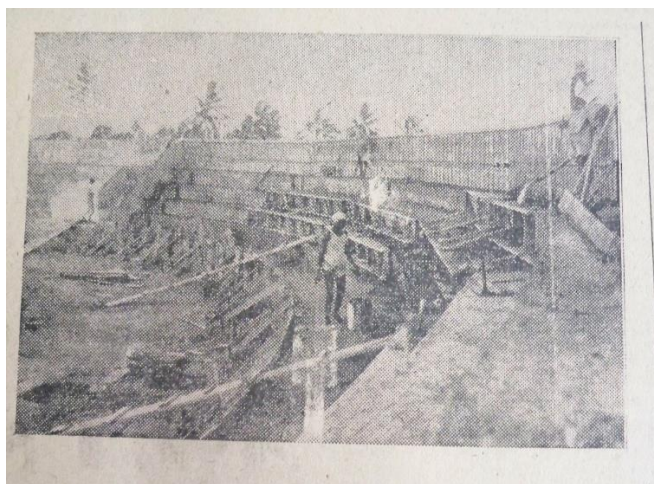


Figure 44: Construction work at the Ilha do Retiro Stadium

Anderson sees sacrifice as a “quintessential symptom” of nationalism while, in Lomnitz-Adler’s view “Ideological appeals to nationhood are most often coupled with the coercive, moral or economic force of other social relationships, including the appeal to the defense of hearth and home, or the economic or coercive pressure of a local community, or the coercive apparatus of the state itself.” Lomnitz-Adler, “Nationalism as a Practical System: Benedict Anderson’s Theory of Nationalism from the Vantage Point of Spanish America,” 336.

⁴⁴ “como se fossem operários.” Santos, *Memória Rubra-Negro*, 1:201.

⁴⁵ “Verdadeiro mutirão com direito a descanso e almoço – sarapatel e feijoada...” Fernando Caldas Bivar, *Coração rubro-negro* (Recife: FASA, 2008), 53.

⁴⁶ “A Copa do Mundo está empolgando os nordestinos. Por tôda a parte onde estive, só se fala na Copa do Mundo ... Em Recife, fui ao campo do Esporte Clube e lá fiquei encantado com o esforço que éste clube está fazendo ... Turmas e turmas de operários, de noite e de dia, no seu trabalho intenso. Acredito que se todos fizessem como o Esporte de Recife, teríamos pelo Brasil afora, um campeonato do mundo capaz de corresponder a expectativa geral.” José Lins do Rêgo, “O esforço do Sport Clube, de Pernambuco,” *Diário da Manhã*, June 8, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.



Figure 45: Construction work at the Ilha do Retiro Stadium

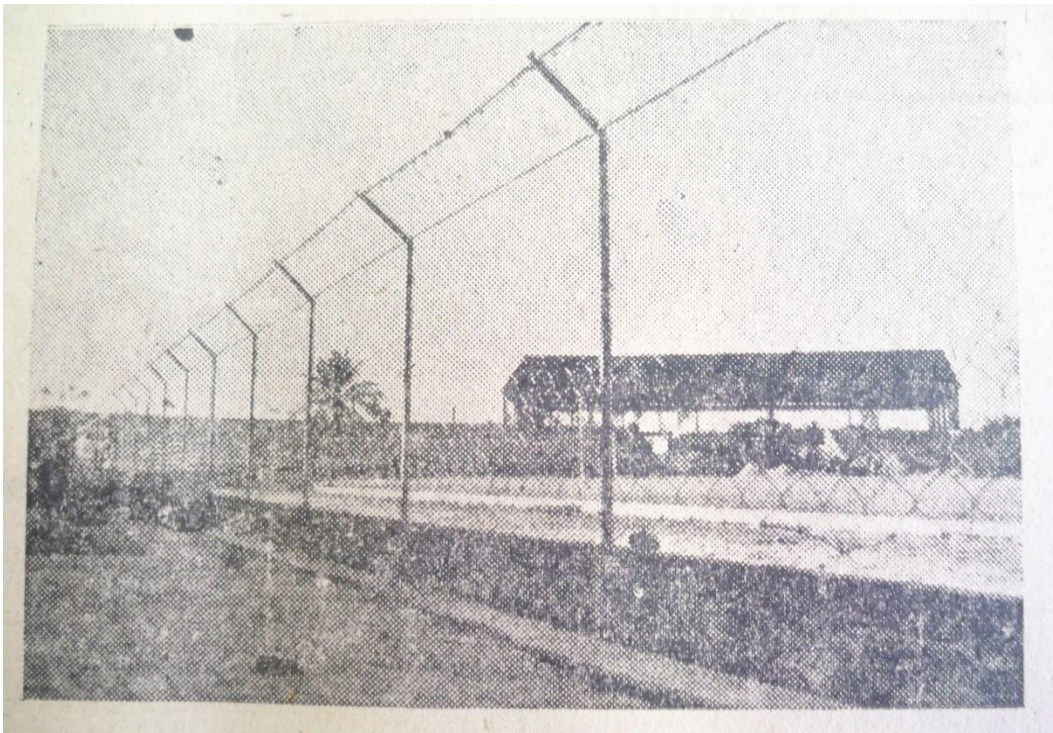


Figure 46: Construction work at the Ilha do Retiro Stadium

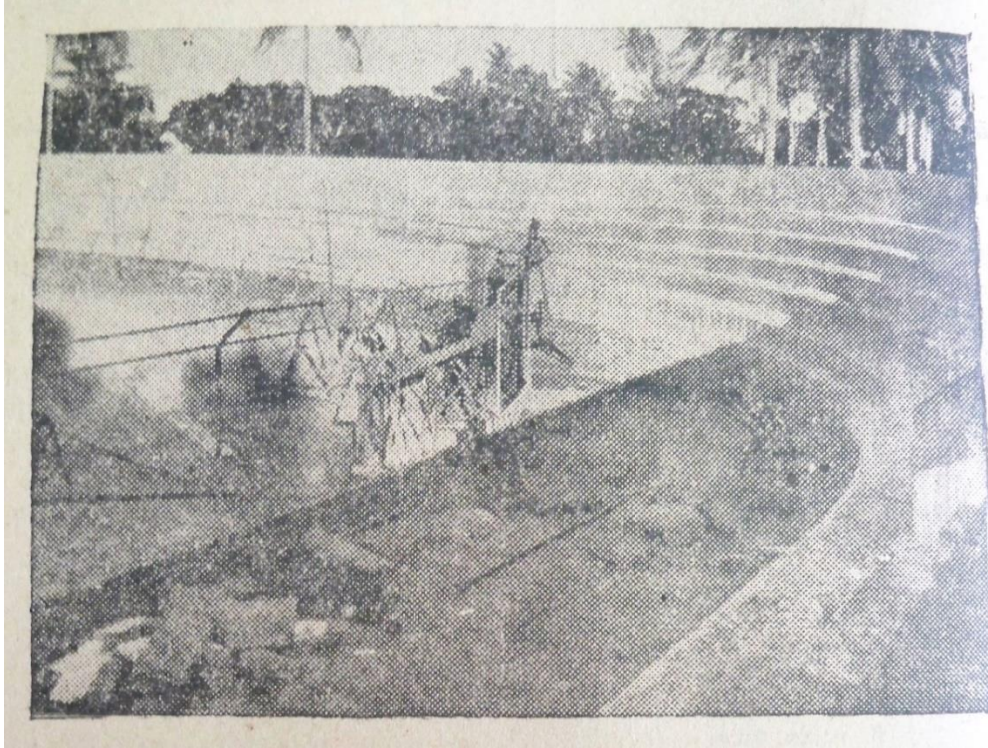


Figure 47: Construction work at the Ilha do Retiro Stadium⁴⁷

While Recife's newspapers attempted to create a narrative of cooperation and sacrifice, they left enough noise in the margins to indicate that not everyone was as self-sacrificing, involved, or supportive of the international soccer match as they might have wished.⁴⁸ The initial calls for donations drew immediate criticism from one of the *Diário de Pernambuco's* sports writers, Viriato Rodrigues. Rodrigues' article criticizes the campaign, but also praises the directors of the club for their ability to

⁴⁷ Figures 44-47 are from *Jornal Pequeno*, 15 June 1950, 4, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁴⁸ Surprisingly, grievances over the construction of the stadium, the expenditure of funds, and the presence of foreign delegations did not come primarily from the left. The *Folha do Povo* of Recife, for example, was fully dedicated to the campaign for the signing of the Stockholm Appeal, which proposed to ban the use of nuclear weapons globally. However, in its reporting of the construction of the Ilha do Retiro Stadium, of Irineu Chaves' visit to inspect the stadium, and of the match held in Recife, the newspaper offered straightforward, dry reporting, devoid of political insinuation. "O partido comunista traiu os deportistas: enérgico protesto da Delegação Brasileira," *Jornal Pequeno*, June 27, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; "Todo o Selecionado Brasileiro assinou o Apêlo contra a bomba atômica," *Folha do Povo*, June 27, 1950, MR F-12a, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE. "Jogos, no Recife, da <<Copa do Mundo>>"; "Santa Cruz <<versus>> Esporte em sensacional confronto, domingo, na Ilha do Retiro," *Folha do Povo*, June 21, 1950, MR F-12a, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; "Domingo, no Estádio do Esporte, jogarão Estados Unidos e Chile," *Folha do Povo*, June 29, 1950, MR F-12a, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; "Estados Unidos e Chile," *Folha do Povo*, July 2, 1950, MR F-12a, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

get things done, making the harshness of his criticism difficult to ascertain. Rodrigues says, for example, that Sport's members are supposed to "spontaneously bring tiles, a bag of cement, [that is, in the case of] the richest [fans]. Those who don't have any of this, can [just] bring money." And in this way, "the arquibancadas will be finished. They will be mine, they will be yours, they will be everyone's, they will belong to Pernambuco. And when they are ready, no one will be able to jump the wall anymore and those who don't pay will have to walk in circles in the entrance way. No one will get through."⁴⁹ Rodrigues leaves the suggestion for the reader to complete: fans donate supplies or even money, but they might not be able to enter the stadium. If they can afford to pay, they will enjoy matches free of riff-raff. But if they are the riff-raff, regardless of their sacrifice, there will be no display of classless camaraderie: they will be left alone, standing at the gates. Reminiscent of the rationale for the protests that took place during the Confederations Cup in 2013, Rodrigues seems to imply that while the stadium would figuratively belong to Pernambuco, it would only belong to the Pernambucans who could pay for tickets.⁵⁰ In May 1950, Severino Almeida complained in the *Jornal Pequeno* that Sport had had no other choice but to ask the Rádio Patrulha (civilian patrol police) to "impede that people enter without paying." He quickly corrected himself: "The people, no. It's soldiers and all kinds of police officers who want to enter without paying." According to this article, the police and military officers expected to enter the stadium for free, creating "a great shame ... in our soccer

⁴⁹ "Os associados, espontaneamente, levarão o seu tijolo, um saco de cimento, os mais endinheirados. Quem não pode levar isso, leva dinheiro. Quem não pode dar cem cruzeiros, cinquenta não faz mal. É assim por diante," and "E a arquibancada será feita. Será minha, será sua, de toda gente, será de Pernambuco. E quando estiver prontinha, ninguém pula mais o muro e os 'penetras' terão que andar e rodopiar na entrada. Ninguém passa." Viriato Rodrigues, "Uma campanha e tanto ...," *Diário de Pernambuco*, March 2, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁵⁰ While criticism for the campaign would later continue in different forms, it was initially set aside for calls to unity. The same author, for example, published an interview with one of Sport's directors and accepted an invitation to visit the stadium to witness its progress just a month later. Viriato Rodrigues, "O Esporte Clube do Recife e as suas realizações em andamento," *Diário de Pernambuco*, April 4, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

fields.” Not everyone was willing to give quietly and to sacrifice for the stadium without receiving anything in return.⁵¹

The effort and attention that the preparations for the match attracted upset some elite recifenses. One editorial, written under the pen name “Argus” and published the day after the aforementioned plea from Sport insisted that so much attention given to sports was “excessive and harmful” as it detracts from “intellectual culture.” Further, the language employed was “semi-barbaric” as fans [mis]wrote *ofsaide* and *futebol* “without remembering that these are English terms.” Argus expressed disdain at seeing “illustrious” political representatives talking of sports at the Câmara Federal and Municipal.⁵² To this writer, sports were fine for physical fitness, but had no place in local politics. At least one politician agreed with Argus. When addressing the state Legislative Assembly to urge state and city administrators to support the matches in the Ilha do Retiro stadium, Representative Júlio de Melo Filho first asked his colleague Mário Melo for permission, describing him as “considered by many to be the enemy number one of soccer.”⁵³

Other recifenses were concerned with the negative impression that travelers might take away from their visit to the city. Worries that tourists might speak poorly of Recife based on the unattractiveness of the areas surrounding the Náutico stadium (which had recently suffered a fire) and the Ilha do Retiro stadium (often surrounded by standing water) inspired petitions for the municipal

⁵¹ “impediram que o povo entrasse de graça. O povo não. Militares, polícias de toda espécie que querem entrar sem pagar;” and “É uma grande vergonha o que se vê nos nossos campos de futebol.” “A Rádio Patrulha a serviço da tesouraria rubro-negra,” *Jornal Pequeno*, May 3, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁵² “excessivo é nocivo,” “cultura intelectual,” “E usam uma gíria semi-bárbara,” “sem se lembrarem que o termo é inglês,” and “ilustres representantes.” Argus, “Tópico do dia,” *Diário da Manhã*, June 2, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁵³ “considerado por muitos como inimigo n.º 1 do futebol.” “A Copa do Mundo no Recife,” *Jornal Pequeno*, May 19, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

government to create new parks and plazas near the soccer stadiums.⁵⁴ Another concern expressed in the *Diário da Manhã* was over the quality of materials purchased with donated money. The “magnificent locker rooms” were well-constructed, but the toilets, sinks, and faucets were of “proletarian” quality. “After all,” an anonymous writer pondered, “money was offered for the construction of two model pavilions ... Why, then, was ordinary material used ...?” The use of high quality products was important because the foreign delegations would see the poor quality and judge the entire effort accordingly.⁵⁵ While Recife newspapers expressed concerns over their exposure to tourists, journalists in Salvador lamented that they were not given the opportunity to attract the tourists’ gaze. On June 19, an article in *A Tarde* on the Maracanã stadium lamented that Bahia had not constructed its own stadium through “cadeira cativa,” a system similar to the sale of season tickets.⁵⁶

Notwithstanding the proletarian faucets and unfortunate rain, the World Cup match took place in Recife on July 2, 1950. The América Futebol Clube from Recife and the América Futebol Clube of Fortaleza played an opening match, which the latter team won 2x0. Against projections, the USA team lost to Chile, with the final score: Chile 5, USA 2. The match had soldout and brought in a little over 290,000 cruzeiros (roughly \$87,000 in 2013). While this was far less than original expectations, newspapers did not mention the discrepancy or anything less than complete satisfaction with the event.⁵⁷ Newspapers were careful to point out the illustrious guests in the audience. Present were the state Governor Barbosa Lima, the Mayor Morais Rêgo, military commanders, Chilean and

⁵⁴ “Um apêlo ao prefeito urge a construção da Praça da Bandeira e da Rua Angustura -- iniciada uma campanha nesse sentido -- Espera-se êxito,” *Diário da Manhã*, March 29, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁵⁵ “As vestiárias estão magníficas,” “do tipo 'proletário,’” and “Afinal de contas, uma oferta foi feita para a construção de dois pavilhões modelo ... Por que, então, emprega-se material ordinário, ...?” “Dinheiro mal empregado.”

⁵⁶ “Copa do Mundo ...,” *A Tarde*, June 19, 1950, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁵⁷ “Estados Unidos x Chile”; “Estados Unidos x Chile, hoje, na Ilha do Retiro”; “O mensageiro esportivo informa,” July 2, 1950; Nilson Sabino Pinho, “Brilhante exibição dos andinos,” *Diário da Manhã*, July 4, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

U.S. diplomats, representatives of the CBD, the president of the Federação Cearense de Futebol, members of the foreign press, and Jules Rimet, who praised the construction of the stadium.⁵⁸

The World Cup match at the Ilha do Retiro was not the only sport-related gathering to take place that day. Amid speculation that there would be limited turnout, the Jockey Club in Recife carried out its weekly Sunday gathering – the *Domingueira* – anyway. A *Gazeta Esportiva* article stated that, while not large enough to be considered an “affair,” the meeting attracted a more substantial gathering than some recent Domingueiras. Hinting at the transition of Recife’s sporting base from horse-racing to soccer, the writer of the article, Itamar, stated that, “if not a gala ... it at least showed the defeatists that the State racing entity has a well-defined life of its own within the sporting scene of this capital.” According to the article, “he who really likes racing would not trade, for any price, Madalena [where the Jockey Club was located] for the Ilha [do Retiro] ...” Itamar concluded that if only every Sunday were this way, after some time there would come “a new time of splendor.”⁵⁹ There are two subtle insinuations behind the article: first, that this particular Domingueira was a show of forces, a rally of strength, an act of defiance, and a desperate attempt to keep the Jockey Club alive; and second, that Jockey Club members saw the World Cup match at the Ilha do Retiro stadium as the most visible symbol of their institution’s slow demise.

⁵⁸ “Venceram os chilenos,” *Diário da Noite*, July 3, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “A Ilha do Retiro viveu uma tarde inesquecível com o internacional disputado pelo Campeonato do Mundo,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 4, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “Fala sobre o Recife o messieur Jules Rimet,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 8, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁵⁹ “acontecimento,” “se não foi uma tarde de gala ... pelo menos deu para mostrar aos derrotistas que a entidade carreirística do Estado tem vida propria e bem definida no cenário esportivo de nossa capital,” “nada deixava a desejar, quem de fato gosta do turfe não se deslocará por preço algum da Madalena para a Ilha ...,” “uma nova época de splendor.” Itamar, “Turfe elegancia,” *Gazeta Esportiva*, July 10, 1950, MR G-4, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.



Figure 48: Estado da Ilha do Retiro⁶⁰

In the end, the greatest star on July 2, 1950 was the Ilha do Retiro stadium (see figure 48). In its first edition post-match, a large photograph of the stadium appeared on the first page of the second section of the *Diário da Manhã* (four pages before the write up). Part of the caption read: “... positive proof of what we are capable of, when we need to prove it, in whatever field, with our Pernambucan ability to achieve ... this is the best proof of the enterprising spirit of those who embrace ... the contribution of Pernambucan athletes and fans toward the success of the first World Cup to take place in Brazil.”⁶¹ The *Diário da Noite* claimed the Ilha do Retiro Stadium as a source of pride “not only of Pernambucans, but of the entire Brazilian Northeast.”⁶² Journalists from Recife were not alone in noting the quality of the stadium. The sports writer from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Dent McSkimming, when interviewed by the *Diário da Noite* stated that he and “the other members of the press corps from the United States are pleasantly surprised by the wonderful condition of the field here.” According to

⁶⁰ “Estádio da Ilha do Retiro,” *Diário da Manhã*, July 4, 1950, sec. 1, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁶¹ “uma prova positiva do quanto somos capazes, quando se precisa provar, em qualquer terreno, a capacidade realizadora do pernambucano ... essa é a melhor documentação do espírito empreendedor daqueles que compreenderam, no justo termo, a contribuição dos desportistas pernambucanos para o êxito do primeiro campeonato mundial disputado no Brasil.” “O estádio da Ilha do Retiro,” *Diário da Manhã*, July 4, 1950, sec. 2, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁶² “não somente Pernambuco como a todo o nordeste brasileiro.” “Impressões sôbre a peleja de ontem,” *Diário da Noite*, July 3, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

McSkimming, the stadium was comparable to the stadium in Belo Horizonte.⁶³ The Yugoslav selection would also travel to Recife just to play a friendly against a team composed of Sport and Santa Cruz players in the Ilha do Retiro Stadium.⁶⁴

Out of enthusiasm, the local newspapers over-stated the importance of the international presence in the city. While a *Folha da Manhã* article claimed that “the attentions of the whole world” would be on the Ilha do Retiro stadium, in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* article published on July 3, 1950, there is no mention of Recife or the Ilha do Retiro stadium.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, their concerns were not without foundation. A Swedish cartoonist named Torsden Tegner, or T.T., had created cartoons discouraging Europeans from attending the events in Brazil. In one cartoon, reprinted in the *Diário de Pernambuco*, Brazilian fans wearing Mexican sombreros and bandanas leveled pistols at players and referees on the field. The warning was clear: Brazilian fans were uncivilized and dangerous (see figure 49). Though he mistook Mexican imagery for Brazilian, T.T. depicted bandits in the stands. The pressure to prove to the world that Brazil was modern and civilized was felt throughout the country, but in the Northeast, where banditry had just ten years prior been extinguished with the death of Corisco and had not yet been elevated by literature, intellectuals, art, and film to “social banditry,” these accusations reached a different level of concern.

⁶³ “Eu e os demais componentes da delegação dos Estados Unidos estamos agradavelmente surpreendidos da ótima condição do campo aqui.” Ibid.

⁶⁴ “Os Iugoslavos aceitaram a contra-proposta,” *Folha da Manhã*, July 6, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “Jogarão domingo, no Recife, os iugoslavos,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 6, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “Hoje à tarde a chegada dos iugoslavos,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 7, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “Chegou ontem, à noite, a delegação iugoslava,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 8, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; “Os Yugoslavos, abateram o combinado Santa Cruz-Esporte pelo escore de 5 a 2,” *Gazeta Esportiva*, July 10, 1950, MR G-4, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “Vitória justa dos iugoslavos sobre o comando,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 11, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁶⁵ In fact, the article is tagged as “Special to the Post-Dispatch” from “Rio de Janeiro.” “Estados Unidos X Chile hoje no estádio da Ilha do Retiro,” *Folha da Manhã*, July 2, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE; “U.S. Eliminated in Soccer Tourney,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 3, 1950. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* article also stated that the crowd rooted for the USA team.



Figure 49: Schiedsrichter in Rio? Ich nicht!⁶⁶

As the first television towers had just arrived in Rio de Janeiro in November of 1949 and the World Cup would not be broadcast nationally in Brazil until 1970, radio transmissions were very important in the 1950 World Cup.⁶⁷ According to surveys carried out by the US Information Agency six years after this event, 66% of 385 Recifenses, 53% of 377 Salvadorans, and 40% of 378 residents

⁶⁶ "T.T. mentiroso," *Diário de Pernambuco*, April 7, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁶⁷ "Televisão no Brasil dentro de 120 dias," *Diário de Pernambuco*, October 22, 1949, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE; "No Rio o equipamento da televisão Tupi," *Diário de Pernambuco* (November 3, 1949): 2, "Televisão no Brasil dentro de 120 dias," *Diário de Pernambuco*, October 22, 1949, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

of Fortaleza questioned had a radio at home.⁶⁸ The *Jornal do Comércio* transmitted the World Cup matches, and in a stroke of generosity, released to all broadcasters – foreign and domestic – permission to re-broadcast their transmissions.⁶⁹ This allowed the *Diário de Pernambuco* to re-transmit the World Cup matches through loudspeakers placed by the Radio Clube de Pernambuco on the outside of the building, facing the Praça do Diário in downtown Recife.⁷⁰ As can be seen in figure #9, these re-transmissions drew a crowd of recifenses who did not have a radio at home or who simply preferred to listen to the broadcasts in a group setting (see figure 50).⁷¹ For the U.S.-Chile match, journalists from Brazil, Chile, and the United States were present, prepared to broadcast. At the beginning of the match, however, electrical power went out at the stadium, making it impossible for foreign and local media to transmit the match over the radio.⁷² Once Tramways had restored electricity to the stadium, the power fell again, this time, reportedly due to cut cables. According to one article, “The loose-lipped say it was sabotage ...” – hardly the language of trust, unity, and horizontal camaraderie.⁷³

The construction of the Ilha do Retiro stadium and the realization of the first World Cup match played in the North or Northeast was an important event and did bring attention to the region, its sports, and its ability to pull together, work hard, and be resourceful when necessary. Conversely, it also demonstrates the plurality of the process of regional identity formation. While some recifenses

⁶⁸ United States Information Service, American Embassy Rio de Janeiro, “Media Habits in Selected Brazilian Cities: Radio Listening, Brazilian Public Opinion Surveys Report 3,” January 30, 1957, 1, Container #13, Entry # P 78, RG 306 USIA, Textual Records Division, NARA, College Park, MD.

⁶⁹ “Rádio Jornal do Comércio: Transmissões da Copa do Mundo,” *Diário da Noite*, June 30, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁷⁰ “Campeonato do Mundo,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 1, 1950, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁷¹ “Coisas do futebol,” *Jornal Pequeno*, July 17, 1950, Ano 51, n. 158 edition, sec. front page, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁷² “PRA-8 triunfa na ‘Copa do Mundo’,” *Folha da Manhã*, July 4, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁷³ “Disseram, os linguarudos que foi sabotagem ...” “Venceram os chilenos.”

saw soccer as a way to demonstrate regional progress, others saw it as a waste of time. While recifense newspapers insisted on harmony with Bahia as a symptom of Northeastern unity, the Bahian newspaper *A Tarde* ignored this aspect. Even supporters hinted at misgivings over the possibility that foreigners notice poor quality constructions or a lack of parks. The campaign to bring a World Cup event to Recife created a centerpiece for a discussion of regional inequalities, representation, shame, and pride. It does not represent consensus or horizontal camaraderie, but rather emphasizes that the conversation on regional identity was multivalent. The event opened a space within the media to discuss the place of soccer in society and politics, but also the place of the Northeast in the nation.



Figure 50: Crowd listening to the final World Cup match outside the *Diário de Pernambuco* building.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Image from *Jornal Pequeno*, 17 July 1950, 1, APEJE, Recife, PE.

Art, Poetry, Music, and Cordel Literature

While newspapers and radio journalists provided continuous, up-to-date information, they were not the sole commentators on World Cup and soccer news.⁷⁵ Many of the Northeast's great regionalists also wrote about soccer. The Northeastern poet João Cabral de Melo Neto dedicated several poems to Northeastern soccer and one specifically to Ademir Marques de Menezes. By the end of the 1950 World Cup, Ademir held the record as highest scoring soccer player, with nine goals over the course of the tournament.⁷⁶ One *Jornal Pequeno* article exalted him as “the greatest player in Brazil” reminding the reader that he “learned to play in the [Sport] Club of the Ilha [do Retiro].” The writer referred to Ademir as “one of the glories of the rubro-negra family” and “a home raised player that has shined in an international setting.”⁷⁷

Nonetheless, while Ademir was famous throughout Brazil, his former affiliation to Sport Club do Recife was not as well-known outside of Recife. Ademir was once a guest star on the Radio Nacional's question-and-answer game show program *Quanto é que eu levo nisso?* While audience members guessed his state and city of birth immediately, it took the audience five attempts to name Ademir's club of origin as Sport, following guesses at Vasco, Fluminense, Flamengo, and Metalúrgica.⁷⁸ He was Pernambucan, but either his soccer did not seem so, or the audience of the radio program needed time to think up the name of a Pernambucan team. João Cabral de Melo Neto's

⁷⁵ According to another USIA study, reading newspapers did not cancel out listening to the radio or vice versa. Instead, people who listened to the radio frequently also read newspapers frequently and read more books. United States Information Service, American Embassy Rio de Janeiro, “Media Habits in Selected Brazilian Cities: Media Overlap and Attitudes toward Propaganda,” March 1, 1957, Container #13, Entry # P 78, RG 306 USIA, Textual Records Division, NARA, College Park, MD.

⁷⁶ “Ademir o melhor artilheiro do campeonato mundial,” *Jornal Pequeno*, July 19, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁷⁷ “Ademir, hoje o maior jogador do Brasil, aprendeu a jogar no Clube da Ilha. E' uma das glórias da família rubro-negra. Uma prata de casa que muito tem brilhado no cenário esportivo internacional.” “O 45o aniversário do Esporte,” *Jornal Pequeno*, May 13, 1950, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

⁷⁸ Heber de Boscoli, CD, *Quanto é que eu levo nisso* (Rio de Janeiro: Radio Nacional, March 3, s.d.), Faixa 1, no de catálogo 41521, CD 1331, Radio Nacional Collection, MIS, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

poem dedicated to Ademir Menezes connected him to the *pernambucanidade* (inherent qualities of being from Pernambuco) that the audience members did not see, focusing on the influence of environment and climate on his soccer style.

In “A Ademir Menezes” Neto pointed out that Ademir, “like other recifenses” was born among “mangroves and frevo” and was “divided / between two different climates / ambidextrous in drought and humidity / as in general are recifenses.”⁷⁹ As José Lins do Rêgo had done in his article on the jangadeiros cearenses, Melo Neto draws the sertanejo of Freyre’s “Other Northeast” and the coastal dweller of the “Northeast of sugarcane” together. Melo Neto, then combines these two Northeasters and two types of Northeasterners into one through the figure of Ademir Menezes. Ademir was not only a high scoring player, but an embodiment of a unified Pernambucan and Northeastern soccer. To the poet, Ademir’s craft and origin could not be separated; nonetheless, when questioned in 1950 which team “held his heart,” Ademir himself responded that it was Vasco da Gama – team in Rio de Janeiro for which he played at that time.⁸⁰

While Melo Neto’s “A Ademir Menezes” stresses Northeastern cultural content, most Northeastern art on soccer did not follow this trend. Ascenso Ferreira (also pernambucano) wrote poetry about the World Cup as well, connecting soccer to humor and sexuality. In “A Copa do Mundo,” Ferreira narrated a reunion of two lovers – Maria and Chico Tenório – who had long been meeting “off-side.” Maria took advantage of the confusion caused by one of Brazil’s World Cup

⁷⁹ “Você, como outros recifenses, / nascido onde mangues e o frevo, ...” and “Recifense e, assim, dividido entre dois climas diferentes, / ambidestro do seco e do úmido / como em geral os recifenses, ...” João Cabral do Melo Neto, *Museu de tudo e depois* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1988).

⁸⁰ “o club do seu coração,” “Ademir: A sensação máxima do futebol brasileiro,” *Gazeta Esportiva*, January 23, 1950, 4, MR G-4, Hemeroteca, APEJE, Recife, PE.

victories to invite Chiquinho to “make our own goal.”⁸¹ In this and similar tales of victory, there is no overt message of Northeastern regional identity or unity. Instead, the quotidian unfolds in a context of national celebration in Northeastern cities.

Soccer also pervades the visual arts associated with the Brazilian Northeast. The cearense painter Aldemir Martins, internationally acclaimed, yet known for his regional loyalty and for regional themes in his paintings created expressive works on soccer.⁸² While Martins is most well-known for his representations of typically cearense elements (bandits, lace makers, fruits, animals, and sertanejos), his best known soccer painting is of Pelé (who was born in Minas Gerais, not in the Northeast). Martins does not present Pelé as a hero (see figure 51). Pelé comes through in thick solid borders over parse color, giving a primitive, rustic impression to the subject matter. Pelé reaches forward with both arms with one leg bent back, ready to kick the ball in front of him. Pelé is faceless and without any physical traits to help the viewer identify him. Our only indication to his identity (besides the title) is the number 10 from the back of his jersey, which the privileged reader is able to see from the side, in cubist fashion. Similarly, the Museu do Homem do Nordeste houses *cerâmicas* (clay sculptures) – another visual art form considered typical of the Northeast – by Mestre Vitalino and Rosa of Caruarú. Rosa’s soccer player is not dressed as a cangaceiro, but rather wears the national jersey (see figure 52). In these cases, artists whose careers and fame were built on the Northeasternness of their work, used their art to present a national, rather than regional, symbol. They incorporated their genre, reputation, and product into a national scale of representation, foregoing the region-to-nation-to-world hierarchy and, instead, leaping to the front line to face the world and represent Brazilian soccer.

⁸¹ “se encontrava há muito tempo off-side,” and “Chiquinho meu bem / o Brasil ganhou a Copa do Mundo / vamos também fazer o nosso gol meu amor!” Ascenso Ferreira, *Copa do Mundo*, CD, Voz Poética (Sonopress, 1997), Track 1, CD 42, N. de acesso 0143, Fonoteca, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁸² Jacob Klintowitz described Martin’s style as not specializing in the psychological and not transforming “into heroism the primary and primitive manifestation of emotion.” Jacob Klintowitz, *Aldemir Martins: Natureza a Traços E Cores* ([s.l.]: Valoart, 1968), 9 and 10.



Figure 51: *Pelé*, by Aldemir Martins⁸³

⁸³Aldemir Martins, *Pelé*, n.d., MAC do Centro Dragão do Mar de Arte e Cultura, Fortaleza, CE. Digital image provided by MAC.



Figure 52: *Jogador de futebol*, by Rosa⁸⁴

These works address national symbols and themes (the World Cup, Pelé, Brazilian soccer players) without dressing them in Northeastern folklore. Their style or artist suggests that they hail from a particular place, but they cannot be confined to their region of origin. A prime example of this is Jackson do Pandeiro's song *Um a um (1x1)*. The chorus of the song repeats that the singer's team is "red, white and black, it's red and black / it's red, black and white, it's red and white." The song, according to Pandeiro, was originally written for Pernambuco as a "catch all" song – red, white, and black are the colors of Santa Cruz (of Recife), red and black of Sport, and red and white of Náutico (also of Recife). Pandeiro added: "Everywhere in Brazil there are these colors, in Rio, in São Paulo, in Bahia, this music was just for Pernambuco. But ... we set it up to catch all of Brazil."⁸⁵

The most pervasive example of national soccer presented in regional form are the hundreds of cordel pamphlets on the theme of soccer, ranging from the 1940s to the present, housed in archives

⁸⁴ Rosa, *Jogador de futebol*, Cerâmica, n.d., Museu do Homem do Nordeste. Photograph by Courtney J. Campbell.

⁸⁵ "É encarnado, branco e preto, é encarnado e preto / é encarnado, preto e branco, é encarnado e branco;" "Em todos os lugares do Brasil têm essas cores, no Rio tem, em São Paulo tem, na Bahia tem, essa música era só para Pernambuco. Mas ... entrosamos o negócio, para pegar todo o Brasil." Tarik de Souza, "Jackson de Pandeiro," in *A música brasileira deste século por seus autores e intérpretes* (São Paulo: SESC, 2000), 119–120. The song is available as Jackson do Pandeiro, *Um a um (1x1)*, Mp3 (Copacabana, 1954), 5.234-a, AN, Fortaleza, CE.

throughout the Northeast and in Rio de Janeiro.⁸⁶ Most of the cordel literature on soccer are what Veríssimo de Melo (from Natal) referred to as “records of memorable facts, in pamphlet form” that recount specific matches, rivalries, or World Cup tournaments. But some, like the cordel with which I opened this chapter, are what the same author referred to as “narrative in verse.”⁸⁷ As Melo pointed out, modernization did not force cordel pamphlets into the background. Instead, they coexist alongside radio and television (and now, the internet), communicating information to a large audience in an engaging form.⁸⁸

Most soccer-themed cordel literature narrates a World Cup tournament that Brazil won or just the final match within a tournament. This type of cordel tends to express support for the national team and pride at being Brazilian. *O Brasil na Copa do Mundo* and *A vitória do Brasil na VI Copa do Mundo*, for example, relate each match, praise the players and the coach, and claim that this is one of Brazil’s great victories and glories.⁸⁹ The rare mention of regions evokes a sense of national unity instead of divide. *O Brasil, campeão do mundo*, for example, summarizes the World Cup match of 1958. Its author, Francisco Firmino de Paula, states: “In Brazil from north to south / or better said, in each state / whoever has a radio had / it turned on and ready / whoever didn’t have one / went to a friend’s house / to hear the result.” According to this cordel, the World Cup event, through radio, united the nation in the act of listening across state and regional borders.⁹⁰ Further, Paula highlights that the whole

⁸⁶ The most impressive collections are held in the Rare Works (Obras Raras) section of the FUNDAJ in Recife and at the Biblioteca Átila Almeida at the Universidade Estadual da Paraíba in Campina Grande. The Casa Rui Barbosa in Rio de Janeiro also holds a large cordel collection, as does the MAUC-UFCE.

⁸⁷ Veríssimo de Melo, “Origens da literatura de cordel,” *Tempo universitário* 1, no. 1 (June 1976): 51.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁸⁹ José Gomes, *O Brasil na Copa do Mundo* (s.p.: s.n., 1958), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Manoel D’Almeida Filho, *A vitória do Brasil na VI Copa do Mundo*, 1958, AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB.

⁹⁰ “No Brasil de norte a sul / ou melhor, em cada estado / quem possui um radio estava / com ele atento ligado / quem não possui tinha ido / a casa dum conhecido / para ouvir o resultado.” Francisco Firmino de Paula, *O Brasil Campeão do*

country participated in one great party, “For example in Recife / the joy was so great / that the people brought back Carnaval ...” What makes these mentions of horizontal camaraderie across states and regions so striking is that 1958 was a drought year in the Northeast – in fact, it was this drought that inspired Celso Furtado’s *Operação Nordeste* and the creation of the Superintendência do Desenvolvimento do Nordeste (Superintendency of Development for the Northeast - Sudene) that would work alongside the Alliance for Progress.⁹¹ Paula does not avoid this theme; instead, he states that through the victory and resulting party, the people forgot “the dearth / people who haven’t eaten in a month / on Sunday forgot their hunger / [and] joined the party.”⁹² They set aside the material suffering and poverty that set them apart from the rest of the nation to join the nation in celebration. Rather than an opiate of the masses, World Cup soccer became a way to feel national, regardless of regional inequalities. It became an event behind which people from distinct social and economic classes, regions, and nations could mobilize through the same symbols, express unity, express camaraderie, even when doing so through recognizably regional media.

In 1962 and 1970, both years in which Brazil won the World Cup tournament, this form of cordel repeats, but more characteristics of the Brazilian nationality begin to surface.⁹³ W. Pinheiro, in a cordel that details each match of the 1970 World Cup, explains that Brazil should serve as an example for the rest of the world because, instead of dedicating itself to war, it focuses on soccer, played with

mundo (Recife: s.n., 1958), 3, AA-BAA-UEPB. This reference suggests at an audio form of Benedict Anderson’s “horizontal camaraderie” that he demonstrated as developed through print-media in the nineteenth century.

⁹¹ Furtado, *A Operação Nordeste*.

⁹² “Por exemplo no Recife / foi tão grande a alegria, / que o povo fez carnaval / esquecendo a carestia, / gente que a um mez não come / domingo esqueceu a fome / embarcou na folia.” The last match was played on June 29, 1958, which was a Sunday and also St Peter’s Day. Paula, *O Brasil Campeão do mundo*, 8.

⁹³ See also: Manoel D’Almeida Filho, *O Brasil, bi-campeão no futebol mundial* (s.l.: s.n., 1962), AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; José D’Jesus Cordeiro Sobrinho, *Brasil bi-campeão mundial de futebol de 1962*, 1962, AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB; Antonio Alves da Silva, *Brasil bicampeão mundial de futebol*, 1962, LC4767 OR, Obras Raras, Cordel Collection, Biblioteca São Clemente (BSC), Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa (FCRB), Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

equality and allowing everyone to live freely and in peace.⁹⁴ Another 1970 cordel joins the themes of celebration and unity exclaiming: “Long live the hero players / that give to Brazil a celebration / the cup came to us / and our pleasure remains / we all tremble with joy / both in city and in forest.”⁹⁵ Rural or urban, North and South, in cordel literature relating the events of World Cup tournaments and matches, regional divides are only invoked to emphasize a desire for unity.

Still, there is another type of cordel poetry that addresses soccer. Similar to *Futebol no inferno*, the undated cordel pamphlet *Um futebol na cidade dos pássaros* provides a detailed description of a soccer match between fictional characters. These pamphlets present a different type of soccer-related cordel literature that mimics the play-by-play form, providing a detailed narrative of a fictional (and even fanciful) match or tournament. By coopting the World Cup soccer poetry form while stepping away from national soccer, *Um futebol na cidade dos pássaros* is able to present regional tension and national criticism in an easily digestible form. This cordel pamphlet narrates the match between *Esporte Clube Sulista* (Southern Sport Club) and *Esporte Clube Sertão* (Backlands Sport Club), but its title also, intentionally or otherwise, brings to mind the town of Arapongas in Paraná, referred to as the “Cidade dos Pássaros” and whose stadium (built in 1982) is also frequently referred to as the “Estádio dos Pássaros.” The geographic insinuations give the reader enough clues to understand the social significance of such a rivalry, but in their ambiguities, they draw the reader into a scene that could just as easily unfold in Arapongas, in Bahia, in the interior of São Paulo, or in the Amazon. Each player is a different bird, which the author, Minelvino Francisco Silva, carefully describes before narrating the match. He also makes rare mention to females – he spends an entire page describing which birds

⁹⁴ W Pinheiro, *Brasil tri-campeão, toda história da taça que é nossa pra sempre* (Natal: Clima, 1970), 16, LC4732 OR, Obras Raras, Cordel Collection, BSC-FCRB, Campina Grande, PB.

⁹⁵ “Viva os heróis jogadores / que traz o Brasil em festa / a taça veio pra nós / é o prazer que nos resta / vibra todos bem alegre / na cidade e na floresta.” José Francisco Borges, *Brasil 4x1 trí campeão*, 1970, 3.

were kissing in the bleachers (notably, birds of a feather stuck together, romantically speaking). *Um futebol na cidade dos pássaros* is also unique in mentioning racial tensions and exclusion in sports. When a vulture arrives and asks if it can join a team, he was not only rejected, but told that “blacks are left out.” Silva does not leave his criticism there, but makes sure that the reader understands his suggestion, stating “the truth is that from sports the vulture was always excluded,” surely making reference to the restrictions on Afro-Brazilian players in soccer clubs in Brazil throughout the first half of the twentieth century.⁹⁶

Read alongside Gilberto Freyre’s article on race and soccer published in 1937 in *Diários Associados’* newspapers, including the *Diário de Pernambuco*, the weight of Silva’s criticism is even more pronounced. Freyre wrote the article “Foot-ball mulato” to praise Brazil for finally sending to Europe a team that was mainly Afro-Brazilian. This was important to Freyre because what made Brazil’s soccer stand out was what he considered its psychologically mulato style – that is, a style that was not racially determined, but that was created by a mulato culture. The qualities of this style included “surprise, dexterity, guile, and lightness and at the same time individual spontaneity.” Freyre compared the Brazilian/mulato way of playing soccer to dance and *capoeira* (Afro-Brazilian martial art/dance), claiming that they “round out and sweeten the game invented by the English” which the Europeans play “so angularly.” Freyre states that “to be Brazilian is to be mulato” – a way of being that values spontaneity, improvisation, and freedom to show off personal talent.⁹⁷ Yet while Freyre exalts the representation of Brazil by Afro-Brazilian soccer players and elevates the psycho-social state of mulato

⁹⁶ “negro é por fora,” and “o certo é que do esporte Urubu foi excluído.” Minelvino Francisco Silva, *O futebol na cidade dos pássaros* (Itabuna, Bahia, n.d.), 2, AA-BAA-UEPB, Campina Grande, PB. For more on racial exclusion in Brazilian soccer, see the now classic Mário Filho, *O negro no futebol brasileiro*, 4th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 2003), originally published in 1947.

⁹⁷ “surpresa, de manha, de astúcia, de ligeireza e ao mesmo tempo de espontaneidade individual,” “arredonda e adoça o jogo inventado pelos ingleses,” “angulosamente,” and “ser brasileiro é ser mulato”. Gilberto Freyre, “Foot-ball mulato,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 17, 1938, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

soccer, he also insinuates that exclusion is a thing of the past – a position that he again suggests in his preface to Mario Filho's *O negro no futebol brasileiro* ten years later.⁹⁸ Silva's cordel pamphlet, instead, emphasizes that exclusion based on skin color (or in this case, feather color) was still an issue in Brazilian, and in this case Bahian, soccer, and insinuates that the basis of this exclusion would be easily recognized by the reader without much explanation.

In Silva's cordel poem, the team from the backlands (presumably the Northeastern team) defeats the southern team 2-0, but Silva is cautious and does not write fanfare into this victory as would the pamphlets relating World Cup matches. Unlike the other cordel pamphlets, he does not describe parties in the streets that might provide characters in Ascenso Ferreira's poems a distraction for romantic affairs (in fact, Silva's characters do not even wait until the game is over to turn to erotic acts). Nor does he outline how birds around the country united around radio or television sets. Yet, he also does not dwell on the victory of the birds of the backlands and even refers to it as "lero-lero," that is, as lacking importance.⁹⁹ There are several possible insinuations in this lack of celebration. By not dwelling on implications of the victory, he insinuates that he does not need to – his readers understand the meaning of such an upset, and their imaginations summon the emotions of victory without his narration. But the lack of celebration at beating a more powerful opponent also takes the power out of the regional implications of the victory. The victory becomes trivialized. This is, merely, a pleasant match between Brazilian birds – birds of many species, birds of different feathers – but Brazilian birds all the same. In the end, the importance lies in how the match is played, in what happens in the bleachers, and in who is and is not included, not in who wins. Perhaps, a victory in which all types of Brazilians are not represented is not worthy of celebration.

⁹⁸ Gilberto Freyre, "Prefácio à 1a edição," in *O negro no futebol brasileiro*, by Mario Filho, 4th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 2003), 24–26.

⁹⁹ Silva, *Um futebol na cidade dos pássaros*, 8.

The differences in how newspaper discourse and regional art such as *Um futebol na cidade dos pássaros* presented the relation between region, nation, and international sporting event are partially due to genre and emphasis. While newspapers were charged with sharing the “facts” of the construction of the stadium, they pushed a Northeastern agenda, vying for greater resources and participating in a campaign to bring the World Cup to Recife. Their discourse, as such, was political, contentious, and always indicated a third, unspoken element – that the possibility existed that the Northeast not participate in the nation, that it fall behind the nation not only in terms of poverty, infant mortality, and literacy, but also culturally.¹⁰⁰ The newspapers in this sense were intentionally trying to prove the worthiness of the Northeast, but their discourse also hinted, implicitly, at their fears of inferiority and alienation.

Regional art, on the other hand, rarely engaged in this type of debate. Instead, it rooted for the national selection, celebrated Brazilian victory, saw its players reflected in the nation and reflected national players in its art. While there is plenty of cordel literature on the Northeast and its suffering, cordel literature on soccer rarely mentions the Northeast, giving the impression that its regional nature is already implied. The cordel pamphlet with which I opened this chapter, *Futebol no inferno*, like other examples of cordel poetry, regional music, and art – is coded to show the reader that what he or she is reading (or witnessing) is Northeastern. It is written in cordel form, which is strongly associated with the Northeast. Berimbau (the referee) is the name of the musical instrument used to maintain rhythm in capoeira, also strongly associated with the Northeast – particularly with Salvador and Recife. Leather hats are typical of cattle ranchers in the *sertão* (backlands) of the Northeast and versions of these were worn by Lampião and his followers, all of whom lived and died in the Northeast. Even Satan has his Northeastern side, appearing frequently as a main character in cordel literature and film.

¹⁰⁰ Here I recognize Michel Serres’ claims that transmitter and receiver (in our case, writer and reader) are united through dialogue, but always exclude a third element (a “prosopopeia of noise”). Serres, *Hermes: Literature, Science, Philosophy*, 66.

Yet, each of these elements cannot fully be restricted to the Northeast. Cordel is also found in the Amazon and in Rio de Janeiro, carried by Northeastern migrants to these regions. Capoeira is also found in Rio de Janeiro and bandits, while from and acting within the Northeast, were a national problem and – as T.T.’s cartoon implies – were found in countries throughout the world. Cachaça is distilled in the Northeast, but also in Minas Gerais and Satan, depending on one’s belief system, is universal, and featured in folkloric literature and music throughout the continent. In this way, the cordel is coded for recognition as Northeastern, but is harmonious with national and even international constructions.

And the winner? After tying, Lampião finds every excuse to postpone the deciding match. Once it starts, the match goes on for three days, but Satan decides to postpone finishing the match until Judgement Day. Hell is relatively new and they still need to finish the floor. Selling a few more tickets might just make that happen. In *Futebol no inferno*, everyone procrastinates and nobody wins. They do not need to; it is how the game is – or in this case, is not – played that matters.

CHAPTER VI

MISS BAHIA, MISS CEARÁ, MISS BRASIL, MISS UNIVERSO!: ON BEAUTY PAGEANTS AND THE LIMITS OF REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE BRAZILIAN NORTHEAST

Is Carmen Miranda – not the woman, but the image she projects and the symbol she became – Northeastern? She did wear a stylized version of a dress worn by *baianas* – the term used to describe Afro-Bahian women who wear distinctive, long, ruffled, traditional dresses, while selling the local dish of acarajé on the streets of Salvador. Also, her fruity hats were meant to remind us of women carrying baskets on their heads, perhaps to the market in Salvador. She disseminated information on different musical instruments, cultural artifacts, and items of clothing associated with Bahia. Further, her rise to fame in the United States started with her rendition of the Dorival Caymmi song, *O que é que a baiana tem?*, and she continued to sing songs by this composer who helped to inject Afro-Bahian sounds and subjects into mainstream Brazilian popular music. Nonetheless, we do not tend to think of Carmen as Northeastern, though we accept her as Brazilian and criticize her role in inter-American affairs as a Brazilian representative. Is her lack of regional representativeness due to her association with the *baiana* (and therefore *Bahiana*) identity as opposed to a broader Northeastern identity? Is Bahian identity not Northeastern? Could she, as a tall, white, slender woman align with Bahian identity? Or is it, as Tota shows in *O imperialismo sedutor*, that by 1940, Brazilian audiences saw her as too “Americanized,” lacking the level of cultural devotion and loyalty associated with Bahia?¹

While Carmen Miranda was the most famous woman to represent the *baiana* internationally, she was not alone. This chapter examines the limits of Northeastern cultural identity through another

¹ Antônio Pedro Tota, *O imperialismo sedutor: a americanização do Brasil na época da Segunda Guerra* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000).

group of women who took the *baiana* to an international stage: Miss Brazils who competed for the Miss Universe title. This chapter analyzes the way press and artists presented Maria Martha Hacker Rocha (1954) from Bahia, Emília Barreto Corrêa Lima (1955) from Ceará, Maria Olívia Cavalcanti Rebouças (1962) from Bahia, and Martha Maria Cordeiro Vasconcellos (1968) from Bahia – all Miss Brazils who later represented the nation in the Miss Universe contest (See figures 53-56).² I examine discourse about the candidates’ local, state, regional, and national representativeness in local and national newspapers, magazines, cordel literature, and music. I focus on two types of discourse: discourse on representation based on notions of physical representativeness (of the candidates’ physical image as representative), and discourse on regional representation (of the candidate representing a region). As many of my written sources respond to critical voices that were not committed to paper, I read against the grain, exploring the “noise” around the debate – that is, I examine not only the points of agreement in the discourse but the obstacles, discontinuities, ambiguities, and contradictions they hold.³

Through this analysis, we witness discussions about Bahia’s cultural identity in the 1950s and 1960s, discussions about Northeastern cultural identity in the same period, and where these overlap. To be considered Bahian, candidates had to demonstrate fierce loyalty to their culture and eschew U.S. consumer temptations. That the candidates examined are all white (or Euro-Brazilian) women, should not be read as a preference for a white aesthetic or a desire for white representation. The light-skinned, blue-eyed, light-haired Martha Rocha was voted as Miss Brazil *despite* her European ancestry, not *because* of it. The Bahian and Brazilian press and musicians initially hinted at discomfort with

² The first names of the two Marthas – Martha Rocha and Martha Vasconcellos – are frequently spelled “Marta” instead of “Martha”. Also, Vasconcellos often appears as “Vasconcelos” with one, instead of two, P’s. These variations are so frequent and accepted that I do not indicate with “[sic]” these variations within quotations, though I prefer to use the spelling that Rocha and Vasconcellos use when referring to themselves.

³ Again, I refer here to Michel Serres’ “set of these phenomena of interference that become obstacles to communication.” Serres, *Hermes: Literature, Science, Philosophy*, 66.

Martha Rocha's blonde hair and blue eyes due to a desire to promote and exalt Afro-Bahian identity. Nonetheless, as the Miss Universe contest took place in the United States and showed a clear preference for white women, after Martha Rocha's initial success in 1954, the subject was rarely revisited. Second, this chapter finds that Bahian newspapers did not consider their candidates Northeastern, and other regional newspapers did not either. Bahian Miss Brazils were, effectively, excluded from the Northeast. The *Diário de Pernambuco* recognized Northeastern candidates as being from Alagoas, Pernambuco, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Ceará, with the latter, again, associated with the "land of Iracema."

This is not to say that Bahia was not Northeastern. Newspapers in Bahia and elsewhere continually highlighted Bahia's sertão, poverty, underdevelopment, and drought as Northeastern and in need of development aid. In sum, I argue that Bahia was considered Northeastern in the sertão, but exclusively Bahian on the coast. To be Bahian, meant to pertain to a specific Afro-Brazilian cultural identity (though the candidates do not physically represent this) and to prefer Salvador and its culture above all else. To be Northeastern also meant to associate one's identity with Portuguese, Afro-Brazilian and indigenous roots, to appreciate Northeastern culture, to seek similarities with other Northeastern states, and to exhibit seamlessness between culture and ecology, but it also implied drought, poverty, underdevelopment, and a deep need for governmental help. That Bahia's sertão was considered Northeastern, while its coast was not, demonstrates that the dominant narrative of Northeastern identity through the 1950s and especially by 1968 was not cultural vibrancy or cultural tenacity, but rather drought, poverty, and underdevelopment.

In the Introduction to *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*, the authors affirm that "We live in a world where everyone seems to be watching satellite television and drinking Coke; it is also a world where making, claiming, and maintaining local identity and culture is increasingly important. The beauty contest stage is where these identities and cultures can be – and

frequently are – made public and visible.”⁴ As demonstrated in previous chapters, concerns in the Brazilian Northeast over maintaining local identity and culture in the face of the homogenizing spread of global culture has roots that far precede satellite television. This chapter turns to the beauty contest stage to examine how international pageants provided a space to discuss the limits of the Northeast, the expected qualities of the Bahian woman, and Bahia’s inclusion within – or exclusion from – the Northeast. This chapter is unique because instead of examining international events and visitors within the Northeast, as in previous chapters, it looks at women from states now considered Northeastern that represented their state, nation, and sometimes region, abroad.

My findings confront those of other studies of beauty contests that accept (again quoting Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje) that “contests showcase values, concepts, and behavior that exist at the center of a group’s sense of itself” and present women (or men, or children, or transsexuals) whose “deportment, appearance and style embodies the values and goals of a nation, locality, or group.”⁵ In this examination, I find instead that press coverage of the contestants provides discourse not only of inclusion, but of exclusion, making the Miss Brazils models not only of what an ideal Brazilian, Bahian, Cearense, or Northeastern woman is, but what she is not. Through this analysis, we gain insight into the limits of Bahian and Northeastern identity. Bahia had a unique cultural identity based on notions of Afro-Brazilianness and the Bahian press was much more concerned with addressing this question than its fit within a broader regional identity.

Since three of these candidates are from Bahia, I will start with a discussion of drought, Northeasternness, and *baianidade* before turning to an analysis of Martha Rocha’s time as Miss Bahia, Miss Brazil, and second-place to Miss Universe. Each Miss Brazil does not receive the same amount

⁴ Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, “Introduction,” in *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage* (New York/London: Routledge, 1996), 2.

⁵ Ibid.

of attention in this chapter. Due to Rocha's immense fame, there is a wealth of material associated with her Miss experience, from press coverage to music and poetry. Once I have established the rhetorical themes that surface repeatedly in discussions of Miss Bahia, I turn to Emília Corrêa's term as Miss Ceará. I tie both the Miss Bahia and Miss Ceará cases into wider conversations on region, nation, race, and representation. Following a discussion of Miss Ceará, I turn to Martha Vasconcellos, the only Miss Universe to hail from a state now widely considered Northeastern, but that was not so considered at the time of her victory. The experience of Olívia Rebouças does not receive a section of its own, but, instead surfaces throughout the analysis for comparative purposes. Once I have etched the contours of representation around these Misses, I turn to a brief analysis of the *Diário de Pernambuco* and its role in defining the Northeast through Miss Brazil candidates. Each of the Miss Brazils examined in this chapter was and is considered white within Brazil (and in the U.S. for that matter). To avoid falling into the easy assumption that Bahian or Brazilian standards of beauty were restricted to light-skinned women, I turn to a brief discussion of other local and national beauty contests and of other representations of Bahian women – namely of the Afro-Brazilian *baiana* figure.



Figure 53: Martha Rocha, Miss Bahia, Miss Brasil, 1954⁶

⁶ *Manchete*, July 3, 1954, cover, Revistas, BPEB, Salvador, BA.

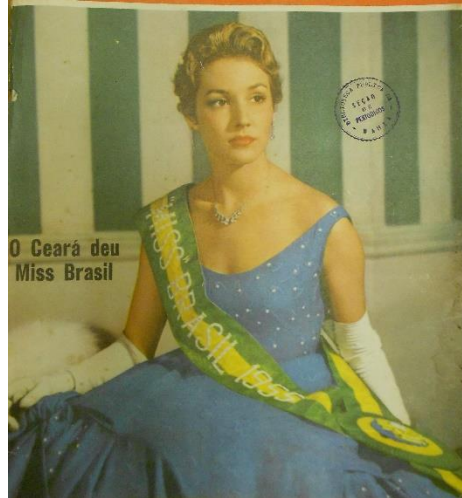


Figure 54: Emília Corrêa, Miss Ceará, Miss Brasil, 1955⁷



Figure 55: Maria Olívia Rebouças, Miss Bahia, Miss Brasil, 1962⁸

⁷ *Manchete*, July 2, 1955, cover, Revistas, BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁸ *Manchete*, June 30, 1962, Revistas, BPEB, Salvador, BA.



Figure 56: Martha Vasconcelos, Miss Bahia, Miss Brasil, Miss Universo, 1968⁹

The Northeast in Bahia

Our understandings of how Bahia became Northeastern tend to assume that its transformation in identity happened quite suddenly or, at least, in a linear fashion over a brief period. In other words, at one time, there was a Northeast, and Bahia was not a part of it. Then later, suddenly Bahia became Northeastern, in its entirety. This is how the most important of our contemporary scholars of Northeastern and Bahian identity – upon whose work this dissertation frequently rests and to whom it is indebted – treat the relationship between Northeastern and Bahian identity formation. For example, in *A invenção do Nordeste*, Albuquerque Júnior affirms that in the 1940s, there was constant criticism that the “Bahian spirit was diferente than that of the Northeast” and that “Both [Jorge]

⁹ *Manchete*, June 29, 1968. Revistas, BPEB, Salvador, BA.

Amado and [Dorival] Caymmi would be responsible for the institution of this other Northeast, for the inclusion of Bahia in the Northeastern image, text and sound.” Albuquerque Júnior shows how Amado’s Bahia, like Freyre’s Northeast, highlights contradictions in order to harmonize them, but that while Freyre’s Northeast relies on its patriarchal character, Amado’s Bahia rests on its popular character, and more importantly, its black tradition. Throughout this analysis, Albuquerque Júnior slips between Amado’s “Northeast” and Amado’s “Bahia,” conflating these terms as one and the same instead of demonstrating the variegations, subtleties, or differences in these terms for Amado. In this way, he insinuates that in the 1940s, Bahian culture was understood as different from the Northeast, but then, Amado (and Caymmi), by describing Bahia through similar mechanisms (though different terms) as Freyre, transforms Bahia into the Northeast, indicating a subtle but smooth transfer.¹⁰ Another scholar of Northeastern identity formation, Stanley Blake, accepts Bahia as Northeastern from its inclusion within the *polígono das secas* in 1936.¹¹ Meanwhile, Scott Ickes, in his study of Bahian regional identity from 1930 to 1954, begins the first sentence of his book with “Brazil’s Northeastern city of Salvador ...” and Anadélia Romo begins the first sentence of her book on the construction of an Afro-Bahian identity in the first half of the twentieth century with “The northeastern state of Bahia ...”¹²

However, as this chapter demonstrates, often through the 1950s and 1960s, Bahia was both Northeastern and not. Its hinterlands were part of Gilberto Freyre’s “other Northeast,” that is, the Northeast of the arid backlands referred to as the *sertão*. Nonetheless, while Freyre tried to claim the

¹⁰ “espírito baiano era diferente do nordestino” and “Tanto [Jorge] Amado como [Dorival] Caymmi serão responsáveis pela instituição deste outro Nordeste, pela inclusão da Bahia na imagem, texto e escuta nordestina.” Albuquerque Júnior, *A invenção do nordeste e outras artes*, 238–256, quotation on 246.

¹¹ Blake, *The Vigorous Core of Our Nationality*, 6.

¹² Scott Ickes, *New World Diasporas: African-Brazilian Culture and Regional Identity in Bahia, Brazil* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013), 1; Anadélia A. Romo, *Brazil’s Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 1.

Recôncavo (the area surrounding Bahia's coastal capital of Salvador) as part of the coastal "Northeast of sugarcane," Salvador's press continued to affirm its Bahian culture – or *baianidade* – as distinct, yet essential to the nation.¹³ The mid-twentieth-century notion of *baianidade* rested on claims to Afro-Brazilian racial authenticity and drew upon elements of historical memory that were connected to, but distinct from the Northeastern sertão. Meanwhile the poor, drought-stricken backlands of Bahia were not only considered Northeastern, but deserving of the investments and development works dedicated to all of the Northeastern drought region. Bahia did include Freyre's poor, drought-stricken "other Northeast," but where its sertão ended, instead of finding the beginning of Freyre's "Northeast of sugarcane," we find, simply, Bahia.

When the 1940 census broke the country into regions, it did not include within the Northeast the states of Bahia nor Sergipe (see figure 57). Bahia and Sergipe would officially join the Northeast in the 1970 census.¹⁴ The inclusion of Bahia in the government-defined "polygon of drought," or drought zone, made its backlands the focus of Northeastern drought-management projects mainly aimed at the construction of water reservoirs, bridges, and the Paulo Afonso hydro-electric dam.¹⁵ From 1919 on, in contrast, there was never any doubt that Ceará – the only state considered sertão in its entirety – should be considered Northeastern. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, as early as 1941 state heroes from Ceará were repeatedly referred to as Northeastern representatives.

¹³ I refer here to Gilberto Freyre's distinction between two Northeastern cultures (one where sugarcane is produced, the other dry and poor), in Freyre, *Nordeste: aspectos da influência da cana sobre a vida e a paisagem do Nordeste do Brasil*.

¹⁴ IBGE, *Atlas nacional do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1966), I-4.

¹⁵ Getúlio Vargas originally established the drought zone by Lei n. 175 of January 7, 1936, but it was subsequently revised by Decreto-lei 9.857 of September 13, 1946 and Lei no. 1.348 of February 10, 1951. A significant portion of Bahia was included in the drought zone at each revision. Vargas, "Lei N. 175 de 7 de janeiro de 1936"; Vargas, "Decreto-lei no. 9.857 de 13 de setembro de 1946"; Vargas, "Lei No. 1.348, de 10 de fevereiro de 1951." In 1954 the Departamento Nacional de Obras Contra as Secas (DNOCS) had recently constructed or was in the process of constructing public reservoirs in Jacobina, Condeúba, Cansanção, Poções, Conceição do Coité, Euclides da Cunha, and Itaberaba. They also constructed a bridge over the Jacurici river. In addition, the Paulo Afonso hydroelectric dam was concluded in 1954 and inaugurated in 1955. "Intensificadas as obras contra as secas," *A Tarde*, October 14, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

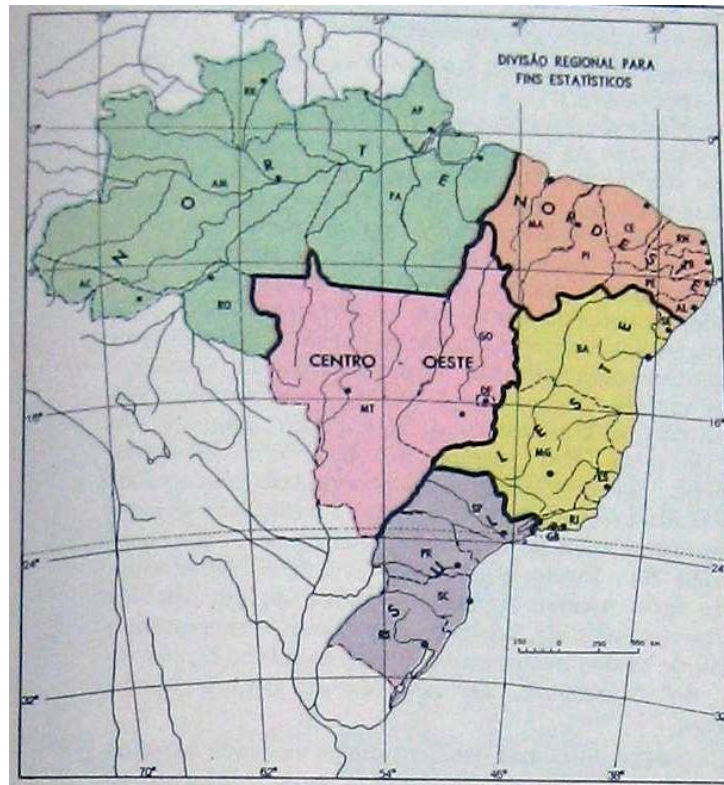


Figure 57: Brazil's Regions in 1966¹⁶

Along with sharing in drought-management projects, the interior of Bahia shared with the Northeast discourse on poverty, despair, and migration. As the singer Maria Bethânia famously reminded the audience in her 1965 rendition of the song “Caracará” on the television program *Opinião*, Bahia’s sertanejos migrated in large numbers.¹⁷ In 1950, of the 5,112,440 Brazilians alive who had been born in Bahia, 430,217 had left the state. Of that number, the majority had moved to the Southeast (312,760), with the greatest number moving to São Paulo (189,685). By 1970, these figures had doubled or tripled: out of 8,467,313 living Brazilians born in Bahia, 1,274,832 had migrated out of the state, with 885,072 moving to the Southeast and 600,792 to São Paulo.¹⁸ According to newspaper

¹⁶ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Atlas nacional do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1966).

¹⁷ Maria Bethânia Viana Teles Velloso, *Caracará* (RCA, 1965).

¹⁸ I calculated these numbers from the information found in Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Estatísticas históricas do Brasil: séries econômicas, demográficas e sociais de 1550 a 1988*, 2nd ed. (1990: IBGE, 1990), 39–50. For a study of what became of these migrants and their identity once they took root in São Paulo, see Fontes, *Um Nordeste em São Paulo*:

articles in *A Tarde*, the Salvador newspaper that sponsored the Miss Bahia contests, 113,901 Bahians emigrated to São Paulo in 1952 alone.¹⁹ A journalist named Risério Leite later wrote in the same newspaper that the people of Bahia's sertão no longer believe in anything. Left without options by drought, famine, and public policy that does not meet their needs, "the sertanejos leave the region of disenchantment."²⁰

In 1954 articles in *A Tarde* frequently refer to Bahia as part of the Northeast when speaking of drought and development in the backlands of the state.²¹ Complaining that the construction of water reservoirs would not alone solve the problems of the Bahian sertão, one columnist stated "The Northeast continues to be the fatherland of suffering, the other lamented, but also forgotten, Brazil."²² Bahia's sertão – the very setting of the Canudos/Belo Monte rebellion, the sertão of Euclides da Cunha's *Os sertões* – was the epitome of Northeasternness and was consistently referred to as such in Bahian newspapers.

Yet, while writers for *A Tarde* referred to the drought-stricken backlands as suffering Northeastern problems, they referred to Bahian culture as strictly Bahian. This reluctance to include Bahian culture within the Northeast was partially due to Bahia's powerful position as a port city upon

trabalhadores migrantes em São Miguel Paulista (1945-66); Fontes, "With a Cardboard Suitcase in My Hand and a Pannier on My Back: Workers and Northeastern Migrations in the 1950s in São Paulo, Brazil."

¹⁹ Pimentel Gomes, "A Bahia, um estado subdesenvolvido," *A Tarde*, June 14, 1954, JRR-BPEB; "Posição humilhante," *A Tarde*, June 22, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

²⁰ "Os sertanejos saem da região do desencanto. Encontrarão a felicidade no sul?" Risério Leite, "Desencanto ... teu nome é sertão," *A Tarde*, November 1, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

²¹ For example, in: "Todo o Nordeste em expectativa," *A Tarde*, July 1, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Excepcionais perspectivas para o Nordeste do país," *A Tarde*, October 30, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "A água -- o problema do Nordeste," *A Tarde*, September 28, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Debate sobre os problemas nordestinos," *A Tarde*, July 23, 1955, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA. These articles, surely, align with Romo's assessment that "The sertão erupts in Bahia's consciousness periodically with devastating droughts that flood migrants into the state capital." Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum*, 6.

²² "O nordeste continua sendo a pátria do sofrimento, o outro Brasil lamentado, mas também esquecido." "O planejamento da realidade regional," *A Tarde*, June 15, 1955, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

whose economy another smaller state – Sergipe – was dependent. Salvador had served as the colonial capital of Brazil from 1549 to 1763 (until the capital moved to Rio de Janeiro) and Bahia’s sugar economy had been just as important as that of Pernambuco.²³ Bahia, like Pernambuco, had produced nationally and internationally important politicians (like Ruy Barbosa), writers (like Castro Alves and Jorge Amado), artists (like Carybé, who was Argentine by birth, but grew up in Italy, moved to Bahia and became the painter most associated with Afro-Bahian representation in art), and musicians (Dorival Caymmi, João Gilberto, and Gilberto Gil, among many others to come). Further, throughout the period studied in this dissertation, about a quarter of the economically active men and women of the Northeast (Northeast, that is, by our current, nine-state definition of the region) lived in Bahia, making it the most economically active of the Northeastern states, followed by Pernambuco and then Ceará.²⁴ Nonetheless, in 1950, Pernambuco had more personal automobiles than any other state in the region – including Bahia – and in 1968 had slightly more telephones than Bahia (again, followed by Ceará).²⁵ As seen in the interstate bickering over the 1950 World Cup match in Recife in Chapter 5, at times Bahia and Pernambuco’s economic rivalries were debated through cultural events. These two economically powerful states vied for status of economic superiority, making Bahians – especially those from the urban, modernized Salvador – reticent to fall under Pernambuco’s Northeastern umbrella.

²³ Blake, *The Vigorous Core of Our Nationality*, 17.

²⁴ In 1940, 1,131,600 men and 305,300 women were economically active in the state of Bahia. By 1970, 1,830,900 men and 470,800 women were economically active. In Pernambuco, by contrast, in 1940 754,900 men and 232,000 women were economically active, while in 1970 these numbers grew to 1,186,500 men and 318,600 women. In Ceará, in 1940, 571,800 men and 112,700 women were economically active, while in 1979, 1,039,800 men and 215,600 women were economically active. In the entire Northeast (in the nine-state definition of the region), in 1940, 4,085,300 men and 1,049,600 women were economically active, and in 1970 6,742,200 men and 1,611,600 women were also economically active. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Estatísticas históricas do Brasil: séries econômicas, demográficas e sociais de 1550 a 1988*, 76.

²⁵ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Anuário estatístico do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950), 174, http://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/periodicos/20/aeb_1950.pdf. Bahia had 32,947 telephones, Pernambuco had 34,889, and Ceará had 27,370. The nation had, overall 1,667,225 telephones, most of which were in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. *Ibid.*, 477.

Many Bahians' reluctance to become Northeastern was also due to the historical construction of Bahian culture as uniquely and essentially Afro-Brazilian. As Anadelia A. Romo demonstrated in *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform, and Tradition in Bahia*, while ideas of racial inferiority contributed to ideas of Bahia as opposed to progress and modernization in the late nineteenth century, in the early twentieth century, Bahia's Afro-Brazilian population and culture came to represent the preservation of "all that was valuable of Brazil's past."²⁶ Getúlio Vargas' promotion of racial democracy as a Brazilian ideal facilitated this shift, as did Gilberto Freyre's Afro-Brazilian congress in Recife in 1934. In an attempt to root Afro-Brazilian culture in Salvador instead of Recife, the Second Afro-Brazilian Congress in 1937 was held in Bahia and organized by Afro-Brazilian intellectuals. The creation of cultural institutions like the Bahian State Museum created a public space for the debate of how to represent Bahia's African past and, in the 1950s, waves of foreign researchers began to arrive in Salvador to study Bahia as the cradle of racial harmony.²⁷ As Scott Ickes shows in *New World Diasporas: African-Brazilian Culture and Regional Identity in Bahia, Brazil*, working class Bahians also took part in this transformation in Bahian cultural identity, through ritualized performances in public spaces (including traditions of Carnival and Candomblé) and insistence on recognition in Salvador's cultural scene.²⁸ The process of Bahian cultural identity formation then, was separate, yet intertwined with the Recife-based process of Northeastern cultural identity formation, developing at the same time and sharing some key actors.

²⁶ Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum*, 5.

²⁷ In addition to Romo, see Marcos Chor Maio's vast production on the UNESCO race studies in Brazil, including: Marcos Chor Maio, "O Projeto Unesco E a Agenda Das Ciências Sociais No Brasil Dos Anos 40 E 50," *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 14, no. 41 (October 1999): 141–58; Marcos Chor Maio, "UNESCO and the Study of Race Relations in Brazil: Regional or National Issue?," *Latin American Research Review* 36, no. 2 (January 1, 2001): 118–36.

²⁸ Ickes, *New World Diasporas*.

Miss Bahia as a Popular Figure

The pages of the newspapers *Diário da Bahia*, *Diário de Notícias*, and *A Tarde* in the early 1950s are riddled with mention of various beauty contests. Nonetheless, while Brazil had held “Miss” pageants in the past, the 1954 Miss Universe contest, sponsored by Universal International, was the first international beauty pageant in which Brazil participated.²⁹ The Diários e Rádios Associados (Associated Radios and Press) sponsored the Miss Brazil event, so in many states, the newspapers associated with the Diários Associados provided the most in-depth coverage of the pageants.³⁰ In Bahia, on the contrary, it was *A Tarde*, which was not associated with the Diários Associados, that sponsored the Miss Bahia events, while other newspapers remained relatively silent on all things related to Miss Bahia and Miss Brazil. For this reason, I focus mostly on *A Tarde* from Bahia for my discussion of the 1954, 1962, and 1968 contests, and on the *Correio do Ceará* for the 1955 contest. I bring in the *Diário de Pernambuco* as a very important counterpoint. I also refer to art, including music and traditional and popular pamphlet poetry where possible.

There were many similarities that ran across the four pageants that I examine in this chapter. The first is the enthusiasm of the public, which demonstrates the reach of these pageants across the population. The amount of local newspaper coverage dedicated to local candidates who became Miss Brazil and competed in the Miss Universe contests is impressive. The articles about Miss Brazil were often accompanied by images, frequently taking up 1/8 to 1/4 of a page and sometimes up to several

²⁹ The Miss Universe contest began in 1952, borne out of a disagreement between the Catalina swimwear company and the Miss America Corporation. Miss America had unified the separate national contests under the Miss America umbrella, creating the Miss World pageant in 1951. The 1954 Miss America/Miss Universe pageant was the first within which Brazil would participate, though it had had its own state and national contests prior to this. Brazil also participated in the Miss World pageant, but it was much less important within the press. In some years, the 2nd place winner to Miss Brazil would go on to the Miss World pageant, while 1st place would go to Miss Universe. For more history of beauty contests, see Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje, “Introduction,” 3–5; Colleen Ballerino Cohen, “Beauty Pageants,” ed. Bonnie G. Smith, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 207–209.

³⁰ “‘Miss Brasil’ teve entusiástica recepção, ontem, a’ tarde, ao transitar pelo Recife,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 7, 1955, SM-FUNDAJ.

pages. As *Correio do Ceará* and *A Tarde* ran with 8 to 12 pages in this period, this is a significant amount of space per issue. Their popularity is even more impressive when we consider that these contests vied for press coverage with other important events, such as the World Cup in 1954 and 1962, President Getúlio Vargas' suicide in 1954, Robert Kennedy's assassination in 1968, and the mass protests for university reform in 1968 that led to the repressive Ato Institucional 5. Journalists for *A Tarde* joked at the absurdity of Martha Rocha's popularity with regards to other important events. One writer stated: "If I followed the World Cup with indifference, the same did not happen with the ... choice of 'Miss Universe' ... especially after 'Missa Bahia' [sic] was declared."³¹ Another journalist half-joked, "there is less comment about the appalling death of our great president than about the joyous victory of Marta."³²

These women were immensely popular figures upon their return to their states of origin and were greeted festively. Commissions were formed to organize the welcoming events and included local social, cultural, recreational, and sporting entities. These groups greeted the Miss Brazils upon their returns to their states, filled the airport, lined up along the streets between the airport and downtown, and formed entourages.³³ According to a report by *A Tarde*, upon her return to Salvador, the crowd had to be held back so that Martha Rocha's plane could land.³⁴ The Miss Brazils studied here were picked up from the airport in convertibles and paraded along the streets with the mayor. Parties and

³¹ "Se eu acompanhei com indiferença a 'Copa do Mundo', o mesmo não aconteceu com os dois últimos concursos preliminares, no Brasil, para a escolha da 'Miss Universo' de 1954 principalmente depois da proclamação de 'Missa Bahia' [sic] e de sua presença nesta capital, para competir com as representantes dos Estados e do Distrito Federal ao título de 'Miss Brasil'." Alexandre Passos, "A embaixatriz Martha Rocha," *A Tarde*, November 6, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

³² "Comenta-se menos, a morta estarecedora do grande presidente do que a vitória galharda de Marta." "O tema atual - Marta Rocha," *A Tarde*, October 29, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

³³ "A recepção de Marta Rocha," *A Tarde*, October 26, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Ultimam-se os preparativos para o baile da Miss Ceará em Sobral," *Correio do Ceará*, June 4, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; "Emília chega hoje," *Correio do Ceará*, July 6, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE; "A cidade em peso receberá' hoje a' noite <<Miss Brasil>>," *Correio do Ceará*, July 6, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

³⁴ "Apoteóse da Bahia à Embaixatriz da Beleza," *A Tarde*, October 30, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

formal dances were thrown in their honor, generally by the club that had originally sponsored them. *A Tarde* reported that when Maria Olívia Rebouças (1962) returned to Salvador after the Miss Brazil contest, roughly 50,000 people turned out in the streets to greet her.³⁵ Martha Vasconcello's return escapes the pattern slightly because she won the Miss Universe title. Upon her return to Bahia, the mayor declared a second Carnaval, complete with floats, music, and Carnaval blocks.³⁶ Due to their popularity, these women could not move about freely after winning the Miss Brazil title.³⁷ Emília Corrêa complained "I'm no longer my own person. I have to pre-plan even the most everyday activities. I can only be on the street if I am well-accompanied."³⁸

Martha Rocha: O que é que a bahiana não tem?

Martha Rocha was chosen from a group of seven candidates to become Miss Bahia by "popular vote" on May 15, 1954.³⁹ *A Tarde* published ballots that anyone could purchase and drop off at public ballot boxes. Once elected, Rocha traveled to Rio de Janeiro to participate in the Miss Brazil pageant. When Rocha won the Miss Brazil title on June 26, 1954, she became a representative of not only Bahia, but the nation. On July 9, Rocha traveled to the United States to compete for the title of

³⁵ "Miss Brasil foi recebida pelo povo festivamente," *A Tarde*, June 23, 1962, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

³⁶ "Baianos recebem com festas mulher mais bela do Mundo," *A Tarde*, July 27, 1968, Jornais, BPEB, Salvador, BA.

³⁷ "Presença de Marta causou reboleço," *A Tarde*, October 7, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Ao sair d'A Tarde, fechou o comercio e parou o tráfego," *A Tarde*, November 5, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Antes de seguir para Minas Gerais Marta Rocha visitou 'a Moda,'" *A Tarde*, November 8, 1954, JRR-BPEB; "Marta causa sensação," *A Tarde*, October 8, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

³⁸ "Não sou dona mais de mim mesmo. Os atos mais corriqueiros na vida de uma moça, tenho que programá-los. Andar na rua só muito bem acompanhada." "As atribuições de uma Miss: Não me pertencem mais," *Correio do Ceará*, July 7, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

³⁹ "votação popular". "Concurso Miss Brasil: a representante carioca será anfitriã," *A Tarde*, June 7, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Fulgurante trajetória da beleza," *A Tarde*, July 28, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

Miss Universe in Long Beach, California.⁴⁰ While both U.S. and Brazilian press projected that she would win the title of Miss Universe, on July 24, Rocha took second-place to Miss USA, Miriam Stevenson. *A Tarde* quoted judges at the event as stating that they had to vote three times to make the decision. The first two votes were tied and on the third, they decided to vote based on proportions and measurements alone.⁴¹ While Miss USA had a 36-inch chest, 24-inch waist, and 36-inch hips, Rocha had a smaller waist (23 inches) and two extra inches around the hips (See figure 58 and 59).⁴² While decades later the journalist João Martins of *O Cruzeiro* claimed to have invented this story, the extra two inches that Martha Rocha carried around her hips became a famous expression of a Brazilian preference for women with fuller rear ends.⁴³

Rocha's second-place title landed her a convertible car and a three-month contract with Universal International, the latter of which, after some deliberation, she declined.⁴⁴ Once the contest was over, she went to Grand Rapids, Michigan to visit one of her sisters (she had two sisters married to U.S. citizens) before returning to Rio on September 27, and then to Salvador on October 30. By the time of her arrival, Martha Rocha had become an immensely popular figure. She literally stopped traffic wherever she went.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Rocha was widely admired and her every move was documented by *A Tarde*. Rocha met with president Getúlio Vargas and with the mayor of the Distrito Federal, Dulcideo Cardoso, and enjoyed a party thrown for her at the residence of the President-Director of the the *Diário Carioca*, Horácio de Carvalho. "Marta Rocha foi recebida pelo Presidente Vargas," *A Tarde*, July 8, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁴¹ "Comentários da imprensa norte-americana sobre Marta Rocha," *A Tarde*, August 9, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁴² "Ricos presentes para a vice-campeã da beleza mundial," *A Tarde*, July 26, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁴³ Pessoa, *Marta Rocha, uma biografia*, 77.

⁴⁴ "Fulgurante trajetória da beleza."

⁴⁵ "A recepção de Marta Rocha," *A Tarde*, October 26, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "cortejo triunfal;" "Apoteóse da Bahia à Embaixatriz da Beleza," *A Tarde*, October 30, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "A recepção de Marta Rocha," *A Tarde*, October 16, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Rainhas de beleza acompanharão 'Miss Brasil' do aeroporto à cidade," *A Tarde*, October 27, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Marta será recebida festivamente," *A Tarde*, October 1, 1954, JRR-BPEB; "Presença de Marta causou reboleço," *A Tarde*, October 7, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; "Marta causa sensação,"

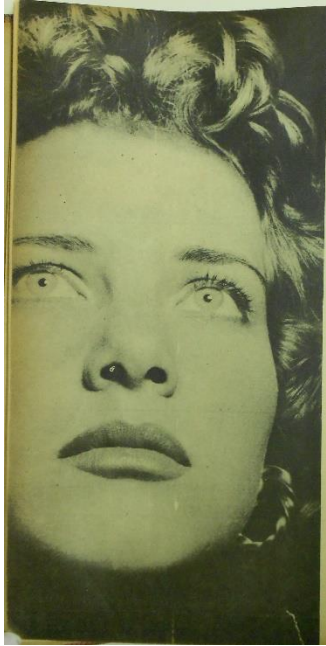


Figure 58: Martha Rocha, headshot



Figure 59: Martha Rocha⁴⁶

While *A Tarde* stressed the widespread good favor that Martha received from the public, there are hints of discomfort at Martha Rocha's physical appearance. In fact, out of the four Miss Brazils studied in this paper, only Martha Rocha's appearance is consistently described, disputed, and debated. The other Miss Brazils are lucky if the press describes their hair or eye color the same way twice. Martha Rocha, on the other hand, was constantly described as blonde-haired and blue-eyed – hardly the *baiana* that had come to represent Bahia or even the *mulata* Gabriela featured in the novel by Jorge Amado just four years later.⁴⁷ Newspapers – both local and national – frequently point out the distance between Afro-Bahian identity and Martha Rocha's physical appearance, while simultaneously attempting to brush the discrepancy aside. *A Tarde* quotes an article from *Última Hora* in Rio de Janeiro

A Tarde, October 8, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; “Ao sair d’A Tarde’, fechou o comercio e parou o tráfego,” *A Tarde*, November 5, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; “Antes de seguir para Minas Gerais Marta Rocha visitou ‘a Moda.’”

⁴⁶ Both figure 58 and figure 59 are from *Manchete*, July 17, 1965. Revistas, BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁴⁷ I refer here to Jorge Amado, *Gabriela, cravo e canela*, 28th Brazilian ed, 30th edition in Portuguese (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1966), originally published in 1958.

as saying, “She is blonde, and has pure blue eyes. She isn’t exactly a typical bahiana, but her beauty unites many suggestions of it” and an Associated Press article as emphasizing that Rocha is the only Latin American candidate with blue eyes.⁴⁸ While articles like these emphasize that she is a “surprising candidate – a blond bahiana with blue eyes,” others attempt to harmonize this discrepancy with Bahian cultural identity.⁴⁹ One article in *A Tarde* mentions her light hair and eye color, but emphasizes that the Miss Universe decision does not depend on looks alone.⁵⁰ Another editorial compares the blue of Rocha’s eyes with the Baía de Todos os Santos, creating a comparison that fixes Martha within the very landscape of the city.⁵¹ A poem published in the *Correio da Manhã* faces the issue head on, recognizing that there are (intolerant) people, against sending a blonde-haired woman as a representative. The poem points out, though, that Martha is naturally blond due to her German heritage, “but her curly hair / is made even more golden / by the sun of Itapoã.” The poet goes on to question, “In this Brazil of the future / who is a pure Brazilian / 100% Brazilian?” But the real testament to her baianidade in the poem is the two extra inches that Martha Rocha carried around her hips, created through eating typical Bahian dishes, like vatapá. The poem concludes: “That she is blond or dark skinned, / the difference is small, / and hurts no one. / But in those inches, on the other hand, / you all see, with enchantment, / ... what it is that the bahiana has!”⁵²

⁴⁸ “Ela é loura, tem olhos de um azul purissimo. Não é, exatamente, uma bahiana típica, mas em sua belesa reúne muitas sugestões.” “A imprensa carioca e Miss Bahia,” *A Tarde*, June 26, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA. The AP article is quoted in “Martha Rocha entre as quatro favoritas,” *A Tarde*, July 23, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁴⁹ “uma bahiana loira e de olhos azuis,” “Martha Rocha entre as quatro favoritas.”

⁵⁰ “Miss Universo,” *A Tarde*, July 23, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁵¹ Jaime de Faria Goes, “A cor da Bahia,” *A Tarde*, July 23, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁵² “Mas seus cabelos cacheados / Se ficaram mais dourados, / Foi do sol de Itapoã”, “Neste Brasil do futuro, / Quem é brasileiro puro, / Brasileiro 100%?”, “Que seja loura ou morena, / A diferença é pequena, / Não fará mal a ninguém. / Nas polegadas, no entanto, / Verão todos, com encanto, /... O que é que a bahiana tem!” Alvaro Armando, “História das pequenas polegadas,” *Correio da Manhã*, August 1, 1954, sec. 1, HD-FBN.

That which she had – those extra two inches of rear-end – became, to some, a symbol of Martha Rocha’s mestiçagem, regardless of her European ancestry. In his description of the year 1954, the Brazilian anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro associates Rocha’s loss with the size of her posterior, but then, curiously, ties the size of her rear with the etymology of the word “bunda” – loosely translated as “butt” in English. Ribeiro states that *bunda*, comes from the Quibunda language and the Bunda people – “the most *bunduda* people of the world” (that is, those with the greatest butts). Martha Rocha, then, is “the glory of the race that converted that word” into Portuguese. She is the embodiment of this cultural-mestiçagem and etymological turn.⁵³

That Ribeiro needed to make such an outlandish claim, stretching the metaphor of mestiçagem beyond its racial, genetic, and even cultural definitions, demonstrates the need Brazilians felt to reconcile Rocha’s appearance with their expectations of a mixed-race Bahian woman. One writer for *A Tarde* claimed that Rocha’s appearance showed that racial mixing resulted in a perfecting of the human race.⁵⁴ Paulo Mendes, who was one of the judges for the Miss Brazil contest, wrote, “A lot of people thought that we should have sent a dark-skinned woman to the United States. Blond, with blue eyes, Martha showed that Brazil can participate in beauty contests with women of any type or race. It is a shame that we couldn’t send to the great pageant a mulata, a brunette, and a black woman.”⁵⁵

While these articles and poems attempt to create a discourse of harmony between Martha Rocha and Bahia through geographic and racial terms, they also clearly indicate the need to respond

⁵³ “É a glória da raça que converteu o nome da língua (quibunda) da gente mais bunduda do mundo em denominação -- bunda, bundinha -- do que antes se chamava traseiro, nádegas, cadeiras e, até quadris.” Darcy Ribeiro, *Aos trancos e barrancos: como o Brasil deu no que deu* (Rio de Janeiro: Guanabara, 1985), entry 1379. This etymology of the term is confirmed in “Bunda,” *Dicionário da língua portuguesa contemporânea da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Verbo, 2001).

⁵⁴ Fernando de Barros Leal, “Filosofia da beleza,” *A Tarde*, August 12, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁵⁵ “Estou contente de ver Marta em tão honrosa classificação. Muita gente achou que devíamos ter mandado para os Estados Unidos uma jovem morena. Loura, de olhos azuis, Marta mostrou que o Brasil pode participar de concursos de beleza com mulheres de qualquer tipo e raça. Pena é que não pudéssemos enviar ao grande desfile uma mulata, uma morena e uma preta.” “Ricos presentes para a vice-campeã da beleza mundial.”

to an anxiety produced at having not just a light-skinned woman, but a blonde-haired and blue-eyed woman represent a state and nation that had spent decades creating a narrative of Afro-Brazilian and mixed heritage. They attempt to create harmony, because complaints of disharmony exist. They explain how Martha is representative, because “a lot of people” have complained about her lack of representativeness. Yet by repeating her representativeness, they invoke claims to the opposite. Martha Rocha as Miss Bahia and Miss Brazil not only created a space to discuss inclusion, but also exclusion. Through her figure, Brazilians discuss what a Bahian is not.

This discussion was not limited to Bahia, but unfolded on a national stage. In the testimonial that Otávio Bonfim, journalist and organizer of the 1954 Miss Brazil contest, left in Martha Rocha’s biography, he claimed to have overheard one of the judges for the Miss Brazil contest, Helena Silveira, say that while Martha Rocha was “very pretty ... she was not of the Brazilian type – because she was blonde and had blue eyes.” According to Bonfim, other judges expressed a similar opinion, to which fellow pageant judge and Senator Armando Fontes replied “I have children with light eyes, so what? Who is going to say that they are not Brazilian?”⁵⁶ That of all of his memories of Martha Rocha, Bonfim selected this story to present, recount, and highlight his memory of Martha Rocha as Miss Brazil emphasizes that for some, the disjuncture between Martha Rocha’s appearance, Bahian identity, and Brazilian identity was one of the most salient aspects of her moment in the spotlight.

Henrique Pongetti, who wrote the film on jangadeiros that Dorival Caymmi appeared in in chapter 2, wrote a particularly defensive article, published on the first page of the July 17, 1954 issue of the national magazine *Manchete*. In the article, Pongetti claims that blondes should form a union to combat the discrimination and marginalization that they face as a minority. While the judges had moved beyond the “taboo” of selecting a blonde-haired person, “among the masses, dominated by

⁵⁶ “que Martha era muito bonita mas não tinha o tipo brasileiro -- porque era loura e de olhos azuis,” and “Eu tenho filhos de olhos claros, e daí? Alguém pode dizer que eles não são brasileiros?” Pessôa, *Marta Rocha, uma biografia*, 60.

the mestiço, the taboo remains firm.” Referring to calls for a dark-skinned Miss Brazil, Pongetti, affirms “Miss Brazil can be blond, dark, brunette, she can be any pretty woman ...” And in a particularly abrasive finale, he concludes that discriminating against beauty contestants who live from their beauty as a profession is akin to what “they say about those evicted from the favelas – genocide.”⁵⁷

Pongetti’s abrasive editorial did not come out of nowhere. It is a response to criticisms that we rarely see in print, but that were circulating in other media forms. Another hint at dissatisfaction at Miss Brazil’s physical characteristics is found in the song “Miss Criôla,” a marcha de Carnaval, written by Otolindo Lopes and performed by Arnô Provenzano and Odete Amaral in 1954 for Odeon records. The upbeat marcha repeats these two stanzas:

Se a Miss Brasil fosse criôla,
Uma criôla, lá do Morro da Favela,
Seu Joaquim apoiava ela,
Seu Joaquim apoiava ela.

If Miss Brazil were a black woman,
A black woman, from the favela,
Mr. Joaquim would support her,
Mr. Joaquim would support her.

Ia ser um chuí,
Vendo a colônia em peso votar,
Gritando, cheios de bossa,
Salve, a crioula é nossa.⁵⁸

It would be a wonder,
To see the whole colony turn out to vote,
Shouting, full of life,
Hail, this black woman is ours.

The song does more than just insinuate that Miss Brazil would garner greater popular support if she were black, it also places this statement within a different, slightly humorous international framework. Even if the writer were referring to a specific person named Joaquim, he releases a double-entendre – Joaquim is the name frequently used to stand in for any Portuguese man in music and joke. The song,

⁵⁷ “Mas no meio da massa, dominada pelo mestiço, o tabu permanece firme.” “Miss Brasil pode ser loura, morena, castanha, pode ser qualquer mulher bonita dêste império romano plástico ... Pior ainda: para as mulheres que vivem da proclamação da sua beleza é como se diz hoje nas nossas favelas desalojadas -- genocídio.” Henrique Pongetti, “Em defesa das louras e das outras,” *Manchete*, July 17, 1954, Revistas, BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁵⁸ Arnô Provenzano and Odete Amaral, *Miss Criôla*, mp3 (Odeon, 1954), ODEON/13.767-a, AN; Arnô Provenzano, *Miss Criôla*, CD, vol. 22, Carnaval sua historia, sua gloria (Revivendo Músicas Comércio de Discos Ltda, n.d.), track 20, no. de acesso 0922, CD 461, Fonoteca, FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

then, subtly and cleverly recognizes that Martha Rocha appealed to a North American audience, but perhaps a different audience – that of Portuguese men – would prefer a different type of beauty.

In addition to discussing the limits of *baianidade*, the press also discussed what positive *bahiana* qualities Martha Rocha held. What Rocha was able to represent, at least during her reign as Miss Brazil, was loyalty to Bahia. Newspapers exalted her reluctance to sign a Hollywood contract, interpreting this as a sign of her homesickness.⁵⁹ In one interview to a U.S. journalist, Rocha slipped – she stated that her sisters said that North American husbands are the best in the world. Later, she had to explain to newspapers back home that she was just trying to be polite – Martha preferred to marry a Brazilian man (though, anecdotally, her first husband was Portuguese and a resident of Argentina, where she also later resided).⁶⁰

This emphasis on Rocha's loyalty to Brazil, and more specifically, to Bahia, points to discomfort at the preference of young Brazilians for North American consumer products, music, and films in an increasingly globalizing world. For example, an article printed on September 2, 1954 in *A Tarde* personified the under-utilized cacao plant. The plant complained that it has so many uses, yet “people with the obsession of thinking that the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence and with unnamable ingratitude scornfully trade my derivatives for foreign barbecues and coca-cola!”⁶¹ These sentiments are reminiscent of those found in Gilberto Freyre's *Manifesto regionalista*, whose second edition was published the same year. Similar expressions would soon be manifested in song.

⁵⁹ [Joaquim Alves de] Cruz Rios, “A bela dos sentimentos de cristal,” *A Tarde*, July 26, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁶⁰ “Começará a filmar em fins de agosto,” *A Tarde*, July 30, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; “Marta prefere casar com um brasileiro e viver na Bahia,” *A Tarde*, July 31, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; “A beleza e a política,” *A Tarde*, September 18, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; José Dyone Mercador, “Marta, a bela,” *A Tarde*, October 30, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA. Ironically, Martha Rocha's first marriage was to an Argentine.

⁶¹ “Esta gente, com a mania de achar a 'galinha do vizinho' mais gostosa e numa ingratidão inominável, despreza os meus derivados pelos forasteiros churrasco e coca-cola!!” Rubens Correia, “Churrasco e Coca-Cola!!,” *A Tarde*, September 2, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

The song *Nós num have*, written by Zé Dantas and recorded by Luiz Gonzaga for Odeon in 1957 humorously narrates a conversation between a Northeasterner and a young American in a bar. When asked if he liked rock ‘n’ roll, the Northeasterner claims to, but then confesses to the listener that “I said that I like it but I don’t / because my baião is much deeper / With as much propaganda it would also be appealing / It would also make rear ends around the world bounce.”⁶² Two years later *Chiclete com banana*, composed by Gordurinha and Almira Castilho, would be made famous by Jackson do Pandeiro. The song, which ironically is considered the first of the samba-rock genre, begins with the now well-known lines “I’ll put bebop in my samba when Tio Sam picks up a tamborim.”⁶³

Martha Rocha, then, was a symbol of loyalty to Bahia and its culture. In a newspaper embroidered with advertisements for Coca-Cola, an editorial warns against the dangers of wanting that which your neighbor has, instead of enjoying your own humble belongings. While life in Salvador might seem “simple and spontaneous,” they should not trade their daily habits out of personal modesty, but instead they should “emphatically” value what they have. The author prays that the desire to have what Salvador does not offer not cause, among other things, “the ironization [sic] of our smile.” This is what Martha Rocha represented to this author:

When Glory and Fame threatened to grab her from us, when that thrilling and tumultuous Mecca, considered divine, ambitiously sought after, and courted by youth around the world tried to take her from us, we did not oppose it. We admit, with sadness, that we have little to offer her, that very few things that we own could attract her. Of what worth is our Itapoã next to Miami – or Long Beach. And Barra? We died of shame and bitterness at comparing it with Hollywood or Manhattan. And our famed Rua Chile? Poor Rua Chile if compared to the

⁶² “Falei que ‘laicava’ mas não ‘laico’ não / pois o meu baião é mais profundo / cum tá propaganda também agradava / também balançava as trazêra do mundo ...” Luiz Gonzaga, *Nós num have*, mp3 (Odeon, 1957), 14.201, AN, Fortaleza, CE.

⁶³ “Eu só boto bebop no meu samba / quando Tio Sam tocar um tamborim.” Jackson do Pandeiro and Odete Amaral, *Chiclete com banana*, mp3 (Polydor, 1958), Polydor 258-b, AN; Jackson do Pandeiro and José Gomes, *Chiclete com banana* (Columbia, 1959), Columbia 3.097-a, AN; Jackson do Pandeiro, *Chiclete com banana* (Continental, 1959), Continental 17.756-a, AN. A tamborim is *not* a tamborine, as famously Carmen Miranda famously explained to Orson Welles in a track now included at the end of *It’s All True*. Orson Welles et al., *It’s All True* (Paramount Pictures, 1993).

tumultuous confusion of the New York avenues. We were done for! All that was left was to wait for Martha's definitive goodbye and her melancholic and painful farewell.⁶⁴

However, this author's fears that Martha Rocha might act like the coca-colas of wartime were unwarranted. This author in others emphasize that Rocha did not abandon Bahia (or at least had not yet), and for those reasons, she was revered as Bahian. She was not physically representative of the majority of the population but instead of pursuing a career in Hollywood or a husband in Michigan, she chose to come back to Salvador.

More than anything else, Martha Rocha was accepted as a symbol not of a typical or common Bahian female body, but as yet another proof of the beauty and grace of the Bahian woman. Newspapers hailed her victory as "a great victory of the beauty of the Bahian woman, synthesized in Marta Rocha." This beauty included Bahian "grace" and "culture," which the Bahian woman had the "universal reputation" of having.⁶⁵ As Miss Brazil, that beauty became universally Brazilian, as she "showed the human masses that Brazil has women that are among the most beautiful in the world" nurtured on "vatapá and perfumed with cinnamon."⁶⁶ One article printed in *Última Hora* in Rio and reprinted in *A Tarde* explained that Miss Brazil being from Bahia has a significance that should not be lost. After all, according to this article, "The Bahian woman was the mother of our nationality ... she

⁶⁴ "simples e espontâneo [sic]," "enfaticamente," "a ironização do nosso sorriso," "Saudemô-la, amemô-la e procuremos imitá-la. Quando a Glória e a Fama ameaçaram arrebatá-la das nossas mãos, quando aquela Meca palpitante e estrondosa, divinizada, ambicionada e cortejada pelos jovens de todo o mundo, tentou tirá-la de nos, não nos opuzemos. Admitimos, com tristeza, que pouco tínhamos para ofertar-lhe, que bem poucas cousas possuíamos para atraí-la. De que valeria a nossa Itapoã junto a Miami -- ou a Long Beach. E a Barra? Morriamos de vergonha e amargura ao compará-la com Hollywood ou Manhattan. E a nossa afamada Rua Chile? Pobre Rua Chile se equiparada à tumultuosa confusão das avenidas new-yorquinas. E estávamos fritos! Restáva-nos aguardar o adeus definitivo de Martha a sua despedida melancólica e penosíssima." "O tema atual - Marta Rocha."

⁶⁵ "uma grande vitória da beleza da mulher bahiana, sintetizada em Marta Rocha," "graça," and "cultura." "Eleita Miss Bahia a Mais Bela do Brasil," *A Tarde*, June 28, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA. "fama universal," Cruz Rios, "A bela dos sentimentos de cristal."

⁶⁶ "mostrando às multidões humanas que o Brasil possui mulheres das mais belas do mundo," and "esse cicione alimentado de vatapá e perfumado a canela." Del Picchia Menotti, "Miss Brasil! Miss Universo!," *A Tarde*, July 6, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

has for us the character of an innate representative of the Brazilian woman.”⁶⁷ Manoel Bandeira, regionalist poet and one of the Miss Brazil judges, pointed out that while Carmen Miranda had introduced the U.S. to Bahian culture, she was not really Bahian. He states: “The Americans already know one Bahiana – Carmen Miranda. Now, they will meet another one, an authentic one, this gracious young woman, [who is] truly worthy of taking part in a beauty contest. Bahia showed that she has everything.”⁶⁸

Emília Corrêa: The Return of Iracema

Emília Corrêa Lima, born in Sobral in the interior of Ceará, became Miss Ceará and then Miss Bahia in 1955. Emília placed within the final 15 for Miss Universe, but did not place among the top 5.⁶⁹ Articles in the *Correio do Ceará*, music, and cordel poetry, instead, describe her in terms of her seamless harmony with nature. The journalist Ailton Quintiliano, from Alagoas, described her in the *Correio do Ceará* as a “pearl from the Iracema beach” and Evaristo Cardoso, from Pará, described her as “a flower from the sertão.”⁷⁰ A photograph in another issue shows her resting in a hammock, “in direct contact with nature, far from the hustle and bustle of the city” (see figure 60).⁷¹ Another shows her sitting, barefoot, surrounded by children and peeling sugarcane. The caption informs that this is

⁶⁷ “A mulher bahiana foi a mãe da nacionalidade ... tem para nós o caráter de representante nata da mulher brasileira.” “Ricos presentes para a vice-campeã da beleza mundial.”

⁶⁸ “Os americanos já conheciam uma bahiana -- Carmen Miranda. Agora, conhecem outra e autêntica, essa graciosa jovem, realmente digna de figurar num concurso mundial de beleza. A Bahia, pois, mostrou que tem de tudo.” Ibid.

⁶⁹ “Emília entre as cinco eleitas pelo público,” *Correio do Ceará*, July 22, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP; “Miss Suécia foi a vencedora,” *A Tarde*, July 23, 1955, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA; “Será escolhida hoje a Miss Universo,” *A Tarde*, July 22, 1955, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁷⁰ “perola da Praia de Iracema” and “uma flor do sertão”, “Emília, uma [perola] da Praia de [Iracema],” *Correio do Ceará*, July 2, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁷¹ “ao contacto direto com a natureza, longe do bulício da cidade”, “O suave repouso,” *Correio do Ceará*, July 12, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Salvador, BA.

her “preferred environment” (see figure 61).⁷² The cordel pamphlet *Esboços biográficos da Miss Brasil, Emília Corrêa Lima* spends a page describing the natural wonders of Ceará before placing Emília Corrêa within them, explaining that “Since her beauty / is a gift from Nature; / Miss Emília possesses / this grace and loveliness.”⁷³



Figure 60: O suave repouso

⁷² “ambiente predileto”, “Emília no seu ambiente predileto,” *Correio do Ceará*, July 13, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Salvador, BA.

⁷³ “Sendo que a formosura / é um dote da Naturêza; / a Miss Emília possui / esta graça e gentileza, ...” Joaquim Batista de Sena and F. Borges, *Esboços biográficos da Miss Brasil, Emília Corrêa Lima* (Fortaleza: Tip. Graças-Fátima, 1955), 3.



Figure 61: Emilia no seu ambiente predileto

These descriptions of Emília Corrêa as harmonious with nature are reminiscent of descriptions of the jangadeiros in Chapter 2. The portrayal of Emília Corrêa as one with nature again call upon Ceará's caboclo identity and, again, describe it through references to Alencar's novel *Iracema*. In the words of Assis Chateaubriand, founder of the Associated Press and at this time senator, "Miss Ceará is the victorious Iracema, setting out from the warm, green seas of the North to win over and thrill Brazil."⁷⁴ Oscar de Andrade, also of the Associated Press, compliments the Miss Brazil jury for selecting a candidate from "... that land of weaving and fishermen, the great land that José de Alencar described in his own style, the land of the beautiful Iracema."⁷⁵ Essentially summing up these sentiments, a waltz written for Emília Corrêa by Francisco Soares and Ragaciano Leite contains the

⁷⁴ "Miss Ceará é Iracema vitoriosa, saindo dos verdes mares quentes do Norte para dominar e empolgar o Brasil." "Iracema vitoriosa, saindo dos verdes mares quentes para empolgar o Brasil," *Correio do Ceará*, June 27, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁷⁵ "Oscar de Andrade, the cronista militar of the *Diários Associados* compliments the Miss Brazil judges for choosing a candidate from "... aquela que é a terra da renda e dos jangadeiros, a grande terra que José de Alencar descreveu com estilo próprio, a terra da bela Iracema." "A hora é do Ceará," *Correio do Ceará*, June 30, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

lyrics: “Fellow compatriot of Iracema, / God [created] you in a poem / of tenderness and beauty / made through nature; / Your seductive charms / irradiate splendors / With light, sea, sky and flowers / Beautiful Maria Emília.”⁷⁶

The comparison of Emília Corrêa, who was also light-skinned and light-haired, with the indigenous (and fictitious) Iracema does not prompt the kind of criticism – direct or indirect – that Martha Rocha received. While the criticism surrounding Martha Rocha reflected a desire to represent Afro-Bahian culture abroad, after the news of her loss due to her measurements had circulated, the tone changed in the Brazilian press. Instead of expressing concerns over future Miss Brazils’ ability to represent or reflect the women of their state or country, the press spoke of contestants in terms of their ability to win the Miss Universe contest by conforming to U.S. standards of beauty. For example, an article printed in *A Tarde* after Emília Corrêa won the Miss Brazil title described her as having 35-inch hips – three inches smaller than Martha Rocha. A spokesperson for the Miss Brazil contest said: “We in Brazil like our women to be full around the hips ... We understand, though, that the judges of the Miss Universe contest don’t think the same way, so we should send thinner women.”⁷⁷ In a similar fashion, Miss Brazil judges, aware of U.S. racial dynamics, surely realized that their odds of winning were greater if they sent a white candidate than an indigenous or black Brazilian. After all, it was not until 1977 that Janelle Penny Commissiong, Miss Trinidad and Tobago, was selected as the first black Miss Universe.

⁷⁶ “Conterrânea de Iracema, / Deus te [criou] numa poema / De ternura e de beleza / Feito pela natureza; / Teus encantos sedutores / Irradiam esplendores / Com a luz, o mar, o céu e as flores / Formosa Maria Emília / A nova estrêla que brilha.” Entre as mais candentes deste céu *Emília*, Sheet Music (Fortaleza, 1955), Caixa de Partituras, NA, Fortaleza, CE; “Na vespera de seu embarque ...,” *Correio do Ceará*, July 12, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Salvador, BA. Emília danced this waltz with the president of the club at her reception. Robert de Sangerie, “Garden Party,” *Correio do Ceará*, July 11, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.

⁷⁷ “Nós no Brasil gostamos que nossas mulheres sejam um pouco fartas de quadris ... Entendemos porém que se os juizes do Concurso Miss Universo não pensam da mesma maneira, devemos mandar as mais esguias.” “A atual ‘Miss Brasil’ é das mais esguias,” *A Tarde*, July 16, 1955, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

Martha Vasconcellos: Miss Universe, Bahians, and What Could Be

The Brazilian press, including the Bahian press, rarely described the physical appearance of 1968 Miss Bahia/Miss Brazil/Miss Universe, Martha Vasconcellos, and when they did, they were careful to mention her proportionate measurements.⁷⁸ While newspapers in Brazil did not seem very concerned with describing her physically, newspapers in the United States were. U.S. newspapers repeatedly attach adjectives to Vasconcellos' name describing her in terms of her hair and eye color. *The News and Courier* in Charleston described her as a "slim green-eyed brunette," as did *The Blade* in Toledo, Ohio.⁷⁹ *The Pittsburgh Press* described her as the "Green-eyed, brown haired Miss Brazil," while the *Southeast Missourian* described her as an "auburn-haired lovely" with "exotic green eyes."⁸⁰ The Brazilians had, apparently, found the recipe for a Miss Universe winner. The mixture of darker hair and light green eyes struck the U.S. press as an exotic combination, yet her skin tone was light enough to threaten neither existing standards of beauty in the U.S. media nor the sensibilities of racist followers of the Miss Universe contest who were likely still reeling from the passing of the Civil Rights Act earlier the same year.⁸¹ Vasconcellos was also smart, educated, and a first-grade teacher in Brazil, qualities that might have risen in importance as feminists protested the Miss America and Miss World pageant (not to be confused with Miss USA and Miss Universe) the same year. And, of course, her

⁷⁸ See, for example, "O fim do espetáculo e a nova Miss," *A Tarde*, June 1968, Jornais, BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁷⁹ "Miss Brazil Pageant Winner," *The News and Courier*, July 14, 1968, Google News Archive; "Miss Universe," *The Blade*, July 15, 1968, Google News Archive.

⁸⁰ "Brazil Beauty Wins Miss Universe Title," *The Pittsburgh Press*, July 14, 1968, sec. 2, Google News Archive; "Pageant Is Work," *Southeast Missourian*, July 12, 1968, Google News Archive.

⁸¹ Here we might reflect as well on the first African American Miss America, Vanessa Williams, in 1983. Ms. Williams has light skin and blue eyes.

chest measurement matched that of her hips, without two inches to spare, as a cordel pamphlet written in her honor was careful to point out.⁸²

As previously mentioned, the city of Salvador broke out into a second Carnaval when Martha Vasconcellos returned from the United States for a brief visit to Brazil.⁸³ Nonetheless, the press turned quickly away from celebration and toward the scent of drama in the air. The press chose to focus on two interconnected themes: the postponement of her wedding and the possibility that first-runner up, Miss Curaçao, become the first black Miss Universe. Martha Vasconcellos was engaged to a civil engineer who she had dated since she was just twelve years old.⁸⁴ They had planned to marry in September 1968, but Miss Universe cannot be married.⁸⁵ If Martha Vasconcellos were to go ahead with her September marriage, she would have to immediately resign as Miss Universe and relinquish the prizes and contract that came with that title. Yet, accepting the title and the employment contract required a year of around-the-world travel, provoking within Martha Vasconcellos feelings of anxiety and homesickness that she expressed publicly.⁸⁶ In addition to creating an angst-driven romantic narrative to accompany the title win, newspapers stressed that if Martha Vasconcellos were to resign, she would hand her title over to the first runner-up, Miss Curaçao, who would then become the first black Miss Universe.⁸⁷ Newspapers in Brazil and in the U.S. repeat this point so frequently when

⁸² Manuel D'Almeida Filho, *Marta Vasconcelos, Miss Universo* (s.l., 1968). AA-BAA-UEPB, Salvador, BA.

⁸³ "Chegada apoteótica de Miss Universo à terra natal," *A Tarde*, July 27, 1968, Jornais, BPEB, Salvador, BA.

⁸⁴ Martha Maria Vasconcellos, Entrevista, interview by Courtney J. Campbell, February 10, 2014.

⁸⁵ "O fim do espetáculo e a nova Miss."

⁸⁶ "Miss Universe Told: Cash for Breakfast," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 15, 1968, Google News Archive.

⁸⁷ "Vitória de Marta em Miami provocou carnaval nas ruas de Salvador," *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 16, 1968, sec. Primeiro Caderno, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

discussing Martha Vasconcellos that we are left wondering if they did so simply to promote sales of their newspapers or if they were unsure as to which outcome that they would prefer.⁸⁸

Either way, a year later, both Miss Universe's and the press's anxieties were calmed when Vasconcellos passed the Miss Bahia crown over to Vera Lúcia Guerreiro – the first Miss Bahia described as mulata. Local and national newspapers were eager to highlight both that Bahia became only the second state to have elected a mulata Miss (the first was Guanabara, elected Miss Brazil in 1966), and that just a month later Martha Vasconcellos would finally be free to marry.⁸⁹

Someone is Missing from this Picture: The *Diário de Pernambuco* and Miss Brazil

Of the four Miss Brazils studied in this chapter, only one was considered Northeastern by the *Diário de Pernambuco*. The *Diário de Pernambuco* clearly showed a preference for Emília Corrêa over the other Miss Brazils studied in this chapter. The *Diário* barely mentioned Martha Rocha in 1954 and nearly ignored Maria Olívia Rebouças in 1962, even confusing her with Miss São Paulo *after* she had won the Miss Brazil title. While complete sections of several issues were dedicated to Miss Pernambuco in 1968, Martha Vasconcellos receives only cursory mention after winning the Miss Universe title. Yet, in 1955, when Emília Corrêa won the Miss Brazil title, the *Diário* published in large bold letters across the top of the first page “‘Miss Ceará’ elected ‘Miss Brazil.’”⁹⁰ The *Diário* published articles calling the public to greet her on her layover in the Guararapes airport, where a party was

⁸⁸ “‘Miss Universe’ Walks into New World,” *Southeast Missourian*, July 15, 1968, Google News Archive; “Miss Brazil, Loveliest of All,” *The Park City Daily News*, July 15, 1968, Google News Archive; “Teacher from Brazil Is New Miss Universe,” *The Owasso-Argus Press*, July 15, 1968, Google News Archive.

⁸⁹ “Miss Bahia,” *O Globo*, June 17, 1969; “Mulata Vera Guerreiro é a Miss Bahia,” *Diário de Notícias*, June 14, 1969. I thank Roberto Macedo for sending me these articles.

⁹⁰ “‘Miss Ceará’ eleita ‘Miss Brasil,’” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 26, 1955, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

held.⁹¹ The Orchestra from the Rádio Tamandaré played Pernambucan frevo music for her and the *Diário* described her reception as a “true ‘Carnaval’ in Recife.”⁹² The *Diário* published an interview with Miss Paraíba, who announced that she was proud to see the title go to another “nordestina.”⁹³

During the lead up to the 1968 Miss Brazil contest, the *Diário* would also give more attention to the contestants from Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Paraíba, and Alagoas. While the Diários Associados-sponsored Miss Pernambuco contest started in 1955, in 1968 it received more attention than ever.⁹⁴ Large advertisements, taking about a quarter of a page, lured the public into a competition to guess who the winner would be.⁹⁵ A male body-builder, gym owner, and specialist in female beauty was hired to prepare the contestants and an interview with him takes up a full two-page spread.⁹⁶ Under a photo of Miss Caruaru, Maria Eunice Mergulhão, who would later win the Miss Pernambuco 1968 title, we find the caption “the Miss Brazil-Miss Universe contest is engrossing the entire Northeast. This is what we saw this week, when we visited João Pessoa. The same is taking place in our cities in the interior.”⁹⁷

⁹¹ “‘Miss Brasil’ transitará amanhã pelo Recife,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 5, 1955, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁹² “verdadeiro ‘carnaval’ no Recife”, “Numerosos presentes na bagagem de Emília Barreto Correa Lima,” *Correio do Ceará*, July 7, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP; “Transita hoje, pelo Recife, ‘Miss Brasil 1955,’” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 6, 1955, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁹³ “Orgulhosa ‘Miss Paraíba’ em ver concedido a uma nordestina o título máximo de beleza,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 4, 1955, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁹⁴ “A história do concurso Miss Pernambuco,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, 1968, sec. Segundo Caderno, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁹⁵ “Descubra a Miss Pernambuco 68 e ganhe meio milhão!!!,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 2, 1968, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁹⁶ “Tibi é a maior autoridade em beleza física em Pernambuco,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 2, 1968, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁹⁷ “Vai empolgando todo o Nordeste, o concurso Miss Brasil-Miss Unvierso. Foi o que observamos esta semana, em visita que fizemos a João Pessoa. Também acontece o mesmo em nossas cidades no interior.” Severino Barbosa, “Beleza,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 5, 1968, sec. Segundo Caderno, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

But it was not just Miss Pernambuco who received the *Diário*'s attention in 1968. When Maria Sueli Pereira da Silva was elected Miss Rio Grande do Norte, the *Diário* printed a photograph of her alongside Miss Ceará, Miss Paraíba, Miss Alagoas, and Miss Pernambuco, highlighting that Miss Rio Grande do Norte would be “yet another representative from the Northeast” to compete for the title of Miss Brazil.⁹⁸ Even the reach of the Rádio Clube de Pernambuco's radio program that would broadcast the Miss Brazil event from the Maracanazinho was described in terms of its ability to reach the “Public of the Northeast.”⁹⁹ Nonetheless, Martha Vasconcellos was not considered a Northeastern candidate. According to the *Diário de Pernambuco*, Miss Universe represented the nation, but not the Northeast. She was not included in the *Diário de Pernambuco*'s photograph of the “soberanas” nordestinas.

A Rainha das Mulatas, a Boneca de Pixe, os Mais Belos Olhos, e as Baianas

Discomfort over beauty contests that favored white women preceded Martha Rocha's term as Miss Brazil. The Teatro Experimental do Negro (The Black Experimental Theater - TEN) was founded by Abdias do Nascimento in Rio de Janeiro in 1944, proposing to give Rio de Janeiro's working-class black population a cultural outlet, while also incorporating literacy and political awareness campaigns.¹⁰⁰ TEN began to hold annual Rainha das Mulatas (Queen of the Mulatas) and

⁹⁸ “Maria Sueli Pereira será mais uma representante do Nordeste a lutar pelo cetro máximo da beleza brasileira.” “Nordeste escolhe outra soberana,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 10, 1968, Hemeroteca, Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Recife, Pernambuco. “Maria Sueli Eleita Miss Riograndense do Norte,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 11, 1968, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

⁹⁹ “O PÚBLICO do Nordeste”, “Brasil tera nova ‘Miss,’” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 29, 1968, sec. Segundo Caderno, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

¹⁰⁰ For more on TEN, see: Paulina L. Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Michael George Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945-1988* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 106–109. Abdias do Nascimento also outlines the basic principles of the movement in Abdias do Nascimento, “Anexo 2: Manifesto da Convenção Nacional do Negro Brasileiro (1945),” in *Povo negro: a sucessão e a “Nova República”* (Rio de Janeiro: IPEAFRO, 1985), 56–57. Blacks in

Boneca de Pixe (Tar Doll) events in 1947. According to Nascimento, the purpose of the event was to “promote the social value of the eugenic richness of the mulata and the black woman ... carrying out, in this way, a program of formation of popular aesthetic tastes and of the exaltation of genuine values of Brazilian civilization.”¹⁰¹

The Rainha das Mulatas contest (which TEN seems to have advertised more than the Boneca de Pixe) received a surprising amount of press coverage. Newspapers from Rio to Paraná, and Paraná to Maranhão reported on the first Rainha, Maria da Aparecida Marques, and her disputes with Grande Otelo.¹⁰² In 1948, a variety show called *Miss Brasil* passed over a censor’s desk before being freed with minor edits.¹⁰³ In the show, Otelo marches into a Miss Brazil contest announcing that to win, the successful contestant has to be a mulata.¹⁰⁴ Another character on the set, Rosita, says “You never quit, do you, Otelo. Always going on about the Rainha das Mulatas ...”¹⁰⁵ The ultimate message of the show is political (Miss Getúlia Pagas wins, followed by Miss Mato Grosso, wearing a General Dutra mask, etc.), but Otelo’s exchange with Julita shows that the Rainha das Mulatas was hardly a marginalized contest. Instead, just a year after its creation, it had gained enough recognition for Otelo to drop the name without contextualizing. Further, while the Rainha das Mulatas contest was based

Brazil Pamphlets, Princeton University Latin American pamphlet collection. Racial groups in Brazil, Roll no. 2, item 1, Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame.

¹⁰¹ “E, ainda com absoluto sucesso, promovemos a valorização social das riquêsas eugênicas da mulata e da negra através de concursos anuais da “Rainha das Mulatas” e da “Boneca de Pixe”, realizando, assim, um programa de formação do gôsto estético popular e de exaltação dos valores genuínos da civilização brasileira.” Abdias Nascimento, “Espírito e Fisionomia do Teatro experimental do negro,” n.d., No. de localização 38,2,171, Coleção Arthur Ramos, Setor Manuscritos, FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

¹⁰² “O Teatro Experimental do Negro e o 13 de maio,” *A noite*, May 13, 1954, HD-FBN; “Mil cruzeiros de multa por dia,” *Paraná-Norte*, December 16, 1948, HD-FBN; Malazarte, “Que mulata!,” *Diário de S. Luiz*, June 5, 1948, HD-FBN.

¹⁰³ To see where this show fits within Grande Otelo’s career, see: Sérgio Cabral, *Grande Otelo: uma biografia* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2007), 128.

¹⁰⁴ Geysa Boscoli, “Miss Brasil 1948,” 1948, 23, Censor: Mendonca Pinto. Data de censura: 25/09/1948. N° de registro: 174. Certificado: 385, no. de localização 021-0012, Setor Manuscritos, FBN, Rio de Janeiro, RJ.

¹⁰⁵ “Você não se emenda, hein, Otelo! Sempre às voltas com a Rainha das Mulatas ...” *Ibid.*, 24.

in Rio de Janeiro, I found one reference to another Rainha das Mulatas contest in July, 1954 in Recife, suggesting that there were offshoots.¹⁰⁶

In Bahia, local contests also tended to elect a much wider variety of beauties than those represented by the Miss Bahias that won the Miss Brazil pageant. The winner of the 1954 Miss Objetiva contest, Glady Freitas, was brunette, and possibly Afro-Brazilian.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, the Mais Belos Olhos da Bahia (Most Beautiful Eyes in Bahia) contest awarded a prize for the most beautiful eyes, but also included additional categories of Most Beautiful Green Eyes, Most Beautiful Black Eyes, and Most Beautiful Blue Eyes, allowing for winners of varied skin tones, body types, and hair and eye colors. Contests like these focused on inclusion, instead of representation. The point was not to win a contest abroad, but to allow for women of all types to participate in the contests and garner votes. In contests like these, this was important not only for a sense of inclusion and participation in the city, but also because the contests were determined by popular vote. In order to vote, Bahians had to purchase the newspaper, cut out the ballot, and cast the vote in a public ballot box. The greater the participation, the greater the newspaper sales.

The Afro-Bahian woman was also represented outside the realm of beauty contests. For example, in 1954, the Comissão Bahiana de Folclore created a stand for the Congresso Internacional de Folclore that took place in São Paulo from August 16 to August 22. After meeting several times, the Comissão decided to use the baiana as an example of Bahian folklore. “Nothing is more logical than this,” they stated in *A Tarde*, “since only Bahia has these black women selling Acarajé.” The Comissão hired engineers to recreate an acarajé stand and set up space for everything related to the

¹⁰⁶ “Rainha das mulatas,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, July 10, 1954, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

¹⁰⁷ “A coroação de Miss Objetiva,” *A Tarde*, September 4, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

lives of these baianas: family, religious, and social life.¹⁰⁸ *A Tarde* reprinted the guide, which was made available to visitors at the stand. It states:

Native to Africa, the black woman settled into Bahia as a slave, which, incidentally, also occurred in other parts of the country. In this former capital of Brazil, however, she adapted better, both socially and culturally, presenting herself in our time as a defined human being, with very specific biotypological characteristics. Her common name is 'bahiana', [and] the survival of the black woman in a hostile environment is owed to her admirable ability to adapt, and, above else, to the religion she brought from her lands of origin. So great is the power of religion, that everything linked to the life of the "bahiana" still feels today its influence.¹⁰⁹

The writer and folklorist Hildegardes Cantolino Vianna, daughter of another folklorist Antônio Vianna, represented the baiana in the stand, wearing the traditional white gown. In an article she wrote for *A Tarde*, she lists the names of important Latin American intellectuals (including Fernando Ortiz) who passed by the acarajé stand, after stating "Here is a list of important people who know 'what it is that the bahiana has'."¹¹⁰ In the same year, an article about an acarajé stand built near the Farol da Barra, reads: "the baiana, with her famed acarajé, is the calling card of the city and her history is known everywhere: sociologists, journalists, singers, and samba musicians at every moment evoke the figure of the baiana de acarajé in their pages, in their poems, in their melodies."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ "Nada mais lógico, afinal, porque a preta do acarajé só a Bahia possui." "A Bahia no Festival de Folclore," *A Tarde*, July 12, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.

¹⁰⁹ "Originária da África, a preta radicou-se na Bahia, como elemento escravo, o que, aliás, se verificou em outros pontos do país. Na antiga capital do Brasil, no entanto, melhor se acimatou, social e culturalmente, de modo a apresentar-se, nos nossos dias, como ser humano definido, com características biotípologicas personalíssimas. Seu nome vulgar é o de 'bahiana', deve-se a sobrevivência da negra, em ambiente hostil, à sua admirável capacidade de adaptação e, sobretudo, à religião que trouxe das terras de origem. Tão grande é o poder da religião que tudo quanto ligado à vida da 'bahiana', sofre ainda hoje, a sua influência." "A Bahia na exposição interamericana de folclore," *A Tarde*, July 23, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA..

¹¹⁰ "Eis uma pequena lista de gente importante que sabe 'O que é que a bahiana tem'". Hildegardes Cantolino Vianna, "Sobre o Congresso de Folclore," *A Tarde*, October 13, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA..

¹¹¹ "A baiana, com o seu afamado acarajé, é o cartão de visita da cidade e, sua história está conhecida por todos os recantos: são sociólogos, poetas, jornalistas, cantores e sambistas, que a todo instante evocam a figura da baiana do acarajé através de suas páginas, de seus poemas e melodias." "A inauguração do primeiro abrigo da preta do Acarajé," *A Tarde*, July 28, 1954, JRR-BPEB, Salvador, BA.. It was not *A Tarde* that created this image. Scott Ickes recently demonstrated that the *Diário de Notícias* and *Diário da Bahia* had developed this notion of the baiana in the 1940s. Ickes, *New World Diasporas*, 117–118.

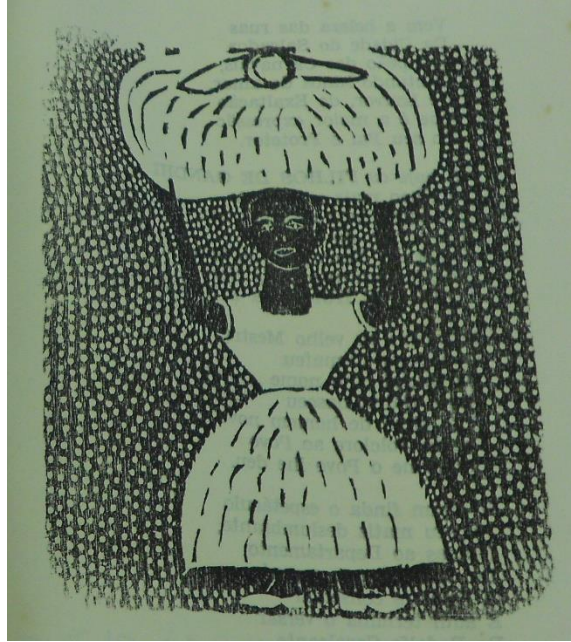


Figure 62: Xilogravura of a baiana¹¹²

Each of the Miss Brazil candidates in this chapter – even Miss Ceará – wore the traditional clothing of the baiana in the folklore section of the Miss Universe contest (See figures 63, 64, and 65). That these white women could wear clothing typically associated with the symbol of Afro-Bahian culture without a smidgeon of irony and without hints of discomfort provides us with a rich point of analysis. First, we can take from this act that in practice the Miss Brazils, in their baiana costumes, stood in as proxy-baianas, representing abroad the Afro-Bahian population. Yet, by removing the essential element of the baiana as symbol – her very blackness – while also stylizing her clothing through modernized patterns, raised hems, and sequins, the baiana was rendered un-representable in Long Beach and Miami. It is not just that the baiana herself was not seen, it is that she was not see-able. Instead, these Miss Brazils offered to the U.S. audience the closest image to a baiana possible – white women with varied hair and eye colors wearing not the dress of baianas, but costumes. In doing so, unintentionally, they not only were unable to represent the baiana, they were unable to represent

¹¹² Rodolfo Coelho Cavalcante, *Programa para a noite de cultura popular da Bahia* (Salvador: Prefeitura de Salvador, 1977).

themselves as bahianas who were not baianas. They muted not only the identity of the baiana, but their own as well.



Figure 63: Martha Rocha as baiana¹¹³

It is also notable that it was not only the Miss Bahias who dressed as baianas, but also Miss Ceará.¹¹⁴ No explanation is given in local or national press for why Emília Corrêa dressed as a baiana instead of as, for example, Iracema, but we can make some fairly educated guesses. To start with, the baiana costume was already recognizable to a North American audience. Variations of the outfit had been made iconic by Carmen Miranda, who, coincidentally died just days after the end of the Miss Universe pageant in 1955. Further, Miss Brazil was to represent not just her home town, state, or region, but the nation. At least for the Miss Universe pageant, the nation had chosen the Bahian woman as its folkloric representative.

¹¹³ Pessôa, *Marta Rocha, uma biografia*.

¹¹⁴ “Emília aclamadíssima na abertura oficial do concurso Miss Universo,” *Correio do Ceará*, July 18, 1955, Hemeroteca, BPGMP, Fortaleza, CE.



Figure 64: Maria Olívia Rebouças as baiana¹¹⁵

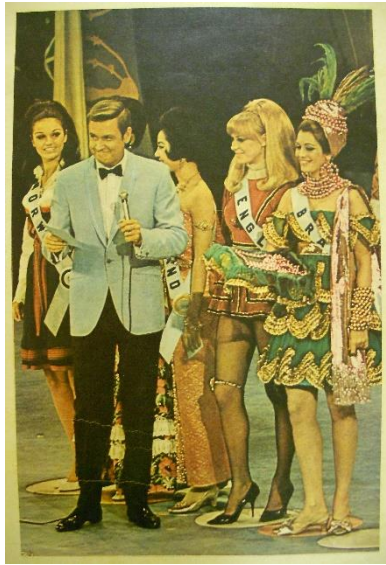


Figure 65: Martha Vasconcelos as baiana¹¹⁶

Did Bahians, Pernambucans, Cearenses, or other Northeasterners see in Martha Rocha, Emília Corrêa, Maria Olívia Rebouças, and Martha Vasconcellos a reflection of themselves? On the tails of

¹¹⁵ “Entre as quinze,” *A Tarde*, July 14, 1962, Jornais e revistas raros, BPEB, Salvador, BA.

¹¹⁶ Justino Martins, “Conversa com o leitor,” *Manchete*, July 27, 1968, Revistas, BPEB, Salvador, BA..

our examination, it hardly seems so. Instead, some states sent to the Miss Brazil contest candidates that they thought would win both the national and international pageants. These women were to represent their state, region, and nation abroad, but in local pageants, Bahia and the Northeast turned to women who more closely fit Brazilian standards of beauty and whose physical characteristics were perceived as representative of the population. Martha Rocha's stint as Miss Brazil in 1954 set the stage for a duplicity in Miss Brazil contests that would, eventually, become silently accepted: Miss Brazil need not reflect Brazilian women, nor Brazilian standards of beauty; she need only match U.S. standards of beauty and U.S. expectations of what a Brazilian woman should look like.

There were, though, exceptions to the tendency to select candidates who fit U.S. standards more than local standards of beauty. Pernambuco and Paraíba, to this day, have never produced a Miss Brazil. Tibi, who was in charge of the beauty and exercise regime of the 1968 candidates for Miss Pernambuco, explains that the judges of the Miss Brazil and Miss Universe pageants saw mostly women whose chest and hip measurements were equal, but the most common body type in "our region" was what he refers to as the "guitar", with a thin waist and thick hips.¹¹⁷ Miss Pernambuco 1968, Maria Eunice Mergulhão, seems to follow this pattern. She also had bronze skin, dark eyes, and long, straight, shiny black hair. While she did not place among the semi-finalists for Miss Brazil, she was certainly beautiful and surely many Pernambucan women would see their characteristics reflected in her image. The Afro-Brazilian Miss Paraíba 1968, Ilona Pinheiro Dias de Sá, noted that she found her greatest fame among a Bahian audience. The Bahians and the *candangos* – workers (mostly Bahian) involved in the construction of Brasília – were among those who, according to the João Pessoa

¹¹⁷ "O tipo padrão, que é muito observado pelos membros das comissões, é aquele em que há igualdade entre o busto e quadris e entre a cintura e coxas. O que é muito difícil de ser encontrado na nossa região, onde o tipo 'violão' aparece muito mais." "Tibi é a maior autoridade em beleza física em Pernambuco."

newspaper *O Norte*, admired her appearance the most.¹¹⁸ Miss Paraíba also did not place among the semi-finalists in the Miss Brazil contest, but this does not mean that her brand of beauty was not appreciated in her state, region, or within other Brazilian states.

Northeastern and Bahian cultural identity evolved in the same period and even shared many intellectuals and artists. Both Bahian and Northeastern identity demanded cultural loyalty through a refusal to replace local culture with imported consumer products. Further, the Bahian sertão shared with the Northeast the narrative of drought, poverty, renewal, and resistance outlined in previous chapters. Nonetheless, while concomitant, movements in Salvador and Recife did not inspire or engender the same regional identity. While movements in Recife originally presented themselves as broadly regional, Salvador's cultural movements were local, particular, and even defined in contrast to the Northeast. Bahia's sertão, indeed, was considered Northeastern by Pernambucans and Bahians, but Salvador was not. Northeastern and Salvadoran culture might have been similar, but to the Bahian and Pernambucan press, at least, the distinctions were clear.

This clarity of distinction rests on the association of the Northeast with poverty, drought, and underdevelopment. It is not that the Northeast did not carry with it other connotations. Indeed, as seen in previous chapters, Northeasterners had molded symbols of stoic rusticity, of naiveté, and of resistance. But fears of inferiority caused by the region's recurring droughts and persistent poverty outshadowed the other terms of conversation about regional identity in the Northeast. Of course the Bahian sertão was Northeastern: it shared its drought, desperation, migration, and poverty. But journalists, artists, and intellectuals in Salvador found little benefit in associating their cultural identity to this narrative, choosing instead to highlight their cities' unique African heritage and cultural vibrancy.

¹¹⁸ "O assunto é Miss," *O Norte*, June 23, 1968, sec. Suplemento Social, Hemeroteca, Casa José Américo, João Pessoa, PB.

Returning to the question that introduced this chapter: Is Carmen Miranda (or other women representing baianas on an international stage) Northeastern? After examining the discourse around our Miss Brazil contestants, the answer is clearly that neither in Bahia nor Pernambuco would she be considered Northeastern. First, her dress and music referred not to a Northeastern regional identity, but to cultural referents specific to Salvador. That she was white, tall, and slender did not hinder her ability to be Northeastern or Bahian, but to be convincing as a Bahiana, she, like Martha Rocha would have needed to emphasize her loyalty to Salvador. According to the standards of cultural authenticity and loyalty outlined in *A Tarde*, she could not be Bahian. A real Bahiana, according to their logic, would never trade a life of vatapá and acarajé for a life of riches in Hollywood.

CONCLUSION

On June 12, 1968 an article appeared on the front cover of the *Diário de Pernambuco* under the headline “Calmon Says Espírito Santo is ‘NE without SUDENE.’”¹ João Calmon was the journalist that launched the press campaign behind the fishermen who are the heroes of the second chapter of this dissertation. But, in 1968, when he described Espírito Santo as belonging to the Northeast, Calmon was a federal senator representing that state. Calmon made the headlined statement at the Primeiro Simpósio sobre o Desenvolvimento do Espírito Santo (First Symposium on the Development of Espírito Santo), leaving quite clear that a “NE without SUDENE” was a Northeast without the support of a regional development agency. To say that Espírito Santo was poor, underdeveloped, and suffering drought was not strong enough to make Calmon’s point. To mention that this poverty and desperation could lead to rebellion was too dangerous a statement. To say that it was Northeastern was a perfect rhetorical mix. A term that was not in use in 1918, 50 years later needed no explanation. The meaning of the Northeast was so recognized that it could be used as both hyperbole and euphemism.

This dissertation has focused on international events, through which the press, artists, intellectuals, activists, educators, and spectators participated in defining the cultural characteristics of the Brazilian Northeast. By including sources that are not commonly referenced in traditional historical studies (cordel literature, clay art, cachaça labels, popular music, carnival blocks) alongside traditional, intellectual sources, it emphasizes that ideas on regional identity circulated amongst groups and spanned social classes. By studying international events or moments of intense international influence and presence in the region, it demonstrates the important role that international

¹ “Calmon diz que Espírito Santo é ‘NE sem SUDENE,’” *Diário de Pernambuco*, June 12, 1968, SM-FUNDAJ, Recife, PE.

embeddedness played in regional identity formation. Finally, by going beyond studies of just Recife or Salvador, this dissertation highlights that ideas about the region's characteristics, contours, expanse, and meaning were contested and constantly debated. In sum, this examination has demonstrated that discussions of Northeastern regional identity spanned social classes, reflected changes in the relationship between the Northeast and the world around it, and was constructed through steady and constant debate. In this way, this study presents the Northeastern region both as an arena within which international events unfolded and as a stage from which the region expressed and impressed itself upon the nation and the world. It emphasizes that processes of local, regional, and national identity are intertwined, multivalent, and incomplete.

Importantly, this dissertation demonstrates that Northeastern regional identity was not stagnant or isolated, but instead, is in constant dialogue with the world around it and was continuously debated and revised. Transformations in regional identity were spurred on by changes in the relationship between the Northeast and the nation, and the Northeast and the world. The desire to define the region's cultural characteristics through institutions, conferences, and publications dedicated to these ends was inspired by the definition of the region as a drought zone by the federal government, but was defended through emphasis on regional identity formation in other countries. The expansion of labor laws through Vargas' centralized labor apparatuses coupled with dismal working and living conditions of Northeastern fishermen inspired the *jangadeiro* voyage that contributed to a narrative of the Northeast as both rustic and brave. Yet, a narrative of the region as naïve and foolish found support in the *jangadeiro* Jacaré's tragic death in Orson Welles' movie and in the withdrawal of U.S. troops after World War II. The inspiration to revise that identity into one of resistance, hope, and potential for revolt found support in intellectuals and activists that made the comparison between U.S. presence in the Northeast and the German invasion of France. International attention given to the *cangaceiro* figure in literature, academic study, and film helped to both politicize

and publicize the Northeast as a place of “resistance.” Meanwhile, anxiety over the potential for international shame or excitement over the potential to showcase the region to an international audience found expression in discussions of World Cup soccer and beauty pageants. Nonetheless, in the end, as Calmon’s plea above makes clear, the strongest thread in the conversation about what it mean to be Northeastern and how the borders boundaries should be drawn was that of drought, poverty, migration, and potential for rebellion.

Yet through this examination, we also learn more about how regional and national identity were articulated in this period. The Northeast did not sit on the periphery of the nation, but rather figured centrally in understandings of the nation, its culture, and its development. Freyre pulled his understanding of national culture from his experience in the Northeast, formulating one of the most influential works on national identity of the twentieth century. He also borrowed from an international historiography to create an understanding of the nation as an intertwined system of regions. The jangadeiros were not just cearense or Northeastern heroes, they were national heroes, recognized by the president on the streets of the nation’s capital. The World Cup matches came to Recife partially due to an organized campaign, but also because FIFA and the CBD scouted possible stadiums in the region. Martha Rocha, Martha Vaconcellos, Emília Corrêa, and Maria Olívia Rebouças were representatives of their states but also representatives of the nation abroad as Miss Brazil.

The region did not always stand in as a representative or proxy to the nation. At times, the region was a scapegoat or foil. The Northeast’s sense of abandonment after the end of World War II had just as much to do with the desire of the region’s inhabitants to be taken seriously as equal to the more developed cities in the South/Southeast as it did to the withdrawal of U.S. troops. Journalists during the war emphasized the camaraderie between the U.S. and the residents of the Northeast because there existed a belief that the region had found a patron that recognized its worth and would elevate its standing within the nation. Instead, at the end of the war, the region’s cities remained in the

same position, if not worse, as they had before. While São Paulo became a center for industrialism in the post-war years and Rio de Janeiro remained the seat of a government that promised 50 years of development in 5 (until it was transferred to Brasília in 1960), the backlands of the Northeast was only recently clear of banditry, was still structured by coronelismo, had impressively high rates of illiteracy and infant mortality, and was still fighting drought. The very persistence of these structures and problems, alongside notions of resistance, popular education, and popular culture emanating out of France after the war justified the politicization of Northeastern poverty through an emphasis on the resistance of the Northeast, its history of rebellion, and potential for revolt. Within the nation, the Northeast served as a reminder of what could become of Brazil if industrialization did not continue forward, while, at the same time, its laborers' refusal to quietly submit to their poverty also became a justification for repression not only on a regional, but on a national scale.

Despite these contributions, there are some limitations to this discussion. Most of the interpretations of regional identity and of relations between the Northeast and the world that I present in this dissertation come from major cities along the Northeastern coast – that is, even when they discuss the sertão, the sources are from Freyre's Northeast of sugarcane. Further, while this study of Northeastern identity is one of the few that steps away from Recife and Salvador to contemplate regional representation in other states (notably Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte), there is little to no discussion of the states of Piauí, Maranhão, Alagoas, Sergipe, and Paraíba. Our tendency to study the Northeast from the coast in and from Recife and Salvador outward does have strong logic: Salvador and Recife are the most populated cities in the region and most of the population of the Northeast lives along the coastline. Nonetheless, there is plenty of room for future studies that focus on sources generated and housed in the sertão. Perhaps, dedication to the study of such sources housed in archives that do not receive the same attention as institutions in coastal cities (which is often not much

to begin with) would promote the conservation of these materials and offer rhetorical tools with which archivists can request greater support from governmental agencies.

Another notable limitation to this study is that, while it incorporates several types of international interactions (conferences, sporting events, military bases, film festivals, beauty pageants), and gestures toward economic and political relations, it does not incorporate a deep study of the effects of agreements between domestic and international agencies like SUDENE and USAID through programs like the Alliance for Progress. In fact, there are no in-depth studies on how international development aid was contextualized and greeted in the Northeast on the ground level, on its effects on the everyday lived experiences of the region's inhabitants, or on how regional identity shifted during the Alliance and in its aftermath. This dissertation provides a rationale and framework for additional studies such as this on international presence in the Brazilian Northeast, and transformations in Northeastern regional identity.

This dissertation also highlights the need to incorporate studies of regionalism within broad discussions of nation formation. Regional studies are not trivial or provincial, but rather provide necessary insight into our understanding of the modern nation. Likewise, since nations throughout the hemisphere are imagined as divided into regions, there is a need for additional work on comparative regionalism that moves beyond a collection of case studies and toward comparisons of the societal, cultural, and structural purposes that dividing nations into regions serves. In such studies, the U.S. should figure alongside Latin American nations, as its regionalism also developed in the twentieth century. In this way, comparing regionalism in, for example, the U.S., Mexico, and Brazil would not only give insight into regional and national identity, but would allow for study of the U.S. in the hemisphere that does not focus on its place and action in the world as exceptional. Instead, in Freyre's terminology, it is yet another nation dressed up in its regions.

In the end, this dissertation has demonstrated that no history of Brazil can be complete without placing its regions – including and, perhaps, especially the Northeast – within its central analysis. Likewise, studies of the effects of U.S. or other international presence in the Northeastern region must examine how the region’s inhabitants debated this presence, revised its meaning, and reframed understandings of the region’s place in the world. These discussions of what the Northeast and its culture meant within the nation and the world were more than just words. They constituted Northeasterners understandings of their place within society, informed their actions, and were, ultimately, aimed either at increasing federal and international attention and aid in the region or at directing the region’s politics, development, and destiny in a different, particular, and utopian direction.

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