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Flowers Grew Out of the Asphalt: Black Women's Territories in São Paulo, 1871-1930

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Flowers Grew Out of the Asphalt: Black Women's Territories in São Paulo, 1871-1930

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in History

by

Katherine Ann Cosby

Dissertation Committee:
Associate Professor Alex Borucki
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2021

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Flowers Grew Out of the Asphalt: Black Women's Territories in São Paulo, 1871-1930

By

Katherine Ann Cosby

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Irvine, 2021

Professor Alex Borucki (Co-chair)

Professor Tiffany-Willoughby-Herard (Co-chair)

Flowers Grew Out of the Asphalt" addresses how the treatment of Black women in the afterlife of slavery, under the guise of whitening ideologies, contributed to the formations of regional identity and Black women's geographies in the city of São Paulo. The lives and presence of Black women after abolition often go unrecognized as part of a larger omission of slavery and Black histories in public discourse and the brick-and-mortar archive. Relying on medicolegal municipal incident reports, this dissertation centers Black women, their geographies, and spatial histories to push against traditional narratives and imaginings of São Paulo as a principally white, Europeanized city.

INTRODUCTION

"Impossible to contain her in one body, impossible not to see her, she circulates but remains invisible nonetheless. Having as, [Kara]Walker says, no place in the memory of her creators as a creation she becomes a realized figment of collective imagination, an avatar of the collective unconscious."

—Christina Sharpe, *Monstrous Intimacies*[1]

Black women were the cornerstone of a post-abolition Brazilian society. However, in archival documents and historiography in the years after abolition, the presence of Black women was erased or omitted. According to scholar Dain Borges, "The omission of slavery from Brazilian public discourse began directly after abolition in 1888 and lasted until 1930."[2] The omission of Black women from public discourse and archival records were particular to Black women because of their gender and race. Black women and their wombs were at the crux of slavery and abolition and the future of Brazil in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Black women and their reproductive capabilities were crucial to slaveholders' justifications of racialized slavery through *partus sequiter ventrem*, the child follows the womb, and the perpetual imagined possibilities of reproducing Black people during slavery and in the post-abolition era.[3] Despite the omission of Black women in public discourse and in archival documents after 1888, the real and imagined production of Black progeny and blackness through Black women's bodies remained essential to biological arguments for the progress and "backwardness" in a modern Brazil. *Embranquecimento*, the process of whitening the population through European immigration and miscegenation, was key to elite discourse and praxis of modernizing and to disappear Black Brazilians in the city of São Paulo in the late nineteenth and

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[1] Christina Elizabeth Sharpe, *Monstrous Intimacies: Making Post-Slavery Subjects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 158.

[2] Dain Borges, "Intellectuals and the Forgetting of Slavery in Brazil," *Annals of Scholarship* 11, no. 1-2 (1996): 37.

[3] Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 1.

early twentieth century.[4] Black women were saddled with reproducing an enslaved population during slavery, and a whitened population that was meant to gradually replace Black Brazilians in the *afterlife of slavery*.[5]

This dissertation addresses the lacuna in historiography of the experiences of Black women in the afterlife of slavery in Brazil, and scientific racism of the late nineteenth century that undergirded policies and institutions of the elite and state actors to disappear Black women. The primary sources that document Black women in the years immediately following abolition remain difficult to locate. As Brazilian scholar Maria Odila Silva Dias noted in her 1995 monograph *Power and Everyday Life* "[t]he social memory of their [Black women] lives is becoming lost, more for ideological logical reasons than through any real lack of documentation."[6] In addition to the ideological reasons for the lack of scholarship on Black women, documentation is "difficult to find, for it is scarce and fragmentary, and implicit rather than explicit in the documents."[7] Undoubtedly, scholars on Black women and the African Diaspora have contributed significant interventions in this area, despite scarce and fragmentary documents, to which my work is indebted.[8]

" Flowers Grew Out of the Asphalt: Black Women's Territories in São Paulo, 1871-1930," provides an account of the spatial memory of Black women surviving under the

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[4] Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity: Sao Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 5.

[5] Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008), 6.

[6] Maria Odila Silva Dias. *Power and Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), Introduction, Kindle edition.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Aisha K. Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841-1844* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio De Janeiro* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Jessica Millward, *Finding Charity's Folk*(Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2015); Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism*12, no. 2 (January 2008): pp. 1-14, https://doi.org/10.1215/-12-2-1.

repressive conditions set by state actors and the elite in Brazil in the afterlife of slavery.[9] The

lives and contributions of Black women after abolition often go unrecognized as part of a larger

omission of slavery and Black histories in public discourse and the archive.[10] When narratives

about Black women emerge in archival documents and historiography, they provide a backdrop

for the lives and memoirs of the Brazilian white elite and patriarchal order. "Flowers Grew Out

of the Asphalt" demonstrates that Black women's lives extended beyond the production of

wealth for the elite or as stand-ins for the white imagination of cultural and economic

backwardness and criminality.[11] Yet, Black women were indispensable to whitening projects and

narratives of progress and modernity in São Paulo.

The epigraph to this introduction, written by Christina Sharpe, succinctly articulates the

role and positionality of Black women in a Brazilian post-abolition society. According to the

elite and state actors, Black women and their progeny were supposed to disappear in the afterlife

of slavery and whitening projects were meant to ensure their disappearance. However, Black

women did not disappear. The myths created in whitening projects as to what São Paulo and

Brazil were supposed to become necessitated the invisibility of Black women. The processes to

invisibilize Black women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (re)made them into

"figment[s] of the collective imagination" and "avatar[s] of the collective unconscious."[12] Black

women circulated in São Paulo as laborers, mothers, and co-creators of the territories and

geographies they inhabited.

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[9] I adapted this title from a subheading, *Quando a flor rompe asfalto*, from Marielle Franco's work entitled "A emergência da vida para superar o anestesiamento social frente a retirada de diretos: o movimento pós-golpe pelo olhar de uma feminista, negra e favelada" (2017).
[10] Dain Borges, "Intellectuals and the Forgetting of Slavery in Brazil," *Annals of Scholarship* 11, no. 1-2 (1996): 37.
[11] Daina Ramey Berry and Jennifer Morgan, "#Blacklivesmatter Till They Don't: Slavery's Lasting Legacy," *The American Prospect*, December 5, 2014.
[12] Christina Elizabeth Sharpe, *Monstrous Intimacies: Making Post-Slavery Subjects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 158.

Black women coexisted with other residents –including indigenous, Black, and white, Middle Eastern, and East-Asian people–at the turn of the twentieth century in São Paulo, but their presence and invisibility uniquely shaped territory and society. Through medical incident reports, oral interviews, newspaper columns, and memorialist accounts, "Flowers Grew Out of the Asphalt" argues that Black women were positioned as the *avatars of the collective unconscious* of modern São Paulo identity as whitening projects were underway. Black women, as *avatars of the collective unconscious*,[13] were a "locus of confounded identities, a meeting ground of investments and privations in the national treasury of rhetorical wealth."[14] Black women and their wombs had ensured a racialized labor force during slavery, and their invisibility and wombs as vessels for whitened Brazilians would secure the future for a modern, white São Paulo. São Paulo needed Black women, and if they were not there, they would have had to have been invented.[15]

The elite, the bourgeoise class that mostly comprised of plantation owners due to the export orientation of the country, supported immigration initiatives.[16] The state of São Paulo accounted for forty to fifty percent of the coffee output in the world,[17] and coffee comprised of 80 percent of Brazil's exports that drove the economy.[18] The so-called social question in early-

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[13] Christina Elizabeth Sharpe, *Monstrous Intimacies: Making Post-Slavery Subjects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 158.

[14] Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics*17, no. 2 (1987): 65.

[15] In the original text Hortense Spillers asserts, *"My country needs me, and if I were not here, I would have to be invented* (Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe", 65).

[16] Steve Topik, *The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889-1930,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), Brazil's Social Structure, Introduction, Kindle edition.

[17] Steve Topik, *The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889-1930*, Conclusion, The Defense of Coffee, Kindle edition.

[18] Steve Topik, *The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889-1930*, Brazil's Social Structure, Introduction, Kindle edition.

twentieth-century São Paulo and *paulista* and *paulistano* identity were bound to the economy, abolition, and a push for immigration.[19]

Historiography

As the dynamics of slavery changed in the late nineteenth century after the passage of the Free Womb Law in 1871, the elite and state actors invested in immigration initiatives to whiten the population and replace the formerly enslaved labor force. Between 1890 to 1919 more than 2.6 million immigrants entered Brazil and their migration was facilitated and subsidized by the wealth of the state of São Paulo from coffee exports. [20] By the 1920s, São Paulo had become the second most populous state in the country due to European immigration and the migration of formerly enslaved people. The population in the city of São Paulo grew from 35,000 people in 1880 to 2.2 million by 1950.[21]

The elite and state actors propelled the social project of *embranquecimento* that sought to "whiten" the population through Lamarckian eugenicists policies in education, public health, hygiene, and general fitness and European immigration. [22] According to Lamarckian eugenics, a Black or "mixed race" person could whiten his or herself through hygiene practices and education, even if their phenotype indicated non-European ancestry.[23] Theoretically*,* Brazilians could overcome social conceptions of "backwardness "or "degeneracy" at birth and become a modern and progressive citizen in their lifetime.

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[19] Barbara Weinstein, The Color of Modernity, 3.
[20] Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present,* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 61.
[21] George Reid Andrews, *Blacks & Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 22.
[22] Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 9.
[23] Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1996), 83.

Though state actors and the elite may not have agreed on all aspects of nineteenth century racial ideologies, the values held in common perpetuated the creation of anti-Black institutions, policies, and society– principally through "science." Physicians, reformers, and sanitation officials became preoccupied with the social conditions of Black and poor Brazilians in the early twentieth century. The Brazilian elite and health and sanitation officials embraced eugenics policies in education, public health, hygiene, and general fitness of the culture to ostensibly overcome "social problems" and the perceived shortcomings of the nation.[24]

State actors attributed the lack of education, poverty, and poor sanitary conditions in the city to their belief that Black Brazilians were inherently unhygienic, ignorant, and hereditarily unfit. [25] Furthermore state actors in the period of the First Republic (1889-1930) implanted "the idea [that] progress was linked to the concept of imposed harmony in society."[26] Harmony and progress, in the views of the positivists, were meant to be achieved by whitening the Brazilian population.[27] The elite and state actors invested in a future that would be hostile to Black women, and yet the "successes" of the elite for a whitened São Paulo depended on them.

Methodology and Chapter Outline

Through my analysis of Black women's geographies in this dissertation, I expand on Brazilianist historian Barbara Weinstein's work to demonstrate the connections between narratives of *embranquecimento* (whitening) and regional paulista exceptionalism in the twentieth century. As a departure from Weinstein's keen approach to the construction of paulista

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[24] Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 9.

[25] Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1996), 20.

[26] Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893-1897,* (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 2006), 15.

[27] Ibid.

identity that hinged around notions of whiteness, my research centers anti-Blackness and *misogynoir*, anti-Black and anti-Black woman experiences specific to Black women, in the praxis of *embranquecimento* at the turn of the twentieth century.[28]

The Brazilian elite claimed the significance of São Paulo in the nation-state as the city that got it right *(a cidade que deu certo)* or, as I maintain, *the city that got it white*.[29] Paulista regional identity was a racialized category used to explain the successful historic and economic trajectory of São Paulo that set it apart from other regions.[30] Paulistas imagined themselves as the progressive and modern center of the First Republic and as leaders for the future of Brazil.[31] I engage Weinstein's contention that paulista identity, or paulista exceptionalism, was inextricably linked to notions of progress and whiteness.

Weinstein's emphasis on the juxtaposition of the nineteenth century concept of the *Two Brazils–* "one, a modern, progressive, cosmopolitan version concentrated on or near the coast, and the other, traditional, even backward, stranded in time in the backlands"–[32] also informed my analysis on race and geography in the afterlife of slavery. In *The Color of Modernity*, Weinstein asserts that the racialized ideology of the "Two Brazils," the North versus the South, was mobilized by the paulista elite to account for economic inequalities and political divisions and to maintain their power through regional geographies.[33] The racialized ideology of the "Two Brazils" is also fitting for the geographies of the city São Paulo in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

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[28] Moya Bailey and Trudy, "On Misogynoir: Citation, Erasure, and Plagiarism," *Feminist Media Studies* 18, no. 4 (2018):762.
[29] Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity: Sao Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil*, 266.
[30] Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity*, 6.
[31] Stanley J. Stein, *Vassouras, a Brazilian Coffee Country, 1850-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), vii.
[32] Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity*, 94.
[33] Ibid, 95.

Despite the racialized division of geographies between the supposed progressive white South and the "backward" non-white North, Black and Indigenous Brazilians resided in all resided in all regions of the country, including São Paulo. The presence of Black paulistanos threatened the viability of the "Two Brazils" and the paulistas claims to power as leaders of Brazil in the long nineteenth century. Moreover, the logic of the "Two Brazils" guided the elite and state actor's creation of bifurcated racial geographies in São Paulo as evidence of progress in the capital city and state. I read the concept of the "Two Brazils" as a geographic facet of the long nineteenth century racial regime that was undergirded by race as the justification for power.[34]

In order to construct a narrative on Black women's geographies in the afterlife of slavery, I analyzed and mapped the geographies of medical incidents that involved Black women in the "1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database" using digital humanities tools. The data gleaned from the incident report database, newspapers columns, and oral history interviews enabled a close reading of Black women's geographies alongside traditional geographies of the city at the height of whitening practices and in the years after abolition. By examining how modernizing forces, such as *embranquecimento*, attempted to push Black women to the margins of São Paulo identity and geographies, I position the incident locations of Black women as a site of "political struggle, subjectivity, and negotiation" in urban space.[35]

Saidiya Hartman's critical fabulation, a methodology she developed for reading while "straining against the limits of the archive," guided the methodology for my dissertation project to piece together a narrative on the lives of Black women found in fragmented archival

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[34] Cedric Robinson, *Forgeries of Memory and Meaning: Blacks and the Regimes of Race in American Theater and Film before World War II,* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), xi-xii.
[35] Aisha K. Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841-1844*, 124.

documents.[36] Additionally, the resurgence of geography in Black Studies over the few decades has also shaped my work. Katherine McKittrick's theoretical work on Black women's unrepresentability in traditional geographies provided the language and lens necessary to recognize and name Black women's geographies in my research. Geographer Katherine McKittrick asserts "that we take the language and the physicality of geography seriously, that is, as an 'imbrication of material and metaphorical space,' so that black lives and black histories can be conceptualized and talked about in new ways."[37]

The depth and range of Hartman's and McKittrick's scholarship anticipated the recent call for a turn in studying geography in Latin American History toward critical space theory. Critical space theory enables "new lines of inquiry regarding race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, while challenging the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of Cartesian mapping."[38] Critical space theory, critical fabulation, and critical cartographies are complementary methodologies that I rely on challenge traditional historical narratives and geographies.

"Flowers Grew Out of the Asphalt" centers the lives of Black women, starting with the debates on the Free Womb Law as the foundations for the afterlife of slavery, to push against conventional regional and municipal elite imaginings of São Paulo as a principally white, European, and immigrant city. Furthermore, it also demonstrates how the elite and state actors embedded the long nineteenth-century social and material conditions of Black women onto traditional geographies. Chapter One, "Black Quitandeiras, São Paulo, and Black Spatiality,"

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[36] Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 12, no. 2 (January 2008): 11.

[37] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2006), Geographies of Domination, Transatlantic Slavery, Diaspora, Introduction, Kindle edition.

[38] Brian Bockelman and Jeffrey A. Erbig, "Still Turning toward a Cartographic History of Latin America," *History Compass* 18, no. 7 (2020): 8.

addresses how Black women street vendors and their itinerant labor etched a Black spatial memory in Sé, São Paulo, and that their presence was central to state actors' and the elite's narratives of whitening and modernization of the city. Through memorialist accounts and newspaper columns, I demonstrate how the presence of Black *quitandeiras* (market women) were foundational to the elite and state actors claims of progress and modernity in São Paulo. The Europeanization of the city center, according to the elite and state actors, depended on the absence and erasure of Black quitandeiras.

Chapter Two, "Limits of Black Womanhood, Motherhood, and the Home" explores the conditions of Black womanhood and motherhood in São Paulo and examines how the continuation of control over Black women in the post-abolition era shored up power for the elite and state actors. Here, I rely on depositions from the "Memory of Slavery in Black Families from São Paulo" from Black women who were born in the early twentieth century. In this chapter, I argue that the pathway constructed by state actors for the afterlife of slavery might be understood through the passage of the Free Womb Law of 1871. The debates on the 1871 law also illustrate how the power of the elite and state actors was reconstructed through *misogynoir* that continued into the early twentieth century.[39]

Chapter Three, "Territorialization of Black Women in São Paulo," uses the concept of misogynoir to examine the role of scientific racism in modern São Paulo, as evidenced through the *Gabinete Médico* (Medical Cabinet) medicolegal incident reports.[40] I interrogate medicolegal incident reports on Black women from 1912, 1916, 1924, 1928, and 1930 to argue that Black women were uniquely positioned in the afterlife of slavery, and were central to whitening

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[39] Moya Bailey and Trudy, "On Misogynoir: Citation, Erasure, and Plagiarism," *Feminist Media Studies*18, no. 4 (2018): pp. 762-768, https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2018.1447395.
[40] Ibid.

ideology and practices in São Paulo. Moreover, I employ the medical incident reports to demonstrate how the Brazilian racial regime was as invested in white supremacy as other contemporary racial regimes in the Americas.

Lastly, Chapter Four, "Black Paulistana Women's Geographies," maps Black women's geographies through incident locations in the incident reports and employs "the practice of the *quilombo*" (establishing autonomous spaces) to contest the traditional geographies of São Paulo.[41] Through incident reports in the neighborhoods of Santa Cecilia and Brás, this chapter demonstrates how centering Black women's geographies challenges whitening narratives upheld by the elite and state actors. I argue that Black women's geographies not only challenge traditional narratives, but they also create the possibilities of envisioning place without the role of the state.

1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database

The incident reports employed in this dissertation comprise the "1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database" that I created from nearly 3,000 incident reports in 107 books in the *Gabinete Médico* (Medical Cabinet) from 1912, 1916, 1924, 1928, and 1930 on Black women in São Paulo. In 1906, state actors created a unit in the *Gabinete Médico* to provide medical assistance for poor São Paulo residents. The doctors in the *Gabinete Médico* were required to report the name, race, age, profession, and residence of the patient, as well as the location where the patient was found, where they were sent, the location and nature of the incident, and the reason for medical help. All of this information was recorded from the standpoint of a clinician or the police. Of the four geographic data pieces in the reports, this

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[41] Christen Anne Smith, "Towards a Black Feminist Model of Black Atlantic Liberation: Remembering Beatriz Nascimento," *Meridians* 14, no. 2 (2016): 77.

dissertation focuses solely on the incident's location. Race was generally omitted in majority of state documents in the post-abolition era, these reports and unexplored geographic data provide a unique source to interrogate Black women's lives in São Paulo. The database of incident reports also provides a rich set of sources with detailed information regarding the everyday surveillance of Black women's lives in early twentieth-century São Paulo.

A Note on Terminology

The incident reports, newspaper columns, and oral interviews represented gender through names and gender markers of masculine and feminine words. The categories of gender in Portuguese reproduce gender binaries of men/women or masculine/feminine and do not provide the language to understand gender outside of the binary in official documentation. The category of woman, in this dissertation, reflects a gender binary and not variations of gender or how the person may have self-identified.

Paulistano(a) is a demonym for resident of the city of São Paulo–the capital of the state of São Paulo. There are some cases that I use paulista as a stand-in for resident of the state of São Paulo. I also frequently use the Portuguese word *bairro* to refer to a particular district, neighborhood, or borough in São Paulo. Many of the neighborhoods have identities similar to boroughs, though the word can also be used indicate the administrative district. The word remains in Portuguese to encompass all of the definitions of bairro.

Throughout the dissertation, I use *Black* to refer to people who were categorized as *preta* or *parda* in archival documents. While racial terms had meaning for São Paulo residents and for state actors, both *pardo* (mixed race) and *preta (*Black) signify non-whiteness. In a country where race categories could theoretically afford social, economic, and political privilege and

standing based on their proximity to whiteness, the idea of race has remained an "efficient tool of social domination."[42] Over the course of the *racial long durée*, [43] "whiteness" has been a stand-in for full-citizenship, wealth, political power, and being human, and has flattened other racial categories as deviations from a white standard. Many of the documents employed in this dissertation did not account for self-determination, such as the incident reports. It is unclear how racial categories were chosen in the project entitled the "Memory of Slavery in Black Families from São Paulo." Even if the interviewees were able to self-identify, the purpose and title of the interviews established a connection to their ancestors who were enslaved and frequently categorized as preta.

Under the circumstances of a *racial long durée* throughout the Americas where whiteness signifies the only possibility for full humanity and citizenship, I read pardo or preto as linked to blackness or as negotiation of non-whiteness. If whiteness was not readily recognized as the "master race,"[44] racial categories might offer a different kind of nuance as to how people saw themselves without whiteness as a fixed point of reference. Unfortunately, reading pardo or preto as "Black" does not allow for distinctions between Black and Indigenous people. Recent scholarship and Indigenous activists have brought attention to the erasure of Indigenous people in historiography and in public discourse that this dissertation does not remedy.[45] However, it is my aim through using Black Feminist Studies not to foreclose Black geographies as exclusively for Black people, but, rather, as shared space with all inhabitants of the territory. Furthermore,

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[42] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation--An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 263.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Yuko Miki, *Frontiers of Citizenship: A Black and Indigenous History of Postcolonial Brazil* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Mobilização Nacional Indígena, "Demarcação Já," Demarcação Já (Mobilização Nacional Indígena, April 24, 2017), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbMzdkaMsd0.

the term Black geographies is not meant to point to ownership of the land or to negate the

continued presence of the original people of Brazil and São Paulo.

Finally, David Covin's argument that "Black people could be determined not only by

their appearance, but also by their work, their occupation, their wealth, their station in life,"[46]

also guides my understanding of race and Blackness in Brazil in the afterlife of slavery.

Blackness is more than phenotype, which may be one of the reasons why scholars choose to

make certain distinctions between non-white racial categories. The station in life, wealth,

occupation, and work may have differed across the diaspora, but proximity to Blackness lessened

life chances to live a life with dignity and increased the possibilities of premature death due to

the "organized abandonment" engineered by the elite and state actors in the post-abolition era.[47]

The multiple interlocking variables of race in Brazil and the costs of being associated with

Blackness points to Cedric Robinson's incisive observation that "[r]ace is mercurial—deadly and

slick."[48]

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[46] David Covin, *The Unified Black Movement in Brazil*, *1978-2002,* 31.
[47] Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Forgotten Places and the Seeds of Grassroots Planning," in *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship*, ed. Charles R. Hale (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008), 31.
[48] Cedric J. Robinson*, Forgeries of Memory and Meaning, 4.*

CHAPTER 1: *Black Quitandeiras, São Paulo, and Black Spatiality*

Black women *quitandeiras*,[49] itinerant produce vendors, have been extensively written about throughout the Americas as free or enslaved laborers in urban spaces. Undoubtedly, quitandeiras were significant in the inventions of economic geographies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the modernization of space and territory took form. The city of São Paulo– like other prominent cities in other slavocratic states in the Americas–was frequently dubbed as a city of European immigrants. São Paulo's marketing of itself largely ignored the key role of Black women itinerants to the development of modern cities and their forward-looking economies. By definition, post-abolition slavocracies in the Americas have been historicized as sites of economic modernization through the elimination of "premodern" economic relations like slavery and the eviction or removal of the caste of enslaved laborers whose formative role in these modern economies was a bitter reminder of slavery as a foundation for capital accumulation and economic development.[50]

Nourishment in nineteenth-century urban São Paulo was considerably dependent on enslaved and free Black women who sold consumable goods in the street.[51] Although the city of São Paulo is known as a sprawling urban metropolis in present-day, it was a semi-rural small town of 50,000 inhabitants in 1886 (compared to 250,000 in Rio de Janeiro) until the beginning of the twentieth century.[52] Black quitandeiras sold their goods in the heart of central and semi-

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[49] A *Quitandeira* is a Brazilian term to identify a person who sells vegetables and other items on the street.
[50] Dale Tomich, "The Second Slavery and World Capitalism: A Perspective for Historical Inquiry." *International Review of Social History* 63, no. 3 (2018): 480-483. See also Eric Eustace Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1994).
[51] Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado and Marília Bueno de Araújo Ariza "Escravas e libertas na cidade: experiências de trabalho, maternidade e emancipação em São Paulo (1870-1888)," *Negros Nas Cidades Brasileiras* (Sao Paulo, SP: Editora Intermeios, 2019), 120.
[52] Territórios Negros nas Cidades Brasileiras (etnicidade e cidade em São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro) https://raquelrolnik.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/territc3b3rios-negros.pdf; The city of Recife in the state of

rural São Paulo that created a path for survival in a hostile space where a slavocratic economic

and spatial logic prevailed. Despite these nineteenth century organizing logics, Black

quitandeiras and their itinerant labor in the late nineteenth century etched Black spatial memory

into São Paulo on the precipice of modern urban development and in the crux of legal abolition.

On January 30, 1873, Black abolitionist Luiz Gama submitted a formal petition, with four

named supplicants, to the municipal government of São Paulo or Câmara Municipal.[53] Free,

Black quitandeiras Antonia Maria das Dores, Paula Jordão, Maria das Dores, Maria da

Conceição, and other quitandeiras requested that the government provide a place where they

could sell their goods freely on Rua das Casinhas (Rua XV de Novembro) or near the *palacio* in

the city center, Sé. In the petition, the quitandeira supplicants and Gama presented part of their

everyday contexts and emphasized how crucial it was for the quitandeiras to continue their work

unimpeded.[54]

Following a summary of the petition on the top of the first page, addressed to the

president and council members of the Câmara Municipal, Luiz Gama introduced the women

issuing the petition as "*as pretas livres*" (the free Black women) along with the names of the

supplicants. This mention is the only instance where Gama indicates the race, or *côr*, of the

Black quitandeiras. Instead, Gama refers to the Black quitandeiras as supplicants, or *suplicantes*,

in the remainder of the document. He presents the conditions of the Black quitandeiras in direct

juxtaposition with the conditions of the "*senhoras portuguesas, vendiam objetos de quitanda*"

(Portuguese women who sold fruit and vegetable items). The Black quitandeiras and Luiz Gama

Pernambuco was three times the size of São Paulo in the 1870s (Celso Castilho, *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship*, 13).

[53] Luiz Gama, Requerimento à Câmara Municipal, January 30, 1873. Petition. From Arquivo Histórico de São Paulo. (accessed April 2, 2019).

[54] Maria Odila Silva Dias notes that it is unlikely that quitandeiras worked more than four days a week in the early stages of urbanization. The four-day week was a custom among African businesswomen from the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, Senegal, and Dahomey (*Power and Everyday Life*, chap. 4, Kindle edition).

asserted that Portuguese quitandeiras in Sé were granted better labor opportunities by the Câmara Municipal than Black quitandeiras, which was a frequent claim among Black workers at the turn of the twentieth century in Latin America.[55]

The bairro of Sé, the space of dispute in the Black quitandeiras' petition, was a significant site in São Paulo from the colonial period to post-abolition for Black and non-Black people. Undoubtedly, free and enslaved Black quitandeiras shaped the central bairro that is considered as a foundational place for the city of São Paulo.[56] The shifts in logic and importance of territory from the viewpoint of state administrators and the elite deeply impacted Black women's geographies and their livelihood.[57]

Antonia Maria das Dores, Paula Jordão, Maria das Dores, Maria da Conceição, and others stated that they worked to sustain themselves to earn their "daily bread" and could not afford to rent a room as Portuguese quitandeiras were financially able to do on Rua das Casinhas.[58] According to the quitandeiras, paulistanos were accustomed to buying their produce in the mornings on Rua das Casinhas, and the Portuguese quitandeiras remained in this location in rented rooms with their work uninterrupted, which gave them economic exclusivity to selling their produce.[59] They contended that the municipal government mandates "indirectly condemned [Black quitandeiras] to misery and prohibited them from participating in honest and useful

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[55] George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 142-143.

[56] Maria Odila da Silva Dias, "Nas Fímbrias De Escravidão Urbana: Negras De Tabuleiro e De Ganho." *Estudos Econômicos Universidade de São Paulo* 15 (1985): 89–109; Maria Cristina Cortez Wissenbach, *Sonhos Africanos, Vivências Ladinas: Escravos E Forros Em São Paulo (1850-1880)*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1998; Ana Barone and Flavia Rios, *Negros Nas Cidades Brasileiras*. São Paulo, SP: Editora Intermeios, 2019.

[57] I employ Raquel Rolnik's definition of the elite as rural plantation owners, rich businessmen, bankers, lawyers, doctors, and engineers who maintained familial and professional bonds (*A cidade e a lei*, 152).

[58] Luiz Gama, Requerimento à Camara Municipal, January 30, 1873. Petition. From Arquivo Histórico de São Paulo. (accessed April 2, 2019).

[59] In this context, *Paulistano* is a term used to mean resident of the city of São Paulo. *Paulista* indicates a resident of the state of São Paulo.

labor," and requested that the government furnish a place for free for the women to continue to sell their goods on equal footing with the Portuguese quitandeiras (*em pé da egualdade* [sic] *poderám [sic] todos livremente cuidar do seu negocio*) on Rua das Casinhas.[60]

In these decades, the paulistano elite increased their efforts to Europeanize and urbanize São Paulo. In times of slavery, land was clearly divided between the master and the slave in São Paulo. The city was dominated by force and violence through cultural difference and skin color, making a geographic color line.[61] Historically, land in Brazil was free for as long as slave labor persisted. Even though Princess Isabel declared formal legal emancipation on May 13, 1888, the road to abolition began in the early nineteenth century with external pressure from England to end the transatlantic slave trade, which came to fruition in 1850. The internal slave trade continued in Brazil until 1888.[62] In the post-abolition era, the land became limited and restricted. The emergence of segregation was a structuring element of environmental and urban reform in São Paulo, as taking over the most desirable areas was the foremost concern of state actors and the elite.[63] City administrators and government officials redefined urban place during the era of abolition, European immigration, the still-growing coffee economy.[64]

São Paulo became a financial and mercantile center as the main exporter of coffee with railroads for transportation as a result of the expansion of coffee in the interior of São Paulo and Minas Gerais at the end of the nineteenth century.[65] Before this era, the lack of labor and capital

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[60] Luiz Gama, Requerimento à Camara Municipal, January 30, 1873. Petition. From Arquivo Histórico de São Paulo. (accessed April 2, 2019).
[61] Raquel Rolnik, A *Cidade e a lei: Legislação, política urbana e territórios na cidade de São Paulo* (São Paulo, SP: FAPESP, 1997), 39.
[62] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a lei*, 75.
[63] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a lei*, 29-37.
[64] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a lei*, 75.
[65] Janes Jorge, *Tietê, O rio que a cidade perdeu: São Paulo, 1890-1940* (São Paulo, SP: Alameda, 2006), 46.

failed to transform the city, which was far from being acceptable for the local elites. Maria Odila

Silva Dias states that it 1822,

> It was difficult to walk on the badly paved streets; armed men, muleteers and their
> friends would take part in stampedes and shootings on horseback; garbage would
> pile up by the walls of the houses; the streets were full of domestic slaves, both
> men and women, carrying *tigres* (barrels full of human waste) and fetching water
> from the fountain, with a great deal of shouting and sometimes breaking into
> rioting and knife fights.[66]

The elite, state actors, and foreign investors organized the city of São Paulo from a boom in land

speculation that occurred between 1885 to 1900.[67] As slavery was abolished and European

immigrants moved to the city and the countryside, segregation was a structuring element of

urban organization by the elite and investors that was ultimately determined by real estate prices

and political disputes over space for different social classes.[68]

São Paulo, located well within the coffee zones, was forged out of the politics and

economics of the second slavery, which were marked shifts in enslaved commodity production

and economic and material expansion and specialization in the capitalist world-economy.[69]

Second slavery was not a clean break from the past but evolved from previous iterations of

slavery to produce the modern world system of "racial capitalism." Racial capitalism was

dependent on slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide.[70] In this context, anti-Black racism

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[66] Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), chap.3, Kindle editions.
[67] Janes Jorge, *Tietê, O rio que a cidade perdeu*, 46-47.
[68] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a lei,* 28.
[69] Dale W. Tomich, *The Politics of the Second Slavery* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2016), ix.
[70] Robin D.G. Kelley, Forward to *Black Marxism*: *The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* by Cedric J. Robinson, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), xiii.

had become inextricably linked to slavery by the nineteenth century, when the urbanization of

São Paulo depended on these factors to construct a recognizably European and modern city.

São Paulo's elite abandoned the centrally located bairro Sé as a place of residence to

create an exclusive center for services and commerce that symbolized modernity in this period.[71]

The District of Sé had been the core nucleus of São Paulo during the colonial period, originally

defined by the Tamanduateí and Anhangabaú rivers.[72] Sé, also demarcated by the triangle

formed by the convents São Bento, Carmo, and São Francisco, was an administrative center for

religious organizations, public torture (the roll, pillory, and the gallows), slave auctions, and

market places among other activities. Apart from European occupied spaces in Sé, the Black

brotherhood for Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos constructed a church in 1730 that

served as an important Black burial ground for free and enslaved people, and a cultural and

religious center for Africans until its demolition in 1905.[73]

The largest concentration of enslaved people resided in Sé with the wealthiest families

who owned slaves as a "point of honor" among the elite.[74] Although, the majority of elite

slaveholders owned the enslaved through credit and struggled to maintain the number of people

they desired.[75] Apart from the elite, slaveholders in nineteenth-century urban São Paulo

comprised of widows, single white women, or families who possessed a few enslaved people.[76]

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[71] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a lei,* 107.
[72] Barros Ferreira, *História dos bairros de São Paulo: O nobre e antigo bairro da Sé*, vol. 10 (São Paulo, SP: Prefeitura Municipal, 1968), 11.
[73] Barros Ferreira, *História dos bairros de São Paulo*, 38. The mayor of São Paulo, Antonio Prado, renamed the plaza after himself after the church was demolished. The church *Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos* was rebuilt in *Paissandu* where it stands to this day.
[74] Maria Helena Machado, *Sendo cautivo nas ruas*, 66.
[75] Ibid.; "Indeed, slave labor was so omnipresent in Brazil by these years that its uses far exceeded the elementary function of production. The presence of slaves had begun to invade the subtler regions of "vanity" and "vice." Providing the master class "a certain pleasure of command and authority" as one mid-nineteenth-century observer, Luiz Lacerda put it (Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 150)."
[76] Maria Helena Machado, *Sendo cautivo nas ruas*, 64.

In point of fact, the city was made up of predominately impoverished women who lived off of the daily wages of their domestic servants.[77] Of the slaveholder women who possessed one or two enslaved people, seventy percent of these women had only enslaved women in their homes or enslaved Black women with young Black children.[78] Many of the enslaved women made their wages by selling foodstuffs alongside free Black women, like the 1873 petitioners.

The 1873 petition issued by Antonia Maria das Dores, Paula Jordão, Maria das Dores, Maria da Conceição and others is a two-page handwritten document by Luiz Gama. Yet, this record provides multiple indicators for the types of challenges and realities that Black women may have endured during the long nineteenth century. Black women were subjected to a combination of racism and misogyny, known as misogynoir, that made the challenges they faced particular to Black women.[79] In the first section, this chapter shows Black women and Black women's bodies positioned at the center of the politics of second slavery after the crisis of 1850 provoked by the ending of the transatlantic slave trade.[80] In the second section, I examine how Black women were equally central to the emergence of São Paulo as the urban, modern emblem for Brazil.

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[77] Maria Odila Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life*, The Myth of the Absent Lady, chap.3, Kindle editions.
Maria Helena Machado makes a similar argument in *Sendo cautivo nas ruas* (2004).
[78] Maria Odila Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life*, chap. 4, Kindle edition.
[79] Moya Bailey, "They Aren't Talking about Me...," Cropped-original-1-3.png, March 05, 2011, accessed April 30, 2018, http://www.crunkfeministcollective.com/2010/03/14/they-arent-talking-about-me/.
[80] 1850 marks the ending of the transatlantic slave trade for Brazil and the increase of an internal slave trade heading to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro up to the abolition of slavery in 1888. Dale Tomich contends that "the new zones of slave production were formed as parts of a distinct historical cycle of economic and geographic expansion of the capitalist world-economy that transformed the Atlantic world during the first part of the nineteenth century." The concept of second slavery accounts for the specificity of particular social formations and the complexity of the historical processes forming and reforming the capitalist world-system…and it calls attention to the changing character of slavery within the expansion and reformation of the world-economy and the coexistence and interdependence of slavery, wage labor (and by implication other forms of commodity producing labor, including combinations of coerced labor and wage labor and/or subsistence labor), and industrial production within a unified world division of labor. (*The Second Slavery and World Capitalism*, 4-7)."

1871, The Free Womb Law as a Measure of Wartime and Labor

The context of the free quitandeira's 1873 petition and the kinds of socio-spatial measures that the paulistano elite and state actors enforced, regarding Black women, were shaped by the institution of slavery. Even though the quitandeiras in the petition were not enslaved, they were constrained by laws and policies at the precise moment when the abolition of slavery was supposedly initiated. This reflects the ambiguous space that Black women had to navigate in the 1870s and the lingering grip of slaveocracy in the post-abolition era.

Two years before the request of the Black quitandeiras, the Rio Branco Law of 1871 was the first "emancipatory" measure passed after contentious debates by politicians and legislators.[81] The discussion over "Free Womb Law" centered on concerns as to whether or not this move would create new possibilities for abolition. The law ostensibly granted freedom to enslaved women's children after the age of 21 through labor indenture and state intervention in slaveholder property relations.[82] In the past, scholars have mistakenly concluded that the Rio Branco Law was a step on the way toward emancipation, but that has been strongly condemned by Black feminist historical research methodology. "Free Womb Law" freedoms were guaranteed by the "non/former/un mothering" of Black enslaved women who lost their children to the state, or in most cases, to the slaveholder.[83]

Furthermore, Camila Cowling contends that the 1871 law and the reactions to the law "recast not only the abolition debate but also the dynamics of political life more broadly."[84] Rather than serving as a law to achieve the gradual abolition of slavery, the Rio Branco Law was

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[81] Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio De Janeiro* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of Carolina Press, 2013), 49.

[82] Christina Elizabeth Sharpe, *In the Wake: on Blackness and Being* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 77.

[83] Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 77; "Only 113 children in Brazil were ever handed over to the state by Brazilian slaveholders (Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom,* 65)."

[84] Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom,* 53.

an attempt to recast and sustain slavery to accommodate slaveholders.[85] Perhaps, conceiving of the Rio Branco Law as a marker on the road to abolition obscures the process by which political and social life were recast more than it illuminates the path to abolition.

The supplicants of 1873, Antonia Maria das Dores, Paula Jordão, Maria das Dores, Maria da Conceição, indicated themselves as free Black women two years after the *Lei do Rio Branco* was passed. The quitandeiras petition provides some insight into the economic and social lives of black women but does not grant access to other intimate details of their lives. It is unclear if the Black quitandeiras had filial ties or kin that they supported with their income or if they had children whose labor was still beholden to their former slaveholder by law, and thus, while free, they might have remained intertwined with slavery. Without any indication as to who might have been dependent on their labor, the four quitandeira women requested space as vital to their survival.

Furthering Cowling's contention that the 1871 law recast the dynamics of political life in the context of abolition, the *Lei do Rio Branco* was both pivotal and fundamental to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The legalized and much-trumpeted end of the transatlantic slave trade in 1850 altered the structure of slavery in the Brazilian Empire that triggered a crisis for the economic practices built on slavery.[86] Throughout the transatlantic slave trade, there was a "naturally decreasing slave population" despite "regular replenishment" through the trade to Brazil.[87] In the nineteenth century, more than two enslaved men per enslaved woman disembarked from the African continent to arrive in Brazil.[88] The mortality rate was high

[85] Margarita Rosa, "Filial Freedoms, Ambiguous Wombs: Partus Sequitur Ventrem and the 1871 Brazilian Free Womb Law." *Slavery & Abolition*, no.2 (2019): 8.

[86] Yuko Miki, "Slave and Citizen in Black and Red: Reconsidering the Intersection of African and Indigenous Slavery in Postcolonial Brazil," *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no. 1 (2013): 8.

[87] Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 15. Citing Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census,* 29.

[88] David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Was the Slave Trade Dominated by Men?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23, no.2 (1992): 241.

for enslaved people during this traffic, as many died from exhaustion, disease, ill-treatment, or poor diet.[89] After 1850, reproduction became crucial to sustaining the interprovincial slave trade and the institution of slavery in Brazil.[90]

The economic crisis brought on by the end of the transatlantic slave trade and the precedents set by the war in the nineteenth century did not make the continuation and reinvention of slavery inevitable. The American Civil War (1861–1865) and the Paraguayan War (1864–1870), both notoriously gruesome and costly wars for human lives, were external and internal events that shaped Brazilian slavery.[91] The American Civil War came to represent emancipation globally, and the Paraguayan War reinforced local concerns about the end of slavery in Brazil.[92] These factors, along with continued acts of resistance and survival by Black people, impacted the social and political discussions about the state and future of slavery.

The Paraguayan War shaped social dynamics and categories of race and gender. Before abolition, military service was linked to criminality, blackness, and dishonor rather than with "manliness" and "respectability." Many military members were either remanded by police or they volunteered to escape hunger and homelessness.[93] During the Paraguayan War, it was common practice for slaveholders to emancipate enslaved Black men to fight on the frontlines in the place of the slaveholder or slaveholder's sons.[94] In this conflict, Brazil mobilized at least four times the number of troops than for any previous war and forced "respectable" men to serve

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[89] Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 15. Citing Leslie Bethell, "The Independence of Brazil and the Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Anglo-Brazilian Relations, 1822-1826," *Latin American Studies* 1, no. 2 (November 1969).
[90] Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "Guerra Civil Dos Estados Unidos E a Crise Da Escravidão No Brasil," *Afro-Ásia* 51 (2015): 3.
[91] Bruno Da Fonseca Miranda, "O Vale Da Paraíba Contra a Lei Do Ventre Livre," 1865-1871, PhD diss., Universidade De São Paulo, 2018, Biblioteca Digital De Teses E Dissertações Da USP, 28.
[92] Celso Thomas Castilho, *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship*, 25.
[93] Peter M. Beattie, "The House, the Street, and the Barracks: Reform and Honorable Masculine Social Space in Brazil, 1864-1945," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (August 1996): 439-440.
[94] Wiebke Ipsen, "Patricias, Patriarchy, and Popular Demobilization: Gender and Elite Hegemony in Brazil at the End of the Paraguayan War," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 92, no. 2 (January 2012): 316.

alongside "dishonorable" men.[95] Regarding the impressment of "respectable" men in the military, Peter Beattie asserts, "Never before had the state entered so pervasively into the private realm of the house."[96] Amidst the debates on conscription of "respectable" men, even abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco expressed his concerns that the honest worker would become corrupted in the barracks and lack the desire to return to the countryside to work.[97]

State actors and elite anxiety regarding the future of the honest worker and slavery can be contextualized through Kim D. Butler's rendering of abolition to uncover continuities during slavery and in the post-abolition era. Butler makes two significant interventions to interrogate state-guided abolition in the Americas that were particularly salient in the 1870s in Brazil. First, she states that abolition "was part of a general program of economic modernization that entailed coercing freedmen into specific sectors of employment."[98] State actors, slaveholders, and the elite– including abolitionists– debated and developed a program of economic modernization that was particular to the slavocratic Brazilian context. Joaquim Nabuco's concerns about the honest worker in military conscription debates demonstrate one of the complications that state actors faced to advance an economic program to coerce free workers into specific sectors of employment. Nabuco's fear that free workers would not return to the "productive roles they performed as slaves" was, in fact, the greatest threat to economies in Brazil and throughout the Americas.[99]

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[95] Peter Beattie, "The House, the Street, and the Barracks," 444.
[96] Peter Beattie, "The House, the Street, and the Barracks," 445; Perhaps the reach of the state into the private realm of the house for military impressment set a precedent for the boundaries of future state intervention and facilitated a path for the passage of the *Lei do Rio Branco*.
[97] Peter Beattie, "The House, the Street, and the Barracks," 446.
[98] Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-abolition, São Paulo and Salvador,* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1998), Introduction, Kindle edition.
[99] Ibid.

Butler's second intervention, that abolition "was not a single legislative act, but rather a series of related laws and policies affecting labor and ethnic relations,"[100] underscores abolition as a process and blurs the boundaries as to which laws can be considered steps toward abolition. The legal process of abolition included laws and policies that were not explicitly indicated as laws for abolition or enslaved people. Many of the nineteenth-century legislators and politicians who were slaveholders were also responsible for laws on leasing labor services. Labor leasing laws were passed in 1830, 1837, and 1879 to regulate European immigrant labor in Brazil that preceded and followed the Rio Branco Law. These labor leasing laws also served as the basis for labor arrangements for free people and established fines for workers who disobeyed the terms of labor contracts.[101] In addition to having to pay fines for breaking nineteenth-century labor agreements, the *Ordenações Filipinas*, Portuguese legal codes originating in the sixteenth century, remained an prominent feature of labor restrictions and punishment that accompanied labor laws.[102] The *Ordenações Filipinas* "placed restrictions on mobility as well as fines and jail time for those who left without permission (Livro 4, título XXX)."[103] Slaveholders and politicians could restrict movement, justify prison time, and determine fines of laborers in Brazil regardless of nationality and legal status.

The labor leasing laws and the Rio Branco Law were debated and passed before the arrival of large numbers of European immigrants from 1890 into the early twentieth century. Undoubtedly, these labor laws impacted European laborers who migrated to São Paulo in small numbers until 1887, when, at the same time, roughly ten thousand people arrived as enslaved

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[100] Ibid.

[101] Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado and Marília Bueno de Araújo Ariza "Escravas e libertas na cidade: experiências de trabalho, maternidade e emancipação em São Paulo (1870-1888)," 127.

[102] Henrique Espalda Lima, *Trabalho e lei para os libertos na ilha de Santa Catarina no século XIX: arranjos e contratos entre a autonomia e a domesticidade*, 143.

[103] Henrique Espalda Lima, *Trabalho e lei para os libertos na ilha de Santa Catarina no século XIX,* 144.

people fleeing from plantations.[104] However, it would be remiss to omit the fact that Brazil had the largest free black population under slavery in the Americas.[105] Prior to the Paraguayan War, demographics were more complicated than a free white and enslaved Black person dichotomy. In this context, much of the elite and state actors' anxieties over the future of labor were linked to the maintenance of slavocratic dynamics rather than fear of a shortage of free labors.[106]

The Rio Branco Law was significant in resolving nineteenth-century economic and social crises of white slaveholders' domination. The psychic, ideological, and libidinal imperative guided by three centuries of practices of white domination found new entries into the habitus and new ways of practicing and extending their codes of power and violence. Aided and abetted by the new ideologies of republican freedom, white slaveholder's domination renamed itself as freedom while continuing the practices that were held in contempt the world over as racialized and gendered enslavement. Black women and their wombs were the entities through which white fantasies of domination were reconfigured, and this recasting of domination organized the logic of the Brazilian state and society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The tensions and crises over the end of slavery were worked out in the 1871 *Lei do Rio Branco*, and the *Lei Aurea* of 1888 was the final nail in the coffin of slavery as an institution. And like all coffins, these laws were both residences for graveyards as well as place makers marking and delineating the space of a rebirth of sorts of a libidinal economy that refused to die. Slaveholders understood that the passage of the *Lei do Rio Branco* would create new paths to freedom for enslaved people and effectively alter their means of domination.[107] The state intervened in the relationship

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[104] George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo*, 57.

[105] Celso Thomas Castilho, *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship*, 4.; Cedric Robinson contends that there were roughly 3,817,000 Africans in Brazil in the second decade of the nineteenth century-half free, half enslaved (*Black Marxism*, 149).

[106] Maria Beatriz. Nascimento, *Beatriz Nascimento, quilombola e intelectual: Possibilidade nos dias da destruição* (Editora Filhos Da África, 2018), 234.

[107] Bruno da Fonseca Miranda, "O Vale da Paraíba contra a Lei do Ventre Livre*, 1865-1871,*" 10.

between the slaveholder and the enslaved, where the avenues to freedom were primarily dictated by the slaveholder.

The *Lei do Rio Branco* did not transfer the power that the slaveholders possessed by owning enslaved or formerly enslaved people, or to Black women who were the subject of the law.[108] Enslaved persons were "forced to submit to the will of the master in all things."[109] Feeling was part of the submission of will to the master and key to the conceptualization of power relations for the enslaved and free people to gain protection– not necessarily the law.[110] Many scholars on the *Lei do Rio Branco* have demonstrated that it was not particularly effective as slaveholders did not readily comply with the mandate to end forced labor, as was written by law.[111]

The Free Womb law articulated that the position of the Black enslaved woman was like a child to the slaveholder, and her progeny were pupils of the slaveholder who occupied the role of a tutor. As Saidiya Hartman contends,

> Submission not only encompassed the acquisition of power but also explicitly addressed the power of affection in influencing relations between the master and the slave, although the court distinguished between the relationship of the master of the slave and other domestic relations it was frequently compared with, like those of the parent and the child, tutor and pupil, and master and servant.[112]

The Free Womb Law obscured the will and consent of the Black woman to engage in sexual acts and to be a mother to her children. The law also intensified and secured "the subordination of the

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[108] Orlando Patterson articulates this idea as the "ineligibility problem" (*Slavery and Social Death*, 209).
[109] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 110.
[110] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 94.
[111] Rosa, Margarita. "Filial Freedoms, Ambiguous Wombs: Partus Sequitur Ventrem and the 1871 Brazilian Free Womb Law." *Slavery & Abolition*, no. 2 (2019): 8. See also: Martha Abreu, "Slave Mothers and Freed Children" no.3 (1996): 567–80; Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala À Colônia*; Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom*.
[112] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 92.

enslaved, repress[ed] the crime [of rape], and [denied] injury, for it asserted that the captive female was both will-less and always willing."[113]

Brazilian newspapers with both Black and non-Black editors at the turn of the twentieth century historicized the Free Womb law as a precursor to complete abolition in 1888.[114] Scholars of the history of slavery in Brazil also cite the Free Womb Law as an event that led up to 1888. Indeed, the 1871 law contributed to the ending of the internal slave trade, but this account of the law as a means to an end obscures the violence on Black women that continued well into the twentieth century. The fact that the Free Womb law secured, silenced, and denied injury for the crime of rape has had a lasting impact on conceptions of race, miscegenation, and the positionality of Black women. Even within ten years of the passage of the law, evidence shows some slaveholders made their daughters their lovers and kept the children for whom they were the master, father, and grandfather.[115]

The dynamics of submission codified into law between Black women and white men were not new practices within slavery, but the fact that they were codified and formalized mattered. The law and social practice in the livable world conterminously acknowledged the positionality of Black women and the lack of freedom to exert their will or consent. These inalienable rights of will and consent "[could] not be taken or given away, and, therefore, [they] [could] not really be reconferred." [116] Moreover, the stripping of these rights from Black women in the 1871 law has not been acknowledged by the state.

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[113] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 81; Colin Dayan also argues that the servile body can be "perpetually reinvented (*The Law is a White Dog*, 41)."

[114] "A Abolição," *Correio Paulistano*, July 18, 1894, http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/; "Salve!...28 de Setembro," *O Clarim,* September *27*, 1925, http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/.

[115] Margarita Rosa, "Filial Freedoms, Ambiguous Wombs: Partus Sequitur Ventrem and the 1871 Brazilian Free Womb Law." *Slavery & Abolition*, 2019, 1. Rosa cites the *Gazeta da Tarde*, September 18, 1880.

[116] Lisa Marie Cacho, *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected*, 7; Dayan also argues "If the law did not deal explicitly with slaves in terms of personhood, then the natural, inalienable rights of persons would devolve onto the slave…For this legal nondescript, who had no civil rights to lose, could be

Given that the *Lei do Rio Branco* recast a particular set of conditions for Black women and Black women's positionality, the importance of an analysis that centers race, gender, and the terms of freedom in early-twentieth-century São Paulo, and Brazil more broadly, matter. Undoubtedly, Black women were protagonists and engaged in the world around them to impact their lives. The structure of the state, economy, and society were organized through an anti-Black logic, such as the Free Womb Law, that was not meant to yield favorable outcomes for Black women. The Free Womb Law dictated that the womb and the mother were two distinct entities, where the womb became a "tissue of liberation," [117] existing as part of and apart from the mother. The bifurcation of the Black woman's body and her womb, the negation for the possibility of Black women's motherhood, and the excuse for rape in the 1871 law were particular to Black women. Anti-Blackness and anti-Black woman logic constrained the ways that Black women were able to move through the world and the prospects for Black women to fall within social patterns of womanhood.

1872, Nhá Maria Café

The 1873 petition by the free Black quitandeiras offers a rare moment to address the lives of free Black women outside of the white articulations of Black women's lives, corporeal violence, and accusations of criminal activity that were cast on Black women. The overwhelming majority of documents that can be found in the archives across Latin America account for the life cycle of the enslaved (such as Catholic parish records) and the capital they brought to the state or a slaveholder (such as notary records and documents on property and labor regulations). Apart

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deemed, when it served the needs of the owner, something that engenders affection and esteem (*The Law is a White Dog,* 44)."

[117] Rosa, Margarita. "Filial Freedoms, Ambiguous Wombs: Partus Sequitur Ventrem and the 1871 Brazilian Free Womb Law." *Slavery & Abolition* no.2 (2019): 3.

from documents on enslaved people, it is challenging to locate Black people as the state stopped

recording race in most state documents in the late nineteenth century as a result of whitening

ideas of raceless nationhood, among other features, and resumed the practice of documenting

race in the second half of the twentieth century.[118]

The co-authored petition by Black women as free workers may be unusual to the archive,

but the content, which articulates the everyday structural and material realities for Black women

in nineteenth São Paulo, was not. For all of the information that may not be known about the

petitioners and their lives, the Black quitandeira women made known their struggles for space

with the state and anti-Black racism from the privileges granted to Portuguese quitandeiras.

Antonia Maria das Dores, Paula Jordão, Maria das Dores, and Maria da Conceição created a

framework to interrogate some of the concerns for Black quitandeiras and Black women in São

Paulo, during a national remaking of gender and racial categories.

A year before Black quitandeiras filed their petition pertaining to Rua das Casinhas, the

home of Nhá Maria Café, a well-known Black quitandeira who sold "delicious flour and corn

empadas" with coffee in the morning and *cuscuz* with freshwater fish and shrimp at night, was

destroyed on the same street at Rua das Casinhas, 13 in 1872.[119] She sold the coffee for 40 reis

out of her home in large white mugs, and she roasted the coffee herself.[120] The culinary legacy of

Nhá Maria Café spanned well into the twentieth century. In Paulo Cursino's 1934 article

"Thesouro Velho" (Old Treasure) published by the newspaper *Correio Paulistano,* Cursino

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[118] Melissa Nobles*, Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 104.

[119] Raquel Rolnik, *A cidade e a lei,* 69.

[120] Antônio Egídio Martins, *São Paulo Antigo (1554 a 1910),* (São Paulo, SP: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, 1973), 193.

chronicled the destruction and remodeling of the city, and places memories of Nhá Maria Café at

the core of old São Paulo:

> From my window I saw, days ago, the pickaxes of progress knocking down an old
> multi-story house on the corner of the 15th of November and the plaza of the
> treasury. The demolition was quick. Quick was the spalling of the only material
> remains that held out there on the old Rua das Casinhas. The old building
> replaced a small house with a pack of dogs on the edges of the roof in 1872,
> where Nhá Maria Café practiced her culinary arts with a prestige that reached the
> highest levels of government of yesteryear as one would see in their time.
>
> What traditions were contained in this small stretch of public space, that today is
> an enlarged space. Everything changed there as by a magic spell. The destruction
> and the remodeling are from our days…[121]

The demolished old building mentioned in Cursino's column replaced Nhá Maria Café's home

one year after the passage of the Free Womb Law (1871) and one year before the Black

quitandeiras' petition (1873). Nhá Maria Café's home and business were located in the old center

of São Paulo near the Law School and Praça da Sé that ran contiguous with the old Igreja do

Rosário dos Homens Pretos.[122] Students, workers conducting commerce, and artists, among

others, would wait in line to eat at Nhá Maria Café´s home.[123] Nhá Maria's location next to the

law school, the proximity to governmental buildings, and that she was the mother-in-law of

Mariano da Purificação Fonseca, who worked in the presidential cabinet, gave Nhá Maria a

particular kind of visibility among the white elite.[124]

Even though some of Nhá Maria's clientele were considered among the more prestigious

inhabitants of São Paulo, the descriptions of her food receive most of the attention in the elite's

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[121] Paulo Cursino, "Thesouro Velho (Especial Para O Correio Paulistano)." *Correio Paulistano,* September 6, 1934, http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/.

[122] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade E a Lei: Legislação, Política Urbana E Territórios Na Cidade De São Paulo* (São Paulo, SP: FAPESP, 1997), 69.

[123] Antônio Egídio Martins, *São Paulo Antigo (1554 a 1910),* (São Paulo, SP: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, 1973), 193.

[124] Nhá Maria was the respected mother-in-law of popular paulista Mariano da Purificação Fonseca who served as a member in João Teodoro Xavier's presidential cabinet (*São Paulo Antigo (1554 a 1910)*, 138).

accounts. The attention to the detail in experiences range from the color of the mugs she used to the flavor of her food. The descriptions repeat similar information, yet none of the authors mention Nhá Maria herself. The only fragments of information cited about Nhá Maria were that she was a Black woman who had familial ties to significant political figures in São Paulo. The documents written by the elite suggest that her services and the quality of her food were more significant than her personhood or the destruction of her home and business.

Nhá Maria Café and her culinary arts were at the nexus of the traditions and making of São Paulo. The writings of elite white men about Nhá Maria Café place these men squarely in the heart of Black women's territory in the nineteenth century. Nhá Maria Café lived alongside other Black quitandeiras in Sé, who were "free from captivity [and] established themselves…selling sweets, fruit, jelly, sweet potato, manioc, pine nut, corn tamales, corn, and peanuts, and at times had one to two Black women as slaves."[125] Nhá Maria Café, like other Black quitandeira laborers, was part of a set of São Paulo traditions that outlasted the demolished buildings where they lived and worked. Even if elite customers went to Nhá Maria Café's home for the sole purposes of purchasing her food, they undoubtedly witnessed and interacted with other laboring Black quitandeiras in Sé.

Although Cursino acknowledged the Black quitandeira presence in Sé, his narrative of the remodeling of physical space obscured the effort by the elite to remove Black women from Rua das Casinhas. First, Cursino attributes the destruction of the houses at Rua das Casinhas to the "pickaxes of progress," (*o batido de picaretas de progresso*) as if it were an inevitable process due to the passage of time. Rua das Casinhas functioned as a marketplace in semi-rural

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[125] *O Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo)*, Correio Paulistano,* January 31, 1946, http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/.

São Paulo from at least the eighteenth century, and the municipal government consistently subverted Black quitandeiras means of survival in this place.[126] In 1845, the government attempted to ban all street vendors and create fixed markets with planned locations for public markets. Then in 1870, the municipal government began to favor Portuguese and Italian immigrants who competed for business with Black quitandeiras.[127] The demolition of Nhá Maria Café's home in 1872 also included the destruction of other Black quitandeiras' homes to make space for Largo do Rosario houses (Praça Antônio Prado).[128] The "mattocks of progress," according to Cursino, tore down Black quitandeiras' homes to expand a plaza in a struggle that spanned over a century-long to push Black women out of Sé.

Similar to the petition in 1873, local quitandeiras once again petitioned the municipal government in 1876, claimed that they were expelled from the Rua das Casinhas in Sé.[129] In 1882, the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* drew attention to the "agglomeration" of quitandeiras on Rua das Casinhas in front of the treasury building for the state. According to the column entitled "A Câmara Municipal," the paper claimed that the "agglomeration" of quitandeiras made public transit difficult during certain hours in the morning.[130] The authors asked for the quitandeiras to be moved to another plaza where the quitandeiras would "cause less harm" to public transit.[131]

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[126] Maria Odila da Silva Dias, "Nas Fímbrias De Escravidão Urbana: Negras De Tabuleiro e De Ganho," *Estudos Econômicos Universidade De São Paulo* 15 (1985):100.

[127] Maria Odila da Silva Dias, "Nas Fímbrias De Escravidão Urbana: Negras De Tabuleiro e De Ganho," 101.

[128] *O Estado de São Paulo,* January 31, 1946, https://acervo.estadao.com.br/.

[129] Maria Odila Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life*, chap. 7, Kindle edition.

[130] According to the São Paulo municipal Dicionário das Ruas, Rua XV de novembro "Em 1900, os prédios dos grandes jornais de São Paulo estavam nesta rua como o "Correio Paulistano", Diário Popular" e "O Estado de São Paulo". Nas palavras de um cronista daquela época, a Rua 15 de Novembro era "...a principal rua da cidade, a de mais comércio e animação. Para ela converge tudo quanto São Paulo tem de melhor" (https://dicionarioderuas.prefeitura.sp.gov.br).

[131] A Câmara Municipal, *O Estado de São Paulo,* March 28, 1882, https://acervo.estadao.com.br/.

The quitandeiras' fight to maintain territory and expulsion from Sé was not "a simple matter of geographical displacement of the colonizers by the colonized but is 'more subtle and complex,' by bringing the words of Pal Ahluwalia, in the 'unending cultural struggle over territory, which necessarily involves overlapping memories, narratives, and physical structures'.[132] Quitandeiras and city officials battled over territory in Sé from the late eighteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth century.[133] Even after the demolition of Nhá Maria Café's residence, the 1873 and 1876 petitions, and the complaint by the elite in *O Estado de São Paulo*, the struggle for territory persisted. For several subsequent days in September of 1883, *O Correio Paulistano* posted a column stating the municipal government prohibited the movement of quitandeiras and had designated a space and time for them to sell their goods.[134] Black quitandeiras were not easily and seamlessly removed by state actors and the elite from Sé. The "mattocks of progress" gradually chipped away at Black quitandeira women's means of survival and presence.

From the 1870s onward, Sé was meant to be the Europeanized center of São Paulo. The elite began to construct their homes in the burgeoning city where the presence of Black people was perceived as evidence of backwardness, disorder, and uncleanliness.[135] Maria Odila da Silva Dias argues that these tendencies increased in 1872 and were amplified by the abolition of slavery and European immigration. Dias furthermore states, "The figure of Black quitandeiras catalyzed racial bias and exacerbated the worst insecurities of the period."[136] Black women and

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[132] Pal Ahluwalia, "Out of Africa: Post-Structuralisms Colonial Roots," *Postcolonial Studies* 8, no. 2 (2005): 141-142. Citing Edward Said, 'Invention, Memory and Place', *Critical Inquiry*, 26 (2), Winter, 2000, 182.

[133] Maria Odila da Silva Dias, "Nas Fímbrias De Escravidão Urbana: Negras De Tabuleiro e De Ganho," *Estudos Econômicos*, 15 (1985): 98.

[134] Antônio Joaquim da Costa Guimarães, *Correio Paulistano,* September 25, 1883, http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/.

[135] Maria Odila da Silva Dias, "Nas Fímbrias De Escravidão Urbana: Negras De Tabuleiro e De Ganho," *Estudos Econômicos*, 15 (1985): 102.

[136] Ibid.

their labor were central to the process of modernization and urbanization of São Paulo and late-nineteenth social dynamics. For the paulistano elite, Black women were ultimately antithetical to the positivist order and progress that they attempted to install in São Paulo.

Black quitandeira women were at the center of patterns of urban displacement carried out state actors, state administrators, and the elite that became a constant in modern São Paulo. In this early-twentieth-century urbanization, Raquel Rolnik states that as a "redefinition of urban space occurred…new Black territories were established in basements and *cortiços* (tenements) in the Old Center but principally in the South of Sé, in an area that was not the object of many urban projects such as Lavapés (that runs contiguous with the South of Sé and in the countryside of Bexiga). A new nucleus also emerged in Barra Funda."[137] Black people were relegated to basements and undesirable locations in the city where they could "cause less harm" to the city administrators' and the elite's visions of São Paulo. The objection to the presence of Black women, as city administrators attempted to create a commercial district, could not be more direct or telling as to what the presence of Black women signified in modernizing spaces. Black women were impediments to movement, progress, and advancement of the elite's aims to Europeanize the center of Sé.

Basements, tenements, and the neighborhoods of Barra Funda, Bexiga, and Lavapés, all located in *bairros populares* (popular neighborhoods), became marked as Black spaces and Black geographies at the turn of the twentieth century. Yet this production of Black spaces/bairros populares vis-à-vis white space/*bairro nobre* (a noble neighborhood) was not a process particular to São Paulo, but it was the locus for the promise a future Europeanized Brazil. The production of Black space was explicitly manufactured in conjunction with the principal

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[137] Raquel Rolnik, *A cidade e a lei*, 75.

components of second slavery and racial capitalism. The creation of Black spaces and Black geographies were linked to "race, racism, captivity, and economic profit."[138]

The positionality of Black women, articulated through the logic of the Free Womb Law, necessitated that particular memories shaped the dominant narrative of paulistano history.[139] The expectation for Black women to submit to elite white men foreclosed the retelling of memory and tradition of Black women as protagonists in Sé. Even as free laborers, Black women quitandeiras could not be "assimilated to the template or grid of the black worker."[140] As evidenced by the 1873 petition, the prefecture and elite ensured that Portuguese and Italian quitandeiras gradually became the legitimate quitandeiras and workers in the modernization São Paulo. Black women quitandeiras became the Black absented present, what cannot be seen or remembered, in what the white elite considered to be a closed and resolved chapter in the formation of São Paulo.

By the 1930s, the Black quitandeiras no longer worked in Sé to sell their goods as they had done for at least two centuries, but the memory of their presence had not been forgotten. Paulo Cursino finished his column on the old treasury building by concluding, "They [observers] will see that the plaza of the treasury is reminiscent of the old treasury; today the treasury has few civic relics."[141] The "destruction and remodeling" of São Paulo from the late nineteenth century into the twentieth century involved more than just the recreating of physical space. Cursino's remembering of the old treasury building suggests that there were absences in the

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[138]Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2006), En Route to Deep Escape and a Politics of Landscape, chap. 1, Kindle edition.

[139] Ibid., Terrains of Struggle: Fanon, Morrison, Hall, Brand, chap. 1, Kindle edition.

[140] Saidiya Hartman, "The Belly of the World: A Note on Black Women's Labors," *Souls* 18, no. 1 (2016):171.

[141] Paulo Cursino, "Thesouro Velho (Especial Para O Correio Paulistano)." *Correio Paulistano,* September 6, 1934, http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/.

space of the new treasury building. Perhaps the Black quitandeiras that remained after the destruction of Nhá Maria's home were the "civic relics" that the modern plaza lacked.

Conclusion

Despite the nearly six decades that had passed between the *Lei do Rio Branco* and Cursino's column on Nhá Maria Café, notions of everyday freedom in relation to Black women continued to generate discussions about the state and about who had the right to be and belong in São Paulo. The *Lei do Rio Branco* changed how the enslaved, the formerly enslaved, and slaveholders dealt with the process of freedom.[142] The intensification of enclosure of the commons the in late nineteenth century in Sé occurred alongside the 1871 law that redefined race, gender, labor. These processes did not transpire in isolation from one another but were reinforcing elements of anti-Blackness and misogynoir in the formation modern of São Paulo. Cursino marks these processes and shifts in misogynoir and white patriarchal domination through his positioning of Nhá Maria Café in the modern 1934 São Paulo, as the debates on freedom articulated through Black women's racialized and sexualized bodies never really went away.

Though the spatial and social logic of the city was meant to limit their movement and presence, Black quitandeiras and their itinerant labor in the late nineteenth century etched Black spatial memory into São Paulo on the precipice of modern urban development and in the crux of legal abolition. The Free Womb Law shored up white patriarchal authority in social relations and provided legal assurance of Black women's submission that was also expressed through the creation of Europeanized territories, such as Sé in São Paulo. Black women workers were

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[142] Celso Thomas Castilho, *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship*, 53.

essential to the formation of Sé as an area of commerce that the elite and state actors toiled for centuries to dismantle only to build their ideal commercial zone superimposed over Black women's commercial territory.

At the Brazilian national level, the bifurcation of space as either backward or progressive was expressed through Euclides da Cunha's narrative of the Canudos massacre in the Northeast, which was published in 1902. *Rebellion in the Backland (Os sertões)*, according to historian Robert M. Levine, is the most influential sociohistorical document on Brazil that offers a positivist, paulistano account of the Canudos massacre of 1897 in the state of Bahia. Da Cunha attributed the causes of the massacre to the "backwardness" of residents at Canudos because of the geographic location of the town, the climate, and race.[143] The residents of Canudos were known for having a dark skin complexion, as it was likely that many were freed slaves and indigenous people.[144] Da Cunha articulates the concept of the "Two Brazils," which marked and differentiated the North and Northeast as "backward" from the South and Southeast as "modern." The notion of "Two Brazils" remains a significant cultural marker to explain differences between geographic regions to the present.

By the turn of the twentieth century, São Paulo was designated by paulistanos as the center for progress and modernity.[145] The town had a particular colonial history that was different from the formations of cities and territories in the Northeast and the opulence of the viceregal and then imperial capital of Rio de Janeiro. Yet, the historical trajectory of the Southeastern city of São Paulo lacked the elements of European modernity the elite revered.

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[143] Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears*, 18.
[144] Robert M. Levine, *Vale of Tears*, 139; "The silence about the ethnic composition of Conselheiro followers reflects a constant position in Brazilian History. Generally, this official history looks to negate the existence of these components in all social or political movements in the past (Beatriz Nascimento *Quilombola e Intelectual*, 237)."
[145] Barbara Weinstein, *Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 2.

Brazilianist historian Barbara Weinstein argues that paulista exceptionalism was established through race and regionalism through a discourse of difference, which was heavily influenced by Da Cunha's *Rebellion in the Backland*.[146] Though Weinstein's history of regionalism and identity interrogates the making of whiteness through discourses of difference in juxtaposition with the South and Northeast, similar processes of a discourse of difference occurred within the city of São Paulo.

The elite vision of a modern São Paulo from the late-nineteenth century onward was that it was meant to be populated with European and Europeanized residents. The memory and presence of Black and indigenous residents were linked to Old São Paulo and the Old Center in the past and not to the emerging hotspot of liberal order, progress, and modernity. Yet, coffee barons and industrial magnates constructed their *"palacetes"* (small palaces) near Avenida Paulista in a bairro nobre that resembled small plantations.[147] The elite accrued their memories, legacy, and wealth accumulated from colonization and second slavery that became structuring elements of the city. Black people and their descendants, whose lives and labor were foundational to São Paulo, were cast by the Europeanized elite and state actors as antithetical beings to a modern and progressive city.

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[146] Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity*, 93.
[147] Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity*, 4.

CHAPTER 2: Limits of Black Womanhood, Motherhood, and the Home

Black paulistana women were more than their social and economic conditions in late nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Interviews taken by university researchers and their students in 1988, entitled *Memória de Escravidão em Famílias Negras em São Paulo (The Memory of Slavery in Black Families in São Paulo)*,[148] marked the centennial of the end of slavery and the legacies of slavery for Black families in São Paulo. The collection features interviewees who varied in generations removed from slavery. Some of the interviewers' notes taken after each set of interviews for the oldest generation of interviewees demonstrate that they did not capture the memories they sought from this demographic. Yet, the interviews in *The Memory of Slavery in Black Families in São Paulo* contain a host of Black histories in São Paulo with memories spanning from slavery into the late twentieth century. The memories from the first-generation Black women underlie the conditions and continuities of slavery from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century. The interviews gave space for Black interviewees to tell the stories of their families using references that were significant to them.

Benedita, an elder Black participant in the 1988 interviews, began to work as a domestic servant (*pajem*) when she was ten years old in 1920 in Casa Branca, São Paulo. Casa Branca is located in the interior of São Paulo close to state of Minas Gerais. At fifteen, she moved to São Paulo and worked and lived with a family at Praça Marechal Deodoro on Albuquerque Lins Street in Santa Cecilia,[149] while her mother worked as a live-in maid for another family in the

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[148] There are 114 depositions from 45 families in the state of São Paulo. The complete collection of transcriptions for these interviews can be found at the FFLCH archive at Universiade de São Paulo, and part of the collection is available at PUC-SP. I read the *Memory of Slavery in Black Families in São Paulo* interviews as similar to the WPA testimony in the United States and use Saidiya Hartman's cautions of relations of power in WPA testimonies in my reading of the São Paulo interviews (Hartman, *Scenes of Subjectio*n, 12.)

[149] Rua Dr. Albuquerque Lins was formerly owned by Dona Maria Angélica de Sousa Queiroz

bairro Bexiga. Benedita did not know how to transit through the city to see her mother without someone else's assistance. Often, she was not able to see her mother for months, so she eventually asked other domestic workers in the home on Albuquerque Lins to take her to see her mother.

> As Benedita tells it, "I would ask the maid: "Take me to see my mother. I would ask the cook. The cook would say: "Imagine if I would miss one of my *bailes* to take you to see your mother. Go on your own!" So, I cried…one day I spoke to my *patroa*.[150] I said: "I am going to learn to get around São Paulo. I am going to go a month without seeing my mother because I do not know how to navigate São Paulo? I am going to start to go out." She said to me: "Diti…" She called me Ditinha. Beneditona was the cook, and I was Beneditinha, the page… When I went to tell her, I said: "Dona Flora, I am going to see my mother today." She said: "Beneditinha, you will not go. You will get lost here in São Paulo." I said: "No. I am going. I will not get lost." And I left."[151]

Benedita started her interview by interlacing her life trajectory with memories of her mother and work in the interior of São Paulo in the early twentieth century. When she and her mother moved to the capital, they labored and lived in separate households. Social and economic structures conditioned how Benedita and her mother spent time together and the ways that Benedita's mother mothered. Benedita narrates a story about transiting the city to see her mother with a fair amount of detail for an event that occurred approximately sixty-three years before the interview took place. In her story, Benedita conveyed her needs and insistence on maintaining a relationship with her mother despite their conditions in the afterlife of slavery.

Arguably, the circumstances of family separation of Benedita from her mother Paulina and their work as domestic servants and their legal status as free Black women could have

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Chácara Palmeiras and known as Chácara Palmeiras. Albuquerque was born in the state of Alagoas, attended law school in Recife, before moving to the state São Paulo to serve as a judge, councilman, deputy for the Secretário da Fazenda, and president of the state of São Paulo (Dicionário de Ruas, https://dicionarioderuas.prefeitura.sp.gov.br).
[150] *Patroa* (feminine) and *Patrão* (masculine) can be translated as boss, master, or patron. The use of *Patroa* and *Patrão* also indicates the structure of dominance and power between the boss and the worker.
[151] Benedita de Jesus Atanásio, Transcript of an oral history conducted in 1987, *Memória da Escravidão em Famílias Negras em São Paulo, Centro de Documentação e Informação Científica (CEDIC),* Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2018, 3.

occurred in the late-nineteenth century as it did in the early twentieth century in São Paulo. By no means does this minimize the impact of abolition of slavery for millions of Black people, however, it is imperative to recognize the continuities of social and economic dynamics of racial slavery into the twentieth century. The continuities matter because they enable us to understand how Black women navigated through racist and capitalist structures designed to control them.

The abolition of slavery in Brazil occurred gradually through a series of laws related to ethnic relations and gave way for the social meaning and the material conditions in the afterlife of slavery.[152] Even after abolition, slavery was not archaic or incompatible with late nineteenth and early twentieth century realties as many Black people continued to labor in the same positions as they did during slavery, and blackness remained to be linked to labor and station in life and not solely phenotype. [153] Moreover, as political theorist Tiffany Willoughby-Herard has argued through the concepts of "second slavery" and "afterlife of slavery," slavery was not an archaic form in the post-abolition era, nor was it the opposite of wage labor.[154] Thus, it is unsurprising that many Black Brazilians continued to work on plantations or became janitors, bodyguards, domestic servants, and washerwomen after abolition.[155]

Ruptures in the law and state governance in the late nineteenth century, such as the Free Womb Law, changes to the dowry, or the proclamation of the First Republic in 1889, did not ensure better social and material conditions for Black women. The widespread belief and adherence to nineteenth and twentieth centuries progress narratives by state actors and the elite

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[152] Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-abolition, São Paulo and Salvador,* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1998), Introduction, Kindle edition; Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, "More Expendable than Slaves? Racial Justice and the after-Life of Slavery," Politics, Groups, and Identities 2, no. 3 (August 3, 2014): 512.
[153] David Covin, *The Unified Black Movement in Brazil, 1978-2002*, 31.
[154] Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, "More Expendable than Slaves? Racial Justice and the after-Life of Slavery," Politics, Groups, and Identities 2, no. 3 (August 3, 2014): 512.
[155] Quintard Taylor "Frente Negra Brasileira: The Afro Brazilian Civil Rights Movement, 1924–1937," Umoja 2, no. 1 (1978): 26.

have been crystallized in academic historiography and often obscure the realities of day-to-day life. The 1891 positivist slogan of the First Republic, "Order and Progress," which appears on the Brazilian flag today, and the several campaigns to instantiate it as a national political ideology provided an account of Brazil's past and future. Not only did *Order and Progress* discredit and dismiss Black histories, but it was also an overt commitment by state and elite actors to the devastating mechanisms of (racial) oppression from which they would structure a republic. Under a Republican order, each step taken toward the future would lead to a linear path of "progress" for the Brazilian nation at the cost of formerly enslaved. Order and progress were predicated upon slavocratic mechanisms and colonial relationships of power that were maintained by state actors and the elite to build a modern nation.[156]

The concept of order, for the elite, meant to regulate the population and to maintain control during crises and transitions from the late nineteenth century into the twentieth century.[157] Though the positivist ideology of order and progress were common approaches taken by the elite and state actors to achieve modernity in Latin America, it perhaps had the most significant impact in Brazil.[158] Many abolitionists and Republicans embraced Comte's philosophy of positivism that sought to ensure peace during social upheaval and unrest through science as a guide for political and economic development.[159] Comte's positivism also argued for a greater role of science in society to be led by industrialists and positivist philosophers. [160] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the elite and state actors envisioned the order and

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[156] Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, "More Expendable than Slaves? Racial Justice and the after-Life of Slavery," Politics, Groups, and Identities 2, no. 3 (August 3, 2014): 512.

[157] Azevedo Celia Maria Marinho de Onda *Negra, Medo Branco: o Negro No Imaginário Das Elites, Século XIX* (São Paulo, SP: Annablume, 2008), 50.

[158] Mary Pickering, "Conclusion: The Legacy of Auguste Comte," in *Love, Order, and Progress: The Science, Philosophy, and Politics of Auguste Comte*, ed. Michel Bourdeau (Pittsburg, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018), 284.

[159] Ibid, 4.

[160] Ibid, 283.

progress of positivism as the path toward modernity that could accommodate the crises of political transitions and the abolition of slavery without large scale social upheaval.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the tension and transition to large scale wage labor from enslaved labor was a point of crisis for state actors and the elite. There was a widespread pessimism that Brazil would not be able to "ensure the evolution of the dream goal for the future of the country–progress."[161] Order, discipline, and control meted out by the elite and state actors would lead to a path of progress to guarantee a dignified position for Brazil among "nations that were part of a 'white, Christian, western civilization.'"[162] For the elite and state actors, order meant controlling a majority non-white and religiously pluralist population through discipline and gradual socioeconomic changes in the transition from a colonial Brazil to a modern nation, where the relationship between the laborer and the employer would be regulated by the market.[163]

Though academic historiography on this period in Brazil insists on the notion of radical historical cleavages being inaugurated by the doctrine of political emancipation, the study of Black women's lives in Brazil indicates that emancipation was not the rupture that we often imagine it to be. In this chapter, I examine the social and material conditions of Black women through geography and the theory of racial capitalism in a period that I am urging is better understood as *the Brazilian afterlife of slavery*. Second, I interrogate women's social and material contexts in the late nineteenth century and how the ideals of republican motherhood, which Wiebke Ipsen refers to as *delicate citizenship,* were foreclosed for Black women. I trace the concept of delicate citizenship through changes to legal definitions of white womanhood, the

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[161] Ibid.
[162] Paulo Koguruma, *Conflitos Do imaginário: a reelaboração das práticas e crenças Afro-Brasileiras na "Metrópole Do Café, 1890-1920"* (São Paulo, São Paulo: Annablume/FAPESP, 2001), 97.
[163] Ibid.

dowry, and the patriarchal Brazilian family. I also examine the debates on the Free Womb Law

to demonstrate the continuities of misogynoir that positioned Black women outside the norms of

delicate citizenship and the patriarchal Brazilian family. This range of investigations demonstrate

not only why it is necessary to reconsider our thinking about this period as part of the Brazilian

afterlife of slavery for Black women, but also that the power of the elite and state actors were

critically bound to misogynoir.

Part I: Black (Women's) Geographies

The logic of racial capitalism has defined and shaped visions of traditional geography

that simultaneously reassert its legitimacy as an organizing system.[164] Traditional geography,

according to Katherine McKittrick, "points to formulations that assume we can view, assess, and

ethically organize the world from a stable (white, patriarchal, Eurocentric, heterosexual, classed)

vantage point. While these formulations–cartographic, positivist, imperialist–have been retained

and resisted within and beyond the discipline of human geography, they also clarify that black

women are negotiating a geographic landscape that is upheld by a legacy of exploitation,

exploration, and conquest."[165] Black paulistana women, and Black paulistanos, have often been

placed in cartographies of traditional geographies that demonstrate displacement of Black people

during the fast-paced urbanization and transformations of São Paulo in the early twentieth

century.

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[164] Geographer Ruthie Gilmore defines racial capitalism as "a mode of production developed in agriculture, improved by enclosure in the Old World, and captive land and labor in the Americas, perfected in slavery's time-motion field-factory choreography, its imperative forged on the anvils of imperial war-making monarchs, and the peers who had to ante up taxes (*Futures of Black Radicalism*, Money, chap. 14, Kindle edition.) The afterlife of slavery marks time in the long history of racial capitalism that I link to "second slavery's" time motion choreography with continuities in the present.

[165] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and The Cartographies of Struggle,* Domination, Transatlantic Slavery, Diaspora, Introduction, Kindle edition.

Locating and mapping Black people through traditional geographies helps to clarify

negotiated territories of exploitation, exploration, and conquest, but traditional geographies are

limited in the kinds of narratives they can produce. Historical narratives within the scope of

traditional geographies often tend to naturalize identity, place, and spaces of difference.[166]

Katherine McKittrick's framework of geography, in a move away from traditional geographies,

insists that "social practices create landscapes and contribute to how we organize, build, and

imagine our surroundings."[167] In Benedita's narrative of her reunion with her mother, she

provides specific details about the spatial memory of her trajectory.

Benedita went to Albuquerque Lins to take the train to the neighborhood of Bexiga by

descending Albuquerque Lins street to Praça do Correio. According to Benedita, the train went

up to Viaduto do Chá and went down at Líbero Badaró Street.[168] She took the train to Praça do

Correio and transferred to train number five, Paraíso, to Rua Major Diogo. She asked the

conductor to let her know when they reached the street as she was afraid that she would get lost.

When she reached her mother's residence, she rang the doorbell and she saw her mother's *patroa*

(mistress). The *patroa* asked, "Who did you come with?" Benedita said: "I came by myself." The

patroa said, "Paulina, Paulina, your daughter is here." My mother said: "Who? My daughter

Dita?" The *patroa* responded, "Yes, she is." My mother said: "That is not possible" When my

mother saw me, she said: "My daughter, you came?" "I came by myself, mother. I came." She

said: "It is not possible!"[169]

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[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Clóvis de Athayde Jorge, Santa Cecilia, vol. 30 (São Paulo, SP: Prefeitura do Município de São Paulo, 2006), p.91); Líbero Badaró was from the first expansion of the *bonde* lines installed in 1903 Santa Cecilia (Ibid).

[169] Geraldina Patrício da Luz, Transcript of an oral history conducted in 1987, *Memória da Escravidão em Famílias Negras em São Paulo, Centro de Documentação e Informação Científica (CEDIC),* Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2018, 3-4.

The geographic references in Benedita's story were integral and significant to spending time with her mother. The names of the streets and trains–used by paulistanos for a variety of activities everyday–were connected to the geography Benedita created for herself and her mother. McKittrick's emphasis on social practices enable and compel us to consider the meanings, imaginaries, and social practices around how spaces are assembled and organized. Benedita's flight from her workplace through the busy city and railway is a feat noteworthy of historical record and analysis.

While other Brazilianist scholars, including Kim Butler and Barbara Weinstein, have written about how race and labor operate, my concerns about historiography and geography engage with their insights about scholarship in long nineteenth century. I am concerned with how labor, race, and gender shaped the ways that Black women were meant to navigate their lives, and the possibilities they created within the limits placed on them due to their race and gender. This chapter interprets the reasons that have been devalued by historians that we need to make space for in order to understand how and why Black women lived where they lived, worked how they worked, and survived the long nineteenth and its modern cityscapes in the ways they did.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when São Paulo entered a cycle of rapid urbanization and transformation, social practices were guided by second slavery economics even in the afterlife of slavery.[170] São Paulo urban landscapes reproduced slavocratic spatial logic–practices of domination by the elite and state actors through racial-sexual hierarchies and difference that created a common sense as to which bodies belong in particular

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[170] Dale Tomich, "The Second Slavery and World Capitalism: A Perspective for Historical Inquiry," *International Review of Social History* 63, no. 3 (2018): 477. Coffee, grown in São Paulo and the Paraíba Valley, was a central commodity for the Brazilian economy in the nineteenth century.

spaces.[171] *Lugares da gente negra* (places for Black people) were located in popular

neighborhoods–such as Bexiga or Barra Funda– and the white elite were meant to occupy the

bairros nobres (Campos Elíseos, Higienópolis, and Santa Cecilia). The most common

distinctions of long nineteenth-century paulistano geographic landscapes were bairros nobres and

bairros populares[172] that superficially denote class markers as to who belonged in each respective

neighborhood. However, reading the São Paulo geographic landscape of bairros nobres and

bairros populares through racial capitalism—and certainly through an understanding of the

synthesis of class as a marker of the process of racialization–and McKittrick's formulation of

geography exposes practices of domination and the type of racial-sexual bodies that belonged in

these spaces.

Benedita's job as a domestic servant, to some degree, provided a pass for her presence in

Santa Cecilia. The bairro of Santa Cecilia, where Benedita resided, maintained some of the

characteristics of the *chácara* (Chácara Palmeiras) and constructed palacetes in the early

twentieth century, which were characteristic of bairros nobres.[173] A *chácara* is a large urban

property that was typically a secondary property of a family used for recreation and leisure on

the weekends. By maintaining characteristics of the chácaras and building palacetes–a practice

that is most frequently linked to *nordestino* nostalgia and identity vis-à-vis the south–the elite

and state actors preserved material elements of the slavocratic plantation. Benedita's job as a

domestic servant in the twentieth century placed her in an architectural set of conditions and

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[171] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and The Cartographies of Struggle,* Domination, Transatlantic Slavery, Diaspora, Introduction, Kindle edition.

[172] Bairro nobre literally translates as "noble neighborhood" and bairro popular translates as "popular neighborhood."

[173] A *chácara* is a large urban property– typically a secondary property of a family used for recreation and leisure on the weekends; Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity*, 4.

geographies that were not dissimilar to the type of labor and spatial configurations during slavery.

As historians of the nineteenth century throughout the Americas have demonstrated, slaveholders expressed their power through spatial control and regulation of terrain.[174] In the context of São Paulo, historians Maria Cristina Cortez Wissenbach and Maria Odila Silva Dias have demonstrated that the presence and movements of Black women in São Paulo were disciplined and regulated by the police and slaveholders through fines and jail time. Projects of spatial control and regulation of terrain forged during slavery remained and expanded in the afterlife of slavery.

Scholars on Black women in the African Diaspora have also shown the increase in surveillance by state actors throughout the nineteenth century and attempts to control who had the right to occupy space. In Chapter One of this dissertation, I examined the drive for the elite and state actors to push Black women workers out of Europeanizing spaces and concealing the struggle to remove Black women. Former slaveholders, the elite, and state actors who profited from São Paulo's second slavery continued their territorial control over the popular classes by maintaining and recreating social divisions through neighborhoods.

Given the efforts put forth to maintain order and ensure the progress of São Paulo to achieve a "modern" Europeanized future and away from the race and culture of a Black enslaved past, the fact that Benedita had to learn on her own to navigate the city becomes less surprising. As a Black woman, Benedita remained outside of the possibilities of delicate citizenship and

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[174] Aisha K. Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841-1844* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 51. See also Ada Ferrer, Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Julius Sherrard. Scott, The Common Winds: Currents of Afro-American Communication in the Era of the Haitian Revolution (Ann Arbor, MI: Univ. Microfilms International, 1986); and Rafael De Bivar Marquese, A Guerra Civil Norte-americana E a Crise Da Escravidão No Império Do Brasil: O Caso Da Lei Do Ventre-Livre, proceedings of Conference: 7º Encontro Escravidão E Liberdade No Brasil Meridional, At, PR, Brasil, Curitiba for "second slavery" and crises in slavery.

assistance that white women might garner in a similar situation. Her labor was the only part of her personhood that was meant to exist in a *bairro nobre.* Black women who were living or working in Europeanized neighborhoods and spaces were invisible and improbable protagonists in these spaces. Benedita's journey as a daughter en route to spend time with her family escapes the bounds of how she was thought to occupy space as a laborer and interrupts traditional geographies, which were meant to neatly confine people (or Black women) to particular spaces.

Benedita's narrative is among one of several dozen interviews by Black women in the early twentieth century that illustrates Black transit in São Paulo. Her account also indicates that she was one of the thousands of Black people to migrate to the city of São Paulo in the early twentieth century. Despite slavocratic spatial logic, Black people were not static or fixed to particular geographies. Their transit and navigation across the spaces allotted to them and the spaces they took enable us to rethink how the ideology of political emancipation promised modernization and mobility for some while it obscured much about the lived experiences of Black women.

The work by other scholars who have interrogated Black geographies and Black neighborhoods have made it possible to reconsider the formation of territories and Black geographies. Brazilianist scholars have located Black people through cultural activities and through their homes to determine the *lugares da gente negra*. However, the slippage between a *lugares da gente negra* and the *lugar do negro* –as a kind of segregationist color line–is paper thin.[175] In other words, Black places and geographies can be transformed into the places where

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[175] Valter Roberto Silvério, Uma releitura do "lugar do negro" e dos "lugares da gente negra" nas cidades, 29; In "Os Lugares Da Gente Negra: Temas Geográficos No Pensamento De Beatriz Nascimento and Lélia Gonzalez" Alex Ratts also demonstrates the importance of *lugar da gente negra* as social space and as a spatial sphere in Lélia Gonzalez's work (p. 221).

Black people "naturally" belong, and their presence outside of these spaces makes them out of place.

Benedita's *patroa*'s response, "Beneditinha, you will not go. You will get lost here in São Paulo," also indicates that leaving the house to see her mother was imprudent in the eyes of the *patroa*. In fact, neither *patroa* expressed the belief that Benedita was capable of arriving at her mother's residence on her own, and Benedita's *patroa* voiced concerns that she would get lost yet offered no assistance to reconnect her with her kin. The *patroa*'s consideration as to what could happen to Benedita on the street exemplifies an often-cited geographic division between the house and the street in Brazilian society. Historian Peter Beattie characterizes the traditional geographic markers of the house and the street as a "geography of honor."[176] Beattie states,

> Though ambiguities exist in the two conceptions, an association with the street suggests a threat to family honor, the cornerstone of order in the letter and philosophy of Brazilian law. Honor demands that male household members defend their kin, their dependents, and themselves from sexual aggression of other males. The home's violation undermines honor because it compromises a household head's authority, exposing his dependents to real or putative sexual aggressions.[177]

According to this logic, Benedita would benefit from her *patroa*'s protection from the disorder of the street for as long as she remained in the house. The geography of the house, for the white nuclear family and their dependents, was meant to be safe and the street was not. The potential dangers that awaited Benedita in the street should she get lost were multiple, and her *patroa* and honor of the household would not be able to protect her. Reading Benedita's journey through demonic grounds and abolition geography disintegrates traditional "geographies of honor" and

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[176] Peter Beattie, "Peter M. Beattie, "The House, the Street, and the Barracks: Reform and Honorable Masculine Social Space in Brazil, 1864-1945," The Hispanic American Historical Review76, no. 2 (August 1996): 440.
[177] Ibid.

attends to the fact that Black women created places of freedom based on their needs, and not solely as a response external force.

The logic of traditional geography as a conceptual field limits possibility for Black geographies and Black protagonists as creators of geographies. Some scholars have, perhaps, unintentionally confined the Black presence to particular spaces by using traditional geographies to think about space. The concepts of demonic grounds and abolition geographies, from Katherine McKittrick and Ruth Wilson Gilmore respectively, disrupt the logic of traditional geographies and allow scholars to reimagine Black geographies. First, demonic grounds is "genealogically wrapped up in the historical spatial unrepresentability of black femininity…and thinks about the ways in which black women necessarily contribute to a re-presentation of human geography."[178] Second, abolition geography is predicated upon the premise that "freedom is a place."[179] Abolition geography as a method "goes back in time-space not in order to abolish history, but rather to find alternatives to the despairing sense that so much change, in retrospect, seems only ever to have been displacement and redistribution of human sacrifice."[180] Demonic ground and abolition geography as complementary methods and frameworks provide avenues to interrogate both the context and geographies of domination, and articulations of Black women's geographies and place-making of freedom. When Benedita set out on her journey to visit her mother she created a moment and geography to envision possibilities of demonic grounds and abolition geography for many Black women in São Paulo in the early twentieth century.

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[178] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and The Cartographies of Struggle,* Reading the Demonic, Introduction, Kindle edition.
[179] Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Futures of Black Radicalism* (New York: Verso, 2017) Abolition Geographies, chap. 14, Kindle edition.
[180] Ibid.

Benedita's desire and effort to reach her mother, in a city that she did not know how to navigate, directly addresses McKittrick's meditation on Sylvia Wynter's question on the demonic. Wynter asks, "what would happen to our understanding and conception of race and humanness if black women legitimately inhabited our world and made their needs known?"[181] The disbelief by Benedita's mother and her mother's *patroa* that Benedita had come on her own to visit her mother underlines the perceived impossibility of a Black woman legitimately inhabiting the world, having needs, and making her needs known by moving beyond particular geographies. Benedita's and Paulina's workplaces were ostensibly also their homes. Their presence outside of the home/workplace in elite neighborhoods in public spaces and streets were largely made invisible and their presence improbable. Black women existed as everyday workers whose presence constituted a white modern home, but whether their workplace was really also home for Black women workers is worthy of far more rigorous study.

Part II: The Free Womb Law and the Afterlife of Slavery

Similar to the assumption that traditional geography presumes some transparency as to what and who is held in a place, the study of Black motherhood and womanhood disrupt common-sense narratives about the ideal type of mother and woman. Even though mothering and motherhood are not dependent or inherent to sex, gender or gender assignment, Hortense Spillers argues that in historical formation "motherhood and female gendering/ungendering appear so intimately aligned that they seem to speak the same language."[182] The concept of motherhood and the category of woman, in western knowledge systems, are coterminous.

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[181] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and The Cartographies of Struggle*, Reading the Demonic, Introduction, Kindle edition.
[182] Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987): 76.

Although Latin Americanist and Brazilianist scholars have contributed scholarship that employs gender as a category of analysis– increasingly since the 1980s, the white heteropatriarchal nuclear family remained at the center and as the normative family configuration in Brazilianist gendered historiography.[183] Historian Heidi Tinsman has argued that Joan Scott's work on the category of gender as a site of analysis in the post 1960s was particularly influential in Latin American historiography and in the English-speaking world. The impact of Scott's work yielded different histories of gender and state formation, feminist labor histories, and histories of sexuality in U.S. historiography and studies on women's histories–that were not necessarily feminist histories as feminists were excluded from most universities in in post 1960s–emerged from Latin American scholars.[184] Similar to the work of Heidi Tinsman and other Latin Americanist gender scholars of her generation, I interrogate gender as "the social organization of relationships between the sexes" and as a "social category imposed on sexed body."[185] Though Latin Americanist scholars' work has expanded our understanding of gender, state formation, and women's experiences, their remains a need to employ gender as a category of analysis while taking race and racial dynamics into further consideration. Even with the interventions by gender scholars in Latin American historiography, white womanhood, motherhood, and the traditional nuclear family operate primarily as a social norm.

In the traditional family, the (white) mother is solely responsible for the children, and "their performance [is] based on their ability to procure the benefits of a nuclear family household."[186] Moreover, nineteenth century motherhood was a public, religious, and patriotic

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[183] The primary sources used in this dissertation represent the gender binary as either man or woman through their name or the gender of the adjective describing the person. There are no neutral gender signifiers in Portuguese.
[184] Heidi Tinsman, "A Paradigm of Our Own," *The American Historical Review* 113*, no. 4* (2008): 1360.
[185] Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no.5 (1986):1053-1056.
[186] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), 182.

role that reaffirmed the home as the appropriate space for white women to fulfill their civic duty. Wiebke Ipsen has argued that the civic roles of motherhood were intertwined with the abolition of slavery and the Paraguayan War.[187] Ipsen contends that paternalism was possibly used "as a strategy of dealing with class and racial differences outweigh[ing] concerns about the gendered allocation of space. In other words, at the end of the Paraguayan War it appeared preferable to encourage elite women's support for an 'orderly' abolition even if it meant granting these women a public role."[188] Elite white women acquired their civic position through motherhood at the same moment when motherhood was denied to Black women in the Free Womb Law.

The histories of Black women should not be merely inserted into traditional family narratives or as a supplementary history but should instead recognize and interrogate racial-sexual difference in relation to white supremacist heteropatriarchal order. Ipsen's historical intervention on the formation of civic duty for elite women provides further evidence that "[w]hite women and women of color not only live different lives but white women live the lives they do in large part because women of color live the ones they do."[189] Ipsen also points to the fact that race, class, and gender were significant organizing structures for the Brazilian elite, and racial difference was a unifying factor between elite men and women. Contrary to the popularly held belief that class affects life outcomes more than race, Ipsen's work demonstrates that the power structures of race, class, and gender operate together.

Revisiting the exchanges between Benedita, Paulina, and their *patroas* demonstrate the everyday interactions and circumstances that made white women's lives and Black women's lives what they were in the early twentieth century. The social dynamics of the afterlife of

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[187] Wiebke Ipsen, "Delicate Citizenship," 200.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Elsa Barkley Brown, "What Has Happened Here," *Feminist Studies* 18, no.2 (1992): 298.

slavery and second slavery economic dynamics in São Paulo shaped the exchanges between Benedita, Paulina, and the *patroas*.[190] Benedita and Paulina's work as domestic servants and station in life with the scant options for wage labor for Black women in the early twentieth century contributed to their separation. Moreover, the fact that Benedita and Paulina's labor was gendered also shaped their social and familial dynamics. There are few instances in the archival documents where Black women have been recorded in a profession as something other than a domestic servant, seamstress, maid, washerwoman, or cook in the afterlife of slavery. These kinds of labor were the main forms of forced labor during slavery for Black women. Benedita and Paulina's relationship as a mother and a daughter were shaped by the maintenance of a slavocratic order, blackness, and ideals of womanhood and motherhood.

In *Médio Tutissimus Íbis*

The Paraguayan War and the passage of the Free Womb Law make apparent the ideals for gender roles and social constructs in the late nineteenth century. The Paraguayan War, as Wiebke Ipsen argues, impacted class, race, and gender dynamics. Ipsen demonstrates that elite women's participation in the Paraguayan War, initially as volunteers and later as charitable and caring mother figures, was restricted by white patriarchal order.[191] Elite women were prevented

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[190] Gender appears differently in the Portuguese language than in English, which is significant particularly in the how gender was recorded in archival records. Even the word *gênero* is the same word used for sex and gender and lacks the distinction that exists in English.[190] In the primary sources used in this dissertation, the grammatical category *gênero* is conveyed through nouns, adverbs, and adjectives. Interestingly, these nouns, adverbs and adjectives take the masculine or feminine case rather than biological categories of male or female, which indicates the social construction of gender. Furthermore, *patroa* is the feminine word for "employer." If there were one man mentioned in the midst of multiple *patroas*, the plural for feminine bosses, the collective group would be referred to as *patrões* in the masculine case. That the presence of one man shifts the word from feminine to masculine also indicates how patriarchal order is embedded in language; On the collapsing of gênero to mean both 'gender' and 'sex' Nira Yuval- Davis argues that, "Anyone who has been involved in feminist politics in non-English speaking countries would know, however, that one of the first and most urgent tasks of feminists there is to 'invent' a word in the local language for 'gender'. Unless there is a separation between the discourse of 'sex' and that of 'gender', biology would be constructed as destiny in the moral and political discourse of that society (*Gender and Nation*, 9)."

[191] Wiebke Ipsen, "Delicate Citizenship: Gender and Nationbuilding in Brazil, 1865-1891" (dissertation, 2005).

from actively participating in battle and took on roles as paternalist Republican mothers in the 1870s.[192] Elite white women who were publicly invested in war efforts eventually shifted their focus, in the capacity as caring mothering figures, to issues pertaining to abolition.[193] Moreover, Ipsen argues that elite white women "strategically used their visibility to push for a return to the status quo ante of race relations,"[194] as the Paraguayan War created new social spaces for formerly enslaved Black men as who fought in the war. The military, up until the Paraguayan War, had historically been a punitive institution for the enslaved, formerly enslaved people, and men of dishonor.[195] Many elite men avoided military service during the Paraguayan War creating nontraditional spaces for elite women and Black men to publicly engage in civic duty.

As elite white women's gender roles were redefined during the Paraguayan War, so too were the ideals for Black women. The debates over the Free Womb Law, that sought to create a stable and steady path toward emancipation for Black women's progeny, reinscribed Black women into the status quo of antebellum race relations. João Mendes de Almeida– a representative for São Paulo and member of the Conservative Party who penned the Free Womb Law– was a staunch supporter of the Free Womb Law. Mendes de Almeida published nearly one article a day in the *Journal do Commercio* between July and September 1871 in support of the passage of the law.[196] He also rejected a proposal from the Baron of Villa Barra that would have freed enslaved Black women between the ages of fifteen to forty-five.[197] The rejection of the Baron's proposal and the debate on the Free Womb Law indicate that elite men and state actors

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[192] Ibid.
[193] Wiebke Ipsen, "Delicate Citizenship," 200.
[194] Wiebke Ipsen, "Patricias, Patriarchy, and Popular Demobilization," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 92, no.2 (2012): 313.
[195] Peter M. Beattie, "The House, the Street, and the Barracks: Reform and Honorable Masculine Social Space in Brazil, 1864-1945," The Hispanic American Historical Review 76, no. 2 (August 1996): 439.
[196] Bruno da Fonseca Miranda, "O Vale do Paraíba Contra a Lei do Ventre Livre, 1865-1871," 113.
[197] Wiebke Ipsen, "Delicate Citizenship," 216.

understood the law would have broad implications and impact on social dynamics and on the positionality of Black women.

On June 11, 1871, João Mendes introduced Baron of Villa Barra's proposal for discussion in the government. João José de Oliveira Junqueira Júnior, a representative from Bahia, spoke at length on this day against the Baron's proposal. He stated,

> Therefore, what remains in the system from the liberation of the woman. It is a moral absurdity, financially absurd, politically absurd and an absurdity of natural right. Nothing would remain… I do not wish that we would adopt extreme ideas, for us that would be extravagant and dangerous, but we must adopt a middle course; *in medio tutissimius ibis,* I will say as well in my turn to the noble representative. We should not adopt exaggerated ideas, above all because we know that our society is not prepared for this. If the social pyramid is not sitting on its base, we have to use care and caution to put it on the right point. We are not going to act as the demolishers of Paris, destroying the column of Vendôme, and make it into a thousand pieces, no; we will seek by every means and caution to place the pyramid in its natural position…We do not have to arrive at the results that we want, without commotion; this reform is for the future, but a future that does not notably alter the present. In order to arrive at this result, it is necessary to attack this element in its stronghold, and the stronghold is the slave womb. (*Many supporters*).[198]

For Junqueira and his supporters, the enslavement of Black women and maintaining control over their wombs was the "middle path" that would ensure moral, financial, and political soundness for the present and the future of Brazil. The base of the social pyramid that underpinned the tripartite concerns of Junqueira resided in the "stronghold" of the enslaved womb. By linking the power of the enslaved Black woman's womb to the destruction of the Vendôme column in May of 1871, Junqueira made the case that the elite men and state actors' power would be jeopardized by freeing Black women. Liberating Black women would effectively grant Black women control over their wombs and recognize Black women as mothers on their own terms.

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[198] Discussão da Reforma do Estado Servil na Camara dos Deputados e no Senado, 1871, Tom I (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1871), 133-136.

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Junqueira's middle path required Black women and their wombs to remain at the base of the pyramid of social order. He warned the government that the idea of liberation of Black women was a "a moral absurdity, financially absurd, politically absurd and an absurdity of natural right" and "nothing would remain." His warnings gesture toward the elite's response to Sylvia Wynter's question, "what would happen to our understanding and conception of race and humanness if black women legitimately inhabited our world and made their needs known?"[199] Throughout the course of slavery in Brazil, Black women were more frequently manumitted and more likely to attain their freedom than Black men.[200] Granting freedom to Black women would not have been an unusual or new feature to the institution of slavery in Brazil. Yet, the stakes for the elite and slaveholders to create space for Black women to legitimately inhabit space and to make their needs known as free people were too high to be considered as a viable path to resolve the crises of the institution of slavery in the late nineteenth. Junqueira's speech and the support for his speech reveal that their power and ability to impose their visions of order for the present and future were inextricably tied to the power of Black women and their wombs.

The Viscount of Rio Branco, the 1871 law's namesake, took a similar position to Sr. Junqueira. He was an outspoken supporter of emancipation and was supposedly disturbed by the continuation of slavery in Brazil.[201] As the head of government, he argued that "the question of the servile element cannot have any other solution, but that of liberty of the womb...this can be done without trauma, assuming that proprietors do not put up resistance, which would be

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[199] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Ground* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), Reading the Demonic, Introduction, Kindle edition.
[200] Wiebke Ipsen, "Delicate Citizenship," 201;Mieko Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity in Urban Slavery: Salvador, Brazil, 1808-1888" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 73, no.3 (1993): 361-391; Miridan Knox Falci, "Mulheres do Sertão Nordestino" in: Mary Del Priore (Org), *Historia das Mulheres no Brasil* (Sao Paulo, Brazil: Editora Contexto: Editora Unesp Fundação, 1997); Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Katia M. de Queiros Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986).
[201] Celso Thomas Castilho, *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship*, 48.

ineffective in containing the torrent of public opinion."[202] The viscount's argument for the imperative to grant freedoms through the womb considered the possibilities of trauma from an emancipatory act for "public opinion" and the slaveholders, and not for Black women. Sr. Junqueira's and the viscount's arguments on the 1871 law show that freeing Black women and recognizing their bodies and personhood as connected to their wombs would have been a revolutionary act.

Throughout the transatlantic slave trade, the possibilities for mothering and motherhood for Black women and Black *othermothers* were conditioned by the institution of slavery.[203] Patricia Hill Collins uses the term "othermothering" to address the multitude of ways that Black women have taken on roles as a reference for young Black people.[204] Historian Jennifer Morgan states that motherhood could not "possibly remain unmodified when it is understood in the context of both the overwhelming commodification of the bodies of infants and their mothers, and the potential impulse women may have felt to interrupt such obscene calculations."[205] The material and social conditions that augmented motherhood for Black women were not lifted in the afterlife of slavery in the Americas.

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[202] "Viscount do Rio Branco to the Baron of Cotegipe, March 6, 1871," quoted in Castilho *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship,* 48.
[203] A host of scholars have written extensively on mothering and how mothering for Black women was altered by the transatlantic slave trade. The dynamics for un/mothering, reinforced and constituted by anti-blackness continue into the afterlife of slavery. Mama's Baby Papa's Maybe, Spillers; *In the Wake*, Sharpe, *Laboring Women*, Morgan; *Black Feminist Theory*, Collins; *Life of a Slave Girl*, Harriet Jacobs; *Beloved*, Toni Morrison.; Jessica Millward, *Finding Charity's Folk*.
[204] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 178.
[205] Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*, 200.

In Junqueira's 1871 speech, he briefly mentions Black enslaved mothers to point to the "successes" of free womb laws with obligations to serve their former slaveholders for a determined number of years throughout the Americas.[206] Junqueira argued,

> I am speaking in the presence of a congress that has complete consciousness as to what happens in this country. The instincts of the mother, who were the object of discussion in this house, wishing to ridicule this sublime sentiment, the overexcitement of women slaves, a false appreciation, perhaps, they [instincts] have produced among us a true hecatomb of innocents. (*The house supported*) We all know that this extreme love, inspired by North African haughtiness, at times have led to exaggerated principles among enslaved women, it has profoundly sought to make victims before they become slaves. (*The house supported*); so that there has been an immense number of abortions and infanticides that are consistently demonstrated in the current system, in such human suffering, all feelings are taken over, religion is forgotten by these ignorant people, who prefer to see their children dead than as enslaved people.[207]

Junqueira positions the government as saviors to the children of enslaved women, and the children of enslaved women as victims of their mother's irrational and homicidal love. Throughout the majority the speech, Junqueira cites the refuge of slavery in the slave womb, o *ventre escravo*. Both the womb (*ventre*) and the enslaved person (*escravo*) take the masculine case in Junqueira's speech. The word "womb" in Portuguese takes the masculine case, and yet he chose to modify *o ventre* with the masculine word for an enslaved person rather than the feminine form (*escrava*). Junqueira specifically uses *escrava* in the feminine case in this section of the speech to disparage and vilify Black women as mothers. He employs *escrava* and Black motherhood to argue that Black women turned their children into victims of abortion and infanticide before they could be made into slaves, negating the possibilities of Black motherhood and Black mothering before the child even enters the womb.

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[206] Discussão da Reforma do Estado Servil na Camara dos Deputados e no Senado, 1871, Tom I (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1871), 124. Junqueira mentions the 1780 law in Pennsylvania, the 1784 law in Connecticut and Rhode Island, the 1799 law in New York, and the 1804 law in New Jersey.
[207] Discussão da Reforma do Estado Servil na Câmara dos Deputados e no Senado, 1871, Tom I (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1871), 124-125.

Junqueira invokes the theory of scientific racism to make a biological link between the Black woman's womb and the slavery. White people invented hereditary traits of race "and endowed it with the concept of racial superiority and inferiority to resolve the contradiction between slavery and liberty. Scientific racism explained domination by one group over another as the natural order of things: Blacks were biologically destined to be slaves, and whites were destined to be their masters."[208] Junqueira's attacks on Black motherhood reestablish this racialized logic of slavery and liberty that white men were uniquely positioned to resolve. First, without the Black mother's intervention the Black child would have become an enslaved person. Abortion and infanticide prevented the child from taking their natural position. Even after centuries of premature death of enslaved people due to the conditions and social mores of Brazilian slavery, Junqueira argued that Black mothers were the first threat to their children.

Placing the danger to the lives of enslaved people on Black mothers made slavery and the conditions of slavery a secondary issue. Moreover, the scientific racism imbedded in the debates and in the law gave agency to white state actors to intervene and govern Black women's reproduction. In debates that were ostensibly about the negotiation of freedom, the concept of *ventre escravo* reinscribed Black people as biologically destined for slavery and inferior to white people. Black mothers and motherhood were nullified in the debates, and Black women were used an excuse to subjugate Black people as a whole.

Junqueira's explicit and violent statements about Black women in relation to their children makes plain the late nineteenth-century modification to Black motherhood. The Free Womb Law put the interest of the mother against the interest of the unborn child, which served the economic interests of the slaveholders and gave state actors a justification to restrict Black

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[208] Dorothy E. Roberts, *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2017), 9.

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women.[209] In a July 14th discussion on the Baron of Villa da Barra's proposal, the Viscount of Rio Branco cited Junqueira's arguments on Black motherhood and contended that Black women would be happy to see their children receive their freedom.[210] Though, as Camillia Cowling has demonstrated, Black women's visions of freedom for their kin differed from the vision of state actors and the elite.[211]

The 1871 law, also known as the *Lei do Rio Branco*, became a "historical 'fact'" that obscured the misogynoir in the formation and logic of the law.[212] The commemoration of Rio Branco in the years after 1871 as a supposed gradual step toward abolition was a powerful political and narrative tool to justify white male state actors interference in Black women's reproduction. An image entitled "September 28, 1888: To the Viscount of Rio Branco, 17 Years After the Abolition Law That Liberated the Baby's Cradle, A Tribute by the 'Revista Illustrada'" appeared in the *Revista Illustrada* in Rio de Janeiro on the same date as the title. The bust of the Baron of Rio Branco towers over a Black mother and her children. The mother kneels beside her children, who are standing upright on a platform just beneath the bust of the Baron. The children's shackles are broken as they face the crowd of Black and white children on the ground. The Black mother's head tilts up toward the sky with her mouth agape. The bust of the viscount is on the highest plane of the image and is positioned between two banners that mark the seventeen-year anniversary of the Free Womb Law and the Lei Áurea.

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[209] Dorothy Roberts, *Killing the Black Body*, 40.
[210] Discussão da Reforma do Estado Servil na Câmara dos Deputados e no Senado, 1871, Tom I (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1871), 189.
[211] Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio De Janeiro* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of Carolina Press, 2013); The statesmen's logic of 1871 law in relation to Black women, Black motherhood, and Black children, if it were popularized, could also contextualize why Black women may have chosen to use the law to free their children born before the law was passed in government.
[212] Michel Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 114.

The bust of the viscount and the 1871 laws haunts the Black women and their children as he himself is not present in the image and was deceased at the time of the publication. The viscount's haunting through his bust was "one way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with (slavery, for instance)."[213] The Brazilian institution of slavery had been abolished approximately four months before this publication, and yet the Free Womb Law and Viscount Rio Branco were commemorated in a liberal account of abolition in a national journal. The commemoration of the Free Womb Law is striking because abolition, which freed all remaining enslaved people, was a more recent event than the 1871 law and abolition marked the end of an era in Brazil. Instead, the commemoration *Revista Illustrada* reads as a haunting of the state actor's interference in Black women's lives and Black motherhood denotes an intention to continue modifying the negation of Black motherhood rooted in slavery.

Casa Grande and Sexual Violence

In 1928, a Black woman named Geraldina Maria moved to the São Paulo when she was five years old. In an interview for the *Memoria da Escravidão em Famílias Negras de São Paulo* (Memory of Slavery in Black Families from São Paulo) she recounts her experiences of working as a child in the interior of São Paulo in Jaboticabal and the challenges that generations of women in her family faced. Geraldina begins the deposition with her memories of stories about her great-grandmother and grandmother. According to stories told to her by her mother, Geraldina's great-grandmother was enslaved and worked in the field. Geraldina states,

> My great-grandmother worked for white people, so when she had a beautiful
> *mulata* they took her for themselves. My great-grandmother suffered a lot when

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[213] Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), Introduction to the New Edition, Kindle edition.

she worked for these white people. She worked in the fields, and one day a man from Ceará appeared. My great-grandmother made her get married at twelve when my grandmother was still playing with dolls. What did my grandmother know about marriage or what it was like to sleep with a man? My grandmother started to have a family at sixteen and remember how life was and what it was not. She was born free in Rio de Janeiro. When my great-grandmother was sold, my grandmother went with her and then returned to Rio de Janeiro and married the man from Ceará. She gave birth to twelve children, and six of them died. There were no doctors or medicine. She was raised using herbs from the forest with a *benzedeira* (healer). Later, they [her grandmother and the man from Ceará] came to Jaboticabal, São Paulo, and he left her for another woman. My grandmother never saw him again.[214]

The great-grandmother's work in the fields separated her from her daughter and denied the opportunity for her to nurture her daughter. In her absence, the daughter spent time with the white family that had likely abused her mother. The grandmother's marriage, as a legally free person, to the man from Ceará was deeply enmeshed with the institution and social dynamics of gender and family separation of slavery. Motherhood was compulsory for women as society defined them as mothers or potential mothers.[215] Slaveholders and state actors had the power to impact the reproductive lives of enslaved women and their kin.[216] The reproductive lives of the great-grandmother and the grandmother, regardless of their legal status, were not exempt from the control of the white slaveholding family.

As historian Jessica Millward has argued, Black enslaved women understood that freedom and slavery were tied to the womb and Black women did not always trust the law to ensure their children's safety.[217] The law upheld the ideals of Republican motherhood and the Free Womb Law established different relationships and possibilities for white women and Black

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[214] Geraldina Patrício da Luz, Transcript of an oral history conducted in 1987, *Memória da Escravidão em Famílias Negras em São Paulo, Centro de Documentação e Informação Científica (CEDIC),* Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2018, 1.
[215] Dorothy E. Roberts, *Killing the Black Body,* 10.
[216] Ibid, 55.
[217] Jessica Millward, "Wombs of Liberation: Petitions, Law, and the Black Woman's Body in Maryland, 1780–1858," in *Sexuality and Slavery Reclaiming Intimate Histories in the Americas*, ed. Daina Ramey Berry and Leslie M. Harris (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 92.

women that persisted in the post-abolition era. Geraldina's great-grandmother understood that her daughter's life chances were shaped by the fact that she was born from a Black woman's womb. In the absence of the social protections furnished by republican motherhood, the great-grandmother made arrangements to change her daughter's life chances as she approached the age of puberty.

From the late nineteenth century through the twentieth century, the institution of marriage was meant to make wives socially and economically dependent on their husbands.[218] When the marriage bargain of the dowry was in decline in the nineteenth century, women increasingly took their husband's last name and were regarded as an acquisition for men. Along with the decline of the dowry, the number of marriages in the popular class increased. [219] For Geraldina's great-grandmother, marrying her daughter to the man from Ceará may have been an attempt to protect her daughter.

Through marriage, Geraldina's grandmother would gain the social protection and economic support from her husband under traditional sexual honor codes in a family-based social hierarchy.[220] In the 1917 civil codes, passed after a sixty-five year absence of civil codes in Brazil, financial support of the wife and children was an assumed duty of the husband.[221] Men were meant to "guard the house from penetration–symbolized, especially by sexual intrusion on women."[222] Geraldina's great-grandmother's decision to marry her twelve-year-old daughter granted social and legal protection that was not available for enslaved women to grant their

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[218] Muriel Nazzari, *Disappearance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil* (1600-1900) (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 167.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Sueanne Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor*, 8.
[221] Muriel Nazzari, *Disappearance of the Dowry,* 168; According to Keila Grinberg, many historians have argued that they delay in the passage of the civic codes was due to the continuation of slaver in the nineteenth century (*Slavery, Liberalism, and Civil Law*, 109).
[222] Sueanne Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor*, 9.

daughters because the only status that they could pass on was that of a symbolic and material base to the system of modernizing Brazil and as the freed womb child of the system of indenture.

Although Geraldina, who was born in 1923, did not provide dates for her grandmother's birth, the fact that her grandmother was free, and her great-grandmother was enslaved likely indicates that her grandmother's freedom was a condition of the Free Womb Law. Under constitutional law, married women were considered to be "inactive" and "incapable" in civil law. Women shared this status with "minors, the insane, and state-protected Indians."[223] Through marriage, Geraldina's grandmother would have belonged under the husband's guard within his geographies of honor and out of reach of the slaveholder family.

In the interview, Geraldina distinguishes her grandmother's marriage from the age that she started a family. The grandmother was married at twelve and began to have children when she was sixteen years old. The 1890 criminal laws, passed one year prior to the Republican coup d'état in 1891, set the legal age for consensual sex at sixteen years old, and reduced the prison sentence for the violation of this law from three to twelve years to one to six.[224] Legally, the grandmother's husband could have intercourse with her—once she entered the legal status as "his wife" four years into their marriage and not face jail time. According to Sueann Caufield, "moral virtue and other markers of honor such as color and class combined in ways that made it impossible to establish consistent and objective criteria for defending female honor."[225] The actions of the great-grandmother and the husband, in regard to Geraldina's grandmother, were within the geographies of honor for marriage and child rearing in the long nineteenth century.

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[223] Ibid, 27.
[224] Ibid, 34.
[225] Ibid, 25.

Yet, the grandmother's honor as a Black woman was predicated on the husband who later left her to care for six children on her own.

Neither Geraldina's great-grandmother nor grandmother fully escaped the intersecting oppressions of race, class, and gender. Given the various forms of misogynoir and precarity of Black women's lives, the great-grandmother used the tools at her disposal to protect her child from the kinds of violence that she knew were possible for Black women. The great-grandmother and the granddaughter's inability to transcend the oppressions of the afterlife of slavery as women and mothers should not be read as evidence of the shortcomings of Black women. Nor should "Black mothers' ability to cope with the intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, sexuality and nation…be confused with transcending the injustices characterizing these oppressions."[226] Bahian representative João José de Oliveira Junqueira's insistence that the pyramid remain in place during the Free Womb Law debates to maintain social order, and the subsequent commemoration of the law in the *Revista Illustrada* were part of the architecture that compelled Black women and Black mothers to cope with intersecting oppressions in the afterlife of slavery.

Gilberto Freyre's *Casa Grande e Senzala (*1933) resuscitated nineteenth century misogynoir and shored up the justifications for intersecting oppressions against Black women in the early twentieth century.[227] Freyre's work positioned Black women as having transcended the

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[226] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 195.

[227] The misogynoir in *Casa Grande* is evident in the key arguments of the book and the "evidence" that Frye employs to buttress them. Thomas E. Skidmore argues that Freyre's *Casa Grande e Senzala* emerged out of the 1920s Modernist movement in Recife and in response to the events of the 1930 Revolution. The most important argument in Casa Grande, according to Skidmore, is "that modern Brazil has been indelibly marked by the legacy of the colonial slave-plantation complex (especially in the Northeast) and its accompanying patriarchal family structure. There is the corollary argument that any pathologies exhibited by the slave society were the result *not* of racial mixture (as the scientific racists reasoned), but the perverse effects of the patriarchal slave system (Thomas E. Skidmore, "Raízes De Gilberto Freyre," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 1 (2002):10)." Freyre's key arguments establish men, Portuguese men, and Black enslaved women as the constant creators of modern Brazilians

injustices and oppressions of slavery, while continuing to carry the nation on their backs as mothers. He situates the master's house and the slave quarters as the loci of historic social practices and origins of the modern Brazilian family. He establishes a geography of honor for the Brazilian family through the master's house and places it in contrast with the plantation. The house is cast as a place of honor where white male household members are supposed to protect the white heterosexual nuclear family from the sexual aggression of men outside of the home. [228] The white patriarchal slaveholder was also meant to oversee the slave quarters as an extension of his household. Freyre's geography of honor upheld the same structures and logic in nineteenth century law that placed white men as those who had the power and were destined to maintain order.

The heterosexual nuclear Brazilian family is arguably one of the most prominent civic institutions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that is often uninterrogated and left as a universal concept. Similar to examining the category of gender, "the normative construction of 'family' in heteronormative 'nuclear' terms is infused with power relations, and therefore must not be taken for granted as an analytical category or concept."[229] Freyre's geographies of honor in *Casa Grande e Senzala: Formação da Família Brasileira Sob o Regime da Economia Patriarchal (*entitled in English as *The Master and The Slaves: A Study in the Development of*

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at the will of Portuguese men. White men gained power through the colonial slave-plantation complex, cloaked and articulated as the patriarchal family structure, that Black enslaved women could not refuse.

[228] Ibid; Diogo Marçal Cirqueira, in his dissertation *Inscrições da Racialidade no pensamento geográfico (1880-1930)*, argues that the master's house and the plantation as the title of Freyre's work is a metaphor (24). Thomas Skidmore contends that Casa Grande "resembled a scrapbook more than a learned volume" and that Brazilian readers (fazendeiros) wanted to believe Freyre's claims regardless of any issues with the book (Skidmore, "Raízes De Gilberto Freyre," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 1 (2002): 13-14). Skidmore further argues that Casa Grande was "written–and received–more as a manifesto than a tightly reasoned work of scholarship (Ibid)." By reading *Casa Grande* as a manifesto that promoted new ways of understanding race and the Brazilian family, I read the title as a literal interpretation of geographic spaces by the elite in the early twentieth century.

[229] Haley McEwen, "Nuclear power: The family in decolonial perspective and 'pro-family' politics in Africa," *Development Southern Africa*, no.6 (2017): 1.

Brazilian Civilization), centered the white heterosexual patriarchal family. It is through the

formation of the Brazilian nuclear family that Freyre exposes the continuities of power relations

between race, class, and gender.[230]

On the role of the history of the Brazilian family in the chapter entitled "O escravo negro

na vida sexual e da família do brasileiro" (The Black Slave in Sexual Life and the Family of the

Brazilian Man), Freyre says the following:

> Conhecem-se casos no Brasil não só de predileção mas de exclusivismo: homens
> brancos que só gozam com negra. De rapaz de importante família rural de
> Pernambuco conta a tradição que foi impossível aos pais promoverem-lhe o
> casamento com primas ou outras moças brancas de famílias igualmente ilustres.
> Casos de exclusivismo ou fixação. Mórbidos, portanto; mas através dos quais se
> sente a sombra do escravo negro sobre a vida sexual e de família do brasileiro.[231]

> [Translation: One knows of cases in Brazil not just of predilection but of
> exclusivism: white men that only ejaculate with Black women. A young man
> from an important family from rural Pernambuco tells the tradition that it was
> impossible for parents who wanted him to look good in a marriage with his
> cousins or other white girls from equally illustrious families.]

Freyre then narrates a story about the son of a slaveholding family from the south of Brazil, who

in the first few nights after his marriage, carried a sweaty damp shirt with him to his bedroom

after visiting his "Black enslaved lover." [232] First, the framing of these vignettes of sexual

violence become both banalized and normalized as Freyre mentions these acts to prove his larger

point, which is that every Brazilian family is racially mixed. Freyre's phrasing "One knows of

cases in Brazil" casts rape as normal actions taken by white men during slavery that does not

necessitate further elaboration or interrogation. Second, Freyre positions Black women as objects

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[230] On the role of the family in Western thought, Cedric Robinson argued through the words of Wilhelm Reich "the authoritarian gains an enormous interest in the authoritarian family. It becomes the factory in which the state's structure and ideology are molded (Cedric Robinson, *In Terms of Order*, Chapter 2, Kindle edition)."
[231] Freyre, *Casa-grande e Senzala*, 368.
[232] Ibid.

to fulfill the needs of white men. In Freyre's configuration, enslaved Black women, without their consent, were positioned as the foundation and most threating entity to the Brazilian race.

Freyre reserves the geographies of honor for the white men and white women in the nuclear family. Black women, whether they were located in the north or south of Brazil, were not considered socially acceptable marriage partners for white men from "illustrious families." According to Freyre, Black women were an always available to fulfill the of predilection and exclusivism that was an "alleged prerogative" of white men. [233] Yet, Black women and Black mothers were always-already positioned outside of and apart from the white nuclear family. In this way, Freyre "whiten[s] the race, save[s] the race, but not along the lines you might think."[234]

Freyre ensured the whiteness of the Brazilian family by reasserting white patriarchal order and geographies of honor through rape, negating Black motherhood to the children born through rape, and positioning Black women as an obstacle for white men and white women and the modern nuclear family. He concludes this section on the supposed predilection of white men by stating, "Morbid instances, nonetheless, but through which one feels the shadow of the Black slave over sexual life and the family of the Brazilian."[235] Freyre configures white men as inculpable for their actions due to their need to ejaculate, with or without consent, which he claims as inherent to white masculine identity. Black women, without their consent, became the shadow over "sexual life" and the Brazilian family by giving birth to white men's mixed-race children.

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[233] Sidney Chalhoub, "The Legacy of Slavery: Tales of Gender and Racial Violence in Machado De Assis," in Emerging Dialogues on Machado De Assis, ed. Aidoo Lamonte and Daniel F Silva (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 56.
[234] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Mask*, 29.
[235] Ibid.

Freyre also negates Black motherhood by articulating her relationship with her children as a shadow over the white slaveholder's family rather than affirming her motherhood. Freyre' shadow maintained the modifications to Black motherhood from the 1870s into the formation of the modern Brazilian family in the twentieth century. The mixed-race child, as part of the patriarchal Brazilian family through the father, was pitted against the impossibility of the Black mother to mother within the family. The negation of Black motherhood in the Brazilian family also secured the place of white women as mothers and wives.

Freyre does not cast racial mixture as an impediment to the progress of Brazil. Instead, he places blame for social regression on Black women/shadows and ostensibly celebrates the positive contributions of African culture as an addition to the colonial *status quo ante* from the Portuguese. In the same chapter, Freyre builds on nineteenth century anthropologist Nina Rodrigues's arguments as to which African nations were the best suited for labor in the fields or as domestic workers. Rodrigues was invested in studying race–Black, white, and Indigenous people–and how these races would fit into the social structure of Brazil in the post abolition era. Freyre states,

> Bons para o trabalho no campo eram os Congos, os sombreneses e os Angola. Os da Guiné, Cabo, Serra Leoa, maus escravos, porém, bonitos de corpo. Principalmente as mulheres. Daí serem as preferidas para os serviços domesticos; para o trabalho das casas-grandes. Fácil é de imaginar, complementando a insinuação do cronista, que também para os concubinatos ou simples amores de senhor com escrava em que se regalou o patriarcalismo colonial.[236]

> [Translation: The good workers for the field were from Congo, who were somber, and those from Angola. The ones from Guinea, the Cape, and Serra Leone were bad slaves, but they had beautiful bodies. Principally the women. Hence why they were preferred for domestic service; for labor in the master's house. It is easy to imagine, complementing the insinuation of the chronicler [Rodrigues] that it was also for the concubines or simple lovers for the master with the slave in which colonial patriarchalism reigned.]

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[236] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande e Senzala*, 384.

Black enslaved women were either useful for their labor or because the slaveholders found them to be beautiful. Freyre and Rodrigues redeem "bad slaves" because they had "beautiful bodies." Freyre uses this as a justification for the slaveholders to violate Black women's bodies as part of their prerogative under patriarchal order. The fact that Black enslaved women were chosen for the domestic work and forced to be in very close proximity to white men who had a preference for their bodies clearly demonstrates that the institution of slavery involved more than labor and property for slaveholders.

Black women like Geraldina's great-grandmother, who birthed a mixed-race daughter, took measures to protect her daughter from sexual violence after the white people took an interest in her. The threat of sexual violence for Black women was always present in domestic spaces. The white family took the great-grandmother's child and placed her in close proximity to the person or people who likely violated the great-grandmother to conceive her daughter. The great-grandmother, despite being denied the rights of motherhood because she was a Black woman, intervened to give her daughter different set of life outcomes and possibly spare her from the violence that she had experienced. The legal status of freedom nor the racial mixture of the daughter could protect her from sexual violence as a Black woman. Freedom did not mean that Black women and their bodies were no longer considered the "alleged prerogative" of white men.

Casa-Grande and the Nuclear Family

The narrative of *Casa-grande e Senzala,* published in 1933, also has a pedagogical objective that conveys a teleological history of Brazil and reasons why this particular past should

be valued.[237] The foundational ideologies for the Brazilian national narrative did not start with Freyre, yet his text has instructed generations of Brazilians and Brazilianist scholars as an official history of Brazil. The control over Black women's labor and bodies, positioning Black women as always willing participants to white men's sexual prerogatives, and the celebration of miscegenation as the goal for modern Brazilians were key to Freyre's national narrative.

Freyre also employed the house as the signifier of order and security to explain social relations and history that upheld whiteness and the concept of the nuclear family. As Hortense Spillers has argued, "[d]omesticity appears to gain its power by way of a common origin of cultural fictions that are grounded in the specificity of proper names, more exactly, a patronymic, which, in turn, situates those persons it "covers" in a particular place."[238] By centering the lives of Black women in Freyre's articulations of domestic life, the cultural fictions of white patriarchal order that obscure racialized violence and misogynoir are laid bare.

Gilberto Freyre's work linked nineteenth century and modern ideas of race and citizenship to concepts of the nuclear family. The title of his seminal work and the chapter titles show clear connections between race, family, and patriarchal order. *Casa-grande e Senzala: Formação da Família Brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal* literally translates to The Master's House and the Slave Camp: Formation of the Brazilian Family under the Economic Patriarchal Regime. Chapters Four and Five are entitled "O escravo negro na vida sexual e da família do brasileiro (The Black Slave in Sexual Life and the Family of the Brazilian Man)." Both "Família Brasileira" and "família do brasileiro" can translate as the "Brazilian Family," however; the latter iteration only appears in the chapters that explicitly include Black people.

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[237] Denise Ferreira Da Silva, "Facts of Blackness: Brazil Is Not Quite the United States … and Racial Politics in Brazil?," *Social Identities* 4, no. 2 (March 1998): 220.

[238] Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987): 72.

The phrase "na vida sexual e da família do brasileiro" articulates the possession of the family and sexual life by white men. Freyre places Black Brazilians in the realm of white men as enslaved people. Although one of the main premises of Freyre's *Casa-grande e Senzala* was to argue against Black people's racial inferiority, he consistently reinforces a Black subordinated position in the chapter titles and throughout the text.[239]

Moreover, Freyre locates the foundations of the Brazilian family in the same moment that Black women's subordination was placed at the core of Brazilian subjectivity.[240]

> Desde logo salientamos a doçura nas relações de senhores com escravos domésticos, talvez maior no Brasil do que em qualquer outra parte da América. A casa-grande fazia subir da senzala para o serviço mais íntimo e delicado dos senhores uma série de indivíduos–amas de criar, mucamas, irmãos de criação dos meninos brancos. Indivíduos cujo lugar na família ficava sendo não o de escravos mas o de pessoas de casa. Espécie de parentes pobres nas famílias europeias. À mesa patriarcal das casas-grandes sentavam-se como se fossem da família numerosos mulatinhos…[241]

> [Translation: From the outset we emphasize the sweetness in relations between the master and the domestic slaves, perhaps greater in Brazil than in any other part of America.

> The master's house made the slave camp go up [to the house] for the most intimate and delicate services of the masters a series of individuals–wet nurses, maids, adopted brothers to the white boys. Individuals whose place in the family became not the place of slave but people of the house. A type of poor relatives in European families. They sat at the patriarchal table of the master's house as if they were from a numerous family of mulattos...]

First, Freyre's claim that "sweetness in relations between the master and domestic slaves" was greater in Brazil than in any other country in the Americas glosses over his previous justifications of sexual violence by white slaveholders.[242] Second, the fact that Black women like

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[239] Denise Ferreira Da Silva, "Facts of Blackness: Brazil Is Not Quite the United States … and Racial Politics in Brazil?," *Social Identities* 4, no. 2 (March 1998): 220.
[240] Ibid, 220.
[241] Freyre, *Casa-grande e Senzala*, 435.
[242] Freyre deployed what Tiffany Willoughby-Herard refers to as "noble lies" in his proclaimed sweetness in the relationship of the slaveholder to Black enslaved women. The noble lies were part of a racial regime used to justify "the brutal practices of employed to control" the enslaved person (Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin*, 25).

Geraldina's great-grandmother did the utmost to protect her daughter from the white family dismantles Freyre's premise on a harmonious history of Brazilian domestic life. The cases of rape that Freyre presents and Geraldina's great-grandmother's actions demonstrate that "sweetness" is a complete fabrication of the relationship between the slaveholder and the domestic servant.

The scene that Freyre paints of domestic life and the relationship between the people at the table depicts a racial hierarchy with the white slaveholder in a position of power over his family and enslaved people. In contrast to the space of the slave camp (senzala), Freyre states that the house was an intimate and delicate place of the family. The family was meant to be European, and the white man is the head of the family and household. Black women and her children could sit at the master's table and join his family upon invitation form the slaveholders. While at the table, according to Freyre, Black people would no longer serve as slaves but became poor relatives of a European family. The enslaved domestic workers in the *casa-grande* and at the "patriarchal table" became surrogates for "the master's body since it guarantees his disembodied universality and acts as a sign of his power and domination."[243] The patriarchal table and the people who are permitted to sit with at it, in Freyre's *casa-grande*, function as extensions of the master's power, domination, and universality. Enslaved peopled could temporarily become a part of the slaveholder family at the table, though they were not equal to the white male-headed nuclear family.

Freyre alludes to a kindness from the master by permitting Black enslaved people to sit at his patriarchal table that was meant to distinguish Brazilian slavery from the rest of the Americas. However, he also states that a select group of enslaved people were chosen as a point

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[243] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 21.

of honor to labor in the most delicate and intimate services.[244] Something is owed to the master

for being chosen such services and for temporarily occupying the space of a poor European

family member in the master's house. As Franz Fanon argues on the impossibility of mutual

reciprocity between the slaveholder and enslaved people, "It is when I go beyond my immediate

existential being that I apprehend the being of the other as a natural reality, and more than that. If

I shut off the circuit, if I make the two-way movement unachievable, I keep the other within

himself."[245] The slaveholder's disembodied universality and supposed benevolence grant power

to the master to maintain a vertical relationship– a closed circuit– between him and the enslaved.

The intimate and delicate nature of the master's house and becoming a temporary family member

require a "dutiful suppliance, contractual obligation, and calculated reciprocity."[246]

The slaveholder dictated the parameters for intimacy and the delicate nature of his home.

It was the responsibility and obligation of the enslaved person to act within these parameters.

Moreover, to have responsibility in the slaveholder's house also mean that the individual could

also be blameworthy.[247] Freyre contends that the promotion of individuals from the slave camps

to the master's house was natural for those who had the finest physical and moral qualities. The

decisions for promotions were not made at random, nor were they made carelessly.[248] Black

women were simultaneously positioned to be the recipients of the master's kindness and as

blameworthy for their promotion or demotion from the *casa-grande*.[249]

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[244] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande e Senzala*, 435.
[245] Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*, (New York, New York: Grove Press, 1967), 192.
[246] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 125.
[247] Ibid.
[248] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande e Senzala*, 435.
[249] The other side to making enslaved people responsible and blameworthy by granting advantage to some over others also upholds belief in innocence on the part of the slaveholders. The innocence of state actors and the elite were crucial to the debates on the Free Womb Law, the image in homage to Viscount Rio Branco, and Freyre's *Casa-grande e Senzala.*

Freyre's twentieth century take on the Brazilian history has been widely cited and referenced by Brazilian and Brazilianist scholars in the twentieth and twenty-first century. Even though some scholars have debunked Freyre's claims on the prevalence of the patriarchal nuclear family, the fact that *Casa-grande e Senzala* has remained a significant text and informed generations of scholars on family studies is complicated at best. Black subordination and the rape of Black women, which Freyre uses as a cover for white supremacy and patriarchal power,[250] are inseparable from his constructions of the formation of the Brazilian family and the house. The nuclear family, as a signifier of "modernity, civilization and progress within Eurocentric knowledge"[251] has been an important institution to reinforce Europeanized authority and protect systems of domination.[252]

The house, or the household, is a largely undisputed site of analysis for the economic and social histories of Brazil. Scholars have disputed and challenged how to understand the kinds of configurations and economic dynamics of people who might live together in a house. The house may be no more than a unit of analysis for Eurocentric knowledge meant to geographically situate the heterosexual nuclear family. In other words, a house is not necessarily a home or a natural place of refuge, and a home can be found outside of the space of a house. A home can be made anywhere (or nowhere).[253] The concept and unit of the house conveys little more than who was supposed to occupy a given place.

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[250] Pumla Dineo Gqola, *Rape a South African Nightmare* (Auckland Park, South Africa: MFBooks Joburg, 2015), 21.

[251] Haley McEwen, "Nuclear power: The family in decolonial perspective and 'pro-family' politics in Africa," 1; "… this Christian and bourgeois kinship model was an instrumental axis through which colonial power was implemented institutionalised. The control of sexuality and gender that this model enabled was reinforced by European control of knowledge (Haley McEwen, "Nuclear power: The family in decolonial perspective and 'pro-family' politics in Africa, 5)."

[252] Haley McEwen, "Nuclear power: The family in decolonial perspective and 'pro-family' politics in Africa," *Development Southern Africa*, no.6 (2017): 5.

[253] Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study* (New York, New York: Minor Compositions, 2013), 139.

Freyrian ideologies and realities of domesticity in the afterlife of slavery put forth in *Casa-grande e Senzala* continued centuries-long oppressions that uniquely impacted Black women. The house and the family, as a geographic space and institution, were tools Freyre used to rearticulate slavocratic power dynamics and embed them into modern domesticity. The legacies of slavery forged the dynamics of the formation of the modern family, miscegenation, race, and national identity in the twentieth century. The malleability of the concepts of the house, patriarchal order, and family, which according to Freyre were the structures and mechanisms that organized the power relations of slavery, were infused into the common sense and meaning making of social and economic life in the early twentieth century.

Throughout *Casa-grande e Senzala*, Freyre's repeats and reinscribes white male patriarchal as the natural social order of Brazil. Even in his supposed defense of Black women's sexual honor through his insistence that Black women procreated as a result of Portuguese men's sexual advances, Freyre forecloses the possibilities for Black women's desire and presents white men as Black women's normative sexual partners. The vast possibilities of Black women's desire and choice in sexual partners were silenced in Freyre's heteronormative and violent colonial text. Heterosexual white male patriarchal order was upheld and preserved through control over Black women and their wombs in Freyre's text.

Despite the fact that he published his book in the early twentieth century, Freyre's work reproduced an unachievable one-way movement and forced mutual recognition between white Brazilians and Black Brazilians that perpetually kept Black Brazilians in the position of a slave. As Saidiya Hartman has argued, "If slavery persists in the political life [of black America], it is not because of an antiquarian obsession with the bygone days or the burden of proof of a too-long memory, but because black lives are still imperiled and devalued by a racial calculus and

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political arithmetic that were entrenched centuries ago."[254] The centuries long racial calculus and political arithmetic cited throughout Freyre's book refused to consider a past or twentieth century world where Black women could legitimately inhabit and make their needs known. Freyre's *Casa-grande e Senzala* should be read as account of the afterlife of slavery and for persisting racial-sexual power relations into the twentieth century.

Conclusion

The house and the nuclear family, as signifiers of modernity, civilization and progress, are interconnected sites to think from and to interrogate the afterlife of slavery for Black women and their geographies. The *casa-grande*, for Black women, was a place of labor and precarity as the threat of violence was always present. The concept of the nuclear family imposed a strict gender binary and gender norms, where Black women's bodies were irreconcilable with western concepts of womanhood and motherhood. The irreconcilability of Black women to western definitions of womanhood and motherhood reinforces a placelessness for Black women in traditional narratives and geographies in Brazil. Fanon's and Hartman's contention that the disembodiment of the master's body over other people and objects as a way to assert power and control remains part of the common sense in Brazil. Freyre's disembodiment of the master's body over everyone in the house and the *senzala* perpetually fixed Black people to slave camps and places of precarity.

The invention of bairros nobres/bairros populares (the elite neighborhood versus blackened spaces) as geographic spaces in the urbanization of São Paulo reproduced the same slavocratic spatial logic, racial hierarchy, and geographies of honor in the afterlife of slavery.

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[254] Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008), 6.

Though the terms *nobre* and *popular* do not carry explicit racial language, racialized markers of space are often taught and hidden in traditional historical narratives. Brazilian sociologist Valter Roberto Silvério has argued that from the colonial era into the present, "[t]he natural place of the white dominant group consists of healthy dwellings, situated in the most beautiful corners of the city or country."[255] The urban development of São Paulo was not a natural process, as bairros nobres and bairros populares were intentional group differentiated spaces. It is the attachment of race to place, whether explicit or cloaked, that often naturalizes identity-difference.[256]

Benedita's flight from a house in a bairro nobre to visit with her kin pushes against conventional notions of the house, family, motherhood, or what was possible for Black women. The physical separation of Benedita from her mother made it impossible for their relationship to fit republican bourgeoise ideals of motherhood but makes clear the continuations of abroad mothering in the afterlife of slavery. Paulina's mothering to her daughter was not confined to the space of a house. Benedita's desire and ability to transit the city to spend time with her mother created a spatial memory of Black mothering and avenues to create affective memories with her kin.

Similar to the case of Benedita and Paulina, Geraldina's great-grandmother mothered her daughter in ways that were unrecognizable to the terms of white motherhood. The great-grandmother used the institution of marriage, which was not intended to protect or prioritize the needs of women, to shield her from sexual violence. The acts of mothering by the great-grandmother made fugitivity possible for her child from the *casa-grande*, altering the life

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[255] Valter Roberto Silvério, "Uma releitura do "lugar do negro" e dos "lugares da gente negra," 30.
[256] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2006), En Route to Deep Escape and a Politics of Landscape, chap. 1, Kindle edition.

chances for the maternal side of the family. However, these altered life outcomes could not undo the modifications to Black motherhood for subsequent generations in the afterlife of slavery.

Geraldina's mother, the daughter of the grandmother, was a widow with a young child from her previous marriage when she met Geraldina's father. Her mother moved from the interior of São Paulo (Jaboticabal) to the capital after her family expressed their displeasure that she married another white man. Her first husband was Portuguese. Geraldina and her brother lived with family member in the interior until their grandmother passed away and her mother learned that they had been made to work in arduous labor. Geraldina moved to São Paulo and went to school for two years. Her mother pulled her out of her third year to start to work as a maid in Vila Mariana when she was nine years old.[257]

Benedita, Geraldina, and many other Black women lived in São Paulo, the proclaimed Brazilian emblem for order, progress, and modernity, in the bodies that represented the very antithesis of these ideals. Nineteenth century reconfigurations of the institution of slavery, such as the Free Womb Law, alongside other white heteropatriarchal institutions and laws to control women were the conditions that Black women were born into and obligated to navigate. The concept of the house provides a space, among numerous sites of oppression for Black women, to think from and examine the lives of Black women. By interrogating the house and nuclear family as natural spaces and entities without critical analysis allows for silences to persist in a place of racial-sexual identity-difference making that has long been significant to the lives of Black women. Furthermore, decentralizing the nuclear family household brings the possibilities for Black mothering into focus.

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[257] Geraldina Patrício da Luz, Transcript of an oral history conducted in 1987, *Memória da Escravidão em Famílias Negras em São Paulo, Centro de Documentação e Informação Científica (CEDIC),* Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2018, 6.

Beyond the limited geographic confines of the house, Black Studies scholars have challenged and articulated concepts of home, homelessness, and the placelessness for the African diaspora.[258] Geographer Ruthie Gilmore conceives of "home" through abolition geography that is underpinned by what she calls "infrastructure of feeling."[259] Infrastructure of feeling "is material too, in the sense that ideology becomes material as do the actions that feelings enable or constrain. The infrastructure of feeling is then consciousness-foundation, sturdy but not static, that viscerally underlies our capacity to select, to recognize possibility as we select and reselect liberatory lineages."[260] *Home* is imagined as people make freedom "against the disintegrating grind of partition and repartition through which racial capitalism perpetuates the means of its own valorization."[261] Home and homemaking for Benedita, Paulina, Geraldina and her matrilineal ancestors did not necessitate a material static location of a house, but instead was the space that allows their stories to be seen outside of the logic of white heteropatriarchal racial capitalism.

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[258] Fred Moten and Stefano Harney, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study* (New York, New York: Minor Compositions, 2013); Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Matt Richardson, *Queer Limit of Black Memory: Black Lesbian Literature and Irresolution* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State Univ Press, 2016).

[259] Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Futures of Black Radicalism* (New York: Verso, 2017) Infrastructures of Feeling, chap. 14, Kindle edition.

[260] Ibid.

[261] Ibid.

CHAPTER 3: *Territorialization of Black Women in São Paulo*

"The colonized world is a world divided in two… The "native" sector is not complementary to the European sector. The two confront each other, but not in the service of a higher unity. Governed by a purely Aristotelian logic, they follow the dictates of mutual exclusion: There is no conciliation possible, one of them is superfluous. The colonist's sector is a sector built to last, all stone and steel. It's a sector of lights and paved roads, where the trash cans constantly overflow with strange and wonderful garbage, undreamed-of leftovers… The colonized's sector, or at least the "native" quarters, the shanty town, the Medina, the reservation, is a disreputable place inhabited by disreputable people. You are born anywhere, anyhow. You die anywhere, from anything"

— Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*[262]

Introduction

The 1912 decree for the duties and procedure of the *Gabinete Médico*, Medical Cabinet, was issued by the state of São Paulo during the apex of scientific racial thought (1888–1920).[263] The theory that whiteness superseded all other races in racial mixture became widely accepted as historical fact in the Western world and by the Brazilian elite and state actors in the same period (1888-1914).[264] Concurrent with the changes to the Medical Cabinet in 1912, the director of the National Museum, João Batista Lacerda, made a calculation that Black Brazilians would disappear by 2012, and only three percent of the population would be *mestiço*.[265] Lacerda's calculations were criticized by elite Brazilians because his timetable was too long,[266] which was likely exacerbated by the fact that Brazil had been regarded as "dysgenic" country in the white Western world.[267]

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[262] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, New York: Grove Press, 2004), 3-4.
[263] Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 46.
[264] Ibid, 46-52.
[265] Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 155.
[266] Ibid, 67.
[267] Nancy Leys Stepan, "Eugenics in Brazil, 1917-1940," in *The Wellborn Science: Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia*, ed. Mark B. Adams (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1990), 112; Historian Jeffery Lesser has also stated, "Brazil's image in Europe was that of a disease-infested jungle with little economic opportunity. This impression was accentuated by racist fears among potential Brazilian immigrants, who worried

It is important to note that national censuses from 1890 and 1900 were poorly executed

and unreliable, which may have been a result of a weak, decentralized federal government. The

1900 census was less reliable than the census in 1890, and the census was not taken for the years

1910 and 1930. [268] However, this did not stop local state actors and the elite from creating

numbers to claim that São Paulo, as well as Brazil, was moving toward whiteness. An

anthropologist from the Nation Museum stated that the white population was 50%, which was

the percentage necessary to satisfy Lacerda's projection, even though the 1890 census gave an

estimate of 44%.[269] In 1920 census, there was a separate section for *Evolução do Povo Brasileiro*

(Evolution of the Brazilian People), authored by Francisco José Oliveira Vianna, that claimed the

population was moving toward whiteness.[270] Yet, the 1920 census lacked data on race because it

was not a recorded category. Scholar Melissa Nobles argues that the publication of *Evolution of*

the Brazilian People, devoid of race data, served at least two significant political purposes. First,

it reinforced elite views about whitening ideology in Brazil, and provided data to show that

immigration efforts yielded the desired result of the elite. Second, the elite used the census to

promote their views on race, even if those views were incompatible with reality.[271]

São Paulo's elite and state actors were confident in the efficacy of whitening practices of

immigration and miscegenation. Empirical evidence of a low reproduction rate for Black

paulistanos on the basis of the miserable living conditions linked to the low survival rate of

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about settling in a country with large numbers of slaves (*Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, 33."

[268] Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 93; The 1900 census was less reliable than the census in 1890, and the census was not taken for the years 1910 and 1930 (Ibid).

[269] Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 66.

[270] Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship*, 93; Paulina Alberto quotes Oliveira's celebration of his calculations of supposed negative population growth of the Black population and the fecundity of mixed-race people toward a whitened society as "without a doubt and without the least irreverence, the right to smile (*In Terms of Inclusion*, 55).

[271] Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship*, 95-96.

Black children also reinforced their push for whiteness.[272] Brazilian historiography on late

nineteenth and early twentieth century indicate that the whitening projects in praxis intended to

disappear Black Brazilians, and São Paulo was at the forefront of whitening projects in the

country.[273] Anti-Blackness and the dynamics of the afterlife of slavery in Brazil, which pushed

Black people toward premature death, dovetailed seamlessly with the "global whiteness"

community in the early twentieth century.[274]

       Through state-guided abolition, the elite and state actors embedded anti-Black racism into

the terms of freedom and national belonging in the post-abolition era.[275] The paradox of freedom

in that post-abolition era in the Americas, as Saidiya Hartman has argued, was that state guided

notions of freedom meant that individuals became free "to exchange one's labor and free of

material resources."[276] Abolition in Brazil and the Americas were vested in "a general program

of economic modernization that entailed coercing freedmen into specific employment

sectors."[277] Abolition was not a philanthropic act, nor did it seek to end anti-Blackness in the

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[272] Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White*, 46.

[273] Nancy Stepan *The Hour of Eugenics*; Thomas Skidmore *Black into White*; George Reid Andrews *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo*; Kim D. Butler *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*; Melissa Nobles *Shades of Citizenship*.

[274] Tiffany Willoughby-Herard's term "global whiteness" might be used to further interrogate race in Brazil. Global whiteness points to a mobile community that is invested in whiteness rather than confining these investments within national borders. The author states, "[t]hus global whiteness and the mechanisms and processes by which it is sustained and mobilized can be better understood as the geographic contiguity that results from shared and enduring commitments to white nationalism as well as attempts to deny those commitments (*Waste of a White Skin*, 4). Scientific racism was a mechanism of white nationalism that was heavily employed in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Brazil. Moreover, the denial of the commitments to white nationalism are particularly salient and significant to the Brazilian context past and present. Willoughby-Herard goes on to argue that miscegenation, which was central to whitening projects in Brazil, "is often misconstrued as 'white disaffiliation from white supremacy' rather than as a recurring 'hegemonic configuration of white supremacy (Ibid, 10).'"

[275] According to James Kennedy, Luiz Gama left the Brazilian Republican Party "because, upon participating in the founding of the party, Gama had mistakenly believed that the Republicans, as advocates of complete democracy naturally would have favored immediate and unconditional abolition. Unfortunately, he had over- looked the fact that many Republicans were large plantation owners whose livelihoods depended on slave labor ("Luiz Gama," 267)." For example, in 1873 the Brazilian Republican Party wrote a manifesto for gradual emancipation of enslaved people with indemnification to slaveowner (Ibid). The elite and state actors were more concerned with wealth, labor, and maintaining the status quo than ensuring equality and a life with dignity for all enslaved and formerly enslaved people.

[276] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), 115.

[277] Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-abolition, São Paulo*

post-abolition era. In point of fact, there was significant resistance to abolition on the part of the elite because abolition would require the negotiation of labor conditions with planters and the formerly enslaved.[278] Thus it was by design and not by sheer coincidence that Black people labored in similar occupations as they did during slavery, and the links between blackness to labor, phenotype, and station in life remained in the afterlife of slavery.[279] The station in life for Black people in the post-abolition era meant that the vast majority remained free of material resources and were limited in how they could exchange their labor.

The elite and state actors who guided the conditions of abolition, though not without acute contestation and pressure from enslaved and formerly enslaved people, were some of the same actors responsible for the organization and furnishing of public services for the general population in post-abolition São Paulo. From the Portuguese colonial era into the present, municipalities (*Câmaras*) were responsible for providing public services that impacted the quality of daily life and living standards.[280] In this chapter, I examine Black women's medicolegal records from the Medical Cabinet in Assistance to the Police housed under the Secretary of Justice and Public Safety (*Secretaria da Justiça e da Segurança Pública*) to interrogate the everyday conditions of Black women in São Paulo. I demonstrate how the elite and state actors implemented whitening ideology in São Paulo through scientific racism, urbanization, and modernization projects. I also argue that public services, such as the Medical Cabinet Assistance to the Police, contributed to the reproduction of plantation (colonial) geographies through surveillance and mapping of poor and Black people.

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and Salvador, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1998), Brazilian Abolition in Afro-Atlantic Perspective, Introduction, Kindle edition.

[278] George R. Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo*, 47-48.

[279] David Covin, *The Unified Black Movement in Brazil, 1978-2002*(Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2006), 31.

[280] Anne G. Hanley, *The Public Good and the Brazilian State: Municipal Finance and Public Services in São Paulo, 1822-1930* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 28.

Black women were uniquely figured during slavery and in the elite-imagined future for a modern Brazil. Black women's ability to reproduce created a labor force during slavery, and their bodies were the vessels that could determine a whitened Brazil in conjunction with European immigration. The debates of the Free Womb Law made evident that Black women were the base of the social pyramid and the continued control over Black women in the late-nineteenth century ensured order and stability for the elite. Nevertheless, Black women and their histories have been made marginal to the urbanization and modernization of São Paulo.

When Black women have been figured into the São Paulo's historical narrative, they tend to be represented as an addendum to white and male-centered histories. The continued control over Black women in the afterlife of slavery by the elite and state actors was at the core of whitening projects– immigration and miscegenation (e.g., Mae Preta)– and modernization through scientific racism. The medicolegal incident reports provide an entry point to the afterlife of slavery in São Paulo to interrogate how the elite and state actors positioned Black women as simultaneously invisible and central to the traditional historical narratives of urbanization and modernization.

The Documents

The Gabinete *Médico* was created by state actors as an expansion of the *Secretaria da Justiça e da Segurança Pública* in 1906 and restructured under the police control in 1910. The Medical Cabinet of Police Assistance, a type of emergency response service, provided medical assistance to poor and incarcerated people in São Paulo.[281] In addition to providing medical

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[281] Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São, Decreto N. 1.141 de 24 de Outubro de 1906, by Jorge Tibiricá & Washington Luís P. de Souza. São Paulo. 1906. https://www.al.sp.gov.br/repositorio/legislacao/decreto/1906/decreto-1414-24.10.1906.html (Accessed August 24, 2020); Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São, Decreto N. 1.892 de 23 de Outubro de 1910, by Fernando Prestes

services to poor paulistanos, the Medical Cabinet conducted autopsies, exhumation, issued death

certificates, examined people who were perceived as criminal or mentally ill, and any other

services deemed necessary by the Secretary of Justice and Public Safety.[282] In the post-abolition

era, Black people whose station in life and access to employment was informed by the white

supremacy of the elite and state actors were among the recipients of this type of municipal public

service.[283] However, as historian Anne Hanley contends,

> Despite the far-reaching and specific responsibilities established for the municipal
> government council, and the growing acceptance that the state should honor these
> responsibilities [for public services], no study of Brazilian public administration
> argues that the Brazilian population was well served by its municipal
> leadership…Historians have attributed the poor record of local governance to its
> population to three major causes: patronage, prejudice, and ineptitude.[284]

Hanley points to an agreed-upon consensus among scholars that public services did not make

good on their responsibilities to the general population. The three impediments to fulfilling their

responsibility to the popular classes, "patronage, prejudice, and ineptitude," demonstrate that the

failures of the federal and state governments were not simply as a result of inefficiency or lack of

resources. The elite and state actors made choices to prop up patronage networks and prejudice

and permitted inept institutions and state actors to continue rather than placing their efforts into

resources that would ameliorate the conditions of the general population. Historians' intervention

on the public services provides a pathway to examine these failures not just as prejudice and

de Albuquerque & Washington Luís P. de Souza. São Paulo. 1910.
https://www.al.sp.gov.br/repositorio/legislacao/decreto/1910/decreto-1892-23.06.1910.html (Accessed August 24, 2020). Cited by Paulo Fábio Dantas Rocha (2018), 110.
[282] Chapter VIII, art. 101, Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São, Decreto N. 1.892 de 23 de outubro de 1910.
[283] Black people, after abolition were free to exchange their labor and "free of material resources (Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 115; Bobby Wilson's Chapter 5, "The Slave Mode of Production," in *America's Johannesburg* (2020) provides an in-depth analysis of the variations of capitalism that left formerly enslaved people free of material resources as free wage labor became a more frequently utilized mode of production. Slaveholders were no longer legally responsible for the maintenance, housing, sustenance of enslaved laborers.
[284] Anne G. Hanley, *The Public Good and the Brazilian State,* 14.

ineptitude, but as part of the anti-Blackness and "organized abandonment" that were crucial to the afterlife of slavery and modernization projects in São Paulo.[285]

The documents from the Medical Cabinet cut across various geographies of the city and capture the demographic information that interested state actors. This chapter examines 2,892 records from 107 Medical Cabinet books from 1912, 1916, 1924, 1928, and 1930 that report biographic data of Black women living in São Paulo.[286] The records were bound in hardcover books and organized by month and date in chronological order. The number of records in each book varies by month and from year-to-year, and the number of reports per month increase with each passing year. Over half of the reports employed in this dissertation were taken in 1928 and 1930, as shown in Figure 3.2. In 1924, the reports ceased on July 4 and resume on September 3, likely due to the bombing and military conflict during Tenente Revolt in July 1924 that brought the city to a halt.[287]

After each visit for medical assistance, the doctors were required by law to provide a written report "in vigor" of the incident. [288] Figure 3.1, below, is a facsimile of the records taken by the doctors and the Medical Cabinet of Police Assistance in São Paulo. The doctors were required to report the name, color, age, profession and residence, the location where the patient was found, where they were sent, the location and nature of the incident, reason for medical help,

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[285] Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Forgotten Places and the Seeds of Grassroots Planning," in *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship*, ed. Charles R. Hale (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008), 31.

[286] The record numbers were not sequential in many of the bound books that contained the reports. There are twelve books for 1912 and 1916, nine for 1924, thirty-five for 1928, and thirty-seven for 1930. Based on an average of the registration numbers that followed the most consistent sequential patterns, I estimate that there were over 50,000 reports taken by the Medical Cabinet in 1912, 1916, 1924, 1928, and 1930. The number of entries per year increase over time.

[287] Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity*, 79.

[288] Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São, Decreto N. 1.141 de 24 de Outubro de 1906, by Jorge Tibiricá & Washington Luís P. de Souza. São Paulo. 1906, Article 18.

all from the standpoint of a clinician and the police.[289] Whether in public or private spaces, the doctors were called to assist with accidents or disease. The reports do not give information as to who contacted the telegraphist to request the service of the Medical Cabinet, nor do the reports always indicate the origin of the call. Though some of the calls for assistance were recorded as coming from phonebooths (caixas). In the cases where doctors "recognized or suspected the existence of crime, they should *incontinenti* notify the police headquarters, or the police district, if it were easier, as long as they take the necessary measures regarding the case and proceed with the terms of the law to its complete and final clarification."[290] Doctors in the Medical Cabinet were granted the right and responsibility to surveil poor Brazilians in the streets and their homes and to report perceived criminal behavior to the police department.[291]

Figure 3.1 Secretary of Justice and Public Safety, Medical Cabinet of Police Assistance, 1912. Source: Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São Paulo, Decreto N. 2.215, de 15 de Março de 1912, by M.J. Albuquerque Lins & Washington Luís P. de Souza. São Paulo. 1912

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[289] Ibid.

[290] Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São Paulo, Decreto N. 2.215, de 15 de Março de 1912, by M.J. Albuquerque Lins & Washington Luís P. de Souza. São Paulo. 1912. https://www.al.sp.gov.br/repositorio/legislacao/decreto/1912/decreto-2215-15.03.1912.html (Accessed August 24, 2020).

[291] Saidiya Hartman uses the term "jump raid" to describe state actors entering the homes of Black people who were suspected of participating in criminal activity without reason or legal precedent (*Wayward Lives*, 251).
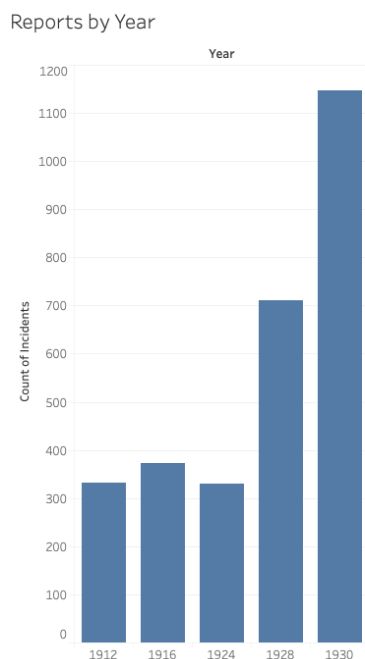
Figure 3.2 Count of Reports by Year within the Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database

The drive for the ascendency to whiteness, *embranquecimento*, from state actors and the elite made white European immigrants, particularly Italians, all the more visible in archival material. In contrast, locating records of Black paulistanos in the post-abolition era is challenging. Even in the medicolegal records, the detailed biographical information on race or color (côr) reveals more about the doctors and state actors than the people they treated. Approximately 57% of incidents involved *preta* (Black) women, 42% were *parda* (mixed-race). Less than one percent were *morena* (brown), their race was ignored (*ignorada*), or the women were recorded as "white, I say Black" (*Branca, digo, preta)*. The category of *parda* meant that these women were considered by state actors as mixed race and non-white. The classification of *morena* likely had more to do with the fact that the women had a light complexion in this context, but not light enough to be considered as white. The final racial category that pertains to Black women was *Branca, digo, preta*, which literally translates as "white, I say black," indicates that doctors may have had the final word on reporting race rather than prioritizing self-

identification. In the column in the below graph that reads "none," the doctors did not record the doctors revisited a sick infant that they indicated was *parda* in a previous report.

The doctors determined the race (côr) for each person in each incident, and their racial classifications were not neutral in a city where the ascendency to whiteness was the aim of state actors and the elite. As Thomas Skidmore has argued about the incoherence of the categorization of "mixed blood" individuals in this period, "One has to suspect that racial distinctions might well have depended on the desire of the relevant officials to *punish* (emphasis mine) the accused."[292] The doctors' recategorization of the women who identified as white in the records might be read as an act of transgression by the women and anti-Black racism from the doctors. Various aspects of the interactions between the doctor and recipient of care were at the doctors' discretion. The doctors could have overridden the women's self-identification without making a note of an exchange in the reports. The doctors' position as part of the educated elite also made it more likely that their determination of racial identity was privileged over the people they treated and show that there were discernable color lines in São Paulo in the early twentieth century.

In this chapter, the color classifications *Branca, digo, preta, morena, preta,* and *parda* are referred to as Black women. Though self-identification would be ideal and allow for different narratives about these women's lives to emerge, the documents privilege the visions of the elite and state actors and the praxis of scientific racism in São Paulo. The convergence of scientific racism and race that situated non-whiteness as "dysgenic" shaped racial categories that doctors employed in the incident reports. *Embranquecimento* was the goal of the elite and state actors for the future of Brazil and racial classifications in the reports, recorded by the doctors, might be read as gradations of race between white and Black. The classification *amarelo* also appears in

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[292] Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 59.

the reports but was generally applied to immigrants of Asian descent. Thus, I understand *Branca, digo, preta, morena, preta,* and *parda* as the kinds of "dysengic"/non-whiteness that the practices and ideologies of whiteness sought to erase in the afterlife of slavery.

The color classifications in the reports, however, did not provide clear evidence of the presence of Indigenous people even when Guarani, Tupi, and other indigenous words were apparent in the naming of places in São Paulo, such as the Valley of Anhangabaú or the Tamanduateí river. Indigenous women of full and mixed ancestry were very likely among the residents recorded in the reports as *parda* or *morena* in the Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database. The racial classifications determined by the state do not provide insight as to who was an Indigenous person. Furthermore, western definitions of race did not determine or exclude people from indigeneity.[293]
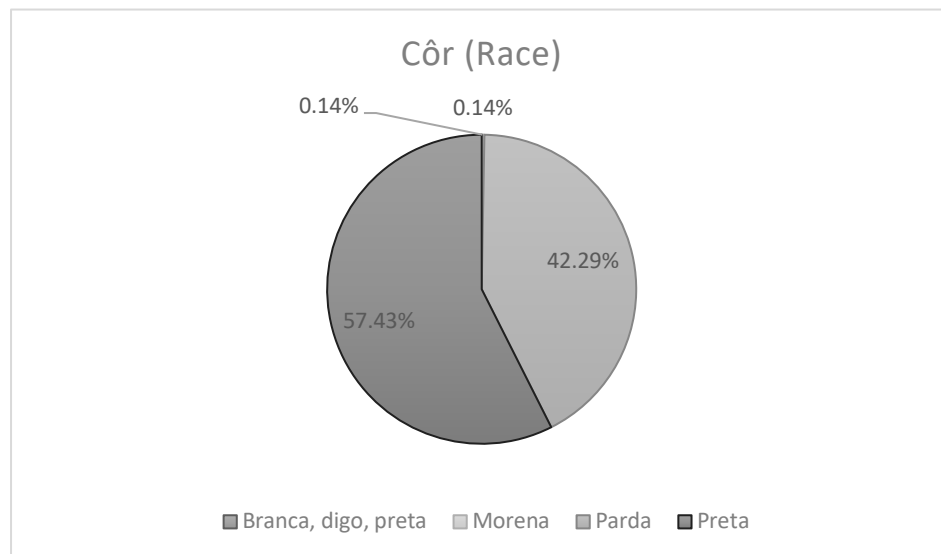

Figure 3.3 Percentage of non-white women within the Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (1912–1930)

The medicolegal documents from the Medical Cabinet are significant to the history of early-twentieth-century São Paulo due to the of the kind of information they contain and the type

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[293] Casé Angatu, *Nheengatu: memória, presenças e marcas na cidade*, 2019.

of institution that produced and archived such information. The doctors consistently recorded biographical data, including race, throughout the first half of the twentieth century when the census omitted race as a category. The incident reports were readily available to the police as the doctors were required to report to the *Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública*. By the end of the nineteenth century the most well-known São Paulo newspapers *O Estado de São Paulo* and *O Correio Paulistano* increasingly reported police activity and crime.[294] News regarding incidents and reports on the Medical Cabinet appeared in *Correio Paulistano* in the "Factos Diversos" (Diverse Facts) and *Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública* (Secretary of Justice and Public Safety) columns.

At first glance, it may seem odd that the doctors worked so closely with the police; however, Brazil's first criminology experts were doctors. Forensic medicine became inextricably linked to criminology, and Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, a disciple of Lombrosian criminology, was at the helm of criminology in Brazil.[295] Rodrigues's work *As Raças Humanas e a Responsabilidade Penal no Brasil* (1894) explored the national implications of the application of criminal anthropology in criminal law.[296] In this work, he argued that African inferiority had been scientifically proven beyond doubt and thus Africans and mestizos were not capable of following the norms of society and law.[297] Nina Rodrigues was the first researcher to conduct a systematic study on Africans in Brazil. Even though some of Rodrigues's stances on the future of

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[294] Boris Fausto, *Crime e Cotidiano: a Criminalidade Em São Paulo (1880-1924)* (São Paulo, São Paulo: EDUSP, 2014), 26.

[295] Fernanda Fonseca Rosenblatt and Marília Montenegro Pessoa de Mello, "Criminology in Brazil: Beyond 'Made-in-the-North' Criminological Narratives," in *The Handbook of the History and Philosophy of Criminology* (Hoboken, NY: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 347; Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 15.

[295] Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, Society and Cultural Progress, chap.1, Kindle edition.

[296] Marcos César Alvarez, "A Criminologia No Brasil Ou Como Tratar Desigualmente Os Desiguais," *Dados* 45, no. 4 (2002): 694.

[297] Fernanda Fonseca Rosenblatt and Marília Montenegro Pessoa de Mello, "Criminology in Brazil: Beyond 'Made-in-the-North' Criminological Narratives," 347.

race in Brazil were not mainstream elite in the late-nineteenth century, there was little dispute about supposed African inferiority. [298]

The relative lack of overt proclamations and white supremacist laws, in comparison to other *racial regimes*,[299] by the Brazilian elite and state actors does not provide as evidence of the absence of white supremacy. Recurring articulations and reinforcement of anti-Blackness through scientific racism and whitening projects convey the nuances and complexity of the racial regime in Brazil. The differences of the racial regime in Brazil should be cited as a variation of white supremacy rather than an absence. Part of the structure of the racial regime in the late nineteenth century was visible in the elite embrace of positivist criminologist theory to control free Black populations.[300] To quote historian George Reid Andrews at length,

> The real danger posed by abolition was not so much physical violence as the empowering of Brazil's ex-slaves to join the planters in negotiating the terms on which both parties would live and work together. Many planters were unable to imagine, let alone accept, the concept of bargaining with their former slaves. And those who were capable of either were deeply pessimistic about the outcomes of such a negotiation. Their pessimism was based on the assumption, the product of centuries of experience with slavery, that workers would not work unless forced to. The planters believed this to be true, not only of those who had been born slaves, but those who had been born free as well. By the time of abolition such beliefs were strongly reinforced by the currents of scientific racism sweeping the Atlantic world, which decreed the irredeemable inferiority of nonwhite and racially mixed peoples.[301]

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[298] Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White*, 58.

[299] In *Forgeries of Memory and Meaning* (2007), Cedric Robinson argues that "Racial regimes are constructed social systems in which race is proposed as a justification for the relations of power. While necessarily articulated with accruals of power, the covering conceit of a racial regime is a makeshift patchwork masquerading as memory and the immutable. Nevertheless, racial regimes do possess history, that is, discernible origins and mechanisms of assembly. But racial regimes are unrelentingly hostile to their exhibition. This antipathy exists because a discoverable history is incompatible with a racial regime and from the realization that, paradoxically, so are its social relations (pp. xii-xiii)."

[300] Sidney Chalhoub, *Trabalho, Lar e Botequim: o Cotidiano Dos Trabalhadores No Rio De Janeiro Da Belle Époque* (Campinas, SP: Editora da Unicamp, 2005), 66-67.

[301] George R. Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo*, 47-48.

São Paulo's elites and state actors put their efforts into accommodating white European immigrants rather than negotiate with Black workers as free laborers while they engaged and implemented theories and practices to serve their context within a global community that was explicitly anti-Black.[302]

Even if some of the ideas of influential thinkers of scientific racism were extreme for the status quo in the late-nineteenth century, the elite reshaped colonial anti-Black hierarchies through scientific racism in local contexts. The elite and state actors refused to recognize the full humanity Black people, free and enslaved, or accept the loss of economic, social, and political power that would come with such an acknowledgment. Instead, the elite carried over anti-Black structures from slavery into the early twentieth century through scientific racism and kept free Black people in similar occupations they had during slavery. Blackness remained linked to labor, phenotype, and station in life free from material resources.[303]

The Medical Cabinet

The Medical Cabinet was an extension of the police and was one of the means by which the police carried out and expanded policing in the city.[304] Doctors worked under the *Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública*, the highest policing authority in the state, and entered people's homes and the street to report crimes to the police. [305] In urban areas, it was common practice for

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[302] Furthermore, during the high period of racist thought–1880 to 1920–the "whitening ideology gained scientific legitimacy, because racist doctrines came to be interpreted by Brazilians as supporting the view that the "superior" white race would prevail in the process of racial amalgamation (Skidmore, *Black into White*, 46)."

[303] Zephyr L. Frank argues in *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (2004) that formerly enslaved people were able to acquire some wealth in the nineteenth century, but the opportunities for wealth and social mobility were foreclosed as the state inched closer to abolition at the end of the century.

[304] Nota do arquivista, "Guia Do Acervo," Secretaria da Segurança Pública do Estado de São Paulo, 2018, http://icaatom.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/ica-atom/index.php/secretaria-da-seguranca-publica;isad.

[305] Ibid.

residents to call the police station when medical assistance was required.[306] The extent of

policing and surveillance of poor and Black residents in São Paulo by the Medical Cabinet had

no geographic boundaries or barriers, dissimilar to the geographic boundaries established for the

elite.[307] Provided that the medicolegal services were intended for poor paulistanos, "geographies

of honor,"[308] distinguished by the spaces of the house and street, were reserved for the elite and

elite neighborhoods. The doctors had the legal authority to enter the private spaces of poor

residents through the *Gabinete Médico.* State actors did not have the same right to enter the

private spaces of the elite through the medicolegal institution as the services were not created to

treat the elite.

The geography of incident reports 1912-1930 were recorded by the Medical Cabinet

across the city of São Paulo, with the majority of the reports located outside of elite

neighborhoods (*bairros nobres*), reflecting the social segregation in early twentieth-century São

Paulo. Jane Jorge contends,

> [I]t was possible to identify a clear attempt to grant space with the profile of class
> through investment and public works urbanist legislation and social coercion. In
> general terms, from the end of the nineteenth century, the elite created a
> specialized area for commerce and services that attempted to suppress popular
> housing, especially in the *cortiços* (slums). Exclusive residential neighborhoods
> were created in the western region of the city and in high points in the center were
> dedicated to the classes of high net worth.[309]

The formation of modern São Paulo has often been characterized by scholars as chaotic due to

the rapid population growth from immigration and urban expansion. However, Raquel Rolnik

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[306] Amy Chazkel*, Laws of Chance*: *Brazil's Clandestine Lottery and the Making of Urban Public Life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), Criminal Justice, Urban Policing, and the Failure to Prosecute, chap. 2, Kindle edition.
[307] Peter M. Beattie, "The House, the Street, and the Barracks: Reform and Honorable Masculine Social Space in Brazil, 1864-1945," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (August 1996): 441.
[308] Ibid, 440.
[309] Janes Jorge, *Tietê, o Rio Que a Cidade Perdeu: São Paulo 1890-1940*(São Paulo, São Paulo: Alameda, 2006), 47-48.

and Jorge Janes demonstrate that there was a "territorial pact that presided over the development of the city" midst the chaos.[310] Whether through the law, politics, or urbanistic order, the elite and state actors frequently expressed and acted on their profound distrust for the majority of the population to positively contribute to their desired order and progress throughout the transformations in the city.

The Medical Cabinet, as an institution of both science and the law, charted and cataloged the populations that most threatened the mission of the elite and state actors–poor whites, immigrants, Indigenous people, and Black people. The incident reports from the Medical Cabinet offer evidence of the types of racial scientific information police garnered from these documents to conduct their work and legitimate the need for policing. Not only were the elite, police, doctors, and other state actors able to freely and legally monitor poor populations, but they also had the power to decide where the individual would be sent after a visit from the cabinet representative. Individuals could be left at home, sent to Santa Casa, asylums, jail, to other state institutions or secondary state processes under the Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública.[311] Each incident, not the individual, had a registration number that does not appear to correlate with other documents for the Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública.

However, the Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública kept statistics and created maps from the cabinet's reports. The statisticians were required by law to create specific maps to note suicide, attempted suicide, fires, disasters, or any other accidents worthy of mention, which was precisely the type of information found in the Medical Cabinet incident reports.[312] Each year's statistical data was aggregated with "a general map" that included all of the movement from the

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[310] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a Lei Legislação, Política Urbana e Territórios Na Cidade De São Paulo* (São Paulo, São Paulo: FAPESP, 2007), 14.
[311] Capítulo II, Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São, Decreto N. 2.215 de 15 de março 1912.
[312] Ch. XIV, Art. 171, Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São, Decreto N. 1.892 de 23 de junho de 1910.

previous year.[313] The Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública monitored and gathered

biographical and geographic information on non-elite paulistanos and criminal activity through

local cabinets and maintained a master map with statistics that were updated annually. The

evidence of medical assistance to the poor through the reports and the laws that reinforced the

duties and power of the Medical Cabinet were part of the routine violence that occurred against

Black and poor paulistanos. The violence and intervention were disguised as progress and

entrenched in eugenics practices to shore up elite control.[314] The routine violence of the Medical

Cabinet was essential to the elite and state actors' "territorial pact that presided over the

development of the city" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[315]

The Incident Reports

According to Fabio Dantas Rocha's estimates from a sample of the *Gabinete Médico*

incident reports, Black paulistantos comprised of 13.5% of the population from 1911-1915 and

12.3% from 1916-1920.[316] From 1921-1925 Black people were the third-largest group at 13.4%,

and by 1926-1930, they were indicated as the second largest at 15.5% of the city population.[317]

Dantas Rocha uses his findings to argue that the number of Black paulistanos did not diminish in

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[313] Ch. XIV, Art. 172, Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São, Decreto N. 1.892 de 23 de junho de 1910; The "general maps" created by the data from the Gabinete Médico might be located in the APESP with the other Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública documents. I learned about the general map through the decrees that expanded state services to poor residents.
[314] Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin: the Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 20; By the 1910s doctors with a range of specializations regularly published in the classified advertisements (*indicador*) along with their telephones numbers and addresses in the newspaper *Correio Paulistano*. The elite, or those who had the means, could contact private physicians for their care.
[315] Raquel Rolnik, *A cidade e a lei*, 14.
[316] Fabio Dantas Rocha, "Saindo Das Sombras: Classes e Raça Na São Paulo Pós-Abolição (1887-1930)," (2018), 133; The same percentages for Black people have been used in studies by Toledo Piza and Petrônio José Domingues (Ibid).
[317] Ibid.

the first three decades of the twentieth century, but mostly remained the same or increased due to migration.

The work of Fabio Dantas Rocha and this dissertation, which are both based on data from the Medical Cabinet incident reports, evidence that Black Brazilians shared the space of the city with non-Black people who were also monitored by the *Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública*. Non-Black populations were not exempt from eugenicist practices, institutions, and white supremacist ideologies in São Paulo. In the early twentieth century, paulistano residents "became white through monitoring and manipulation of their bodies" particularly in popular neighborhoods through the activities of institutions such as the Medical Cabinet.[318] Eugenics and white supremacist practices were enacted at the state and municipal level through systematic policing and surveillance by medical institutions as part of a racial regime that intertwined with particularities of Brazilian society and the positivist ideology of the elite and state actors.[319]

Brazilianist historiography on the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century tend to fix definitions of white supremacy to the presence of segregationist laws, even when their work clarifies an array of persistent inequalities between Black and non-Black people in the absence of these laws. Political theorist and Black feminist scholar Tiffany Willoughby-Herard's intervention in critical whiteness studies reframes definitions of white supremacy that make white supremacy and anti-Blackness all the more visible in the Brazilian context. Willoughby-Herard contends, "[w]e must begin to talk about white supremacy as being antihuman in the

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[318] Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin*, 117.

[319] Ibid; The federal government during the First Republic (1889-1930) was the most decentralized regime that gave autonomy to the states (Steve Topik, *The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1888-1930*, Introduction, Kindle edition). The roles and responsibilities of state and municipal governments to the people, as demonstrated in the quote by Anne Harley, were shaped by the decentralization of the federal government and state autonomy. The Center-South of Brazil, where São Paulo is located, controlled the federal government during the First Republic. The São Paulo elite and state actors positioned themselves and the Center-South as leaders of the country. Thus, the white supremacist practices at the municipal and state level had impact throughout Brazil.

sense that it creates premature death for those designated as black and in close proximity to

blackness and requires "miserabilism" and "dehumanization" for those designated after long

processes as white."[320] Comparisons to racial regimes with more prominent segregationist

features have worked to disappear the lived experiences of white supremacy and anti-Blackness

for Black Brazilians and "the process by which poor whites become another racial target.[321] The

appearance of poor non-Black people in the incident reports from a state institution guided by

early-twentieth-century scientific racism meant that they too were racialized targets in whitening

projects in São Paulo.

Institutional investments in white supremacy in São Paulo are made manifest by

interrogating "colonial relations across geographic and territorial space."[322] The naming of

geographies and territories in modern São Paulo carry socio-economic and racialized cues as to

the types of people meant to occupy a given space. Slavery and the presence of formerly

enslaved people were used to create and distinguish geographies. Brazilian geographer Raquel

Rolnik has argued,

> In some Brazilian cities the crisis of slavery and expansion to free labor–that is,
> the end of the nineteenth century–mark this segregationist impulse. In São Paulo,
> for example, this is the history of Campos Elísios (Champs-Élysées), Higienópolis
> and later Avenue Paulista, the works of the bourgeoise enriched with capital
> generated from labor on the coffee plantations. This is also the history of Brás,
> Barra Funda, and Lapa, Black and immigrant neighborhoods, salaried workers in
> the city.[323]

The formation of modern geographies in São Paulo undeniably reproduced plantation

geographies, funded by the profits of actual plantations, through scientific racism and whitening

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[320] Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin*, 115-116.
[321] Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin*, 116-120.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Raquel Rolnik, *O Que é Cidade* (São Paulo, São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 2012), Separar e reinar: a questão da segregação urbana, A cidade do capital, Kindle edition.

projects, as the naming of the elite neighborhoods Higienópolis (Hygiene City) in 1894 and Campos Elísios (*Champs-Élysées*) lay bare.[324]

Plantation geographies, "the slave quarters, the big house, the transportation ways that lead to and from the plantation…evidence[s] an uneven colonial–racial economy that, while differently articulated across time and place, legalized black servitude while simultaneously sanctioning black placelessness and constraint."[325] Popular neighborhoods in São Paulo denoted economic and racial difference that distinguished Black, immigrant, and poor Brazilian residents from the elite Paris-look-alike neighborhoods. Moreover, elite neighborhoods operated as the space of the big house with the colonial trappings of "geographies of honor," and popular neighborhoods stood in for the space of slave quarters and pathways that lead to and from the elite neighborhoods in the city.

Black geographies in São Paulo were rooted in the logic of plantation geographies, *practices of place annihilation*,[326] and were wrapped up in a biological narrative.[327] Though, black geographies were not necessarily exclusive spaces for Black people and Black residents. The *Gabinete Médico* incident reports monitored poor Brazilians in popular neighborhoods that were sustained by biological narratives to continuously reinvent black geographies. State actors and the elite employed the incident reports as a justification for monitoring of these spaces through white supremacist and scientific racism practices under the Secretary of Justice and Public Safety, which racialized Black and non-Black people in the process.

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[324] Maria Cecília Naclério Homem, Higienópolis: Grandeza e Decadência de um bairro paulistano, (Vol. 17. História Dos Bairros De São Paulo. São Paulo, SP: Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico, 1980), 71.
[325] Katherine Mckittrick, "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place," *Social & Cultural Geography* 12, no. 8 (2011): 948.
[326] Ibid, 947.
[327] Ibid, 954.

Even though the elite ideal for the immigrants was to "whiten" Brazil, not all immigrants

reached or maintained the status of whiteness, as not all immigrants were European, and not all

European immigrants were considered to be white.

> Many immigrants separated themselves, often aggressively, from slaves or free
> people of African descent. This separation was ongoing and dynamic: While some
> immigrants "became white" by distancing themselves from blacks and indigenous
> people, others moved in the opposite direction, either by marrying a person of
> color or not fulfilling certain cultural, social, and occupational expectations.
> Those who did not conform to the whiteness mandate through self-segregation
> often lost the advantages of being an "immigrant.[328]

Despite the rhetoric of whitening the Brazilian population through immigration, whiteness was

neither guaranteed to immigrants, nor was it necessarily permanent.   In the incident reports from

1912-1930, seven Black immigrant women were attended by the Medical Cabinet. Some women

were indicated as *preta* or *parda* and nationals from Spain (3), Argentina (1), England (1), and

Portugal (2).[329] One of the women was listed as a Portuguese national born in Angola. The status

of being an immigrant in São Paulo was not necessarily synonymous with whiteness and

whitening projects of the elite and state actors.

Black Women in the Incident Reports

Fanon's rendering of geographies of colonialism that "[t]he colonized world is a world

divided in two," [330] used as an epigraph in this chapter, offers an apt description of the conditions

in elite and popular neighborhoods in São Paulo and characterizes a common thread among

many of the historiographic texts on the long nineteenth century. Brazilian and Brazilianist

scholars cite an array of daily struggles and precarious conditions for the majority of residents

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[328] Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*, 7.
[329] The women appear in reports from books E14229, E14249, E14249; E13967; E14181; E14228, E14261,
respectively at the Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo.
[330] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 3-4.

traversing the city.[331] The medicolegal incident reports flag some of the conditions that Black

women faced in the early twentieth century. While scholars have skillfully interrogated the

experiences and circumstances of marginalized populations, the particularities of Black women

in the afterlife of slavery continue to be under researched in the scholarship at large. Though

Black women did share in common struggles with other marginalized groups, their racial and

gender difference made their positionality and experiences distinct.

Even though slavery was abolished in 1888, surely some of the women in the reports

were born enslaved, and even more women were likely born to an enslaved mother. The Free

Womb Law of 1871 altered the long-standing *partus sequitur ventrum* that had established Black

women's wombs as the locus of freedom and enslavement. The average age of the Black women

in the reports, shown in Figure 3.4, was 27.5 years old, meaning that the majority would have

been born after 1871. However, there were 55 incidents in 1912, 37 in 1916, 21 in 1924, 32 in

1928, and 46 incidents in 1930 that recorded women born before the Free Womb Law.[332] Black

women in early-twentieth-century São Paulo were not far removed, if at all, from slavery, and

were most certainly acutely aware and enmeshed in the legacies of slavery.

Black men living in São Paulo were likely born into similar conditions of Black women,

straddling or in close proximity to the legal lines of freedom and enslavement.[333] Unlike Black

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[331] Boris Fausto, *Crime e Cotidiano: a Criminalidade Em São Paulo (1880-1924)* (São Paulo, SP: EDUSP, 2014); Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a Lei Legislação, Política Urbana e Territórios Na Cidade De São Paulo* (São Paulo, SP: FAPESP, 2007); Margareth Rago, *Do Cabaré Ao Lar: a Utopia Da Cidade Disciplinar: Brasil: 1890-1930* (Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Paz e Terra, 1997); Nicolau Sevcenko, *Orfeu Extático Na Metrópole: São Paulo, Sociedade e Cultura Nos Frementes Anos 20* (São Paulo, SP: Companhia das Letras, 2000).

[332] The reports record the ages and not the birthdates of the patients. Based on the data it is not possible to determine or include the women who were born in 1871 in the months before the passage of the Free Womb Law. The average age also excludes Black women who were months or days old in the incident reports.

[333] There is no gender category for the individuals in the incident reports. The only gender markers are names, occupations, and marital status. Unlike other categories, such as race and occupation, there is no clear way to document gender assignment, gender identity, or contestations of gender assignment from the information in the reports.

men, Black women and their wombs remained tied to legacies of slavery through the Free Womb

Law since 1871 and became fixed to whitening projects through scientific racism throughout the

early twentieth century. During slavery, "[s]laveowners appropriated their reproductive lives by

claiming children as property, by rewriting centuries-old European laws of descent, and by

defining a biologically driven perpetual racial slavery through the real and imaginary

reproductive potential of women whose "blackness" was produced by and produced their

enslavability."[334] The 1871 Free Womb Law in Brazil altered, but did not nullify, the biological

drive of racial slavery nor the "real and imaginary reproductive potential" for blackness. In the

post-abolition era, whitening ideologies and scientific racism maintained Black women's static

positions as the real and imaginary reproductive potential for blackness.
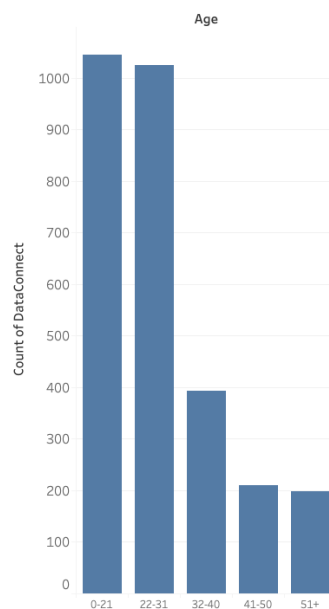
Figure 3.4 Ages of the Black Women in the Reports within the Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (1912-1930)[335]

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[334] Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in the Making of New World Slavery* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 1.

[335] Unaccompanied minors, under the age of 21 and older than 7, were sent to professional institutes and children under seven were sent to the Asylo de Expostos by the authorities.
Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São Paulo, Decreto N. 2.215, de 15 de Março de 1912, by M.J. Albuquerque Lins & Washington Luís P. de Souza. São Paulo. 1912.
https://www.al.sp.gov.br/repositorio/legislacao/decreto/1912/decreto-2215-15.03.1912.html (Accessed August 24, 2020).

Black men were also potential actors in the reproduction of progeny, but the stakes of reproduction were not the same as they were for Black women. Black newspaper columns on the *Mãe Preta* (Black Mother) published in São Paulo in the 1920s best demonstrates how the stakes for Black men and Black women and were different from one another. The *Mãe Preta* was a caricature of Black enslaved women who labored as wet-nurses and raised white children. She was also envisioned as a mother of Brazilians who united Black men and white men in a national fraternity in the twentieth century.[336] Figures such as the Mãe Preta in the 1920s brought a sustained biological logic for racialized slavery and the reproductive power, real or imagined, that Black women and their bodies possessed to birth Black children.

As explored in Chapter 1, Black women were the base of the social pyramid during slavery and were reestablished in this position during the debates on the Free Womb Law under the guise of order and progress as a stable path in the penultimate move toward abolition. Regarding biological arguments that sustained racial slavery in the Americas, Jennifer Morgan has argued that "enslavement on the basis of racial heredity forced a social and juridical identity upon men and women of African descent that also defined the parameters of slavery… the crucial matter of heredity and the permanent mark of racial inferiority situated enslaved women's reproductive identity at the heart of the matter."[337] The projections made by the São Paulo elite and state actors that Black population would disappear in the twenty-first century were articulated and justified through scientific racism in the early twentieth century. Black women

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[336] Paulina Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion*, 69; Chapter 2 "Fraternity: Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 1925–1929" in *Terms of Inclusion* provides ample evidence of the construction of a cross-racial fraternity centered around the figure of the Mãe Preta; Gilberto Freyre frequently draws upon the caricature of the Mãe Preta and her caretaking of white children in *Casa Grande e Senzala* as evidence of Black cultural contributions.
[337] Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women*, 2-3.

and their reproductive bodies were at the center of whitening policies, practices, and the predetermined white future of Sao Paulo.

The elite used their desire for immigration, published figures of low reproduction rates for Black paulistanos, printed news of miserable living conditions, and the renewed conceptualizations of miscegenation as evidence that the city would become white. Black women and the "possibilities of their wombs" structured by their reproductive identity under slavery, [338] were essential to the scientific race data and elite goals of whitening projects and praxis. Miscegenation and immigration were arguably the most prominent whitening projects in early twentieth-century Brazil. Yet, the prescriptions for how miscegenation was supposed to occur and who was supposed to partake in creating a whitened population were not as explicit. The desired disappearance of the Black population, based on the belief that whiteness would overpower and dissolve blackness, was an attempt by the elite to control Black women and the possibilities of their wombs. Similar to the ways that the elite, state actors, and the historiography on the Free Womb Law obscured the control over Black women as indispensable to elite power, whitening practices in São Paulo also relied upon the control over Black women.

The medicolegal incident reports recorded and intervened in a range of events that occurred in the lives of Black women–including childbirth and treating infant and young Black women (Appendix 1). The doctors of the Medical Cabinet in Assistance to the Police attended Black women and children living in poverty. The doctors determined the treatment that the women received, and which patients needed further treatment at the public hospital (*Santa Casa da Misericórdia de São Paulo*). The incident reports reflected the doctors' interpretation of events and they often provided detailed and gruesome information regarding the injuries that

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[338] Ibid.

Black women endured. Excluding the doctors' visits for illness or disease, many of the incidents were quite violent.

Some of the details of these incidents appeared in the newspaper *Correio Paulistano* with details that were omitted in the medicolegal reports, which illuminates the connections between doctors, the police, and the press. On September 18, 1912, paulistana Maria Paula attempted to commit suicide and was interrupted by her housemates in the neighborhood of Luz. Maria Paula was a Black (*parda*) eighteen-year-old domestic service worker. The doctor responsible for the report, Dr. José Luiz Guimarães, listed the incident as a "hysterical crisis" (*crise hysterica*).[339] In a newspaper column "Frustrated Suicide" published on the day following the incident in the section "Factos Diversos," reads that Maria Paula suffered a "hysterical crisis" during her attempted suicide at night.[340] The column also includes graphic details of regarding the suicide attempt, and the *Gabinete Médico* left her in her home rather than send her to a public hospital for further treatment.

Some of the Medical Cabinet reports received a blue semi-cursive stamp in addition to the typewritten information that read as either crime (*crime*), childbirth (*parturiente*), assistance as public service (*socorro na via publica*), suicide attempt (*tentativa de suicídio*), disaster (*desastre*), or occasionally accident on the job (*accidente no trabalho*). Illnesses of Black women, the most frequent reason for Medical Cabinet assistance, in the incident reports from 1912-1930 included conditions such as epilepsy, cramps, vertigo, or that they were sick (*doente*). As was the case with Maria Paula, the reports do not include any information about the treatment

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[339] Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo, E13965.
[340] "Suicido Frustrado," *Correio Paulistano*, Setembro 19, 1912, http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/.

that patients received until July 1930 when the Secretaria da Justiça e Segurança Pública ordered items on the forms to be expanded.

The nature of the incident recorded by Dr. Guimarães, the hysterical crisis, lacks the information made available to the paulistano public in the newspaper regarding Maria Paula. The two-paragraph newspaper column presents a fragment of the incident and the lived experiences of Maria Paula to be consumed by the readers. The title of the column was "Frustrated Suicide," yet the newspaper does not mention how the suicide was interrupted or what services the *Gabinete Médico* provided when they arrived at the incident location. These reports and newspaper columns, written by and for the elite and state actors' consumption, were steeped in scientific racism and an elite perspective on Black women's lives. Many of the reports either include scant information on the incident or contain gruesome details about crimes and violence, "a medical treatise," enacted on Black women.[341] As Saidiya Hartman has argued on the reproduction of violence against Black women found in documents in the archive that is particularly fitting of the newspaper columns and the medicolegal incident reports, "the stories that exist are not about them, but rather about the violence, excess, mendacity, and reason that seized hold of their lives, transformed them into commodities and corpses, and identified them with names tossed-off as insults and crass jokes."[342]

The incident reports and the police section of the newspaper, also referred to as the police blotter, provide scant evidence to consider the life events that came before Maria Paula's

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[341] Saidiya Hartman, Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 12, no. 2 (June 2008): 2; Hartman argues on reproducing violence against Black women, "There are hundreds of thousands of other girls who share her circumstances and these circumstances have generated few stories. And the stories that exist are not about them, but rather about the violence, excess, mendacity, and reason that seized hold of their lives, transformed them into commodities and corpses, and identified them with names tossed-off as insults and crass jokes. The archive is, in this case, a death sentence, a tomb, a display of the violated body, an inventory of property, a medical treatise on gonorrhea, a few lines about a whore's life, an asterisk in the grand narrative of history (Ibid)."
[342] Ibid.

"hysterical crisis."[343] The remaining 62 incidents of "hysterical crises" in the reports were marked by a similar categorization of excessiveness and violence cast upon Black women by the doctors that were justified through scientific racism, rather than their life circumstances. At the very least, Maria Paula's suicide attempt might indicate that the other cases of hysterical crises were related to suicide attempts as well. The total for suicide attempts increased over time for Black women in the early twentieth century as the reports for hysterical crises were on the wane. Similar to the newspaper column on Maria Paula, reports detail how Black women attempted suicide and the damage done to their bodies. Some of the reports lacked the women's complete names, as it is common to encounter reports with names such as Maria de tal (Maria of such) and Paula de tal (Paula of such) in the same books that archive the violated bodies of Black women.

The Marias, Paulas, Annas of such, and the thousands of Black women who crossed paths with the Medical Cabinet in Assistance to the Police had complex stories of their livelihood. The medicolegal reports on incidents that involved the poor paulistanos were meant to be neutral documents because they written by the doctors in fulfilment of a legal requirement of the *Gabinete Médico*. However, scientific racism, whitening projects, and identifying the poor and criminal acts in the post-abolition era were geared toward the maintenance of white supremacy and slavocratic order. The doctor's categorization of an incident as a hysterical crisis isolates one moment of Black women's lives with no context to create stories about Black women as little more than inventory and archive of the supposed backwardness and progress of the paulistano public. In the debates on the Free Womb Law (1871) discussed in the previous

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[343] Mollie Nouwen, in *Oy, My Buenos Aires*, examines police blotters in early-twentieth century Buenos Aires and argues that these documents contained more information about the victims of crime and provided a different perspective on police activity than the official police documents. Nouwen also argues that, "[t]he police blotter was more than a list of crimes that had occurred the previous day because it highlighted the experiences of a variety of people who lived in the city (*Oy, My Buenos Aires*, 77.)" The police blotters employed in this dissertation, though they contain limited information on the victim, provide different information than the incident report.

chapter, state actors charged Black women with a history of an excess of love and overexcitement that led to infanticide before their children could become enslaved by slaveholders. The classifications of hysterical crises and the excesses of love signaled Black women's lack of control over their emotions and that their responses and actions, arbitrated by state actors, were outside of reason and comprehension.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the São Paulo elite attempted to construct a city based on their interests and desires. Many members of the elite were former slaveholders or were tied to the coffee plantations where Black and immigrant labor generated the wealth in the city and state of São Paulo. Again, the Black women in these reports were either enslaved, children born after the Free Womb Law, or a generation removed from enslavement. Black women, who were the majority of enslaved people in the second half of the nineteenth century in São Paulo, labored in domestic services as *empregadas domesticas* (domestic servants), *copeiras* (parlor maids), *lavadeiras* (washerwomen), *arrumadeiras* (housemaids), and ama de leite (wet nurse) during slavery and after abolition in elite households, shown in the Figure 3.5.
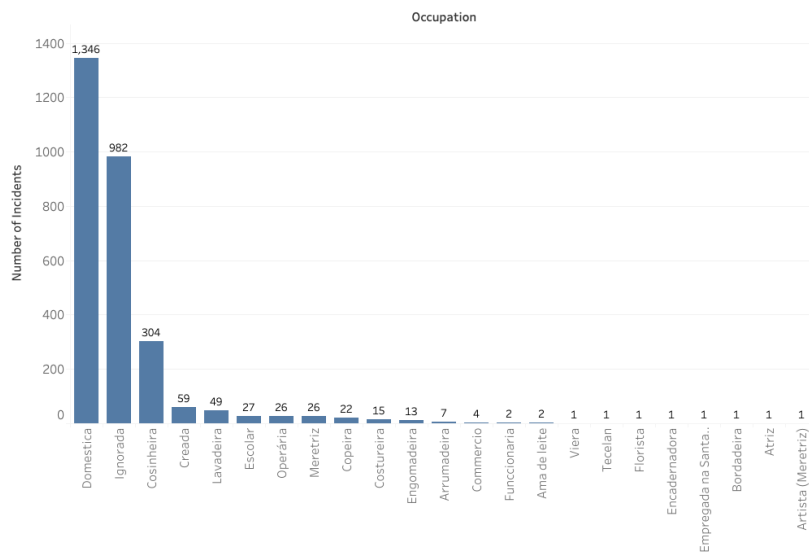

Figure 3.5 Occupations of Black Women within the Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (1912-1930)

The majority of women recorded in the medicolegal reports labored as domestic workers, with only a small number of women who worked in the factories (*operárias*), were students (*escolar*), or were sex workers/artists (*meretriz/artista*). The 982 records for Black women whose occupations were listed as ignored (*ignorada and não tem*) might reflect the institution's ineptitude or disinterest in their occupation for the kinds of evidence or histories it could convey. Furthermore, the fact that the doctors ignored nearly one thousand occupations in the records does not mean that Black women did not work.

By the late nineteenth century, numerous intellectual projects and political initiatives were conducted to distinguish hard workers from lazy *vagabundos*. *As Raças Humanas e a Responsabilidade Penal no Brasil* (1894)*,* by anthropologist Nina Rodrigues, argues that nineteenth century anti-vagrancy laws were insufficient to fight against the legacy of supposed idleness of enslaved people.[344] The anti-vagrancy laws in the 1890 Penal Code, which was not replaced until 1940,[345] defined vagrancy as a person who was "without professional training, a trade, or any fundament to earn a living."[346] No matter the reason, doctors left profession unmarked in 982 records, the omission was not neutral. Moreover, ignoring the occupation of Black women in the reports may have also enabled police to consider these women as *vagabundas* whether they labored or not. In an 1890 census from Rio de Janeiro, over half of the population was listed under the *vague* category domestic servant and other laborers that

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[344] Marc A. Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 148; According to George Reid Andrews, Black people in São Paulo were arrested at a rate more than double their population from 1880 to 1924 in São Paulo (28.5 percent of arrests with 11-12 percent of the population). Only 12.9 percent of the arrests went to court meaning that there might have been insufficient evidence for the charges against Black people (*Blacks and Whites in São Paulo*, 78).

[345] Marc A. Hertzman, *Making Samba*, 36.

[346] Presidência da República, Decreto N.847 de 11 de outubro de 1890, Casa Civil. 1890. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/1851-1899/d847.htm (Accessed August 24, 2020); Maids (*empregadas domesticas*) were granted rights as workers by the federal government in 2006 under law Lei No. 11.324/2006 (http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2004-2006/2006/Lei/L11324.htm).

collapsed unregistered and undocumented jobs into one category in the informal economy.[347]

Similar to the findings in the census data in Rio de Janeiro, the Black women found in the

medicolegal reports were lumped into a vague labor category as the elite and state actors

reinvigorated "vague criminal pretexts" through vagrancy laws. [348]

The ideology of vagrancy was not novel to Brazilian society, or in Latin America, and

was buttressed by scientific racism in the years after abolition. Slaveholders, plantations owners,

and the elite long held the view that Black people would not work if they were not forced to do

so.[349] These anxieties regarding the loss of present and future generations of coerced labor along

with the potential bargaining power for freed Black people as workers were written into the 1871

Free Womb Law in a vagrancy clause. Some slaveholders in the state of São Paulo, with the

assistance of local law enforcement, invoked this vagrancy clause to force freed Black people to

work on the plantations, and other slaveholders forced the recently freed back to work by

gunpoint.[350] As historian Marc Hertzman has argued "The monitoring of former slaves and

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[347] Amy Chazkel, *Laws of Chance,* Games of Chance in a City of Peddlers: Petty Commerce in Republican Rio, chap. 3, Kindle edition; The vagueness of the labor category for laborers in Rio de Janeiro and Black women in the reports in São Paulo were necessary in the absence of slavery. Scholar Nikhil Pal Singh contends, "*Capital ceases to be capital without the ongoing differentiation of free labor and slavery, waged labor and unpaid labor.* This differentiation provides the indispensable material and ideological support for capitalism's continued development. The absolute separation of freedom and slavery operates in the interests of capital. It is only by retaining an understanding of their overlapping dimensions that we attain a critical perspective adequate to oppose it (*Futures of Black Radicalism,* chap.2, Kindle edition)." The vagueness of the post-abolition labor category holds space for labor differentiation inherent to capitalism.
[348] Amy Chazkel, *Laws of Chance,* chap. 3, Kindle edition.
[349] Regarding the global context of race and labor, W.E.B Du Bois argues that the perceived laziness of Black people in the abolition era stemmed from the white elite's outlook for the future of Black workers. Though Du Bois centers the United States and Europe, Brazil cannot be extracted from the larger global shifts. Du Bois states, "Moreover, Americans saw throughout the world the shadow of the coming change of the philanthropic attitude which had dominated the early nineteenth century, with regard to the backward races. International and commercial imperialism began to get a vision. Within the very echo of that philanthropy which had abolished the slave trade, was beginning a new industrial slavery of black and brown and yellow workers in Africa and Asia. Arising from this, as a result of this economic foundation, came the change in the attitude toward these darker people. They were no longer "Brothers in Black"; they were inferiors. These inferiors were to be governed for their own good. They were to be raised out of sloth and laziness by being compelled to work. The whole attitude of Europe was reflected in America and it found in America support for its own attitude (*Black Reconstruction*, chap. 14, Kindle edition)."
[350] George Reid Andrews, *Blacks & Whites in São Paulo*, 48-49.

suppression of vagrants were parts of long-standing projects to count, oversee, and, in theory, protect the population. Vagrants were judged not for what they did but what they might do."[351] Vagrancy was an essential concept for the elite to maintain control and was transformed through scientific racism to justify the continuation of slavocratic labor practices, white supremacy, and surveillance. Black women, regardless of space or geographic location, were under constant surveillance of state actor and the elite due to their skin color and occupation.

Plantation Geographies and the Afterlife of Slavery

The incident reports demonstrate that Black women were present throughout the city in the early twentieth century. The 1924 map of São Paulo, shown in Figure 3.6, shows the spaces where two or more incidents occurred on the same place from 1912-1930. Their presence, made visible through documents of state surveillance and the praxis of white supremacist, presents alternative ways of reading Black geographies apart from the frame of traditional geography.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century maps privilege and center the neighborhood of Sé as the heart of the city. The territorial expansion of São Paulo depicted through maps appear to start from Sé and extend into other territories over time. Figure 3.7 is a map generated by a geographic and geological commission that depicts the development of São Paulo from 1810 to 1922. The first small insert map in the document reads 1810 and shows Sé at the center with the names of adjacent neighborhoods written next to the streets of Sé. The series of insert maps mark the expansion of São Paulo geographies from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century through streets and neighborhoods.

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[351] Marc A. Hertzman, *Making Samba*, 38.
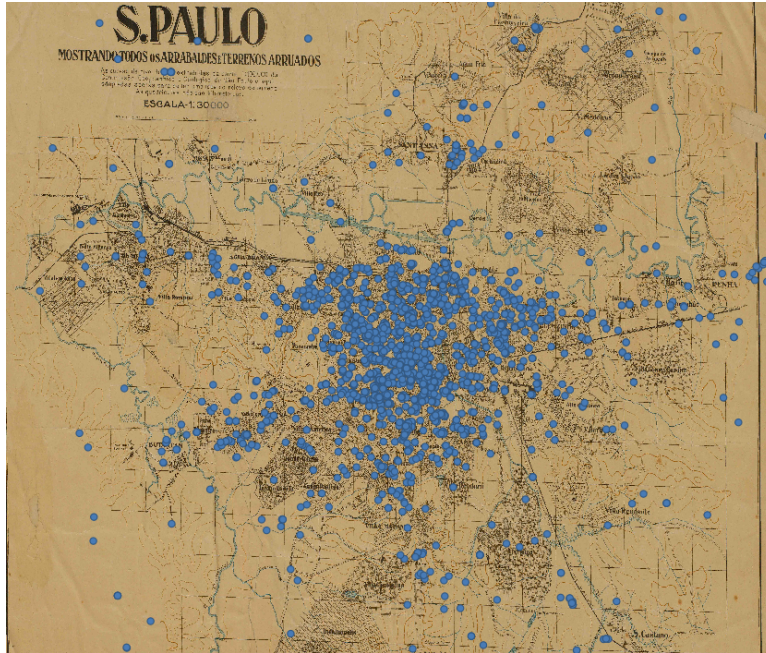
Figure 3.6 Incidents of Black women in the city of São Paulo, 1912-1930 within the Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (Visualization by author)[352]
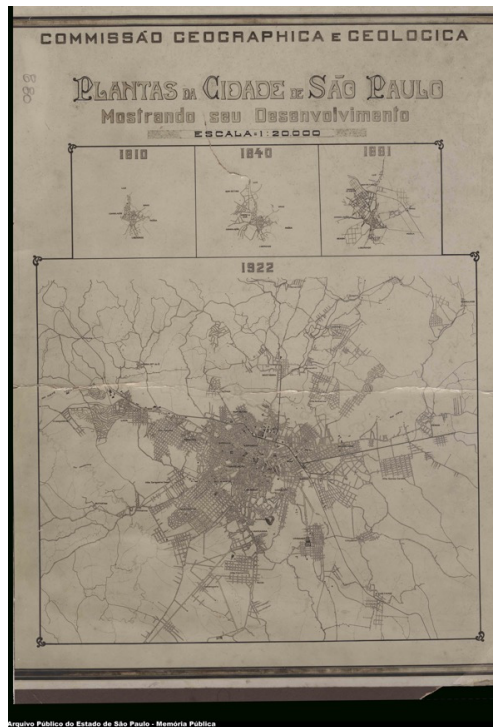
Figure 3.7 Blueprint of the Development of São Paulo, 1810-1922[353]

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[352] Katherine Cosby, "Planta da Cidade de São Paulo Mostrando Todos os Arrabaldes e Terrenos Arruados." Comissão Geographica e Geologia de São Paulo. 1:30000. 1924. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo. Memória Pública. BR_APESP_IGC_IGG_CAR_I_S_0287_001_001. Using QGIS [GIS software]. Version 3.14. 2021.

[353] Comissão Geographica e Geologia de São Paulo. "Planta das Cidade de São Paulo Mostrando seu Desenvolvimento." 1:20,000. 1922. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo. Memória Pública. BR_APESP_IGC_IGG_CAR_I_S_0207_001_001.
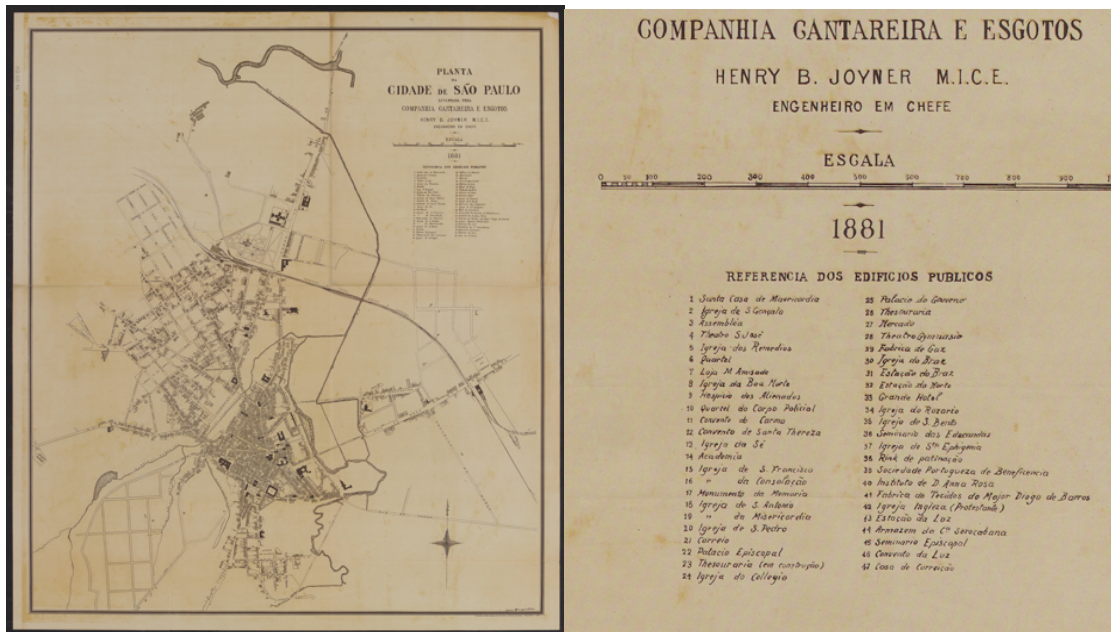
Figure 3.8 Map of São Paulo from the Cantareira and Sewage Company, 1881 and enlarged map key[354]

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the conventional foundational narrative about Sé identified a

Jesuit stronghold in colonial São Paulo that later became the center of commerce from the late

nineteenth century onward. Figure 3.8, the 1881 map and map key above, indicate buildings as

points of reference reflecting the presence of the Catholic Church, state institutions, and places of

commerce. The churches (*igreja*), factory (*fabrica*), train stations (*estação*), and centralized

market (*mercado*), among other points of reference represent and construct a history of a white

Europeanizing city. Geographer, cartographer, and map historian J.B. Harley contends that there

is an "assumed link between reality and representation which has dominated cartographic

thinking, has led it in the pathway of 'normal science' since the Enlightenment."[355] Engineers,

hygienists, and state actors produced maps throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century that

were meant to organize the interests of the state, as demonstrated in Figure 3.7. The map of the

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[354] Henry B. Joyner, "Planta da São Paulo." 1:100,000. 1881. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo. Memória Pública. APESP _07_05_14.
[355] John Brian, Harley, "Deconstructing the Map." *Passages: A Chronicle of the African Humanities*, no. 2 (1992): 10–13.

development of São Paulo did not catalogue sites that were known to be significant to Black people and the indigenous inhabitants of the city. Often these locations and their histories intersected or overlapped with Europeanized places.

Maps of São Paulo and the biographic and geographic data collected by the Medical Cabinet demonstrate some of the lived dimensions of scientific racism and the praxis of whitening in late nineteenth and early twentieth century. First, maps and mapping were crucial to the creation of a white city and for surveillance and control. The Medical Cabinet collected four pieces of geographic data regarding the incident with color (race) indicators attached to each report, and the Secretary of Justice and Public Safety used the data for their statistics and mapping of the residents of São Paulo. Out of the nearly three thousand reports employed in this dissertation, the doctors ignored the location of the incident only once and instead reported that the woman had been held in a vehicle holding prisoners. The surveillance of the geographies of Black women and poor residents of São Paulo–where of the incident, where the patient lived, where the patient was found, and where the patient was sent–mattered to state actors and the elite. The extensiveness of the geographic data collected on Black women meant that they were always under surveillance.

Second, maps and mapping were employed to create a Europeanized reality in São Paulo even when there was evidence of Black histories in the geographies of São Paulo from the colonial period through the twentieth century. The map shown in Figure 3.8 erases Black colonial geographies and shared territories and writes over these spaces with Europeanized markers and monuments. In Figure 3.6, Black women were involved in incidents throughout the city and their physical presence was not limited to neighborhoods that were designated as poor or workers' neighborhoods, as demonstrated in this dissertation. Yet, the classed and racialized

designations of territory–elite neighborhoods and workers' neighborhoods–persisted in the early twentieth century and necessitated the erasure of the presence of Black women and their itinerant geographies.

The representation of Europeanized spaces on maps, the surveillance of Black women in São Paulo by the Medical Cabinet, and the erasure of the presence of Black women throughout the city were rooted in the logic of plantation geographies that promoted "practices of place annihilation."[356] State institutions, such as the Medical Cabinet, and the knowledge they produced did not point to spatial segregation as Black women inhabited all parts of São Paulo. Instead, the elite and state actors maintained workers' neighborhoods and their juxtaposition to elite neighborhoods despite evidence of the coexistence of rich and poor paulistanos throughout the city.

São Paulo was designed by the elite and state actors to be a city divided into two. The division of these categories of neighborhoods "follow[ed] the dictates of mutual exclusion" where "[t]here is no conciliation possible, one of them is superfluous."[357] The elite neighborhoods were sectors "of lights and paved roads, where the trash cans constantly overflow with strange and wonderful garbage, undreamed-of leftovers."[358] While the workers' neighborhoods were marked as "disreputable place[s] inhabited by disreputable people*"* where inhabitants were "born anywhere, anyhow" and died *"*anywhere, from anything."[359] The experiences and conditions of Black women in the afterlife of slavery, as examined in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, resembled the conditions of the native sector even if Black women traversed the

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[356] Katherine Mckittrick, "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place," *Social & Cultural Geography* 12, no. 8 (2011): 947.
[357] Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth,* 3-4.
[358] Ibid.
[359] Ibid.

elite/colonists sector. The information in the incident reports were used to reinforce segregation and create geographies rather than to construct a São Paulo that recognized coexistence and sought to remedy inequality.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century São Paulo, colonial geographies took the form of plantation geographies that "legalized black servitude while simultaneously sanctioning black placelessness and constraint."[360] The ideology of vagrancy, blackness, anti-Black scientific racism and the expressed goals by the elite and state actors to whiten São Paulo were part and parcel of plantation geographies. Plantation geographies and blackness in the afterlife of slavery–labor, phenotype, and station in life–were co-constitutive ideologies and praxes that built São Paulo and shored up whiteness as a city identity.

Lastly, the geographies of Black women captured in the medicolegal reports and the map of the centralization of a Europeanized Sé provide part of the scaffolding to rethink Black geographies (*lugar da gente negra*) in São Paulo. Plantation geographies have been foundational to organizing the structure of São Paulo and how scholars interrogate the geographies and social relations of paulistanos. Gilberto Freyre's *Casa Grande e Senzala* (1933), a work entangled in geographies and race in the title, reiterated and justified the logic of plantation geographies in the twentieth century historiography. Undoubtedly, other prominent scholars such as Sergio Buarque de Holanda and Caio Prado Junior have influenced the historiography on Brazilian cities and city dwellers,[361] but Freyre's work has had a far-reaching impact that fixed the positionality and geographies of Black women to the plantation. Freyre's plantation geographies in *Casa Grande e Senzala* constructs an uneven colonial-racial–sexual economy that, while differently articulated

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[360] Katherine Mckittrick, "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place," *Social & Cultural Geography* 12, no. 8 (2011): 948.
[361] Fraya Frehse, *O Tempo Das Ruas Na São Paulo De Fins Do Império* (São Paulo, São Paulo: EDUSP, 2005), 57.

across time and place, legalized black servitude while simultaneously sanctioning black

placelessness and constraint." [362] Freyre cloaks plantations geographies under the cover of

"geographies of honor" that protects the patriarchal family and the patriarchal home, which he

draws upon in future works on city life in the twentieth century.[363] The concept of geographies of

honor, shaped by Freyre's work, have been central to Brazilianist scholarship on geography and

noble neighborhoods/popular neighborhoods.

In the first paragraph of the preface of Freyre's subsequent work on urban expansion and

urban life, *Sobrados e Mucambos: Decadencia do Patriarchado Rural no Brasil* (1936), Freyre

states,

> A tentativa de reconstituição e de interpretação de certos aspectos mais intimos da
> historia social da família brasileira, iniciada em trabalho anterior, é agora
> continuada, dentro do mesmo criterio e da mesma technica de estudo.
>
> Nestas paginas, procura-se principalmente estudar os processos de subordinação
> e, ao mesmo tempo, os de accommodação, de uma raça a outra, de varias religiões
> e tradições de cultura a uma só, que caracterisaram a formação do nosso
> patriarchado rural e, a partir dos fins do século XVIII, o seu declínio e o
> desenvolvimento das cidades; a formação do Imperio; ia quase dizendo, a
> formação do povo brasileiro.[364]
>
> [Translation: The attempt to reconstitute and interpret some of the most intimate
> aspects of the social history of the Brazilian family, which began in previous
> work, is now continued, within the same criteria and same process of study.
>
> In these pages, one seeks principally to study the processes of subordination, and
> at the same time, those of accommodation, of one race to the other, of various
> religions and cultural traditions into one, that characterize the formation of our
> rural patriarchy and, apart from the end of the eighteenth century, the decline and
> the development of the cities; the formation of the Empire; which is almost
> saying, the formation of the Brazilian people.]

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[362] Katherine Mckittrick, "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place," *Social & Cultural Geography* 12,
no. 8 (2011): 948.
[363] Fraya Frehse, *O Tempo Das Ruas Na São Paulo De Fins Do Império, 59.*
[364] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e Mucambos, Decadencia Do Patriarchado Rural No Brasil* (São Paulo, São Paulo:
Companhia Editora Nacional, 1936), 11.

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, Freyre naturalizes the colonial geographies of the master's house and the quarters of the enslaved on the plantation, and places enslaved people in the master's house through service to the white family or cultural contributions. Enslaved Black people were represented as contributing to the master's culture and history, rather than having their own histories, identities, and complexities that were not dependent of the master structure. Freyre's preface to his 1936 work *Sobrados e Mucambos* (The Mansions and the Shanties) indicates a continuation of the same themes and line of thought on the patriarchal family and the relationship between white men and Black women presented in *Casa Grande e Senzala*. Even the similarities of the titles of the works *Casa Grande e Senzala* (The Master's House and the Slave Camp) and *Sobrados e Mucambos* (The Mansions and the Shanties) maintain comparable structures of geographies and social hierarchies.

Freyre's historiographical work did not reimagine Black geographies during urban expansion, but rather reinstated Black people within the structures of plantation geographies that were then transferable to understanding geographies of the city. Gilberto Freyre was not the only Brazilian thinker writing on geography, urban expansion, and social relations, but his work evidences how the late nineteenth and twentieth century elite and state actors might have justified the remaking of the uneven and bifurcated geographies. Black geographies end up being placed on Europeanized maps through cultural acts or land dispossession that push residents into rural spaces or into a Europeanized, patriarchal city.

The logic of plantation geographies places Black people on borrowed land and time, requires context for the presence of Black people, and erases Black people when their presence does not fit the logic of plantation geographies. Black women and Black people could not just exist in a space without pretext. Black geographies should be fluid and changing rather than

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fixed to locations where the elite and state actors recognize Black life. As Scholar Saidiya Hartman has argued "every attempt to emplot the slave in a narrative ultimately resulted in his or her obliteration…the slave stepping into someone else's shoes and then becoming a political agent."[365] Therefore, we cannot map Black geographies onto someone else's geographies or enter the history of a place after a master narrative has already been established. The traditional narratives of Brazil, the African Diaspora, and geographies makes it so that the enslaved were constantly stepping into someone else's shoes.

The map in Figure 3.6 represents the location of the incidents of Black women throughout São Paulo, some of which are located in places that state actors had yet to map through streets. Seventy-two percent of these recorded incidents from 1912-1930 took place in Black woman's residential addresses, and twenty-eight percent of incidents occurred elsewhere. Nearly a third of the incidents transpired outside of the space of the patriarchal home, while other incidents were off the grid of streets of São Paulo. Figure 3.6 demonstrates that Black women existed outside of the conceptions of plantation geographies and patriarchal spaces that were meant to confine and define them. Furthermore, as evidenced in Chapter 2 through Benedita and her mother, the seventy-two percent of incidents in their residence does necessarily provide much context as to the circumstances of Black women's presence in such a space.

Conclusion

The incident reports evidence the surveillance Black women and the reach of scientific racism and white supremacist practices by the elite and state actors into Black women's lives. Undoubtedly, poor non-Black immigrants and Brazilians were impacted by similar mechanisms

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[365] Saidiya V. Hartman and Frank B. Wilderson, "The Position of the Unthought," *Qui Parle*13, no. 2 (2003): 184.

for social control and recreation of whiteness and white identity after abolition. Black women remained at the base of the social pyramid, and the links to *partus sequitur ventrem* that were reinscribed in the Free Womb Law were also reinforced through the scientific racism and miscegenation as a goal for *embranquecimento*. The base of power for the elite and state actors continued to be maintained and constructed on Black women and their bodies. The recording of *côr* (race) and geographic information of nearly 3,000 incident reports demonstrate one of the ways that elite and state actors continued to document and intervene in Black women's lives in the afterlife of slavery.

Reframing definitions of white supremacy as a process of miserabilism and dehumanization that generates premature death for Black people or those in proximity to blackness drastically expands the evidence of white supremacy in Brazil. The Medical Cabinet documents provide a snapshot of the sickness, poverty, and death in the early-twentieth-century São Paulo. The contestations of racial categorization by the two women who stated that they were white and were overwritten by the doctors in the reports shows that there was something at stake for both the women and the doctors in the claims to racial identity. The medicolegal documents also underlie the doctors' participation in *embranquecimento* projects in São Paulo through resident's bodies and geographies.

The elite and state actors may not have enacted white supremacist practices in law and society in the same configurations as the elite in other nations. However, the technologies of surveillance and policing in the Medical Cabinet came from engagements and exchanges with white supremacist racial regimes. The supposed inclusion of African culture, the absence of *de jure* segregation, and the emphasis on miscegenation has been presented as the negation of the development of white supremacy in Brazil. However, the claims and arguments on the absence

of white supremacy provides a map for the contours of the Brazilian racial regime. The erasure of African history, the belief in Black inferiority, and the erection of whiteness as the ultimate pattern of achievement for Brazilian citizens are recurring signposts in Brazilian history, historiography, and colonial legacy. These contours of the racial regime also appear in official maps and elite designations of São Paulo where the interests of the state and white men determined the value and use of territory. The streets were not the creation of the city, but rather a palimpsest to that created the idea of the emerging modern city. The anti-Black racism and scientific racism in the medicolegal documents and maps were not particular to São Paulo or Brazil but were part of the praxis and ideology of global whiteness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

CHAPTER 4: Black Paulistana Women's Geographies

"Uma das grandes metas conceituais da geografia foi justamente, de um lado, esconder o papel do Estado bem como o das classes, na organização da sociedade e do espaço."
–Milton Santos, *Por Uma Geografia Nova*[366]

[Translation: One of the biggest conceptual goals of geography was precisely, on one hand, to hide the role of the state as well as classes in the organization of society and space.]

"[A]s condições de moradias precárias eram imediatamente associadas a imoralidade e a doenças, demarcando um território rejeitado na cultura urbanística na cidade."
–Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a Lei*[367]

[Translation: [P]recarious living conditions were associated with immorality and illness, demarcating a rejected territory in urbanistic culture of the city.]

"Any investigation of the quilombo is based on the question of power. However much a social system may dominate, one can create a different system within it. And this is what quilombo is... Each individual holds the power [is the power]. Each person is the quilombo."
–Beatriz Nascimento, *Ori*, trans. by Christen A. Smith[368]

Introduction

The geographies of early-twentieth-century São Paulo were laden with streets named after the São Paulo elite, *higienista*s (hygienists), Paraguayan War participants, among other individuals and symbols chosen by city council members and mayors. [369] For example, in 1865, the city council changed the names of nearly forty streets, plazas, alleyways, lanes, and hilly walkways, including renaming largo do pelourinho (the pillory) as "largo sete de setembro" in commemoration of Brazilian Independence Day.[370] The reconceptualization of geographies in the

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[366] Milton Santos, *Por Uma Geografia Nova: Da Crítica Da Geografia a Uma Geografia Crítica* (São Paulo, São Paulo: Ed. da Univ. de São Paulo, 2008), 31.
[367] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a Lei Legislação, Política Urbana e Territórios Na Cidade De São Paulo* (São Paulo, São Paulo: FAPESP, 2007), 42-46.
[368] Christen Anne Smith, "Towards a Black Feminist Model of Black Atlantic Liberation: Remembering Beatriz Nascimento," *Meridians* 14, no. 2 (January 2016): 82.
[369] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the terms *higienista* and *higienismo* were more frequently used instead of "eugenics" throughout Brazil to refer to the modern scientific methods and actors who sought to remedy the so-called social problems of the city.
[370] Camara Municipal, *Correio Paulistano,* December 22, 1865, http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/hemeroteca-digital/.

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was not a neutral process, as Brazilian geographer Milton Santos has argued. The creation of geographies reinforced dominant narratives of São Paulo as a Europeanized city and "hid the role of the state as well as the classes in the organization of society and space" to erase sites of state violence and Black and Indigenous histories.[371] The elite and state actors ordered and named geographies of modern São Paulo to fit a Europeanized history that they sought to implement.

Centering the geographies of Black women in the afterlife of slavery demonstrates the continuities of anti-Black racism and discrimination during the city's transitions from a semi-rural to urban space, which was central to elite and state actors' narratives on the modernization of São Paulo. The transition also marks the refortification and modernization of the Brazilian racial regime. As discussed in Chapter 3, the elite and state actors incorporated new technologies and eugenicist practices into their repertoire to maintain power in the post-abolition era. Misogynoir and anti-Blackness remained the cornerstones of society and urban geographies in São Paulo. The renaming of places and creation of urban landscapes to diminish the spatial histories of Black, Indigenous, and poor Brazilians through anti-Black and gendered hierarchies were crucial to transforming the city.

Regardless of the state and the elite renaming of places throughout the city, there exists ample evidence of the presence and contributions of Black women in São Paulo. The language that scholars have used to describe the geographies and urbanization of the city tend to reinforce and enable the state to remain hidden in plain sight. By examining Black histories in the neighborhood Brás in the nineteenth century and the recurring incidents involving Black women

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[371] Milton Santos, *Por Uma Geografia Nova*, 31; Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o has argued "[l]anguage and the culture it carries are the most crucial parts of that naming system by which Europe subjected the colonized to its memory (*Something Torn and New*, 114)."

in the early twentieth century, this chapter argues that the creation and maintenance of racialized geographies in São Paulo were crucial to understanding how the elite and state actors were "able to direct social life and maintain consent to their rule."[372] Secondly, this chapter demonstrates how evidence of the presence of Black women and their geographies can be employed to interrogate the role of the state and the elite in the organization of space and society. Lastly, this chapter considers how examining Black women's geographies conveys the power Black women possessed that was outside of the control of the state.

Geographer Katherine McKittrick's concept of demonic grounds, by which she means the "geographical, ontological, and historical lack, the missing racial-sexual character," provides a means to situate Black women, in otherwise, traditional geographies.[373] Employing demonic grounds as a methodology to read fragmented documents on Black women's presence in the archive, buttressed by Saidiya Hartman's methodology of critical fabulation, challenges traditional narratives of São Paulo and its geographies. By making Black women's invisibility visible, "it stops us…[and] offers us time in which we can work to perceive something different or differently."[374] Demonic grounds, in McKittrick's computational and mathematical interpretation of the concept, "hing[es] on uncertainty and nonlinearity because the organizing principal cannot predict the future."[375] Demonic grounds and the visibility of Black women shows the role of the state in the creation of geographies and allows for the possibility of narratives that are not dependent on the organization schemes of the elite or the state.

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[372] Kara Keeling, *The Witch's Flight: The Cinematic, the Black Femme, and the Image of Common Sense* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 19.
[373] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Ground* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), Reading the Demonic, Introduction, Kindle edition.
[374] Kara Keeling, *The Witch's Flight,* 2.
[375] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Ground*, Reading the Demonic, Introduction.

Brás

The neighborhood Brás, located east of the city center Sé and delimited by train tracks and rivers, became known for industrialization and workers' neighborhoods in the long nineteenth century. The historiography of Brás recounts the early formations of factories as a model for workers' neighborhoods, and the actions taken by industrialists as exceptions or patterns of industrialization in the city. Notably, Jorge Street's textile company Companhia Nacional Tecidos de Juta and the Vila Maria Zélia, a designated workers' village in neighboring Belenzinho, marked this region for the industrialization of São Paulo in the late nineteenth century.[376]

Brás was one of the first districts annexed to São Paulo in 1818 after the Portuguese regency designated the city as the capital of the province in 1815.[377] According to the colonial historiography of São Paulo, the Jesuits founded the city of São Paulo de Piratininga in 1554. Though other territories were "created" in a similar fashion from the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a rapid acceleration of the acquisition and annexation of land in the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries.[378] The historicity of modern São Paulo follows the Jesuits' narrative and treats the renaming and annexation of surrounding territories as a natural progression of order and progress. At the time of its annexation, Brás was significant for *chácaras* (small farms or plantations) for food production and as a path toward a religious site in Nossa Senhora da Penha (Penha) and the city of Rio de Janeiro.[379]

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[376] Barbara Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920-1964* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 23; Molly C. Ball, *Navigating Life and Work in Old Republic São Paulo* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2020), 137.
[377] Ibid.; Carta de Lei 16 de Dezembro de 1815, Camara dos Deputados.
[378] IBGE, São Paulo, 2007.
[379] Paulo Cursino de Moura, *São Paulo De Outrora (Evocações Da Metrópole)* (Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais: Editora Itatiaia, 1980), 304; Fraya Frehse, *O Tempo Das Ruas Na São Paulo De Fins Do Império* (São Paulo, São Paulo: EDUSP, 2005), 143.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Brás mostly consisted of hovels, *chácaras*, and a few houses along the main roads to Penha, Pari, and Mooca. The owners of these homes either resided there during Christmas and festivities in June or they belonged to Black and Indigenous people.[380] In 1836, roughly half of the residents in rural Brás were Black.[381] The district Brás was also known for the Várzea do Carmo—a floodplain next to the Covent of Carmo in the Tamanduateí river's path. Historically, Black washerwomen in the city washed clothes in the river at the Várzea do Carmo. The Várzea do Carmo, similar to other floodplains in the city,[382] was also a preferred trash and waste deposit for paulistanos and enslaved workers.[383]

As the city of São Paulo expanded throughout the nineteenth century, the Várzea do Carmo maintained the attention of state actors and the elite. On one hand, the flooding of the várzea and the trash deposits were problems and obstacles meant to be resolved by medical-scientific institutions.[384] On the other hand, the várzea was a site of leisure for paulistanos where they would go to the watch Black washerwomen fight each other.[385]

> Raro o dia em que a polícia não era chamada a intervir, havendo, às vezes, até necessidade de as autoridades realizarem alguma prisão, principalmente quando se tratava de lavadeiras mais exaltadas, que brigavam como homem. A algazarra e os gritos histéricos das mulheres eram ouvidos do Carmo e do Largo das Casinhas (Largo do Tesouro), se divertiam gostosamente, presenciando, lá embaixo, na Várzea do Carmo, a já costumeira e tradicional "briga das lavadeiras.[386]

> [Translation: Rarely was there a day that the police were not called to intervene, having, at times, even the need for the authorities to arrest, principally when the

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[380] Maria Celestina Teixeira Mendes Torres, *O Bairro Do Brás*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo, São Paulo: Gráfica Municipal de São Paulo, 1985), 75.

[381] Ibid, 72.

[382] Fraya Frehse, *O Tempo Das Ruas Na São Paulo De Fins Do Império* (São Paulo, São Paulo: EDUSP, 2005)*,* 103.

[383] Ibid, 170.

[384] Janes Jorge, *Tiete: O rio que a cidade perdeu São Paulo 1890-1940*, 31.

[385] Casé Angatu, *Nem Tudo Era Italiano: São Paulo e Pobreza, 1890-1915* (São Paulo, São Paulo: Annablume, 2017), 89.

[386] Ibid, 100, quoted in Geraldo Sesso Junior, *Retalhos do Velho São Paulo* (São Paulo: Prefeitura do Município de São Paulo,1983), 79.

washerwomen were the most worked up, fought like men. The uproar and the hysterical shouts from the women were heard from Carmo and from Largo das Casinhas (Largo do Tesouro), one could pleasantly enjoy oneself, witnessing, below, in the Várzea do Carmo, the already customary and traditional "fight of the washerwomen."]

The "fight of the washerwomen" as a leisurely activity in the Várzea do Carmo likely endured until medical-scientific entities rerouted rivers for sanitation purposes and sold the land due to real estate speculation.[387] Although the Várzea do Carmo continued to be a site for elite paulistano's leisure to swim in the nude,[388] play the first documented and recognized soccer match in Brazil,[389] and a Lover's Island (*Ilha dos Amores*) that later became park Dom Pedro II.[390]

In addition to the Black washerwomen in the várzea, Black residents on the *chácaras*, and residents in shoddy housing in Brás, lived well-known Black abolitionist Luiz Gonzaga Pinto de Gama. Gama lived in a house at 126 Rua Brás (Avenida Rangel Pestana), where he died on August 23, 1882.[391] In addition to Gama's activities as a lawyer for enslaved people, he also advocated for enslaved people's rights to revolt and used his home in Brás as a refuge for fugitives.[392] After the passage of the Free Womb Law in 1871, the push for complete abolition from Gama and Black enslaved people accelerated and increased until abolition in 1888.

Gama's political commitments to representing and housing fugitives might point to his presence in Brás as a strategic location where nearly half of the population was Black. Even though São Paulo had a relatively small population of enslaved people by 1870, it was a mecca

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[387] Janes Jorge, *Tietê, o Rio Que a Cidade Perdeu: São Paulo 1890-1940*(São Paulo, São Paulo: Alameda, 2006)*,47.*
[388] Janes Jorge, *Tiete, o Rio Que a Cidade Perdeu, 36.*
[389] João Máximo, "Memórias Do Futebol Brasileiro," *Estudos Avançados*13, no. 37 (1999):181.
[390] Antônio Egídio Martins, *São Paulo Antigo (1554 a 1910),* (São Paulo, SP: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, 1973), 67.
[391] Antônio Egídio Martins, *São Paulo Antigo*, 214.
[392] James H. Kennedy, "Luiz Gama: Pioneer of Abolition in Brazil," *The Journal of Negro History* 59, no. 3 (1974): 262.

for enslaved people in fugitivity.[393] Groups of runaway enslaved people followed the train tracks

by foot to arrive in São Paulo to make their way to Santos. The first stretch of the São Paulo

Railway connected São Paulo to Santos and began operation in 1865.[394] The Quilombo of

Jabaquara, Father Felipe (Pai Felipe), and the mountains in Cubatão, which were all significant

for the abolitionist movement, were located in or near Santos.[395]

The installation of the São Paulo Railway from São Paulo to Santos and the second track

from Jundiaí to Santos, completed in 1867, were crucial to the abolitionist movement and for

paulistanos claims to industrialization in São Paulo.[396] The rail lines were meant to move coffee

from the interior of São Paulo to the coast, not to facilitate abolitionists' aims or Black fugitivity.

The boost to the coffee industry fueled land speculation and the drive for European immigration

as a response to Black fugitivity and the push for abolition.[397] Railroads, factories, workers'

villages intended for European immigrants, a park, and a complex for gas services (Gazômetro)

became synonymous with the history of Brás in modern São Paulo.

In addition to Black people's presence in Brás, memorialist accounts of surrounding

neighborhoods point to Black and Indigenous history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. Memorialist Antônio Egidio Martins states on the neighborhood of Pari, adjacent to

Bras,

> Até o ano de 1867, data em que foi inaugurado o Mercado da 25 de março, as
> vendedeiras de peixe, que residiam no bairro Pari em outros lugares próximos
> desta cidade, vestidas de saias curtas e cobertas com um pequeno xale ou com

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[393] Flávio Gomes and Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado, "Interiorização e Os Quilombos Em São Paulo Nos Séculos XVIII e XIX," *Iberoamericana* 11, no. 42 (2011): 100.

[394] Fraya Frehse, *O Tempo Das Ruas Na São Paulo De Fins Do Império*, 101.

[395] Flávio Gomes and Maria Elena P.T. Machado, "Atravessando a Liberdade: Deslocamentos, Migrações, e Comunidades Volantes Na Década Da Abolição," in *Políticas Da Raça: Experiências e Legados e Da Pós-Emancipação No Brasil* (São Paulo, São Paulo: Selo Negro Edições, 2014), São Paulo insurgente e seus quilombos volante, chap.3, Kindle edition.

[396] Ibid.

[397] Molly C. Ball, *Navigating Life and Work in Old Republic São Paulo* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2020), 8.

uma baeta azul, e descalças, postavam-se para venderem as cambadas de peixes e outras coisas que traziam, na calçada da Igreja da Ordem Terceira do Carmo, do lado da rua do mesmo nome...[398]

[Translation: Until 1867, the date that the market of the 25th of March was inaugurated, the women fish vendors, who resided in the neighborhood of Pari in other places nearby in this city, wore short skirts and were covered in a small shawl or with a blue baize, and without shoes, set up a place to sell large amounts of fish and other things they brought with them, on the sidewalk of the Third Order of Carmo Church, next to the street of the same name…]

The women fish vendors, based on the description of their clothing and that they did not wear shoes, were likely Black or Indigenous women. Historian Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias cites the same clothing for enslaved women, free Black women, and other poor women who lived in the rural São Paulo in the early nineteenth century.[399] The memorialist's account of the women fish vendors indicates that they resided in Pari and nearby neighborhoods, such as Brás, and worked outside of their neighborhood. Moreover, well-known market woman Nhá Maria Café, who worked out of her home in the centrally located neighborhood of Sé, purchased the goods she used to sell cooked foods—including fish—to the elite from the local street vendors in this region.[400]

The local markets near the Várzea do Carmo and vendors in the surrounding areas persisted into the early twentieth century despite various municipal reforms issued by the elite and state actors to stop them from selling their goods. The Mercado Caipira (Country Market) remained active at least until 1910,[401] and herbal healers, herbalists, and old Black people sold goods in the Várzea do Carmo through the 1920s.[402] The municipal incident reports from 1912,

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[398] Antônio Egídio Martins, *São Paulo Antigo (1554 a 1910), 83.*
[399] Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), chap.7, Kindle edition.
[400] Paulo Koguruma, *Conflitos Do imaginário: a reelaboração Das práticas e crenças Afro-Brasileiras Na "Metrópole Do Café, 1890-1920"*(São Paulo, São Paulo: Annablume/FAPESP, 2001), 188.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Casé Angatu, *Nem Tudo Era Italiano, São Paulo e Pobreza (1890-1915)*, 115.

1916, 1924, 1928, and 1930 provide further evidence that Brás and the surrounding areas were not solely for the white workers that elite and state actors envisioned.

Black Brazilians' histories and their presence in the early twentieth century Brás have been mostly erased and replaced by histories of industrialization and immigrant workers considered more suitable for skilled labor positions in the factories. The Black histories and Black presence in the nineteenth century were all but forgotten in traditional historical narratives. After the arrival of immigrants *en masse*, Black Brazilians confronted intense hiring discrimination from employers for skilled labor positions.[403] Black women, in particular, faced significant hiring discrimination as laborers because of their race and gender.[404] Moreover, the labor discrimination for Black women as skilled laborers funneled Black women into domestic work and more precarious forms of labor. Out of the nearly 3,000 incident reports in the 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database *operárias* (women workers) appear only 26 times in the five years of data.

There were no more than eight *operárias* listed in each year of the data. Nevertheless, Rua Chavantes in the neighborhood of Brás, with 56 incidents, had the highest number of incidents in the database. The Black women's occupations on Rua Chavantes were recorded as maids (33), sex workers (3), or their occupation was ignored (20). These Black women were located in a neighborhood that had been dubbed as an industrialized, workers' neighborhood at least four decades before the first incident report occurred. Yet none of these workers—the maids and sex workers—were the kinds of workers meant to occupy this space. The incident reports from the twentieth century and the history of the nineteenth century demonstrate that

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[403] George Reid Andrews, *Blacks & Whites in São Paulo, Brazil: 1888-1988* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 55-59; Molly Ball, *Navigating Life and Work in the Old Republic São Paulo*, 3.
[404] Molly Ball, *Navigating Life and Work in the Old Republic São Paulo*, 19.

there were multiple dimensions and dynamics within industrialized neighborhoods apart from

official narratives. The totalizing nomenclature "workers' neighborhoods" (*bairros operários*)

masks over dynamics that did not reinforce the role of *operários* or European immigrants in

traditional narratives of Brás.

The below maps (Figure 4.1a-4.1e) depict the areas where incidents of Black women

were documented in São Paulo by year. The darker colors of red demonstrate a high density of

incidents, and the lighter tones show a lesser concentration of incidents. The city center Sé, Bela

Vista/Bexiga, Barra Funda, and Liberdade have been linked to the history of old São Paulo and

Black histories within the city and have the highest concentrations of incidents overall.[405] The

incidents on Rua Chavantes in Brás and adjacent neighborhoods are perhaps most striking

because Black histories have been obscured and written over in favor of histories that support

industrialization and modernization.

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[405] Andrew Britt, "I'll Samba Someplace Else': Planning Race and Space in São Paulo, 1930s-1980" (dissertation, 2018); Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995). Jose Carlos Gomes Da Silva, "Os Sub Urbanos e a Outra Face Da Cidade: Negros Em São Paulo 1900- 1930,1930, Cotidiano, Lazer E Cidadania" (dissertation, 1990); Maria Cristina Cortez Wissenbach, *Sonhos Africanos, Vivências Ladinas: Escravos e Forros Em São Paulo (1850-1880)* (São Paulo, São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1998). Barros Ferreira, *História dos bairros de São Paulo: O nobre e antigo bairro da Sé*. Vol. 10. São Paulo, (SP: Prefeitura Municipal, 1968).

Figure 4.1a, Concentration of Incidents by Year, 1912 from the 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (Visualization by author)[406]

Figure 4.1b, Concentration of Incidents by Year, 1916 from the 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (Visualization by author)[407]

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[406] Katherine Cosby, "Planta da Cidade de São Paulo Mostrando Todos os Arrabaldes e Terrenos Arruados." Comissão Geographica e Geologia de São Paulo. 1:30000. 1924. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo. Memória Pública. BR_APESP_IGC_IGG_CAR_I_S_0287_001_001. Using QGIS [GIS software]. Version 3.14. 2021
[407] Ibid.

Figure 4.1c, Concentration of Incidents by Year, 1924 from the 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (Visualization by author)[408]
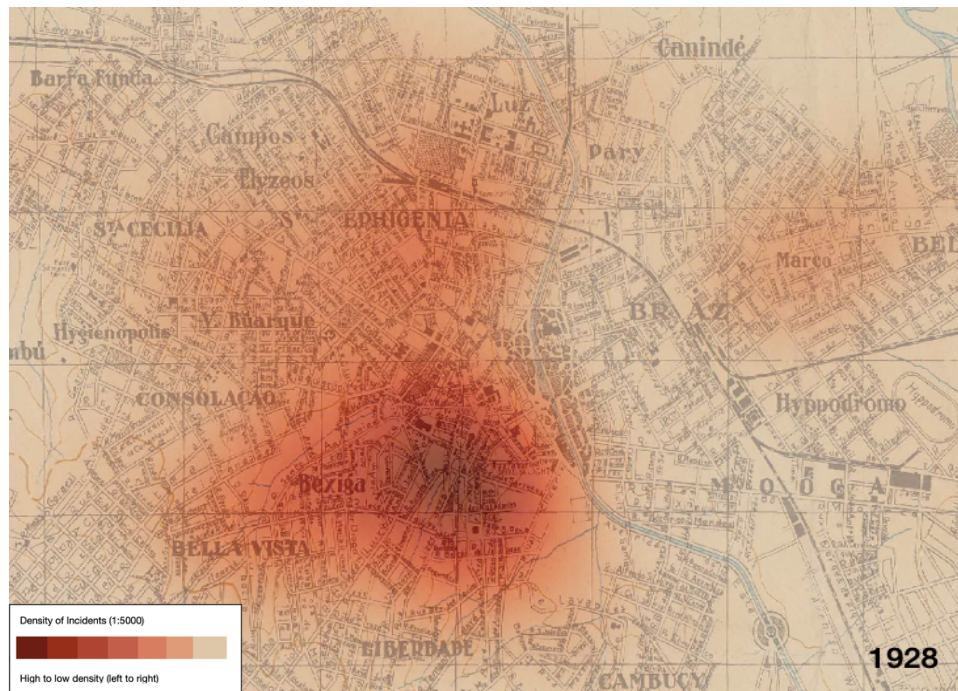
Figure 4.1d, Concentration of Incidents by Year, 1928 from the 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (Visualization by author)[409]
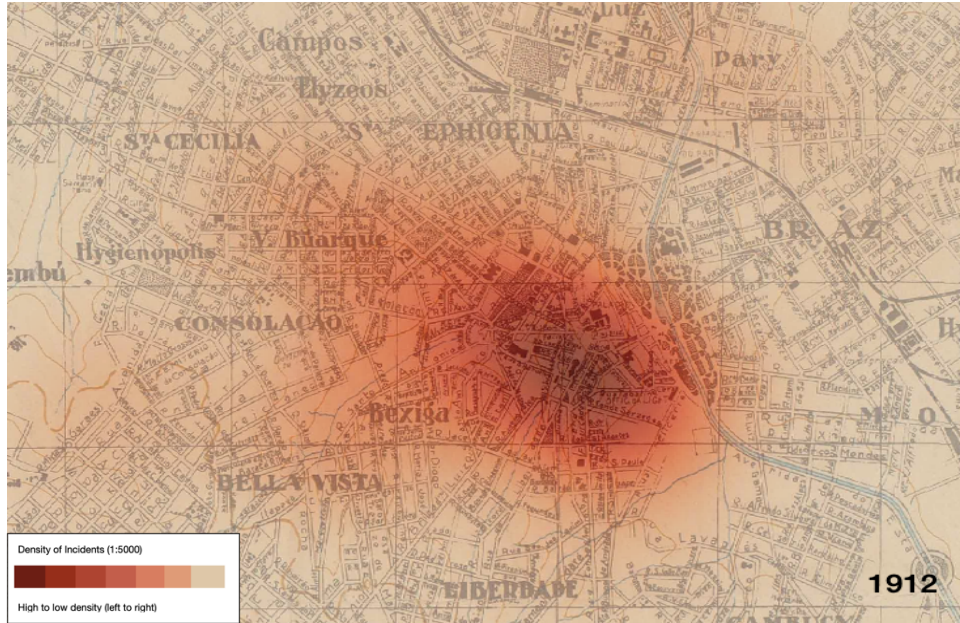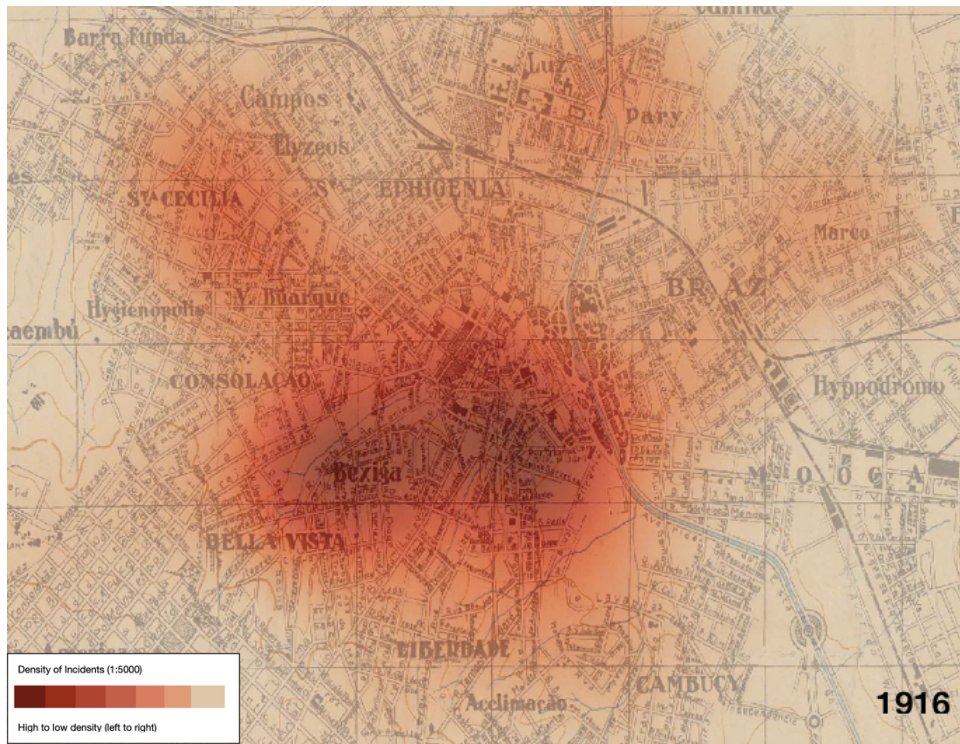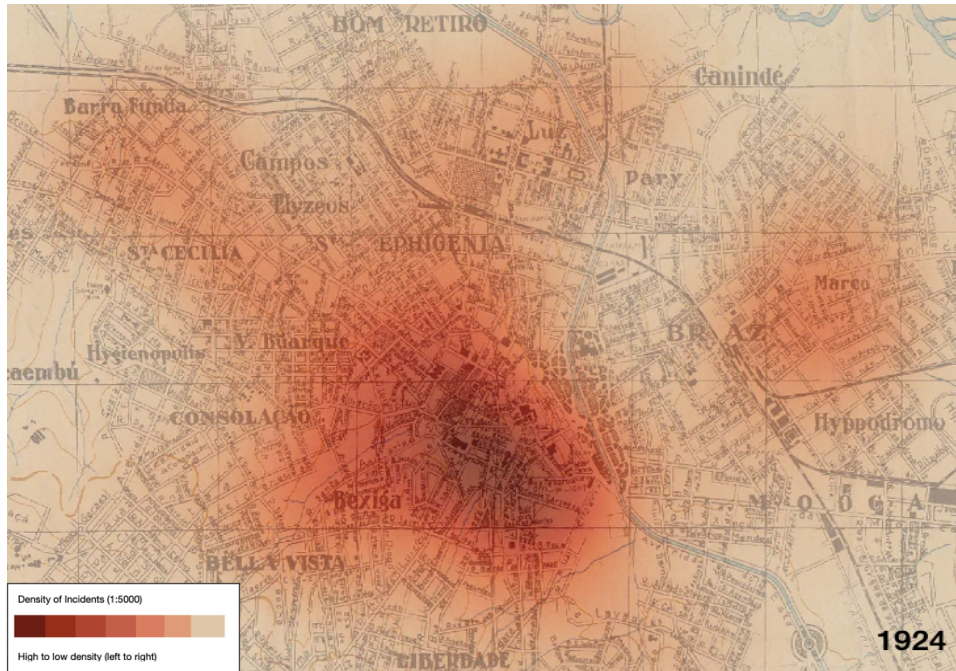
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[408] Ibid.
[409] Ibid.
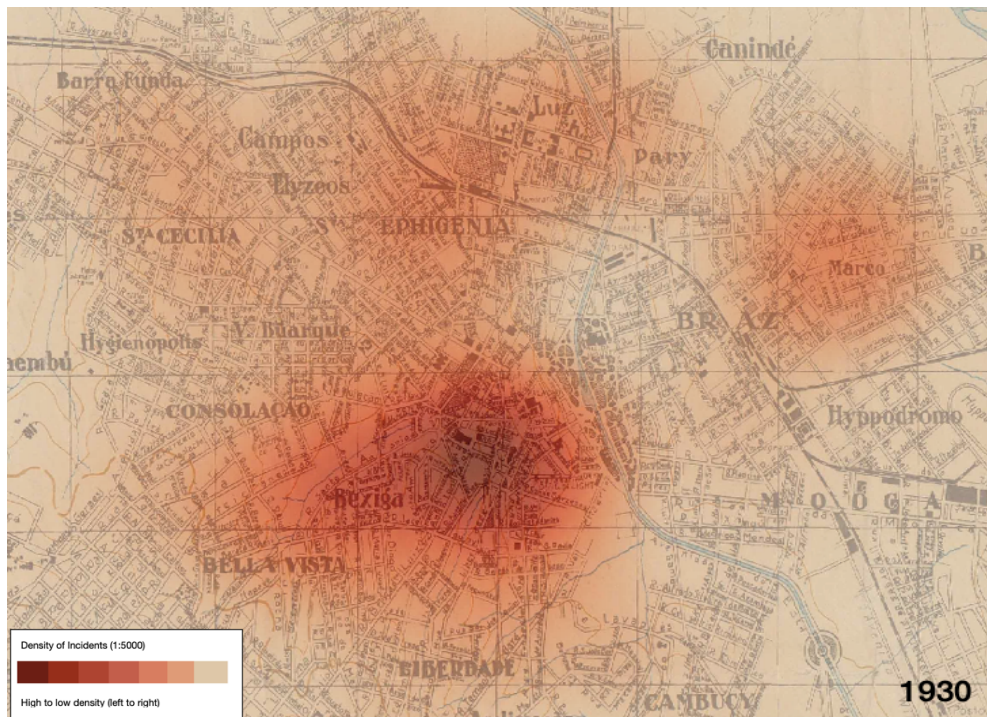
Figure 4.1e, Concentration of Incidents by Year, 1930 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database, (Visualization by author) [410]

Damned Geographies

The technologies of the railroads for fugitivity, Black washerwomen, free and enslaved

residents, and markets were the kinds of histories that neither served nor reinforced a

Europeanized São Paulo. Memorialist Paulo Cursino's recollections of Brás illustrate the historic

importance of the neighborhood to the city center, apart from its role as an industrialization

space. Cursino states,

> E, por que ocultá-lo ou negá-lo, também, da gratidão.
> São Paulo deve muito do que é, ao Brás. Brás, celeiro de São Paulo. O seu
> alimentador. É quem tudo lhe dá. É fonte da sua riqueza.
> Até quando durará essa união? Eis a interrogação dolorosa.
> Enquanto isso, São Paulo que aproveite...Aproveitar...enquanto...o Brás é
> tesoureiro...[411]

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[410] Ibid.
[411] Paulo Cursino, *São Paulo de Outrora*, 304.

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[Translation: And, why hide or deny it [Brás], also, gratitude. São Paulo owes much of what it is to Brás. Brás, granary for São Paulo. It feeds it [São Paulo]. It is who gives it [São Paulo] everything. It is a source of its richness. Until when will this union last? Such is a painful interrogation. For the meantime, São Paulo must make the most of it…To make the most of it…while…Brás is a treasurer…]

Cursino urged the paulistano elite to take advantage of the riches that Brás had to offer for as long as it lasted and to acknowledge the historical connections. He configured an extractive relationship with Brás for the benefit of São Paulo and forecasted a decline, or death, of Brás that would end its relationship with the city center. For Cursino, the richness of Brás should have superseded the reasons that paulistanos might wish to hide the neighborhood. In an ostensibly modernizing São Paulo, Black histories and presence in Brás were the precise types of realities that the elite and state actors sought to obscure.

Furthermore, Cursino's statement underscores the elite and state actors' approach to the modernization of São Paulo and the significance of Black paulistanos in the afterlife of slavery. As the contours of slavery shifted in the late nineteenth century in Brazil, and as European workers became the preferred wage laborers through immigration, the goal of the elite remained to "flood the labor market with workers" to keep the cost of labor low.[412] The elite chose to invest in poor immigrants by subsidizing their travel to Brazil to work in factories in neighborhoods such as Brás, rather than make similar investments in the Brazilian people.[413] Black Brazilians were useful for the elite during slavery but without the same means of coercion of legally free Black people, the elite opted to replace them with immigrant workers who could also "whiten" the population.[414] The histories of Black and Indigenous people converged with European, Middle-Eastern, and East-Asian immigrants in popular neighborhoods in São Paulo.

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[412] George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo*, 58.
[413] Ibid, 58-59.
[414] Ibid.

Even though state actors and the elite supported immigrant workers' arrival in response to abolition and abolition movements, immigrant workers did not have equal access to labor opportunities or safe and consistent housing. [415] By the late nineteenth century, housing and construction laws guaranteed the protection of elite spaces in São Paulo, while the elite and state actors sought to control and transform popular neighborhoods.[416] Sanitation and hygiene in a city where a third of the population lived in tenements in the early twentieth century provided the basis for state actors and institutions to intervene in popular neighborhoods.[417] According to Raquel Rolnik "Illness, immorality and poverty were intertwined in a damned plot where precarious living conditions were associated with immorality and illness, demarcating a rejected territory in urbanistic culture of the city. This vision remains in urban legislation today."[418] Such broad categories of damned urban spaces gave way to numerous possibilities for state intervention throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[419]

Brás, a neighborhood with an apparent Black population and history, became a target for hygiene and sanitation institutions. The intended areas of leisure and transformations in the Várzea do Carmo, mentioned above, were enacted by state actors under the guise of sanitation reforms. By the 1880s, due to the influx of immigrants, Brás had one of fastest-growing

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[415] Molly Ball, *Navigating Life and Work in Old Republic São Paulo*, 59.
[416] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a Lei*, 42-46.
[417] Ibid; Teresa P.R. Caldeira, *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 216.
[418] Raquel Rolnik, *A Cidade e a Lei,* 41; "Doença, imoralidade e pobreza se enredaram numa trama maldita de tal modo que as condições de moradias precárias eram imediatamente associadas a imoralidade e a doenças, demarcando um território rejeitado na cultura urbanística na cidade. Essa visão permanece na legislação urbana até hoje."
[419] In *The Terms of Order*, Cedric Robinson argues, [t]he development of industrial organization, however, presupposed a different order of discipline and civility. Industrial production demanded a kind of submission which invaded every recess of the worker's existence…The bourgeoisie mystified their expropriation of wealth by accruing to themselves the function of rational, scientific management. In this way, the mystification of the ruling class of industrial society became the historical and political basis for the mystification of leadership in contemporary Western thought (p. 56)."

populations and increasingly became known for its immigrant population.[420] However, in the

years after World War I, Brazilian migrants came to São Paulo and eventually outpaced

immigrants' arrival.[421] As the total population increased, housing and the organization of space

followed sanitation policies that granted the elite and state actors continued access to

neighborhoods such as Brás.

The data from the incident reports that were ensconced in sanitation and hygiene policies

demonstrate an increase in the concentration of Black women in Brás in 1916 and 1924, shown

in Figure 4.1b and 4.1c. The increase in incident reports in Brás in 1924, despite the Tenente

Revolt in July that interrupted municipal services, may appear either because of an increase of

Black migrants to São Paulo or as a result of an increase in sanitation surveillance in the region.

Whether explicitly stated or not, the early twentieth-century social anxieties of the paulistano

elite and state actors converged in neighborhoods like Brás that may have contributed to intense

surveillance of the population.

Through the law and sanitation and hygiene polices, the elite and state actors created

geographies of the city that corresponded to social hierarchies in São Paulo.[422] As Raquel Rolnik

has argued,

> The Southeast vector, formed from the route Campos
> Elísios/Higienópolis/Paulista, and that would later be completed by housing
> developments from Cia. City in Jardim América, configured an elite centrality in
> the city, the space that concentrated high rent prices, the most elegant shopping,
> wealthiest houses, trendy cultural consumption, the largest quantity of public
> investment. In the First Republic [1889-1930] the image of this social topography
> was made by dry hills, ventilation and light from the small palaces that
> overlooked the lower wetlands and swamps where poor people agglomerated.
> And it could not be different, for as long as the eyes of the hygienists were
> responsible for the design of urban geography…[423]

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[420] Rolnik, *A cidade e a lei*, 123.
[421] Molly Ball, *Navigating Life and Work in Old Republic São Paulo,* 10.
[422] Rolnik, *A cidade e a lei*, 47.
[423] Ibid.

The *Gabinete Médico da Assistência Policial* (Medical Cabinet in Assistance to the Police), a

state-run medical service that focused on the sick, poor, and criminal paulistanos, was one of the

many institutions that operated as the eyes of elite paulistanos who designed urban geographies

in the early twentieth century. Despite evidence from the *Gabinete Médico* incident reports that

poor Black women circulated in popular neighborhoods and elite neighborhoods (Figure 4.2), the

nomenclature of neighborhoods, design, and public investments reinscribed social hierarchies

from elite imaginings of São Paulo. Moreover, the concentration of Black women in the incident

reports occurred near, but always outside of, the most elite neighborhoods in São Paulo. The

neighborhoods with high concentrations of Black women were popular neighborhoods, such as

Brás, Sé, and Bela Vista that the elite and state actors tied to Black and Indigenous histories of
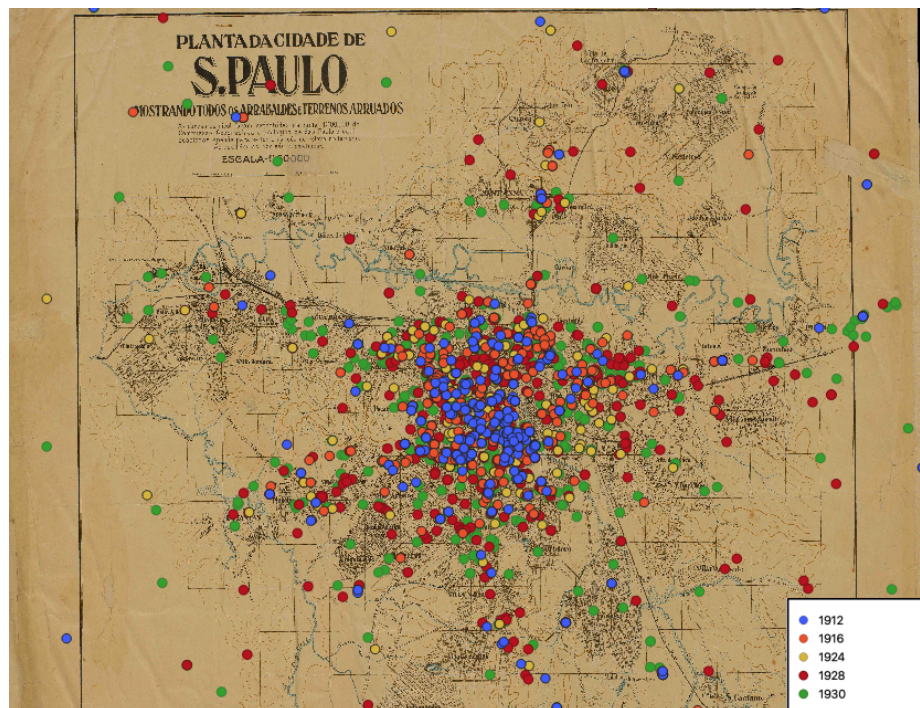
São Paulo.

Figure 4.2, Individual Incident by Year, 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (Visualization by author)[424]

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[424] Katherine Cosby, "Planta da Cidade de São Paulo Mostrando Todos os Arrabaldes e Terrenos Arruados." Comissão Geographica e Geologia de São Paulo. 1:30000. 1924. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo. Memória

Illness, immorality, and poverty were inherent to damned geographies in territories rejected by state actors and the elite, and the design of urban space followed this logic.[425] It is not by accident that Black women frequently appeared in damned geographies and rejected territories. The elite and state actors recorded the race, gender, and geographies of paulistanos in the incident reports, and created laws and policies to preserve elite neighborhoods designed to manifest the inverse of the supposed illness, poverty, and immorality in popular neighborhoods. The information in the reports also made it possible to map and create geographies of rejected territories under the guise of sanitation and hygiene, masking more overt white supremacist segregationist practices.[426]

Milton Santos's assertion that "[o]ne of the biggest conceptual goals of geography was precisely, on one hand, to hide the role of the state as well as classes in the organization of society and space" is made apparent in the data from the *Gabinete Médico*. [427] The role and organization of space by state actors and the elite are embedded in the incident reports' geographies and underlie the social hierarchies in traditional geographies. Nevertheless, the organization of traditional geographies conveys more about the efforts of state actors and the elite to "landscap[e] blackness out of the [city]" and the creation of spaces for "premature death for those designated as black" than can be said about the people who occupy these territories.[428]

Pública. BR_APESP_IGC_IGG_CAR_I_S_0287_001_001. Using QGIS [GIS software]. Version 3.14. 2021; The points, which represent one incident per point, were enlarged to make it more visible.
[425] Ibid, 41.
[426] As mentioned in the previous chapter, I employ Tiffany Willoughby-Herard's intervention on white supremacy in this dissertation that understands white supremacy as "antihuman in the sense that it creates premature death for those designated as black and in close proximity to blackness and requires "miserabilism" and "dehumanization" for those designated after long processes as white (*Waste of a White Skin*, 115-116)."
[427] Milton Santos, *Por Uma Geografia Nova*, 31.
[428] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, Black Canada, chap.4. Kindle edition; Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin*, 115-116.

Julieta Alves and Couto de Magalhães Street

On August 3, 1912, Julieta Alves was seen by doctors in the *Gabinete Médico* in a *casa de tolerância*, a legal space for sex work, at 2 Couto de Magalhães Street after an attempted suicide. The *Gabinete Médico* took Julieta to the public hospital at Santa Casa for further treatment. According to a newspaper column in the *Correio Paulistano*, nineteen-year-old Julieta was very inebriated and took a dose of potassium permanganate around midnight. The information listed in the incident report follows the same documentation pattern as the other records in the 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database, including those similar to the reports of suicide attempts and hysterical crises. However, Julieta's profession was recorded as "*artista (meretriz)*" [artist (sex worker)].

Of the nearly three thousand incident reports in the 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database that documented the elite's social anxieties and white supremacist practices, Julieta's case stood out in particular. The majority of listed occupations in the database were domestic workers or their occupation was ignored. Julieta Alves was the only Black woman listed as "artist (sex worker)" by occupation—only one other woman was listed as an actress, though her report lacked any subsequent delineation. In Julieta's case, the only other similar entries were two women who said they were white, and the doctor added a note, also parenthetically, stating that they were black. In both of those cases, I read the use of parentheticals as a site of dispute between the doctors and Black women who were receiving treatment. I read the words that appear outside of parentheses to indicate what was reported to the doctors by Black women, and the words inside the parentheses as the doctor's intervention.

Julieta Alves was one of the twenty-seven incidents that explicitly involved a sex worker in the database. The location of Julieta's incident near Luz was precisely in the kind of central

and commercialized space where sex work burgeoned in the early twentieth century.[429] The *Gabinete Médico* saw nine women for attempted suicide, six were seen for assault and battery, five were ill, two were burn victims or consumed a substance, and three sex workers were seen for hysterical crisis, an alcohol-related incident, or a hemorrhage. The average age of the sex workers was twenty-two years old, and none of the women were married. The details of the incidents of these young Black women are devastating. Several women attempted suicide by ingesting substances such as lysol, cocaine, or potassium permanganate. Another twenty-five-year-old Black woman doused her clothes in kerosene and caught herself on fire around midnight and was sent to Santa Casa. In the report, the doctor noted that she had burns all over her body—including her womb.

The category of race in the incident reports marked the humanity, or rather antihumanity, of miserabilism and dehumanization of residents "designated as black and in close proximity to blackness …for those designated after long processes as white" buttressed by the creation of hierarchical geographies.[430] The presence of Black people in São Paulo has been made most visible by the elite and state actors through geographies of miserabilism and dehumanization. The concentration of incident reports in the neighborhood of Brás and Julieta's recorded suicide attempt near Santa Ifigênia signified the sites of dehumanization and miserabilism that were embedded in the *Gabinete Médico'*s reports.

Many of the incident reports contain gruesome details regarding the reason for the person's encounter with the *Gabinete Médico.* Even with these details, the person was reduced to their age, race (*côr*), gender, marital status, and occupation, among other biographic information.

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[429] Margareth Rago, "Prazer e Sociabilidade No Mundo Da Prostituição Em São Paulo, 1890-1930," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 30, no. 1 (1993): 39.
[430] Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin*, 115-116.

Reading the incident reports on a standardized form made by state actors makes the violence and suffering of the people in these reports seem mundane and quotidian. The fact that the thousands of documents with these types of details about poor paulistanos and Black women were everyday events written as ordinary occurrences is unsettling. Moreover, contextualizing the monotony in the reports during the continuous intervention in Black women's lives through sanitation and hygiene policy makes the indifference and impassivity of the elite and state actors all the more devastating. In the absence of the person in these reports, newspaper columns provide some perspective on the circumstances of the day-to-day life of poor and Black paulistanos.

Sex work was a common occupation that was a source of anxiety for the police and elite in their effort to to maintain "social order" and "morality" throughout Latin America in the early twentieth century.[431] The state created houses of tolerance (*casas de tolerância*), where the *Gabinete Médico* encountered Julia Alves, to keep sex workers and their activities off of the streets and out of public plazas. Sex work was thought to have been a necessary occupation throughout Latin America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to allow men to "fulfill their inevitable sexual needs" and to deter gay sex.[432] Sex workers located themselves near commercial and central areas that attracted the "rich bourgeoise, politicians, plantation owners, lawyers, students, workers, among other marginalized people."[433] Many elite men of São Paulo housed their preferred sex worker in apartments or mansions in residential areas.[434]

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[431] Donna J. Guy, *Sex & Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Eileen Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870-1920* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Margareth Rago, *Do Cabaré Ao Lar: a Utopia Da Cidade Disciplinar: Brasil: 1890 – 1930* (São Paulo, São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1997).
[432] Margareth Rago, "Amores Lícitos e ilícitos na Modernidade Paulistana ou no Bordel de Madame Pomméry, *Teoria & Pesquisa: Revista De Ciência Política*1, no. 47 (2005): 99.
[433] Ibid, 101.
[434] Ibid.

The *casa de tolerância* at 2 Couto de Magalhães Street, where Julieta Alves lived and

worked, was located next to Luz (Estação Luz) and Sorocabana (Estação da E.F. Sorocabana)

train stations, which were crucial entry points for travelers and goods in the city. In addition to

the train stations, the *casa de tolerância* was also located across the street from a public park

(Jardim da Luz), the public jail (Cadeia Publica), and military barracks (Quartel), as shown in

Figure 4.3. Furthermore, the *casa de tolerância* was located down the street from the municipal

theater, which likely increased the number of passersby in this area of the city.
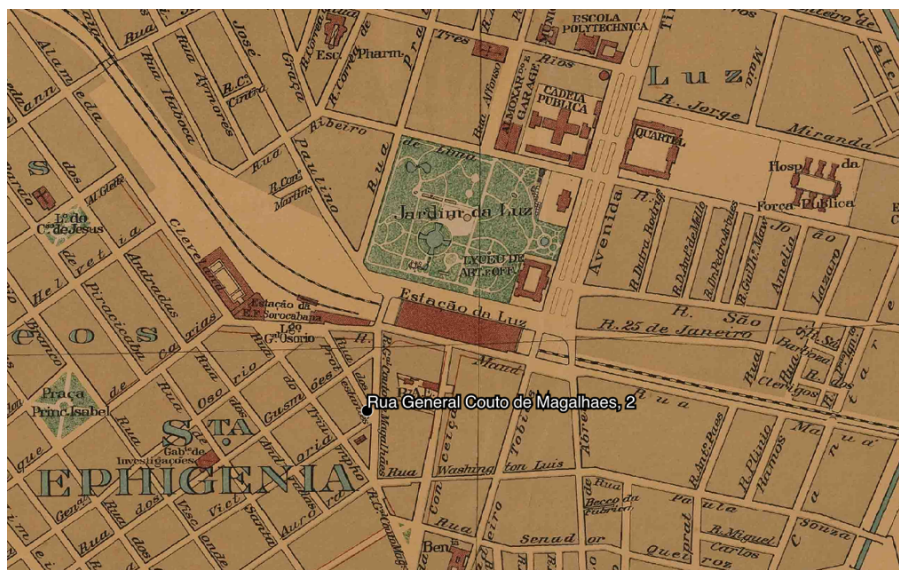
4.3 Julieta Alves, Casa de Tolerância on General Couto de Magalhães Street, 1912, 1912-1930 Incident Surveillance
of Black Women Database (Visualization by author)[435]

The situation for Julieta Alves at 2 Couto de Magalhães Street as described in the

"Grievances and Complaints" section of *O Estadão* newspaper, conveys paulistano's experiences

on this street in the early twentieth century. On July 2, 1916, O Estadão registered a complaint

stating:

> Pedem-nos que chamemos a atenção das autoridades para uma casa de tolerância
> que há na rua Couto de Magalhães. Todas a noites alli se reúne uma gentinha sem
> ocupação que transforma a referida casa numa verdadeira saturnal. Até de

[435] Katherine Cosby, "Planta das Cidade de São Paulo Mostrando seu Desenvolvimento." Comissão Geographica e
Geologia de São Paulo. 1:20,000. 1922. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo. Memória Pública.
BR_APESP_IGC_IGG_CAR_I_S_0207_001_001. Using QGIS [GIS software]. Version 3.14. 2021.

madrugada ninguém, na vizinhança, consegue conciliar o somno, tantos e tão ensurdecedores são os gritos e os palavrões da alegre sucia. Depois, já não há uma família que se atreva a vir uma janella, a menos que não queria testemunhar continuas afrontas a moral social.

Para estes factos, chamamos a atenção do sr. Eloy Chaves, secretario da Justiça e da Segurança Publica, vê-lo de que s. exa. tomará uma providencia capaz de restabelecer a ordem e a moralidade no trecho daquella rua.[436]

[Translation: Complaints and Grievances

They ask that we call the authorities' attention to a house of tolerance on Couto de Magalhães Street. Every night people without an occupation gather there to transform the said house into a true orgy. Until the early hours of the morning, in the vicinity, no one can sleep with so much and so many deafening shouts from the cheerful bacchanal. Furthermore, there is not a family who would dare come to the window unless they want to witness continuous moral and social affronts.

For these reasons, we call the attention of Mr. Eloy Chaves, Secretary of Justice and Public Safety, to see that your Excellency take action capable of restoring order and morality in this stretch of the street.]

Then on March 9, 1917:

Queixam-se moradores da rua Couto de Magalhães dizendo que há nesse local uma casa entre ns. 11 e 15 na qual vários moços da péssima educação se entretêm a offender os vizinhos e transeuntes. As senhoras não podem vir a uma janella porque quase sempre os taes moços se exhibem à janella em trajes de Adão. Faz-se, por isso, muito necessário que a policia tome uma providencia.[437]

[Translation: Complaints and Grievances

The residents on the Couto de Magalhães Street sent their complaint to state that there is a house between number 11 to 15 where there are various young men of the worst education who entertain themselves and offend neighbors and passers-by. The women cannot go to the window because there is almost always one of these young men displaying their birthday suit. It is very necessary, consequently, for the police to take action.]

Between 1916 and 1917, the complaints in the newspaper column demonstrate both residents'

perceptions of social and moral disorder in São Paulo and the circumstances that might have

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[436] "Queixas e Reclamações," *O Estado de São Paulo*, July 2, 1916, https://acervo.estadao.com.br/.

[437] "Queixas e Reclamações," *O Estadão de São Paulo*, March 9, 1917, https://acervo.estadao.com.br/.

made it stressful for sex workers to live on Couto de Magalhães Street. The expressed concern that the "cheerful bacchanal" and "true orgy" would offend families within earshot of the houses of tolerance reflected the sanitation policies against immorality amongst poor paulistanos. Their request for the Secretary of Justice and Public Safety, the same umbrella institution of the *Gabinete Médico,* to restore "order and morality in this stretch of the street" legitimates the Secretary of Justice and Public Safety and sanitation policies. In 1916, the complaint likely positioned sex workers on Couto de Magalhães Street as problems to be investigated by the police.

The complaints and grievance column in March 1917 reported men exposing themselves to women in the neighborhood and passersby without their consent. Despite the complaints from neighbors in the column, the fact that the young men entertained themselves by sexually assaulting people on the street and in their homes was within the limits of patriarchal order on Couto de Magalhães Street. It is doubtful that men's interactions with sex workers at the *casa de tolerância*, located on the same street, were more constrained than their public behavior. Like the column in 1916, the solicitors requested police assistance to resolve the issue.

The complaints and grievances from 1916 and 1917 evidence that state actors were expected to resolve so-called social problems in local neighborhoods, and the resolution of these issues likely had negative impacts on Black women. By the late nineteenth century, sanitary services had established an institution that could intervene and keep statistical records on the lives of poor, Black, and sick residents in São Paulo. According to Teresa Caldeira, "[t]he Paulista elite diagnosed the city's social disorders in terms of disease, filth, and promiscuity, all ideas soon associated with crime."[438] The sanitary services, such as the *Gabinete Médico* under

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[438] Teresa Pires do Rio Caldeira, *City of Walls*, 217.

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the Secretary of Justice and Public Safety, "were associated with control by the working classes" and "generated negative reactions."[439] The complaints in the newspaper columns likely gave further reason for surveillance and state intervention in the lives of sex workers on Couto de Magalhães Street. In Figure 4.1b in 1916, the concentration of incidents in and near the neighborhood St. Ifigênia, where the doctors encountered Julieta, demonstrates the continued surveillance and presence of Black women in the area.

The traditional geographies of São Paulo were renamed, branded, and controlled through sanitation policies and laws in ways that hid Black people. These changes to traditional geographies represented modernity for state actors and the elite. The supposed ontologies of land and Blackness were bound through sanitation policies and the (re)creation of geography. Katherine McKittrick's powerful framework for the demonic grounds lays bare the "geographical, ontological, and historical lack, the missing racial-sexual character" of traditional São Paulo geographies.[440] It also simultaneously holds space for Black women to "legitimately inhabit the world and make their needs known,"[441] meaning that there is space for Julieta Alves to be an artist, as she asserted in the incident report. Julieta Alves, alongside the other Black women in the reports, had the right and the power to live her life by the choices that she made, even if state actors and the elite confined her life circumstances.

Black Women and the Geopoetics of the Quilombo

Black women sex workers' lives and precarity were more complex and nuanced than the newspapers and the incident reports documented. Black twentieth century author Carolina Maria

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[439] Ibid.
[440] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Ground*, Reading the Demonic, Introduction.
[441] Ibid.

de Jesus's interventions on life as a Black woman in the afterlife of slavery, poverty, and legacies

of slavery from her elders provides a possible context for Julieta's life circumstances. In the

Diário de Bitita, Jesus states:

> Com as dificuldades que os pais encontravam para viver, porque a pobreza era a
> sua redoma funesta, alguns pais, incientes [sic], obrigavam suas filhas a ser
> meretrizes. Visavam enriquecer por intermédio das filhas, jovens desnutridas, que
> eram obrigadas a passar as noites bebendo bebidas geladas ou vagando pelas ruas
> procurando um admirador. Algumas ficavam infectadas com doenças venéreas e
> morriam aos dezoito anos. Eram flores que não encontravam vasos de cristais
> para exibir os seus esplendores. Flores que não encontraram o adubo da vida, que
> é a felicidade.[442]

> [Translation: With all of the difficulty that parents encountered to live, because
> poverty was their dismal reality, some parents, who were ignorant, forced their
> daughters to be sex workers. They sought to enrich themselves through their
> daughters, young and malnourished, who were forced to spend the nights drinking
> cold drinks or roaming the streets to look for an admirer. Some of the women
> became infected with venereal diseases and died by the age of 18. They were
> flowers that never found their crystal vases to show off their splendors. Flowers
> that never found the fertilizer of life, that is happiness.]

Carolina Maria de Jesus contextualizes the lives of sex workers as children of parents who were

struggling to survive the dismal reality of their lives. Within these circumstances, sex work was

thought to be a way out of poverty, but, instead, kept their children in precarity and potentially

on a path to premature death. However, despite the dismal life circumstances, Jesus remembers

the beauty, potential, and divinity of these women as "flowers that never found their crystal

vases to show off their splendor."

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[442] Carolina Maria de Jesus. *Diário de Bitita* (São Paulo: SESI-SP Editora, 2014), A Cidade, Kindle edition.

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Carolina Maria de Jesus was born in 1914 in Minas Gerais and became known for her writings on poverty after she moved to São Paulo in 1937.[443] Jesus recounted her childhood stories and the memories passed down to her by her elders in *Diário de Bitita*. Her writing addresses topics that range from gender, poverty, Blackness, family, revolution, and hospitality in the afterlife of slavery. Carolina Maria, who by her self-description was a precocious child, reflected on the lives of sex workers and her memories of sex workers from her childhood in her essay *A cidade* (The City), cited above. In her essay *A família* (The Family), Jesus describes her curiosity to observe what transpired in the rooms of sex workers when she visited the sex workers' houses where her mother labored. Carolina Maria was dissatisfied with only seeing foreplay between the sex worker and her client and wondered if sleeping with a man was as delicious as dulce de leche or peanut brittle based on the sounds that came from the sex worker's room.[444]

Reading Julieta Alves's incident report alongside the words and life experience of Carolina Maria de Jesus provides an entry point for a negotiation of the limits of archival material and a critical reading of the fragmented documents.[445] Saidiya Hartman's concept of critical fabulation advances "a series of speculative arguments and exploiting the capacities of the subjunctive (a grammatical mood that expresses doubts, wishes, and possibilities), in

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[443] Carolina Maria de Jesus was a Black writer, poet, memorialist, and mother born in the interior of the state of Minas Gerais. She is most well-known for her work *Child of the Dark: The Diary of Carolina Maria de Jesus (Quarto de Despejo)* published in 1960 that gained international acclaim in the years before the military dictatorship (1964-1985). *Child of the Dark* detailed her experiences as a Black woman and mother living in Canindé, a shantytown, in São Paulo. Although Child in the Dark was her best-selling novel, she also published *Casa de Alvenaria* (1961), *Pedaços de Fome* (1963), and *Provérbios* (1963) during her lifetime. *Diário de Bitita* (1982) was published after her death. Carolina Maria's career as a writer was impacted by the limits placed on freedom of speech during the dictatorship, and because she was a poor Black woman. In February 2021, Carolina Maria de Jesus was given an honorary doctorate by the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro in recognition of her life's work forty-four years after her death.
[444] Carolina Maria de Jesus. *Diário de Bitita* (São Paulo:SESI-SP Editora, 2014), A Família, Kindle Edition.
[445] Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 12, no. 2 (June 2008): 11.

fashioning a narrative, which is based upon archival research."[446] Using the subjunctive mood in

historical narrative is particularly compelling in early twentieth-century São Paulo as the elite

and state actors wished for and created possibilities for a modern city through sanitation practices

and geography. For example, Paulo Cursino's text on Brás invokes the subjunctive mood, when

he expresses the desire for São Paulo to make the most of what Brás has to offer. Black women

and Black women thinkers' doubts, wishes, and possibilities to experience something other than

their life circumstances—watching a sex worker and her client and desires for sex workers to

find happiness—should be held in the same regard as state actors and the elite's wishes in the

early twentieth century.

In her essays, Carolina Maria depicts both the harsh realities of poverty and the precarity

of sex work in the early twentieth century, as well as the possibilities for pleasure and the

exquisiteness of sex workers. Carolina Maria's accounts of sex workers provide nuance that was

absent in the newspaper columns and the incident reports from the *Gabinete Médico.* The reports

were meant to capture the bodies that embodied the social problems of São Paulo and justify

state intervention and elite-made geographies. The writings of Carolina Maria de Jesus brought

perspective to the lives of sex workers and Black women while the elite and state actors

presented fragmented data of entire lives that facilitated the representation of Black women and

poor paulistanos as problems. Carolina Maria de Jesus's reflections on sex workers as beautiful

and deserving of a better quality of life than they were granted exemplifies these dynamics

between Black women and the state.

Furthermore, employing critical fabulation creates a possibility to place building blocks

in historical narrative that may have been either erased or obscured, and uncovers some of the

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[446] Ibid.

ways in which "[s]teady-state systems of knowledge are…convenient illusions."[447] The writings

of Carolina Maria de Jesus in *Diário de Bitita* interrupt the "scientific" knowledge system

generated and sustained by bodies in the incident reports from the *Gabinete Médico*. Jesus's

work also presents a perspective on embodied experiences and knowledge of Black Brazilians in

the afterlife of slavery that meet Beatriz Nascimento's intervention of the embodiment of the

quilombo. Carolina Maria and Nascimento, for as different as their approaches and work may

seem, signpost the significance of embodiment for Black people during slavery and its afterlife.

By reading the incident reports of Black women in São Paulo through the geopoetics of

the quilombo, demonic grounds, and critical fabulation, the role of the state in creating

geographies and the power of Black women are laid bare. The geopoetics of the quilombo show

the possibilities for corporeal (re)definition located in the power of Black people and our ability

to make decisions about our bodies at any place and any time as individuals. Nascimento's

geopoetics of the quilombo and McKittrick's mathematical and computational aspects of the

demonic ground both center on uncertainty for the possibilities for Black people.[448] At the

individual level, the quilombo is a self-sustaining practice of self-preservation or maintaining

oneself. The quilombo can also be made through community—as was the case for fugitivity and

quilombos in São Paulo—, and derives its collective power from the power that each individual

possesses.

 Geographer Alex Ratts contends that Beatriz Nascimento's articulations of the quilombo

can be divided into five categories: "1) the quilombo (kilombo) as a military institution; 2) the

quilombo as a hinterland settlement; 3) as breaches in the colonial system; 4) quilombos as part

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[447] Cedric J. Robinson and Erica R. Edwards, *The Terms of Order: Political Science and the Myth of Leadership* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 211.
[448] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Ground*, Reading the Demonic, Introduction.

of abolitionist thought; 5) the context for the reorganization of the Black movement."[449] Through these categories, Nascimento's concepts of the quilombo engage the contemporary historiography of the quilombo in the mid- to late-twentieth century that focused on what Flavio Gomes and João José Reis refer to as the seventeenth-century "Palmares model." The Palmares model placed the quilombo as a location of Black resistance, as a negation of the slavery that created a separate, alternative free society.[450] Toward the end of the twentieth century, scholars such as Edison Carneiro and Clovis Moura envisioned the Palmares model of the quilombo from a Marxist perspective and incorporated a class critique.[451] The late-twentieth-century historiography on the quilombo reiterated the isolation of quilombos and configured *quilombolas* (quilombo residents) as incapable of overturning slavery as a whole, which likened the success and failures of quilombolas to class consciousness.[452] In a turn away from the Palmares model and approach to the study of quilombos, Gomes and Reis argue that quilombos were not isolated from the rest of society, and that scholars should continue to search the archive for evidence of various configurations of quilombos.

Though Nascimento's intervention was not a complete departure from traditional historical narrative or the Palmares model, her critique of historiography summons the echoes of a critical fabulation for the quilombo.[453] Nascimento argues:

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[449] Alex Ratts, "Os Lugares Da Gente Negra: Temas Geográficos No Pensamento De Beatriz Nascimento and Lélia Gonzalez," in *Questões Urbanas e Racismo* (DP et Alli Editora Ltda, 2012), 226-229.

[450] Flávio dos Santos Gomes and João José Reis, *Liberdade Por Um Fio: História Dos Quilombos No Brasil* (São Paulo, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996), 21.

[451] Flávio dos Santos Gomes and João José Reis, *Liberdade Por Um Fio*, 16.

[452] Ibid, 21-22.

[453] Nascimento's work in the documentary *Orí* begins with water as the central and connecting agent throughout the film. On critical fabulation, Hartman notes, "Fabula" denotes the basic elements of story, the building blocks of the narrative. A fabula, according to Mieke Bal, is "a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused and experienced by actors. An event is a transition from one state to another. Actors are agents that perform actions. (They are not necessarily human.) To act is to cause or experience and event ("Venus in Two Acts," 11)." Water, the ocean, consistently acts as the building blocks and points of transition in Orí.

> Se o quilombo, como historiografia trata, foi um movimento politico que não logrou êxito politico totalmente, ele não pode ser entendido só dessa maneira porque o logro da tomada do poder do quilombo, no meu entender, porque o quilombo não se preocupava especificamente com a tomada de poder, mas sim com a organização em si e da estrutura original...a gente só conhece o quilombo através da documentação oficial, justamente a documentação da repressão, quer dizer, só o registro da história branca é que nos diz o que é o quilombo...[454]

> [Translation: If the quilombo, as historiography treats it, was a political movement that did not reach complete political success, it cannot be understood in this way because the attainment of power of the quilombo, in my understanding…was not a specific concern, but it was concerned with organizing itself and its original structure…we only know the quilombo through official documentation, precisely documentation of repression, that is, only the record of white history that tells us what the quilombo is…]

In this passage and other essays, Nascimento "jeopardizes the status of the event" of the quilombo that was important to the Black movement in the 1970s and 1980s, and "displace[s] the received or authorized account" of the historiography of the quilombo.[455] Nascimento's contestation of the quilombo in historiography and the shortcomings of documents of repression to define it points to an alternate source of power outside of traditional notions of political power. Furthermore, Nascimento's intervention places the power of the quilombo outside of the concerns of consciousness or concepts of the dominant political order. Here, she locates the power of the quilombo in its ability for self-organization and preservation as a consistent action or practice to maintain the power of the quilombo.

In addition to outlining Nascimento's five categories of the quilombo, Alex Ratts identifies an Africana or Afro-Brazilian geopoetics (*geopoética*) interlaced in Nascimento's work. Ratts argues that in Nascimento's texts "the Black body can extend itself symbolically to

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[454] Beatriz Nascimento, *Quilombola e Intelectual, Historiografia do Quilombo*,130.
[455] Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 12, no. 2 (June 2008): 11; In the collection *Beatriz Nascimento, Quilombola E Intelectual: Possibilidade Nos Dias Da Destruição (2018),* Nascimento frequently contests narratives of historiography in relation to the history of the African Diaspora and Atlantic history.

the maximum, to the point that it may be confused with the landscape, with the territory of quilombo residents, sites where candomblé is practiced, with parts of Africa and with the entire planet."[456] The extension of the Black body in and as various territories and the earth is perhaps most prevalent in Nascimento's claim at the end of the documentary film *Orí*, "The world is my quilombo. My space is the quilombo. Where I am, I am. When I am, I am."[457] Reading this articulation of the geopoetics of the quilombo alongside the epigraph of this chapter where Nascimento states, "However much a social system may dominate, one can create a different system within it…Each individual holds the power [is the power]. Each person is the quilombo,"[458] demonstrates the malleability of the quilombo as a site for Black embodiment–a practice of being.

Nascimento's insistence that the quilombo was a practice of being allows for the possibilities of Black women, such as Julieta Alves, to live in a practice that was integrated with urban society in early twentieth century São Paulo. Julieta's contestation of her occupation in the incident reports, which was a significant marker of Blackness in the afterlife of slavery, indicates that Black women were not static or passive. In addition to the report on Julieta, a Black woman named Pedra Marcondes appears three times in less than six months in 1916 in crime-related incidents.[459] Pedra Marcondes's occupation was recorded twice as a sex worker (*meretriz*) and once as an actress (*atriz*) by the doctors in the *Gabinete Médico*. The reports either capture the changes in Pedra's articulation of her occupation or that the doctors determined her occupation at each incident.

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[456] Alex Ratts and Maria Beatriz Nascimento, *Eu Sou Atlântica: Sobre a Trajetória De Vida De Beatriz Nascimento* (São Paulo, São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo/Editoria Unes/Arquivo Público do Estado, 2007), 69.
[457] "A Terra é o meu quilombo. Meu espaço é meu quilombo. Onde eu estou, eu estou. Quando eu estou, eu sou." *Ori* (Angra Films, 1989), 1:14.
[458] *Ori* (Angra Films, 1989), 50:30.
[459] Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo, E14006; E14008; E14011.

Regardless, the differences in occupation for Pedra Marcondes and Julieta Alves provide further evidence that the station in life for Black women, though limited and mostly fixed in the afterlife of slavery, was malleable. These moments of malleability, or cracks in the documentation of the *Gabinete Médico,* that appeared in Julieta's and Pedra's reports show the possibilities for a system to operate within a system—the practice of the quilombo in post-abolition São Paulo. Just as the practice of naming geographies of São Paulo were meant to represent the power of the elite and state actors, Black women naming their occupation in the incident reports demonstrates the power that Black women also possessed.

Nascimento's geopoetics of the quilombo recognizes both the geographies and physical locations of the quilombo as resistance against colonial forces, and simultaneously as an elusive place of Black embodiment that remains unfixed to any one territory or state power. The moveability and flexibility of the quilombo was a common feature in Nascimento's writings and other contemporary scholars in the 1990s.[460] Yet, Ratts also contends that Nascimento's texts and documentary were particularly concerned with "corporeal (re)definition."[461] The emphasis Nascimento places on the embodiment of the quilombo, evidenced at the end of *Ori*, and her understanding of maintenance and self-preservation as intrinsic to the power of the quilombo are particularly pertinent to Black women's geographies and their survival in the afterlife of slavery in São Paulo.

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[460] Alex Ratts, "Os Lugares Da Gente Negra: Temas Geográficos No Pensamento De Beatriz Nascimento and Lélia Gonzalez," 238.

[461] Alex Ratts and Maria Beatriz Nascimento, *Eu Sou Atlântica: Sobre a Trajetória De Vida De Beatriz Nascimento* (São Paulo, São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo/Editoria Unes/Arquivo Público do Estado, 2007), 65.

Conclusion

The quilombo, as defined by Nascimento recognizes that power resides in all people, and this power neither depends on nor is defined by the state. Secondly, the placelessness and geopoetics of the quilombo means that the quilombo is not bound to any particular territory. Black women living in the afterlife of slavery in São Paulo, whose geographies were recorded in the incident reports and employed by the state to draw and maintain elite-versus-non-elite territories, always retained the power of the quilombo in their bodies. The power that Black women possess can neither be confined by state-sanctioned geographies nor by the policies and laws. The state, however, can profoundly impact and shape the life circumstances of Black women.

Similar to the ways that state actors and the elite derived their power during the debates on the Free Womb Law in 1871, they also derived power by determining geographies through their proximity to Blackness, and maintaining control over Black women through sanitation. Undoubtedly, many poor and non-Black paulistanos were impacted by state actors and the elite's means to maintain control in the long nineteenth century. Yet, the presence and history of Black people remained essential as the antithesis of the white and "hygienic" geographies, like Higienópolis, they sought to preserve.

Black women's potential for corporeal (re)definition and unrestricted ability to make their needs known could have undone the elite and state actors' projects to design a modern, white city. Hiding and erasing Black women gave the elite and state actors the power to determine geographies. Yet, it is precisely through examining Black women's lives, through methodologies such as critical fabulation, that the cracks of elite and state power come into plain

sight. Black women, the "flowers without a vase," survived even under the repressive conditions

of the state in the afterlife of slavery.

Epilogue: The City that Got It White

"Did you hear about the rose that grew from a crack in the concrete?
Proving nature's laws wrong it learned how to walk without having feet
Funny it seems but, by keeping its dreams
It learned to breathe fresh air
Long live the rose that grew from concrete
When no one else cared
No one else even cared…"

–Spoken word, Nikki Giovanni, *The Rose That Grew From Concrete*, Tupac (2000)

In summer 2017, I visited Catete Palace, a former presidential residence, in Rio de Janeiro that today serves as a museum for the First Republic (1889–1930). My aim was to better understand the dynamics of the First Republic as I began my preliminary research for the dissertation. On my way out of the palace, I picked up my backpack from the locker area on the first floor. In an attempt to make small talk with the Black woman who was working by herself in a mostly desolate building, I commented on beauty of architecture of the building. She said that for visitors it was beautiful, but for her it was a prison. She had a long commute to and from work that kept her from spending time with her family. As I left the building, I was reminded of all the conversation that I had heard from other Black women in São Paulo about their long commutes to the city center from the periphery for work or to study. The long commutes for Black women also explained their absence in wealthy neighborhoods, where I stayed, on weekends and after business hours. Black women's movement was not necessarily confined to or protected by their residences. Instead, watching the peripatetic enabled my ability to perceive the criminalization of mobile Black women in everyday contexts in Brazilian society and in interactions with the state–the police.

According to the most recent *Report on Inequalities of Race and Gender* published by IPEA (*Institute of Applied Economic Research)* in 2011, Black women face the most inequalities

in education, labor, wages, health, and access to safe housing out of every demographic in Brazil.[462] More than one hundred years after abolition, Black women continue to face challenges and discrimination that adversely impact their life circumstances. Black Brazilian philosopher Sueli Carneiro posits "Yesterday we [Black women] were in the service of frail mistresses and rapacious plantation owners; today we are domestic workers for the 'liberated' women and housewives or mulattas-for-export."[463] Carneiro's statement points to the fact that even though slavery has ended, Black women continue to occupy a similar positionality in the present. In surviving the kinds of inequalities highlighted in the 2011 *Report on Inequalities of Race and Gender* and the circumstances articulated by Sueli Carneiro for generations after abolition, Black women living in Brazil "[m]oving through the city, having to drink water, and raising children…were never anything less than contingent miracles."[464]

In this dissertation, one of the reasons that I examined the geographies of incidents in the reports rather than their residence was to untether Black women from the site of the home. The Black woman at Catete Palace and other Black women interlocutors taught me that their homes were not the only geographies they traversed or impacted their lives. I also chose to interrogate the geographies of the incident to make the statement that Black women belong wherever they are. There is no need for a justification or exception to be made for Black women to legitimately occupy space. Furthermore, placing Black women in their residences might have inhibited critically thinking about the meaning of home and the nuclear family in Chapter Two. Focusing on residences in the incident reports might have also led me to reproduce known Black

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[462] Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, "Retrato Das Desigualdades De Gênero e Raça," Retrato das desigualdades de gênero e raça § (2011), 21.

[463] Sueli Carneiro, "Race in Contemporary Brazil: from Indifference to Inequality," in *Race in Contemporary Brazil: from Indifference to Inequality* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 218.

[464] H.L.T. Quan and Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, "Black Ontology, Radical Scholarship and Freedom," *African Identities* 11, no. 2 (2013): 110.

geographies in São Paulo, rather than accept the evidence that Black women were not necessarily confined to the neighborhood limits of the state. Lastly, by examining the incident locations of Black women throughout the city demonstrated the inherent white supremacy in state policy and its impact on Black women. Whether or not state policies were motivated by racial animus, the effect of these policies created a historiography that disappears and minimizes the contributions of Black women to industrial and modern São Paulo.

The histories and experiences of the Black women in the *Memória de Escravidão em Famílias Negras em São Paulo* interviews, the *Gabinete Médico* incident reports, street vendors and market women, thinkers Sueli Carneiro, Beatriz Nascimento, and Carolina Maria de Jesus are often cited apart from the traditional history of São Paulo and Brazil. "Flowers Grew Out of the Asphalt" is meant to demonstrate that Black women have been consistently central to the formation of the Brazilian state and society, regardless of official historical narratives. The presence of Black women from the nineteenth century to the present, such as the Black women mentioned above, remain at the core of traditional histories of modernity, industrialization, and progress.

São Paulo, the capital city and state, has been positioned by the elite, state actors, and historians as the center of Brazilian history and as a model for progression of other territories in Brazil. Regarding these traditional narratives of the history of São Paulo, Barbara Weinstein contends,

> Ultimately, even this mildly critical text [*The Color of Modernity*] could not avoid the language of predestation and therefore, exceptionalism, in discussing the historical trajectory of the "povo bandeirante." Thus, as São Paulo entered its fifth century of existence, it emerged as the standard of modernity and progress to which other regions, maybe even other nations, could aspire, while maintaining,

even enhancing, its self-image as exceptional, as "o Brasil que deu certo"–the Brazil that turned out right.[465]

As I attempted to demonstrate throughout the dissertation, the overt omissions of Black women's histories and their geographies underpinned a São Paulo white exceptionalism to make it the city that "got it right"–or as I argue "got it white."

Embranquecimento, racial segregation through geographies, and white supremacist practices inherent in sanitation and hygiene policies and institutions, were crucial scaffolding for the elite and state actors to claim that São Paulo was the "Brazil that turned out right." Even with all of the distractions and diversions embedded in Brazilian racial regime to obscure Black histories and Black presence throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Black women consistently emerge at the center of racial policies and practices as a source of power for the elite and state actors. Black women in the afterlife of slavery may have been barred from positions that signified power for the elite and state actors, but a position should not be confused or equated with power.

Carolina Maria de Jesus's and Beatriz Nascimento's writing conveys the power that Black women possessed regardless of the role of the state and the recognition of the same kinds of harsh and restricted realities of oppression reflected in the above quote by Sueli Carneiro. Nevertheless, Carolina Maria and Nascimento provide frameworks to understand the survival, beauty, and power of Black women. Carolina Maria Jesus's positioning of Black women as flowers and Beatriz Nascimento's articulation of the geopoetics of the quilombo present different possibilities for Black women's histories in a move away from traditional histories that so often center elite narratives.

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[465] Barbara Weinstein, *Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 295.

Carolina Maria and Nascimento offer a glimpse of what it might mean for Black

Brazilian women to legitimately inhabit the world, make their needs known, and to tell histories

from this place.[466] Furthermore, their writings point to the fact that Black people are capable of

their own divining and creating a measure of freedom that is neither utopian nor determined by

what subordinates us–white supremacy, capitalism, and patriarchy. Envisioning Black women in

the afterlife of slavery as capable of their own divinity, *divine agents*, who legitimately inhabit

their world gives way to different life possibilities and world creation.

In the documentary film, *Ori* (Raquel Gerber, 1989), I was struck by Nascimento's

statement that, "However much a social system may dominate, one can create a different system

within it. And this is what quilombo is... Each individual holds the power [is the power]. Each

person is the quilombo."[467] The ability to create a different system within another system,

regardless of the limits of the outside system, requires the power that each individual possesses.

Here, Nascimento's articulation of the quilombo echoed Avery Gordon's reading of divine

agents, which influenced how I approached Nascimento's work. On divine agents, Gordon states,

> It was the image of men and women as *divine agents* that registered for me…This
> image did not conjure up religious solidarity or collectives of well-dressed
> parishioners or regressive notions of posthumous justice, although it did remind
> me of the famous passage from *The Acts of the Apostles* about those "baser sorts"
> who "turned the world upside down." Rather it pinpointed the moral stakes of the
> Marxian objective and the grace it promises, described eloquently by Robinson as
> "the recovery of human life from the spoilage of degradation" (1). And it located
> the impulse to realize that objective in our sovereign and creative divinity, that is,
> in our spirited consciousness and in our proven ability to remake the conditions of
> history in which we live…To conceive of ourselves as divine agents is to see
> ourselves as the executors–not the supreme rulers, the guarantors–of our world
> and our imaginations. To ground socialist aspirations in a divine agency is to
> remove the stigma attached to the utopian and to measure our freedom less by

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[466] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and The Cartographies of Struggle*, chap.1, Reading the Demonic, Kindle edition.

[467] Beatriz Nascimento, *Ori,* 50:30 cited in Christen Anne Smith, "Towards a Black Feminist Model of Black Atlantic Liberation: Remembering Beatriz Nascimento," *Meridians* 14, no. 2 (2016): 82.

what subordinates us and more by what we are capable of divining.[468]

Taking into consideration that divinity/spirit might be key to Black women remaking their world facilitated my readings on Black women living under repressive conditions in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century São Paulo. The concept of divine agents, similar to the geopoetics of the quilombo, showed other possibilities and ways of imagining the past, instead of relying on elite and state narratives.

Throughout my dissertation, I rely on the methodology of the afterlife of slavery and demonic grounds to contribute to the historiography of the African Diaspora in Brazil. The afterlife of slavery and demonic grounds both have spiritual connotations that are complementary to Beatriz Nascimento's geopoetics of the quilombo. The geopoetics of the quilombo engages with the material world (geographies) as much as it does with a spiritual corporeal (re)definition. In the nearly four hundred years of the transatlantic slave trade and its one-hundred-and-fifty-year afterlife, Black people have seldom been able to determine their life circumstances without the interference of the anti-Blackness from the state and society. However, Black people, and most notably Black women, have been able to make a way out of no way. It is perhaps, in part, the spirituality of Black people that made our survival possible.

In conducting my research and writing this dissertation, it was never my intention to incorporate so many elements that link to spirit or spirituality in my methodology. I chose the title of this dissertation after rewording a subtitle in an article written by Marielle Franco that I encountered after her assassination in 2018. I read Carolina Maria de Jesus's meditation on

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[468] Avery Gordon, An Anthropology of Marxism, xiv. On divine agents Robinson, "Notwithstanding their keen appetites for history, Marx and Engels had chosen to obliviate the most fertile discursive domain of their political ambitions and historical imaginations. Possibly even less troubling for them, they displaced a socialist motivation grounded in the insistence that men and women were divine agents for the fractious and weak allegiances of class (*An Anthropology of Marxism*, 116).

Black women as flowers without a vase, employed in Chapter 4, out of a deeper curiosity for her work. Tupac Shakur's *The Rose That Grew From Concrete,* cited in the epigraph, played at random on my playlist while I was drafting the final chapter. Of course, these moments may have occurred by coincidence or by priming myself to read and hear in a particular register, but they helped me see the beauty of Black women even in dire circumstances.

As I completed this dissertation, a year into a pandemic and five years after the 2016 coup in Brazil, there were too many similarities between the life circumstances of Black women from the long nineteenth century and the present. In 2020 and 2021, Black women domestic workers continued to clean the apartments of residents in my neighborhood without pause during the pandemic. I overheard a conversation between two Black women domestic workers stating that they were no longer receiving their full wages for cleaning their employer's homes despite working the same hours. Meanwhile, the price of food and rent have increased, and millions of Brazilians have been pushed back into extreme poverty.

In times like these, I reflect on how conversations and exchanges with Black women have impacted my current scholarship. The Black woman I met at the Catete Palace is no such exception. I doubt that she knows how she reshaped my understanding of space and Black women's geographies in Brazil. I also doubt that she knows the magnitude of this intervention or how her words prepared me to ask better questions and to pay attention to details I might have otherwise overlooked. I do not know why she responded with such bluntness to my comment, which does not frequently occur in short exchanges with strangers in Brazil, but I am grateful for it. *Long live the rose that grew from concrete.*

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Appendix A

Nature of Incident Reports within the Incident Surveillance of Black Women Database (1912-1930)

Incident Type	1912	1916	1924	1928	1930	Grand Total
			Year			
Illness	100	133	172	323	601	1,329
Assault and battery	74	57	43	102	144	420
Attempted suicide	29	31	19	43	47	169
Hysterical crisis	25	27		1	9	62
Injury (accident)	23	44	43	87	128	325
Childbirth	20	6		6	11	43
Alcohol-related injury	14	18	4	4	4	44
Under the influence of alc..	8	2		8	14	32
Vertigo	6	6	2	1		15
Fall from train	6	1	2	13	20	42
Foreign object	5	6	11	11	19	52
Burn victim	4	9	10	13	19	55
Injured by dog	3	6	3	7	9	28
Found dead	3	10	6	13	11	43
Ruptured blood vessel	2	5	2	4	3	16
Run over by a wagon	2			2	1	5
Miscarriage	2	1		2		5
Work-related injury	1		1	3		5
Paralysis	1					1
Pain	1				12	13
Hemorrhage	1	2	2	10	11	26
Consumed a substance	1	6	3	5	14	29
Child abandoned in street	1					1
Bitten by a snake	1		1	1	1	4
Suicide				1	2	3
Struck by an object					6	6
Run over by truck				2	2	4
Run over by train				1	1	2
Run over by bus					1	1
Run over by bicycle					1	1
Run over by a train		1		2	1	4
Run over by a car		1	4	30	24	59
None				4	10	14
Momentary excitement					1	1
Injury from monkey			1			1
Injury from a wall collapse					4	4
Injury from a car				6	5	11
Injury by quati			1			1
Gunshot wound			1	3		4
Gas explosion					1	1
Fell from train				1	3	4
Fell from bus					1	1
Fall from wagon				1	1	2
Bitten by scorpion					3	3
Anxiety					1	1
Grand Total	333	372	331	710	1,146	2,892