Brazil is one of the great undeveloped areas of the world. Its 3,286,170 square miles contain 41,565,083 inhabitants. In area it is larger than the continental United States, which has three and a half times more people, and fifteen times larger than France, which has approximately the same number of people. Most of Brazil's population is concentrated within two hundred miles of the Atlantic sea board. All of the large urban centers are situated in the coastal zone where the average density of population is 25 people per square kilometer. The man-land ratio for the entire country is less than 5 per square kilometer, and in western Brazil and the Amazon Valley less than one person to two square kilometers. The three western states of Mato Grosso, Goiás, and Amazonas, and the District of Acre account for less than 7 percent of the total population of the country and for more than half of the total area. In the hinterland, there are rich unexploited deposits of minerals, vast unclaimed areas of potential agricultural and pastural lands, enormous undeveloped reserves of water power, and, above all, space for millions of immigrants.

Some enthusiasts describe Brazil as the "Land of the Future," destined to leadership in the Western Hemisphere, even in the world. They point out that Brazil is on the threshold of a great westward movement, similar to that of the North American frontier between 1870 and 1914. Others are less optimistic, pointing out that, after four hundred years of settlement, there are still only a few people in Brazil and that these cluster along the coast. They call attention to the lack of petroleum and the scarcity of coal, and to the fact that lush tropical vegetation often covers second-rate soil. And, above all, these rather pessimistic observers consider the tropical and semitropical climate of most of Brazil, with its correlated diseases, to be an almost insurmountable barrier to complete con-
quest of the country. Nevertheless the future of Brazil cannot be predicted with any assurance, because just what factors will make for the success of any region and its people in this highly dynamic world are probably now unknown. But with its vast area, with its great potential wealth, and with the rich cultural heritage of its people, there is no doubt that the country can make an unique contribution to world culture.

The People of Brazil

Even before Pedro Álvares Cabral, outbound from Portugal to India, accidentally reached the coast of Brazil in 1500, Alexander VI, the Spanish Pope, had divided the undiscovered world between Spain and Portugal. The territory east of an imaginary line placed some 470 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands was granted to Portugal by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494; thus, the area which is now Brazil went to the Portuguese. But the Tordesilla line does not explain its present frontiers.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, bands of adventurers known as bandeiras (banners) left the settlements near the coast, especially in São Paulo, and penetrated into the interior in search of gold, diamonds, and Indians for slaves. These bandeiras were similar to the adventurous bands of Spaniards led by De Soto and Cortés, and their exploits were no less noteworthy. Usually fifty or more Portuguese colonists, a Catholic priest, and a few civilized Indians made up the party. Their expeditions took years, and several bandeiras never returned from the hinterland. The band stopped at intervals to establish camps and to raise crops for food. Some of them penetrated beyond the low divide of Central Brazil into the basin of the Rio Madeira. Bandeirantes from São Paulo attacked the Indians in the Jesuit Missions on the Upper-Paraná and middle Paraguay and they reached Bolivia and Peru in 1649 and 1662. One of them, led by Antonio Raposo from São Paulo, crossed the Andes to the Pacific Ocean, returning after many years to São Paulo by the way of the Amazon River and the Brazilian coast. These expeditions founded settlements in the interior of Brazil and extended the line of Portuguese control to the west beyond the legal frontiers. Finally the Treaty of Madrid in 1750 obliterated the Tordesil-
The frontiers of the Portuguese colonies were approximately those of modern Brazil.

Although these aggressive Portuguese adventurers gained territory from the Spanish, Portugal held her vast colony precariously during the first two hundred years of the colonial era. Portugal was a small country; in the sixteenth century it had hardly more than one million inhabitants. Since Portugal was the leader of a lucrative trade with India, Brazil attracted few settlers from the mother country during these first years. Small settlements were, however, established along the extensive coast—such as São Vicente (São Paulo), São Salvador (Bahia) and Olinda (Pernambuco). The control of the mother country was weak, and, when, between 1580 and 1640, Portugal was seized by Spain, Brazil became fair game for all Spain’s enemies. In 1556, the French built a fort on the small island, later called Villegaignon, in the bay facing the Portuguese settlement of Rio de Janeiro, and in 1612 they founded a colony on the Island of Maranhão where the present city of São Luís stands. The Dutch captured São Salvador in 1624 and for many years actually maintained a colony on the Brazilian coast with headquarters at Recife (Pernambuco).

In 1532, the Portuguese introduced sugar cane to the northeast coast of Brazil. It was a huge success; sugar planting attracted larger numbers of Portuguese colonists. Included among them were people of considerable wealth. Sugar became a new luxury to the world in the seventeenth century, and Brazil soon produced most of the world’s supply. The northeast coast, centering around Salvador in Bahia, became extremely wealthy. Brazil became a valuable possession and Portugal took a more active interest in its colony. Not until nearly 1700, however, were the Portuguese able to expel the Dutch and the French and to control the entire coast of Brazil.

From the beginning, Brazil has been faced with the problem of a scarcity of labor supply. The Portuguese colonists were few in number and they had no intention of performing manual labor in the New World. During the first century of colonization, they sought to enslave the native Indian population. In contrast to the aboriginal peoples which the Spaniards encountered in Peru and
Central America, the Indians of Brazil were few in number and did not have a highly developed material culture. It is probable that no more than one million American Indians inhabited the entire area which is now Brazil. While most of the tribes were agriculturalists with large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, beans, squash, and other native American crops, their inefficient system of cultivation would not support a large population. Many Indians were enslaved by the Portuguese, but, as early as 1570, the Jesuits obtained a decree from Lisbon prohibiting the enslavement of Indians, except those who were taken as prisoners of war.

For almost two hundred years the Jesuits defended the Indians in Brazil against the colonists eager for slave labor. The Portuguese colonists, who resented the Jesuits, charged them with using the Indians in their mission villages to work for the enrichment of the Order and, from time to time, the Jesuit *aldeamentos* of missionized Indians were attacked by colonists. Finally, in the middle of the eighteenth century the Jesuits were driven from Brazil and, under Viceroy Pombal, laws were made which abrogated Indian slavery under any pretext. The mission villages were ordered converted into towns and hamlets and the Indians were to be incorporated into colonial life. The missionized Indians and the few Indian slaves either merged into the rural population or took to the woods. Especially in north Brazil, the Indian left a strong mark on the Brazilian population and Brazilian culture. It was apparent very early, however, that the Portuguese colonist must needs look elsewhere for a labor supply for his large-scale sugar plantations and for mines.

Brazil, therefore, looked to Africa. The Portuguese had been active in the African slave traffic since the late fifteenth century, and beginning as early as 1538, there was a steady flow of Negro slaves across the Atlantic into Brazil. They came from diverse regions of West Africa; there were Bantus, Yorubas, Ashanti, Fula, and Hausa tribesmen represented among them. During the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries approximately 3,300,000 Negro slaves are thought to have been imported into Brazil.\(^1\) By 1817, of a calculated total of 3,697,910 people in the Brazilian colonies, 2,887,500 were Negroes (freedmen and slaves), and 628,000 *mestiços*

(mixtures of white, Negroes, and Indians). There were only 843,000 whites and the rest were Indians. With this tremendous influx of slaves, the Negro became for a time numerically the most important element in the Brazilian population.

Wherever the Portuguese went—to Africa, to India, to China, or to the New World—they mixed with the native peoples. As Gilberto Freyre has shown, Portugal itself in the sixteenth century was a country of mixed racial backgrounds. Many migrations of different peoples had reached Portugal—the Iberians, the Phoenicians, the Vandals, the Huns, the Visigoths, and finally the dark Mohammedan Moors. Since Moors, who dominated Portugal, brought a superior culture with them, the Portuguese did not identify dark skin with a subjugated “inferior” people. The Moorish woman became the ideal beauty of the Portuguese, and it was natural that this standard be applied to the native women in other parts of the world. Rather than being repulsed by dark skin the Portuguese found it sexually attractive. Thus, in Brazil they at first took Indian wives, and the first century of colonial Brazil was one of mixture between the European and the American Indian. The wandering Paulista bandeirantes left numerous children, progeny of European fathers and Indian mothers, who were called mamelucos and, in the north of the country, mixture was frequent despite the efforts of the missionaries to isolate the Indian.

The Portuguese also took concubines from among their Negro slaves and from such unions grew the class of mulattoes which has played an important role in Brazilian cultural tradition. Miscegenation between slaves and their masters was not limited to Brazil; but it seems to have been more frequent there than elsewhere in the New World and it was accepted as a matter of course, becoming a subject of pride to Brazilians. As elsewhere, the mulatto was generally the offspring of a white father and a Negro mother. In Colonial times, mulattoes were frequently given special treatment by their white fathers. They were given easy jobs; sometimes they were educated and used as administrators on the plantations. Many were sent by their wealthy owners, who were sometimes their own

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8 *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York, 1946), especially Chapter III.
4 Tannenbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
fathers, to Portugal to attend the famous University of Coimbra. Gradually the mulatto became freemen and formed a special class, and presently was represented among the professional classes as lawyer and physician. Except for the Jesuit Schools, which at first barred Negroes and “very dark muleques,” mulattoes and free Negroes were generally accepted in the few schools which did exist in Brazil. In 1586, the King of Portugal criticized the Jesuits and, in a letter, stated that “schools of science ought to be common to all manner of persons, without any exception whatsoever.” Moreover, says Freyre, “not only were blacks and mulattoes in Brazil the companions of white lads in the Big House (Manorial House) school room and in the colégios; there were also white boys who learned to read with Negro teachers.” In the eighteenth century the priesthood was opened to mulattoes and to Negro freemen, some of whom even became bishops. The sculptor Antonio Francisco Lisbôa, known as the Aleijadinho, the Brazilian writer Machado de Assis, and the poets Castro Alves and Gonçalves Dias are a few examples of mulattoes who have been important figures in Brazilian cultural life. At least one president of Brazil, Nilo Peçanha, was a descendant of a mulatto and, even during slave times, several influential figures in court and Brazilian diplomatic circles were of partial African descent.

During slavery, not only mulattoes but many Negroes gained their liberty. Many Negroes reacted violently to slavery and escaped to the interior where they established free rebel communities called quilombos. The most spectacular of these communities of fugitive slaves was the Quilombo de Palmares, generally referred to as the Republic of Palmares, in Brazilian history. Palmares was situated in the area which is now the state of Alagoas in northeastern Brazil. It lasted from 1630 to 1697. At one time, the “Republic” is thought to have had a population of about 20,000 people—all escaped slaves or their descendants. It was governed by their own ruler who had under him a series of subchiefs who ruled by African law until 1697, when Palmares was destroyed by an armed force of six thousand. Small quilombos are said to have been found along nearly all the rivers of Amazonas. Some were near Indian villages, and mis-

6 Freyre, op. cit., p. 407.
8 Ibid., p. 409.
cegregation between Negro males and Indian women added to the
general mixture of Brazilian population.7

Escape, however, was not the only means by which the Negro
gained freedom; some purchased it, to others it was granted by
benevolent owners. It became the custom for a wealthy slaveowner
to liberate a slave or two on the occasion of any big celebration,
such as the baptism of a son or the marriage of a daughter. More­
over, the slave had a legal right to purchase his freedom at the orig­
inal purchase price, and could accumulate the money by doing
extra work. The story of King Chico, cited by the Brazilian anthro­
pologist Artur Ramos,8 while it may be in part legend, illustrates
this process of purchasing freedom. According to the story, King
Chico lived in the beginning of the eighteenth century. He was an
African chieftain, it is said, who was captured with all his tribe
and brought to Brazil. Except for one son, his entire family died
on the slave ship. He and his people were sent to work in the mines
of Vila Rica near Ouro Preto in Minas Gerais. There, by doing
extra work, he accumulated enough money to buy the freedom of
his son, who, in turn, helped raise the funds to buy his father's free­
dom. King Chico swore "King in my country, King I shall be out­
side my own country." Then, through cooperative saving, he and
his son bought the freedom of all of their people. King Chico set
up and governed his own community. He and his people erected a
church in the village and, as the legend goes, bought a mine which
they exploited as a group. By 1798 there were 406,000 free Negroes
in Brazil,9 and it has been estimated that there were three times as
many free Negroes as slaves when slavery was abolished in 1888. A
law was already in effect at this time by which all children of slaves
were freeborn; even without abolition it was only a question of
time until the institution of slavery would have disappeared.

Slavery was a brutal institution in Brazil, as elsewhere, but even
during slavery the Negro and the mulatto gained a place in Brazilian
life far superior to that of the dark people in the British and Dutch
colonies to the north. In the British colonies, freedom for the Negro

7 Freyre, op. cit., p. 68.
8 Las Poblaciones del Brasil, p. 178.
9 Ibid., p. 119.
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did not give him the rights of a citizen. The freed Negro or mulatto in the British West Indies could not give evidence in court; they could not serve even as minor public officials; they could not vote; they could not be tried by jury; and they could not bear arms. In North America and the West Indies the freed slave simply lost the protection of his master; his status was little above that of a slave in civil privileges.\textsuperscript{10} By contrast, as we have seen, in Brazil the mulatto and the freed Negro were granted the rights of citizens and took part in public life. The tolerance of the Portuguese owners toward a people of darker skin was strengthened by the position of the Catholic Church, which considered the slave to be the moral equal of the master. Even before the end of slavery, therefore, the Negro was beginning to be incorporated into the life of the nation and, with abolition, the process was greatly accelerated.

The fourth major element in the population was furnished by the comparatively recent European immigration. As early as 1819, a colony of Swiss Roman Catholics numbering about 2,000 were settled in a high mountain valley in the province of Rio de Janeiro and, in 1824, a colony of Germans were settled in São Leopoldo, the southern province of Rio Grande do Sul. Several other colonies of Germans and Italians were founded, but the accession of Pedro II \textsuperscript{11} who was actively interested in colonization, was the emigration from Europe actively stimulated. Between 1864 and 1866 some 27,000 immigrants entered Brazil and the number increased each year. Brazil eagerly welcomed the new arrivals, because of the growing sentiment in favor of abolition of slavery and the law of 1871 which doomed slave labor on the plantations. Between 1884 and 1939 Italy furnished 1,412,263; Portugal, 1,204,394; Spain, 581,718; Japan, 185,799; Germany, 170,815; Russia, 109,502; Austria, 85,790; Tur-

\textsuperscript{10} Tannenbaum, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 95–96.

\textsuperscript{11} In 1808, the Portuguese royal family moved to Brazil to escape Napoleon. Until 1821, Prince D. João, later João VI of Portugal ruled the Portuguese empire from Brazil; on his return to Portugal, he left his son Pedro to govern Brazil. The Brazilians persuaded Pedro to break away from Portugal in 1822 and set himself up as Pedro I of Brazil. Between 1822 and 1889, Brazil was an independent empire. Pedro I was followed by Pedro II, an enlightened ruler and a friend of Victor Hugo, Longfellow, Agassiz, and other leading men of letters and scientists. Slavery was abolished in 1888. In 1889, Pedro II was asked to leave Brazil and the Brazilian Republic was formed. Since formal history is not included in this article, the above facts are given for the general interest and orientation of the reader.
key, 78,455 and Poland, 78,455.\textsuperscript{12} Between 1874 and 1939 a total of 4,390,519 immigrants entered Brazil.\textsuperscript{13}

This stream of immigrants was not distributed equally throughout Brazil. The state of São Paulo received more than half of them. In São Paulo today most urban industrial workers are of Italian descent and many salaried workers on the great coffee plantations are Italian, recent Portuguese (as compared to old Luso-Brazilian), Spanish, and even Japanese. The Germans, Slavs, and Poles settled principally in south Brazil. Northern Brazil did not partake of this immigration to any great extent, except for a group of Japanese, settled on a concession at Parintins on the Amazon River, and also some scattered Syrians, and a few Portuguese.

During the same period (1874–1939), according to T. Lynn Smith, the United States received 29,565,400 immigrants, more than six and a half times as many as Brazil received. Furthermore, in 1930 the Brazilian government adopted a quota system, limiting the number of immigrants annually in proportion to the number of the same nationality already in Brazil. In accordance with the 1930 laws, it also became obligatory that 80 percent of the people of a quota be agricultural workers who must remain in rural occupations for at least four years after entry. The number of immigrants therefore fell sharply, and in 1939 there were only 22,668. In 1939, the Portuguese were exempt from the quota system and in 1940 the citizens of the American Republics were also exempt. Under the present regulations, however, a great increase can hardly be expected.

In spite of this relatively restricted immigration from abroad, the population of Brazil has grown at a phenomenal rate during the last half century. As Dr. T. Lynn Smith shows in his excellent analysis of Brazilian population, there has been an increase of 192 percent since the first relatively trustworthy census in 1890. During the same period, the United States with its flood of European immigrants gained only 52 percent. Whereas the population in Brazil was only 14,333,605 in 1890, it rose to 17,318,556 in 1900, to 30,635,605 in 1929, and to 41,565,083 in 1940.\textsuperscript{14} Only 9.5 percent of this increase seems to have resulted from immigration. More than 24,000,000

\textsuperscript{12} T. Lynn Smith, \textit{Brazil, People and Institutions} (Baton Rouge, 1946), p. 273.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 268.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}, especially Chapter V.
were added to by an excess of births over deaths, in spite of a stag­
gering infant mortality rate throughout the country and a very high
death rate in general. Although the reported infant mortality rates
are thought to be somewhat exaggerated because births are less apt
to be registered than deaths, such statistics do, in the opinion of
trained public health specialists, give us an indication of true con­
ditions. The lowest infant mortality rate reported for Brazil is
from the southern State of Paraná (125 of each 1,000 die before the
first year); this is five times higher than the average for the United
States. In the northeastern states the rate is as high as 502 in Piauí,
335 in Rio Grande do Norte, 295 in Paraíba, and 292 in Pernambuco. It is safe to say that three or four out of ten children who
are born in Brazil die before they reach the end of the first
year.

The crude death rate (that is, the number of deaths per 1,000
population per year) is probably double that of the United States.
The expectancy of life at birth is estimated at only 44.04 years in
the Federal District and 40.13 years in São Paulo, where the best
medical care and the best public health facilities in Brazil are found,
as compared to the life expectancy in the United States of slightly
over sixty years. Contrary to popular opinion, this high death rate
does not result from the so-called tropical diseases but mainly from
diseases which are well known in temperate climates. Tuberculosis
is Brazil’s deadliest disease; the mortality rate is 341.1 (per year per
100,000 population) in the Federal District and as high as 479.5 in
Salvador in the State of Bahia.15 Syphilis has a high incidence
throughout Brazil (the mortality rate in Rio de Janeiro is 57.1) and
it is almost endemic in North Brazil. Leprosy is widespread through­
out the country, with a mortality rate as high as 3.2 even in Rio
de Janeiro. Such intestinal parasites as hookworm weaken the popu­
lation, cause many deaths, and make the people less resistant to
malaria and other diseases. A survey of two rural areas of the coun­
try, the Amazon Valley and the Rio Doce Valley (State of Espírito
Santo), showed that 80 to 90 percent of the population were in­
fested with hookworm and other intestinal parasites.16 These might

15 I have heard competent Brazilian public health specialists state that these rates
for tuberculosis were probably much under the true figures, if they were known.
16 Edmund Wagner, “Engenharia Sanitária do Brasil,” in Problemas de Medicina
Prática e Preventiva no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 188.
be controlled by simple but inexpensive improvements in water supply, sewerage, and community garbage control. Malaria is still prevalent in great areas but it is already under control in many places. The record of the successful battle against yellow fever (1910–1920) indicates that even under tropical conditions disease may be controlled. At present, however, it is not only the “tropical diseases” which are ravaging Brazil but diseases such as tuberculosis and syphilis which are common to most countries of the Western world. The statement of a great Brazilian physician that “Brazil is a vast hospital,” although it was made many years ago, still holds true. In view of the health conditions that exist throughout the country, it is even more striking that the greatest source of population growth lies in the fertility of the people. Disease, malnutrition, lack of medical care, and lack of adequate public health facilities waste the human resources of the country.

As we have seen, the present population is a mixture of Caucasian (old Luzo-Brazilian and recent European immigrants), Negro, and American Indian racial stocks. A well-known Brazilian anthropologist, Professor Roquette-Pinto, in 1922 estimated that 51 percent were white, 22 percent mulattoes, 11 percent caboclos (Indian-white mixture), 14 percent Negroes; and 2 percent Indians. The 1940 census used nine categories of color; until its findings are tabulated and analysed, this estimate of the racial distribution is probably the best available. When set against earlier calculations made in the late nineteenth century Roquette-Pinto’s estimates indicate that a “bleaching” process, as Dr. T. Lynn Smith calls it, is taking place.17 The 1872 census indicated that 38 percent of the population were white; 38 percent were pardo (brown or mulatto); 19 percent were Negro and 4 percent were caboclo (Indian or Indian-white mixture). In 1890, 44 percent were classed as white, 9 percent as caboclos, 15 percent as black, and 32 percent as mestico (mulatto). This trend toward absorption of the darker groups by the white groups is in accordance with the prediction of Brazilian scientists and scholars that the population will soon be “one hybrid Brazilian race.”

This so-called “bleaching” is a simple genetic process, molded by the particular social conditions of the country, where for centuries

17 T. Lynn Smith, op. cit., p. 187.
white men have had more ready access to women than “mixed” or colored men. During the colonial period the owner of the latifundio and his sons were the “sires” and the “stallions” of Negro females (to use the words of Gilberto Freyre), and they begat numerous offspring on their young wives and concubines. Even today, upper-class “white” men have frequent extramarital affairs. Because of their prestige and wealth, they continue to have access to women of the lower and darker classes. Not only do white men have large legitimate families but they spread their genes through extramarital affairs. Because of a higher standard of living a larger proportion of the children of upper-class “white” parents survive than do the children of darker and poorer families; thus the white population makes the larger contribution to each succeeding generation. Furthermore, one should not overlook the contribution of several million white immigrants from Europe since 1864; but even without outside immigration, there is a tendency toward the absorption of the darker elements of the Brazilian population by the lighter.

Miscegenation always takes place between racial groups inhab­iting the same region, no matter how great may be the antagonism between them. With the relative lack of racial antagonism in Brazil, mixture between the three racial stocks has occurred with unusual frequency. There are mixtures of every conceivable degree and combination of the three basic elements. Only among the descend­ants of the old aristocracy do people claim pure Caucasian descent and even these “old families” speak with pride of a distant Indian ancestor. This does not mean that it is common to see the blond descendant of a German immigrant married to a Negro; one usually sees a man and wife of nearly the same color. Most Negroes and people of mixed ancestry are poorer and less well educated than people of European descent. Many mestizados (both mulattoes and caboclos) live in the interior; most of them are descendants of rural farmers and therefore do not have the educational advantages and the socio-financial position of the urban white. The Negro slaves were freed only a little more than fifty years ago and their descend­ants are still poor. The children of poor people either do not attend school or leave early to earn a living. Therefore, in Brazil we have a familiar picture of the upper class being made up predominantly of the European whites and the lower class of people of darker skin.
As a well-known Brazilian sociologist wrote, "The darker the skin the lower the class, as a rule." In contrast to the United States, however, this is a socio-economic arrangement of classes, not a caste system. In Brazil, when a person of mixed ancestry does climb the ladder of success, he does not come up against an insurmountable color barrier. In the United States, anyone with a small percentage of Negro blood is considered a Negro, but in Brazil as the popular saying goes: "Anyone who escapes being a negro is a white." In some parts of the country the expression Branco (white) describes a social status rather than a skin color. The popular expression which Donald Pierson quotes: "A rich Negro is white man and a poor white man is a Negro," although exaggerated as a popular saying is apt to be, expresses the sociological facts of the prevailing racial attitude.

While race does not present a social problem, inequalities in the distribution of wealth, in education and the availability of educational facilities, and in the standards of living are serious barriers to a social democracy. The census of 1940 indicates that 56.38 percent of the inhabitants over 18 years of age are illiterate; in other words, of almost 21,000,000 people over 18 years of age, only 9,000,000 are able to read and write. It also must be remembered that of those classified as literate, a large number are only "semi-literate"—that is, they can write only their own names and read with much labor and little understanding. The situation for the coming generation is not a bright one; Dr. T. Lynn Smith's reevaluation of a study carried out by the Brazilian Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos shows that less than two-fifths of the children of primary school age (7 to 11 years old) were in school.

Furthermore, the mass of the population are undernourished. Objective studies have shown that most of the people simply cannot afford a balanced and sufficient diet. Five hundred laboring-class families studied in Recife in 1934 spent 76.1 percent of their total income for food and 18.9 percent for housing, light, and water. The daily consumption per person amounted to only 1,646 calories and the diet was not only deficient in calories but also in proteins.

18 C. Delgado de Carvalho, "Lectures on Brazilian Affairs," The Rice Institute Pamphlet, XXVII, No. 4 (October, 1940), 239.
19 Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942), p. 348.
20 Ibid., p. 665.
calcium, iron, and vitamins. Since 1934 the situation has become increasingly more difficult, especially after the outbreak of World War II with the attendant breakdown of transportation and the rise of food prices over wages. A recent study made of the national income for 1944 showed that agriculturalists (the farmer, the sharecropper, and the agricultural wage earner) made up 71 percent of the total gainfully employed; (an estimated 12.6 million) yet they earned only 30 percent of the total national income. Urban employees (who contributed to social insurance organizations) formed 24 percent of the total number and received 20 percent of the national income. Income taxpayers (a total of only 300,000 people in 1944), who comprised only 2.5 percent of the total gainfully employed, received 30 percent of the national income, while another miscellaneous group of 2.5 percent received the other 20 percent. These figures show a concentration of 50 percent of the national income in the hands of 5 percent of the people.

“Factors for the concentration of incomes are not difficult to enumerate,” says Spiegel:

The high degree of concentration of ownership, both in agriculture and in manufacturing industries; high interest and profit rates; lack of educational opportunities, designed to improve income-earning capacities of children in low income groups; the tax system; poor social services; and finally, low wages. Important also is the persistent inflationary trend. This factor in conjunction with the narrowness of the home market and low purchasing power of a large proportion of the population accentuates the process of concentration of incomes.

The financial elite of Brazil, in contrast to the uneducated and underfed majority, live in luxury and comfort. The rich travel, send their children to foreign universities, maintain large houses and a large staff of servants, and dip into the arts—as the rich do everywhere. The rather special propensity for luxury which Gilberto Freyre has described for colonial times in The Masters and the Slaves is still apparent among the descendants of aristocrats and the new rich who imitate them.

23 Ibid., p. 119.
In terms of the culture of its people, modern Brazil is more homogeneous than other great areas of the world of comparable size. India, China and the U.S.S.R. contain people of different cultures and of different languages. Even the neighboring countries of Bolivia and Peru contain people of two distinct cultures (Spanish and Spanish-Indian) who speak several different languages. Throughout Brazil, the people share one basic culture pattern—a culture inherited in the main from Iberia but flavored with African and American Indian elements. One language, Portuguese, is spoken over the entire area, except for an insignificant number of forest Indians and a few unassimilated Europeans in the far south. Yet, because the area is so vast and contains such widely different ecological conditions, and because communications have been so poor in the past (and still are) between one part of the country and another, the historical development of the different regions has varied. In some regions industrialization has taken place with great velocity; in others, it has not yet begun. One region is characterized by a large percentage of Negroes in the population and another has a population predominantly European white. The different regions present specialized versions of the national culture.

Brazilians are quite aware of such regional differences. The common man has, for example, stereotyped ideas as to the personality of the Gaucho (the man from the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul), of the Cearense (from the arid northeast), of the Carioca (of Rio de Janeiro), and of the Paulista (of São Paulo). There are regional literary movements, like the “Regional Traditionalists” of the northeast coast. Gilberto Freyre, after a trip from his native Pernambuco (northeast coast) to the extreme south of Brazil was moved to observe, in regard to dancing:

The truth is that the country is divided into regions which are distinguished one from the other, not only by the type of popular dance preferred by the people of each region, but also by their manner of dancing some of the traditional or native and even North American and European dances. Because international dances suffer regional stylizations or deformations, they are just as interesting for the psychological and socio-
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logical study of regions as the native or traditional dances, peculiar to each region.  

And, in a lecture in which he defends Regionalism as a “social philosophy” against “excessive national” or “exaggerated international or cosmopolitan” tendencies, he observes, “but Brazil is not simply one natural and cultural region; inside the almost continental immensity of that part of America, nature and culture have their own subdivisions.”  

Although most students are impressed with the great cultural diversity of the country, social scientists have only recently begun to study its regional differences by means of intensive and objective research methods. There is still, therefore, some variation in the manner of approach. Each student tends to divide the country on the basis of the criteria of his own discipline—that is, a geographer, an economist, a historian, or an agronomist each sees the map of Brazil differently. At present, however, it seems to me that Brazil contains six major regions or “cultural areas”—the Amazon Valley, the Northeast Coast, the arid Northeast, the Industrial Middle States, and finally the Wild West. Each of these is characterized not by one criterion but by a combination of several, including climate, surface features, racial composition of the population, historical past, and distinctive culture patterns.

**The Brazilian Amazon**.—The Amazon Valley is shaped like a great fan with its handle at the mouth of the Amazon River. It reaches far beyond the frontiers of Brazil into Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela, but the major portion of the Valley falls within Brazil. Even outside Brazil, where the language is Spanish rather than Portuguese, the strength of the common ecology has been stronger than differences of nationality and language.

The Brazilian part of the Valley takes in the states of Pará, Amazonas, the northern portion of Maranhão, as well as the Federal Territories of Acre, Amapá, Guaporé and Rio Branco. The dense tropical forest that covers most of the Amazon Valley is by no means a vast swampy jungle. About 90 percent of the area is above flood level. South of the town of Santarem, about halfway from Belem to Manaus on the main stream of the Amazon, a range of hills rises

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25 *Brazil, an Interpretation* (New York, 1945), p. 73.
over a thousand feet above the river. To the north near the Colombia and Venezuela frontiers, there are great stretches of grassy plains. A large area of savanna is found north of the main stream and north of the towns of Óbidos and Monte Alegre. Throughout the entire Valley, patches of grassy savannas break the monotony of the forest, and near the Amazon River itself lie wide flood plains covered with coarse grass. Marajó Island, at the mouth of the Amazon, is as large as Switzerland and consists mostly of periodically inundated plains.

The climate of the Valley is surprisingly temperate; Santarem, which is only a short distance south of the equator, has an average yearly temperature of 78.1° F. and at Manaus the yearly average is 81° F. The highest temperature recorded at Manaus from 1911 to 1935 was 90° F. and the lowest was 62° F. The climate is uncomfortable because of the monotony and humidity. The difference between the average daytime temperature during the warmest and the coldest months at Manaus is less than 4° F. The humidity runs as high as 80 percent or even 90 percent. Throughout the Valley rainfall is abundant; in Belem, the average is over 100 inches per year, in Manaus around 80 inches, and in the upper portions of the Valley as much as 100 inches. The rainy season, “winter” as it is called, occurs from January through June; yet actually these are only the months of the heaviest precipitation, for it rains considerably during each month of the year, even during the “summer” dry season. Everywhere along the Amazon it is cool enough at night to sleep with a light cover.

The great system formed by the Amazon and its tributaries has provided man with an easy mode of transportation. The Amazon itself is navigable for ocean-going steamers for more than 2,300 miles from its mouth, and river boats ply all of its major tributaries. Three short railroads total about 238 miles; in 1935 there were only approximately 1,600 miles of automobile roads in the whole Valley. Transportation is always by natural waterways and the people therefore live near the water. There are two cities, Manaus with about 110,000 people and Belem with approximately 290,000 people; there are less than 2,000,000 people in the entire Brazilian Amazon. At least half of these people live along the main rivers or along the small streams (igarapés), very much isolated from one another.
They build their houses of planks or straw thatch on high spots along the bank or on stilts out of reach of the seasonal rise of the river. Each house has its own landing wharf. As one travels along the river, one sees only these wharves every half mile or mile apart; on each one there is a stack of cordwood which the family has cut to be sold to the slow wood-burning steamers. Alongside the wharf there is always a canoe, the family's only means of transportation, for the house may be miles from terra firme (land above flood level). The house itself is usually hidden in the deep green vegetation and cannot be seen from the river.

Now and again there is a larger wharf and, behind it, a long low wooden building. This is a barracão, a trading post, to which the people from the scattered houses in the vicinity paddle every quinzena (15 days) to buy or to receive on credit canned goods, salt, a piece of cloth, kerosene, and other necessities of life and where they sell the rubber, Brazil nuts, palm nuts, and pelts which they collect. The customers of a trading post form a rural neighborhood. They are tied to a particular trading post by credit advances. They are generally acquainted and occasionally visit each other. The trader often invites his freguezia (customers) to the barracão for a dance or for a public celebration such as September 7, Brazil's Independence Day. In general, only the trader has social and economic relations outside this neighborhood. From time to time, he visits a not too distant village or takes the boat to Manaus or Belem. Sometimes the trader maintains a house in the village so his children may attend school. He is generally either in debt to a commercial house in the village or to one of the large firms in Belem and Manaus who send out river boats periodically to pick up forest products and to renew his stock of merchandise. Brazil nuts, palm oils, hardwoods, rosewood oil (used as a base for perfume) timbó vine (used for insecticide), animal pelts, alligator skins, and rubber are some of the products extracted from the forest and exported to the world from Belem, after passing through the hands of several middle men in this credit pyramid. At the bottom, the forest collector remains forever in almost debt slavery. Whenever they are able to pay up, they escape and move on, looking for a more favorable situation, only to fall in debt to another trader. The so-called "migratory in-
The large trading firms profit from both selling and buying. When the world demands one of these products of the Amazon forest, they prosper. The story of rubber is an Amazon classic. Until 1913 or 1914, the world depended almost entirely upon the Amazon Valley for its supply of rubber. During the second half of the nineteenth century, a boom took place in many respects not unlike the Alaska or California gold rush. In the stampede to buy forest rubber, enormous tracts of land were sold in Belem and Manaus, sight unseen and with faulty titles. The buyer would later visit his lands to find out whether he really was the wealthy owner of a tract of forest producing "black gold" or whether he had thrown away his money on worthless jungle. If his land had rubber trees, then labor was his great problem. Raids were made on Indian villages, and the subsequent enslavement and brutal treatment of Indians became an international scandal. Great numbers of men were recruited in the drought areas of northeastern Brazil (see p. 236) and shipped in virtual debt slavery to the seringais (rubber fields) of the Amazon. The owner furnished supplies and assigned to each man several estradas (roads; that is, paths leading to some 150 to 200 rubber trees) each separated from the next by about 100 yards. From the trading post situated strategically at the mouth of a tributary, the owner kept watch with rifles so that his gatherers could not escape down river and so that intruders could not go up river to buy rubber from them.

Money was plentiful in the cities. To the famous Opera House in Manaus opera companies came directly from Europe to give performances. Both Belem and Manaus boasted cafés, bars, bawdy houses, and fine chalets. In Santarem, old people who remember these good days told of men who sent dress shirts to Portugal to be laundered and of women who ordered their frocks from Europe. Since the Amazon region was nearer to Europe than to the cities of south Brazil in transportation time, the wealthy frequently traveled to Portugal and to France and sent their children to school in Europe. Everyone looked to the future with the firm belief that the Amazon was blessed by God with a permanent world monopoly

stinct" of the Amazon man which many writers have mentioned is nothing but his constant struggle to escape.
on rubber. As late as 1909, after the oriental plantations had been planted and were already beginning to produce, and just four years before the great rubber crash, Amazon writers were saying:

We need not therefore concern ourselves about Indian rubber plantations which have sprung up in Asia. The special climatic conditions of the Amazon Valley, the new system of treating our product now being applied with such success to our crops of hevea, the vast expanse of our India Rubber districts some of which have not yet been exploited and finally the manifold needs of modern industry, enable us to pay little heed to what others are doing in the same line of business. Indeed, were it not our duty to keep our eyes on the scientific discoveries relating to India Rubber, we could well afford to disregard foreign plantations altogether.26

Then, in 1912 the bubble broke. In 1876, an Englishman named Henry Wickham had smuggled some rubber seeds out of Brazil to England. They were planted at Kew Gardens and from these plants the English started rubber plantations in Ceylon and Malaya. As late as 1910, the Far East produced only 9 percent of the world's rubber, but by 1913 they more than equaled the Amazon production and, by 1924, 93 percent of all the rubber used in the world came from these Eastern plantations. Labor is cheaper in the Far East, and the trees, under plantation conditions, were developed to produce more rubber per tree than in the Amazon. By 1940, Brazil exported only 12,000 tons of rubber as compared with over 40,000 tons in 1912. Although, again during World War II, the Allies depended upon the Amazon Valley for a supply of natural rubber, when the Japanese overran the whole area of rubber plantations in the Far East, the development of synthetic rubber and the return of the Far Eastern plantations to the world market again doomed the wild rubber industry in the Amazon.

Following the rubber crash, Brazil nuts, another natural product collected from the forest, became the principal export crop of the Amazon and by 1940, 20,000 tons of nuts and 7,000 tons of shelled meats were exported.

The pattern of life of the rural inhabitant of the Amazon has remained little changed by the ups and downs of prices on the world.

26 Album do Estado do Pará; mandado organizar por o Dr. Augusto Montenegro, Governador do Estado, 1901-8 (Paris, 1910), p. 182.
markets. He continues to eke out an existence from collecting forest products and from some subsistence agriculture. His way of life draws heavily on elements inherited from the Indian. Although only ten to twenty thousand tribal Indians are left in the Brazilian Amazon today, the Indian has contributed more to the life of the Amazon than to any other region of Brazil. The *caboclos* are mainly of American Indian racial stock although most of them have also a few European and Negro ancestors. Only a few Negro slaves were imported into the Valley and the number of European colonists was small. In 1852, it was estimated that “whites” made up only 8.5 percent of the Amazon population, Negro slaves only 2.3 percent, and *mestiços* (probably Negro-white mixtures) 4.9 percent. The rest were Indians or Indian mixtures. Until the late nineteenth century the majority spoke *língua geral*, a modified form of the native *Tupí-Guaraní* language, which the missionaries adopted and taught as a lingua franca; others spoke Portuguese. Even today in the Amazon, so many names of places, of animals, of birds, and so many popular expressions come from the *língua geral* that the educated Brazilian from the south needs a glossary when he reads about the Amazon.

Like most rural Brazilians, the *caboclo* has inherited from the aborigines a wasteful method of agriculture by which forest land must be cleared and burned off each year or two to provide garden sites. His principle food crops—corn, beans, peppers, *cará* (*Dioscoria*, Sp.), peanuts, and manioc—are native to America. In the Amazon, manioc is the staff of life, the basis of all meals: *farinha d'água*, a flour prepared from the poisonous variety of the plant, is the bread of the region, the necessary complement of any meal. Manioc is prepared as a food drink called *chibé* and as various types of cake called *beijú*. The distinctive dishes of the region, *tacacá* and duck with *tucupí* sauce, use manioc as an important ingredient.

Amazon folklore is strongly flavored by Indian survivals, and the *caboclos* retain many customs and beliefs of Indian origin. Although they consider themselves good Roman Catholics, many believe in American Indian supernaturals and call on medicine men to cure them by traditional methods. They tell of *Mãe d'Água* (Mother of

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the Water) and Zuruparí, a dangerous demon of the forest. They believe that the boto (a fresh-water dolphin) appears at night as a handsome young man dressed in white to seduce young virgins, and illegitimate children are sometimes called filho do boto (child of the dolphin). They have pagés, medicine men, who cure the sick by sucking or massaging out of the body of the patient an object which is thought to have been there by magic. As they work their cures, the medicine men inhale great gulps of tobacco smoke and blow clouds of it over the patient. They sing and dance, keeping time with the rattle of a gourd, and as they sing they call their familiar spirits to aid them in the cure. Sometimes they fall into a trance. Almost identical practices have been described by early chroniclers of the sixteenth century for the coastal Indians of Brazil and have been witnessed by the writer among several Indian tribes. Amazon caboclo medicine men differ from their Indian counterparts mainly in the supernaturals they supplicate; he calls not only Mãe d’Água, or Zuruparí, but also Catholic saints. There is a greater residue of Indian culture patterns and culture traits in the Amazon Valley than elsewhere in Brazil.

THE ARID NORTHEAST.—To the south and east of the Amazon basin, lies the arid sertão of Brazil. In terms of climate and surface features it contrasts strongly with the humid tropical forests of the Amazon. The sertão, inland from the so-called “bulge” of the Brazilian coastline, covers the states of Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, the southeastern portions of Piauí, a southeastern portion of Maranhão, and the western portions of the states of Paraíba, Pernambuco, and Bahia. It is a region of scrub forest, cactus, and bushes. Low mesas and a few mountain ranges break the great expanses of flat broken terrain. With the exception of a few major rivers, the streams of the sertão are dry channels filled only now and again during the year when the head waters are swollen with rains. Then, the stream beds fill swiftly and with little warning; in a few hours they are dry again. The rainfall is very irregular. Periods of drought may last from one to three years and, even in “good years,” the rain comes in violent showers which turn the countryside temporarily green. After a few days of hot sun and dry winds, the earth resumes its dusty brown. In a normal year it may rain four or five times a month in the rainy season (October to April). The annual
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rainfall averages between 20 and 40 inches over the entire region; in the interior of the state of Ceará, which is typical of the area, the rainfall averaged 33.6 inches per year from 1910 to 1924. As in most arid regions of the world, there are a few oases, such as the area of the Serra de Baturité and the Chapada de Araripe in Ceará, where irrigation yields magnificent results; most of the sertão, however, is not suitable to agriculture.

Carnaúba palms, found in abundance near the coast in Ceará, produce an industrial wax that was fourth among Brazil's exports in 1941. An oil used in paint and varnish manufacture is extracted from the *oiticica* tree, which grows in the interior of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Limited areas of the dry sertão produces a high-grade cotton with a long and strong fiber. Some *mamona* for castor oil is planted; recently there has been a movement to plant mulberry trees and to introduce a silk industry in the region. The typical economic activity, however, is grazing. The first Portuguese colonizers who were given land grants here, found the terrain unsuitable for agriculture, so they turned their large estates into cattle ranches. Grazing was not particularly profitable, and they were unable to purchase Negro slaves. By 1860, when the total population of the Province of Ceará was estimated at about 500,000, there were only 34,400 slaves and these few were concentrated along the coast and in the few agricultural oases. The aboriginal people were unusually hostile, but the settlers were able to make use of many missionized Indians to care for their herds and to defend their vast estates. As usual, the Portuguese mixed with the Indians so that the typical sertanejo, as the rural inhabitant of this region is called, shows in his high cheekbones, straight black hair, and Mongolian eye form, strong indications of his American Indian ancestry. Only in limited areas, such as the margins of the Rio São Francisco in western Bahia, are Negroid elements noticeable in the population.

A few towns grew up near the headquarters of large colonial estates and in the few well-watered areas but, in general, the population of this arid region lives scattered over the countryside. Although most of the great estates have now been divided, the majority of the people still live on land belonging to cattle ranchers. They serve as *vaqueiros* for the ranch owner, caring for a portion of his

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herds in return for one fourth of the increase. During “good years” when there is sufficient rainfall, they clear garden sites from the scrub forest and plant maize, beans, manioc, and vegetables. They must fence in their miserable gardens with brush and poles to keep out the cattle. Frequently the gardens are lost for lack of rainfall. Often they are planted in the beds of dry streams to take advantage of the moisture and low water level, but this, too, is precarious; a sudden rainfall in the headwaters of the stream may wipe out the garden in an hour. The people depend, therefore, on meat for the major part of their diet. Because they are not landowners and because of the uncertainty of their habitat, the sertanejo is known to be seminomadic, moving about from year to year in search of greater security.

The hostile environment, intensified by droughts, has driven large numbers to seek a living elsewhere. Terrible droughts have occurred from time to time for centuries. They are recorded as far back as 1710-1711 and afterwards for each eight- to fifteen-year-period until the present. The drought of 1790-1794 almost depopulated the province of Ceará and the most famous drought, that of 1877-1879, sent so many refugees to the coast in search of water and food that the city of Fortaleza grew from a small town to a large city of over a hundred thousand inhabitants. At this time, the entire sertão was burned black by the sun, cattle died, and there were no crops. One writer estimated that almost 500,000 people died from starvation or from diseases connected with starvation during this one drought period. Refugees, attracted by the beginnings of the rubber boom, began the movement from this region into the Amazon Valley. Since then there have been droughts in 1888-1889, 1898, 1900, 1915, 1931-1932, and in 1942-1943, of greater or lesser intensity. Each time the sertão has been turned into a virtual desert and a large number of people have died of starvation or migrated. The exact number of the migrants from the sertão to the Amazon is not known but the movement has amounted to at least a half million people since the great drought of 1877-1879; during the last serious drought, in 1942-1943, almost 50,000 refugees went to the Amazon, attracted by the minor rubber boom of World War

29 Herbert H. Smith, Brazil; the Amazons and the Coast (New York, 1879), pp. 416-21; quoted in T. Lynn Smith, op. cit., p. 313.
II. Since 1912, however, the greatest exodus has been to the south, especially to São Paulo, where coffee plantations were in need of labor. At least a half million people entered São Paulo from the northeast; from 1935 to 1940 inclusively, some 326,109 people came there from other states of Brazil and most of these from the sertão, and in the years before this period the movement was almost as great.30

Despite the ravages of drought and emigration the arid sertão is still one of the most densely populated areas of Brazil. The State of Ceará has an average of 14.1 people per square kilometer, Rio Grande do Norte, 14.8; and Paraíba 25.6; whereas the State of Paraná in the south, which has great areas of excellent agricultural land, has only 6.3 people per square kilometer.

Since 1880 the central government has been building dams to conserve water and facilitate irrigation; and since 1910 a federal government bureau (Inspetoria Federal de Obras contra as Secas) has been constructing dams, irrigation systems, and roads to forecast the droughts which hit the region about twice in each generation. The government must spend large sums to make these areas habitable, while other regions with more favorable natural conditions are practically uninhabited. However, the sertanejo loves his semiarid homeland, maintaining that in the years between droughts it has a fine, healthy climate and that the land is rich. As soon as the news that "it is raining in Ceará" reaches sertanejos who have left their lands with a curse, they come trooping back again.

The semidesert has produced a people noted for their fierce courage and enormous endurance, although they are humble and quiet in manner. The sertão is a region of fanatic religious movements and famous outlaw bands. The dramatic story of the village of Canudos, which in 1896 led by the religious fanatic, Antonio Conselheiro (Anthony the Counselor) battled federal troops until they were destroyed in a bloody massacre, has been told in a Brazilian masterpiece by Euclides de Cunha, Os Sertões.31 Padre Cicero of the village of Joazeiro was another religious leader of the sertão. Although he was excommunicated by Rome, he was almost an absolute spiritual and political leader in the sertão and in 1914 led a

30 T. Lynn Smith, op. cit., p. 329.
counter revolt against state troops. Large numbers of pilgrims still flock to the tomb of Padre Cícero each year.

The *sertão* has also produced numerous outlaw bands, one of the most famous of which was led by Virgilio Ferreira da Silva, known as Lampeão. From about 1920 until he was killed in 1938, Lampeão and his *cangaceiros* were the terror of the whole region. Tales of their robberies and murders were tempered with stories of aid that they had given to the poor and needy, in the Robin Hood tradition. Ranchers and villagers gave them help in fear of reprisals, and politicians frequently used the bandit band against their opponents. Like other bandit leaders of this region, Lampeão became a legend and the people of the *sertão* would not believe that he was dead until his head, cut from his body, was exhibited publicly in many towns and finally placed on exhibition in the Museum of the Medical School in Salvador, Bahia. Blind troubadours sing folk verses nowadays in the market places of the *sertão* recounting the adventures of Lampeão, and of other famous *cangaceiros* of the region. Like religious fanaticism, banditry seems to result from the constant frustration of this harsh and uncertain environment.

**THE NORTHEASTERN SUGAR COAST.**—In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the northeastern coast of Brazil east of the *sertão*, in what is now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoás, Sergipe, and Bahia, was the richest part of the country. The rainfall along this coastal strip is dependable. The land was originally covered by thick tropical forest springing from a fertile red soil. Sugar cane was planted inland from the settlements at Recife and Salvador in the late sixteenth century. Great profits attracted many wealthy families from Portugal and sugar soon made them even richer in the new world. The *Casa Grande* of these colonial plantations, with its own chapel (really its "individual church"), dispensaries, various kitchens, several drawing rooms, numerous bedrooms, and a great veranda was the center of a luxurious and aristocratic patriarchal family life. The *Casa Grande* often had its own Padre, a son of the family who had entered the church. It had its own school for the numerous descendants of the patriarch. Behind these fine structures were found numerous mud and thatched huts (the *Senzala*), the quarters of the Negro slaves, who were the field hands, the nurses, the play-
mates, the cooks, the intimate chamber maids, and even the concubines of the aristocrats of the Casa Grande. Large cities rose along the sugar coast; Salvador and Recife became the most important centers of Brazilian colonial life. The elaborate gold-leafed wooden carving in the church of São Francisco, the polychrome tiles in the church of Saúde and Rosário, and in fact, almost any of more than three hundred churches in the city of Salvador are witnesses to a colonial life of tremendous wealth.32

In the early eighteenth century, however, the sugar industry began to decline. Gold and diamonds were discovered to the south in Minas Gerais and attracted many plantation owners with their slaves from the northeastern coast. By the middle of last century the large-scale sugar production of the West Indies was competing with Brazilian sugar on the world market, and the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888 took away the labor on which the great plantations depended. Most of the old-style plantations have now disappeared. Commercial companies have installed modern equipment for large-scale production, and modern plantations depend on wage laborers and on seasonal migratory workers who come in from the drysertão to harvest the sugar cane. The northeast coast still produces sugar, but other regions such as Minas Gerais, State of Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo now compete strongly for the domestic market, and Cuba produces more sugar than all of Brazil. The northeastern coast is no longer the richest center of Brazilian economic, political, and cultural life as it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of the descendants of the old sugar aristocrats, therefore, look back with a nostalgia to the past and try to conserve, as much as is possible in modern times, some of the traditions of the old aristocracy. People are proud of their family names and pay considerable attention to family genealogies.

The northeast coast, however, is not decadent. Recife in the State of Pernambuco is a busy city of almost 500,000 people. It has cotton textile mills and factories which produce soap, cigarettes, leather goods, fiber for sacking and many other articles; and, surrounding Recife, there are many large sugar usinas, the successor

32 Gilberto Freyre's Casa Grande e Senzala (tr. as The Masters and the Slaves, New York, 1946) is an exciting socio-historical study of this feudal colonial society based on sugar-raising.
of the colonial engenhos. Recife is the busiest commercial center in north Brazil; it has an excellent port, warehouses, and wharves. Salvador in Bahia, although it preserves many colonial monuments, has a population of about 350,000. It is a modern port and the center of a fertile agricultural area, the Recôncavo, which produces sugar, tobacco, coffee, castor oil, fruits, and cacao. Southern Bahia, inland from Ilhéus, is the center of cacao production, producing most of the 250 million pounds which is the average yearly crop of Brazil.

Since a very large proportion of the millions of slaves imported into Brazil came to the sugar plantations, there is a strong Negroid element in the modern population of this region. The census of 1890, which was the last one to classify the population by race, showed the population of the State of Bahia to be 20 percent Negro, and 46 percent mulatto. Such figures were averages for the entire state and it must be remembered that in the western portions of the northeastern states, of Bahia and Pernambuco, Amerind-European mixtures predominate. The percentages of Negro and mulatto elements along the coast must have been even higher than these figures indicate. Even today, after more than fifty years of “bleaching” through race mixture, the high percentage of the Negro element along the northeastern coast is obvious even to the most casual observer.

As one might expect, African cultural elements are more numerous in this area than in any other regional culture of Brazil. Africa has contributed heavily to the culture not only of the mass of Negro and mixed population but also of the “white” aristocracy itself. As Gilberto Freyre has described, African influences passed from the slaves to their masters through the close relationships of Negroes and whites. A large number of words of African origin are used and, according to Gilberto Freyre, the soft melodious accent of Portuguese, as it is spoken in this region, is a result of Negro influence.33 Nursery rhymes, stories for children, and the mythical bogeyman characters used by adults to frighten children are a fusion of Iberian and African forms. African culture contributed much to the diet of the region. Cooking is still done mostly by Negro women, as in slave times. Such dishes as Vatapá made with dendê oil, peanuts, rice flour, fish, shrimps, and various spices;

33 Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., pp. 342-43.
Caruru, made with fish, okra, peppers, oil, and various herb spices; and Acarajé, beans fried in dendê oil, were adopted from African slaves. Even traditional Portuguese or aboriginal foods were modified by the Negro mode of preparing and spicing them. Especially in this region of Brazil, popular music and dance owes much to African culture. The modern samba is a development of the batuque which was danced by Negro slaves at night in the colonial plantations. The rhythms of the music with great use of drums contrasts violently with the slow sad music of the Brazilian modinhas sung to the accompaniment of the violão (guitar) in regions of less pronounced African influence.

Perhaps the most spectacular heritage of Africa, however, are the fetish cults called macumba in Rio de Janeiro, candomblé in Bahia, and Xangô in Pernambuco, and corresponding to the Vodun of Haiti. Such cults are found along the whole coast of Brazil from São Luís in Maranhão to Rio de Janeiro, wherever there is a concentration of Negroes; but they are strongest in the northeastern coastal region. A North American sociologist, Donald Pierson, estimated that in 1935-1937 there were between seventy and one hundred cults in Salvador, Bahia. The cults are highly organized and follow a complex ritual. They are based on religious beliefs predominantly of West African origin, but now mixed with Portuguese Catholic traditions. The divinities of the cults, the Orixás, are recognizable African gods, such as Xangô, the deity of lightning, Ogun, the god of war and iron, Yansan, the divinity of wind, and Oxossi, the god of the hunt; each is represented by a small fetish idol. Since the cult members are at the same time Catholics, each of these deities can be identified with a Catholic saint: for example, Santa Barbara as Yansan and Santo Antônio, as Ogun; Exú, the god of evil is, of course, the Devil. The sacerdotes of the cult are both male and female. Several cults in Bahia are led by female Mães de Santos (Mothers of the Saints) but generally it seems that the principle sacerdote is usually a Pai de Santo (Father of the Saint). These priests are generally old people with knowledge of the rituals and the ability to recognize the manifestations of the different deities.

34 Ibid., pp. 459-66.
35 Artur Ramos, O Negro Brasileiro (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 234-36.
36 Donald Pierson, Brancos e Pretos na Bahia (São Paulo, 1945), p. 341.
Each cult has a *terreiro*, a temple, which is generally a large, vaulted straw hut, surrounded by smaller structures in which the altars of the deities are kept and in which the leaders and a few followers live. On specific days dedicated to the particular gods, the members gather to carry out appropriate ceremonies. Each cult has its special ceremonial season, as well as ceremonial days, depending on the deities in the pantheon to which it is dedicated. For example, the ceremonial season of a cult dedicated to *Ogun* is from mid-September to the first week in December. Each Sunday during this period is dedicated to a special deity. During the other months of the year, except during Lent, other ceremonies are celebrated from time to time. During such ceremonies the priest or priestess is aided by male assistants called *ogans* and by female devotees called *Filhas de Santo* (Daughters of the Saint). The entire ceremony is directed by the priest (or priestess) who makes sacrifices of a chicken, rooster, sheep, or a goat, whatever is the appropriate animal for the deity and the occasion, and who arranges the altar of each deity. Especially in Bahia, these sacerdotes of the *Candomblé* cults are highly respected individuals, not only by the members of their own cult but also by the entire Negro population of the region. According to Donald Pierson even a few upper-class whites visit the *Pai de Santo* to ask advice regarding business and political matters and to ask help in curing and preventing illness.

The members of the cult treat with a grave formality their leader, who often acts as the judge in disputes between the members. From time to time, the cults have been declared illegal in various cities of the northeast coast but they are such an integral part of the culture that they have survived in spite of occasional legal persecution. Although they are still illegal in several cities, in Salvador, at least, they are now recognized by the civil authorities, who in 1944 issued formal documents of permission for their ceremonial meetings. Numerous culture patterns derived from Africa, as well as from the aristocratic plantation system distinguish the northeast coast from that of the arid northeast, from the Amazon Valley, and from the extreme south of the country.

THE EXTREME SOUTH.—The three southern states, namely, Paraná,
Brazil, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, differ from other regions in climate, in physical character of the terrain, in natural products, in racial composition, and in their combined Gaucho-European culture patterns. The climate is temperate, and, although it seldom freezes except in the mountains, there are annual frosts; snow is not uncommon from June through August. The seasons are definitely marked in contrast to those of north Brazil, where they are hardly more than periods of more or less rainfall. The frosts make tropical crops somewhat hazardous. Only in northern Paraná may coffee be planted, although along the coastal lowlands as far south as Rio Grande do Sul, sugar may be raised. Rice, beans, onions, potatoes, tobacco, alfalfa, some wheat, barley, and rye are planted in the south.

The northern limit of frosts in northern Paraná mark the southern limit of the tropical forests. In the states of Paraná and Santa Catarina there are great stretches of Araucaria pine forest, which furnish Brazil with an important source of lumber. The tropical forests of northern Brazil do not offer possibilities for large-scale commercial lumbering; a small area of tropical forest contains a great variety of trees, many of which are unsuitable for lumber. The valuable hardwoods are scattered, one here and another hundreds of yards away. In contrast, the pines of southern Brazil form a homogeneous forest, ideal for the commercial lumber industry. In 1944, the Instituto Nacional do Pinho, a Federal Agency of the Brazilian Government which sets the quotas for cutting and replanting of pine, authorized the production of almost two million cubic meters of lumber from these southern forests.

Wherever there are pines, the mate plant (Ilex paraguayensis) is also found. Each year groups of collectors move into the forest, where from June to October they strip the leaves from the wild trees and dry them over slow-burning fires. As mate tea is widely used only in Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil, the industry has never been one of great importance. In 1929, however, Brazil shipped almost 85,000 tons to Argentina; recently Argentina has almost doubled its own production by planting mate and in 1940 purchased only 50,000 tons from Brazil. Lumber and mate are distinctive extractive products of the south of Brazil.

The most characteristic landscape of southern Brazil is the great
rolling prairie, the pampa, which opens up to the south of the pine forest areas and extends from Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul into Uruguay and Argentina. Grazing is the economic activity associated with the pampa. The first settlers here were given huge grants of land, and by accumulation of various individual grants they were able to build up estâncias as large as 20 to 30 square leagues (320 to 480 square miles). The region was soon noted for grazing and even today two-thirds of the total area of the State of Rio Grande do Sul are devoted to pastures. The majority of the herds are said to be descendants of the scrub cattle of colonial days, but such well known varieties as Hereford, Polled-Angus Short-horn, and a black and white variety of Hollandesa are now being bred. In 1938, the livestock population of Rio Grande do Sul was said to have been 26,613,905 head, including cattle, sheep, hogs, horses, asses, mules and goats. Although there are several modern packing plants which export meat to north Brazil and to Europe, most of the cattle slaughtered in Rio Grande do Sul are still prepared for market by the traditional method known as charque (dried and salted beef). The meat is cut in huge slabs, dipped in brine, salted, and placed on poles to dry in the sun. Meat prepared in this manner may be kept indefinitely without refrigeration and may be shipped to distant parts of the country. Charque, or carne seca as it is sometimes called, cooked with black beans or in a stew, is a traditional Brazilian food and the extreme south produces almost 70 percent of all the charque consumed in Brazil.

The basic element of the population of these southern states is European. Few Negro slaves were imported into the region and these were concentrated in the urban settlements near the coast. There was some mingling with the aboriginal Indians but compared to the strength of the Amerind element in the population of the Amazon and Northeastern sertão the Indian element in the southern population is negligible. The first settlers were Paulista Bandeirantes; later, the Portuguese government introduced settlers from the Azores. The latter were primarily soldiers and they were settled in the south to hold the land for Portugal against the encroaching

Spaniards from the south. Some Spaniards succeeded in entering, and they, too, merged into the population. As early as 1824, however, colonists from other European countries began to arrive. They were attracted to this region rather than to north Brazil by its similarity in climate and in physical features with the countries from which they came. At first the Brazilian government was eager to have them there in order to guard against a possible northward expansion of the Spaniards. Between 1829 and 1859 more than 20,000 Germans were settled on small farms in the region with the financial aid of the Brazilian government. Beginning in 1850, Herman Blumenau, a German physician, helped a group of settlers to come from Pomerania to an area (now called Blumenau) surrounding the city in Santa Catarina, and by 1870 more than six thousand had followed. In the succeeding years other immigrants of German, Austrian, Swiss, Italian, and Slavic (Russian, Polish, Ukranian) origin came to south Brazil and formed colonies. From 1889 to 1896 about fifty thousand Poles settled in the State of Paraná. Nowadays it is estimated that over 500,000 people in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, 300,000 in Santa Catarina, and about 126,000 in Paraná are of German descent. There are approximately 200,000 Poles and their descendants living today in south Brazil. These three most southern states have drawn more heavily upon Europe for their population than any other region of Brazil.

The extreme south is characterized by two local culture patterns—that of the old Luso-Brazilian people and that of the comparatively recent European immigrant. The contrast is great between the two ways of life. The recent Europeans settled for the most part in colonies and lived aloof from the Luso-Brazilians. The Germans, especially, resisted assimilation tenaciously; they were proud of their German heritage, their German way of life, and their German schools. It was estimated before World War II that, of almost 100,000 people inhabiting the area around the city of Blumenau, some 75 percent spoke German; around another town of the same zone of Santa Catarina, “Only 5% are Portuguese, 7% German and 88% Italian.”

Until recently the German colonists maintained their own schools and teaching was in German, but in 1938 the Brazilian government

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40 Preston E. James, Latin America (New York and Boston, 1942), p. 531.
prohibited instruction in any language except Portuguese. The houses of these European colonists are strikingly similar to those of their home countries. In Santa Catarina they are built with walls of brick, steep roofs covered with a flat tile, and large windows, contrasting sharply with the adobe or crude plank houses covered with palm thatch of the rural Brazilians. Recent European immigrants practice better farming techniques and seem to be more permanently settled on the land than the rural Brazilians. They have established one-family farms on which they produce butter, cheese, garden vegetables, eggs, and meat for their own consumption. In Santa Catarina, the Germans grow maize to feed hogs and milk cattle and, in both Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, Italians have vineyards and produce wine. In Paraná, the Polish colonists have introduced a four-wheeled wagon, similar to the Prairie Schooner of our West, and throughout the region covered bridges attest the presence of these recent European colonists. As Preston James says in his description of Rio Grande do Sul:

The influence of these people (European colonists) in the whole life of the zone can scarcely be measured, for it goes far beyond mere numbers of citizens of European descent. Although the dominant theme of the region is Brazilian, it is a new kind of Brazil set off from the rest of the country by the presence of a considerable number of people who know how to engage in the hard physical work of pioneering in the forests and who are content with relatively modest profits of an economy which is not speculative.41

In contrast, the Luso-Brazilians have continued for the most part to be pastoralists. In the zones where they have taken up agriculture, as in the area of rice production inland from Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul, the system of cultivation is typically Brazilian; that is, large estates, tenant labor, and one commercial crop. Most of the great pampa is still devoted to grazing. Although many of the immense estates have now been divided, great estâncias with fine homes for the owner surrounded by the miserable huts of the peons are not uncommon. The gaucho, as the cowboy of the pampa is called, is in a sense the symbol of the Luso-Brazilian culture. He is noted for his horsemanship; formerly, he captured cattle with the bola, a rope tipped with metal balls which was flung whirling to wrap

41 Ibid., p. 526.
around the legs of the animal. Meat is the basis of the gaucho diet. It is a gaucho habit to drink mate from a gourd vessel with a silver tube (bombilla) many times during the day. Gaucho music is melodic and sung to the accompaniment of a guitar or an accordion.

In his classical study of the arid northeast, Euclides da Cunha contrasted the gaucho, and what might be called the gaucho spirit, with the vaqueiro of the northeast.42 "The southern gaucho, upon meeting the vaqueiro at this moment," he wrote, "would look him over commiserately. The northern cowboy is his very antithesis. In the matter of bearing, gesture, mode of speech, character, and habits there is no comparing the two." Whereas the vaqueiro is downcast, defeated by his environment, the gaucho "awakes to life amid a glowing, animating wealth of Nature; and he goes through life adventurous, jovial, eloquent of speech, valiant, and swaggering." His clothes "are a holiday garb compared to the Vaqueiro's rustic garments"—wide breeches cut something like plus-fours, a colored poncho, a bright scarf, a broad sombrero, and short boots. Traditionally he carries "a gleaming pistol and dagger in the girdle about his waist—so accoutered, he is a conquering hero, merry and bold. His horse, inseparable companion of his romantic life, is a near-luxurious object, with its complicated and spectacular trappings."

Although literally the expression "gaucho" refers to a cowboy, the name is used for all native inhabitants of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. A Brazilian writer remarks, "Generally, we see him [the gaucho] with his typical customs, habits, and psychology in the midst of the plains or in the frontier region, but he also lives in the city, where he shares in urban life without losing the influence of earlier life and his love of the plains." 43 Gaucho music, dances, folklore, sports on horseback, characteristic dress, trappings for his horse, and food habits are part of a cultural complex extending beyond the borders of Brazil into Uruguay and Argentina. Constant contact with these Spanish-American neighbors has given a distinct Spanish flavor to gaucho culture. Throughout Brazil, the gaucho (the native of Rio Grande do Sul) is thought of as an aggressive

42 Os Sertões, pp. 91-92.
warrior, somewhat crude, boisterous in manners, and belligerent in contrast to the more courtly, graceful, and retiring Brazilian of the older and more aristocratic regions to the north.

The south of Brazil is an energetic and dynamic region. Porto Alegre, its chief city, is now the third largest industrial city of Brazil, the center of a leather industry, textile factories, breweries, wineries, and meat packing plants. It is an aggressive modern city of more than 350,000 people with a State University, fine residential districts, and a busy commerce. In Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina are found the only coal reserves in Brazil and these deposits are being called upon to furnish fuel for the nascent steel industry of the country (see p. 253). It is generally conceded that the people of south Brazil have a higher standard of living, a more varied diet, and better health than those in the north. Through an increase of births over deaths, the population is growing (360 percent during the last 50 years) more rapidly than in Brazil as a whole (see p. 220). The western forest areas of Paraná and Santa Catarina are considered one of the best areas for colonization in Brazil. The soil, a rich dark red variety called *terra-roxa*, is noted for its fertility and the temperate climate gives relative freedom from tropical insects. Furthermore, the area is not so remote from such markets as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro as to make the cost of transportation facilities excessive. Large numbers of Europeans will certainly be attracted as soon as they are allowed to enter, and these southern states will in the future play an increasingly important part in the agricultural and industrial life of Brazil.

THE INDUSTRIAL MIDDLE STATES.—The states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and a part of Espírito Santo form a region which may be called industrial Brazil. However, it is in no way as highly industrialized as, say, the New England States or the Pittsburgh-Detroit area of the United States. Brazil is predominantly an agrarian nation, and agriculture is still the occupation of the majority of the inhabitants of even the more industrialized states. Yet, within this region are found the two greatest cosmopolitan cities of the country, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. There are more motor roads and more railways than in any other part of Brazil; commercial farming has been more extensively developed; and most of

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* See T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions*, pp. 143-44.
Brazil's industries, in fact all of its heavy industry, are gathered here. Intimate cultural and commercial relations with Europe and the United States are maintained through the excellent ports of Rio de Janeiro and Santos and by numerous international airlines. Most of Brazil's modern universities, research laboratories, trade schools, and cultural institutions are found in this region. In short, except for such cities as Porto Alegre, Salvador, and Recife, it is in this part of Brazil that modern Western technology has been introduced most successfully and from it that modern Western culture is diffused to the rest of the country.

It is a homogeneous region in which rapid industrialization and a modern system of communication has in recent years smothered old local differences. The rising middle class, the industrial worker, and even the farmer, tend to have their opinions formed by newspapers, magazines, and radio, as do the mass of the population in Europe or in the United States. This is, of course, true also for the inhabitants of such other modern cities as Porto Alegre, Recife, and Fortaleza, but they are "islands," so to speak, of industrial culture in regions where older folk cultures have survived to a greater extent than they have in the middle states.

The memory of three distinct local traditions is still cherished. Each of the three states, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Rio de Janeiro, has had a different historical development. The State of Rio de Janeiro was developed by sugar planters early in the colonial epoch, Minas Gerais owes its importance to the discovery of rich mineral deposits in the seventeenth century, and São Paulo, the home of the adventurous bandeirantes, became economically important in the nineteenth century with the development of coffee planting. Each state developed a local culture pattern and the residue of these differences still is found in the folk culture of isolated sections. These local differences for the most part, however, have by now given away to a standardized Brazilian version of modern machine-age culture. Each of the two great urban cities, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, is the center of its own zone of commercial, political, and cultural influence.

The city of São Paulo, with over 1,300,000 inhabitants, is the political and industrial capital of the richest state of Brazil. The fertile southern portion of Minas Gerais falls into the São Paulo
focus. The area around the city is said to be one of the most rapidly growing industrial regions of the world. The nucleus is an old settlement, having been established as a Portuguese mission in 1554, but the city is new. In 1883, the old colonial town of irregular, narrow, and mostly unpaved streets had a population of only 35,000 people. By 1890, it had grown to 64,000 and in the next ten years, rose to 240,000, by 1920 reaching 579,000, a little over one-third of the present number. Now it is the most important economic center of Brazil.

This phenomenal development was due mainly to coffee. As the northeast coast of Brazil grew rich when sugar was a commodity for which the world was eager and as the Amazon prospered from its monopoly on rubber, the State of São Paulo went through a cycle of great fluorescence based on one commercial crop. By 1900, Brazil produced three-fourths of all the coffee grown in the world and the State of São Paulo was the greatest producer in Brazil. The city of São Paulo was the financial center, and Santos was the port of this prosperous coffee commerce. The Paulista coffee planters, like the northeastern sugar planters before them, became very wealthy. They built luxurious houses on their coffee fazendas and palacetes in the city of São Paulo; and many of them owned houses in Paris. The coffee industry attracted immigrants from abroad and from other states of Brazil. Land values boomed. Transportation facilities were rapidly built. As early as 1906, however, there were signs of a decline in the coffee market and the Brazilian government was forced to begin a series of control measures designed to limit the production of coffee so as to bolster the price on the world market. Finally between 1929 and 1931 the price of coffee dropped from 24.8 cents a pound to 7.6 cents per pound and another Brazilian one-crop boom was over.

Unlike the Amazon after the rubber boom and the northeast coast after the sugar boom, São Paulo did not decline economically after the coffee price fell. Wealth gained from coffee, however, stimulated both state and city in other directions. Even before the 1929 crash, planters with foresight began to root up their coffee trees and to sow cotton or sugar cane. By 1935, more than a million and half acres of land were devoted to cotton and the state is now an important exporter of this product. Oranges were planted on a com-

mmercial scale for export to Europe. With the decline of coffee prices many owners of large estates divided and sold their property; great areas of the state are now occupied by small holders who engage in "mixed farming." The city became a manufacturing center from capital derived from coffee. It has textile mills in which cotton, wool, and jute are woven. It has rayon and silk industries. It produces machinery, clothing, foods, beverages, chemical products, cement, glass, paper, rubber goods, and hundreds of other articles. North American automobile manufactures maintain assembly plants in São Paulo. During the last war, when trade with Europe and the United States was difficult, São Paulo began to manufacture many articles which had always been imported, and became the greatest financial and commercial center of Brazil. Santos, its port, has grown to a city of almost 200,000 people and it is now the busiest port in Brazil.

São Paulo reflects this rapid commercial and industrial development. New streets and avenues are constantly being opened. New factories, office buildings, and apartment houses spring up almost overnight. On the outskirts, new residential districts have developed which would do credit to any city in the world. More than 10,000 building permits are issued annually, and optimistic real estate operators have laid out miles of future residential districts. In the heart of the city there are Italian, Japanese, and Syrian districts of unassimilated immigrants and miles of slums. The city has built a huge stadium to seat eighty thousand people at soccer games and other public spectacles. São Paulo laboratories and scientific institutes are perhaps the most advanced in South America, and the University of São Paulo is developing its faculties with scientists and scholars from abroad. The people are busy, they walk quickly, and they brag of the bandeirante spirit of energy and enterprise. They complain that the other regions of Brazil are slow and behind times and a drag on their rapid progress. They sometimes call themselves, with some insight, "the Yankees of South America."

The city of Rio de Janeiro with nearly 2,000,000 inhabitants is the cosmopolitan capital of Brazil with the glitter of diplomats and of foreign travelers from all over the world. The breath-taking beauty of the city and its natural setting are justly famous. Lying at the foot of rich green mountains which rise abruptly from the

46 Preston James, Latin America, pp. 498-99.
bay, it is bordered with long stretches of sparkling white beaches that form graceful curves along the foot of the mountains. It is a city for outdoor living. People climb the mountains to visit the great statue of Christ overlooking the city from towering Corcovado, the Hunchback; they crowd the wide beaches so near their homes. Guanabara Bay, the famous harbor of the city, is dotted each weekend with small sailing boats. The Cariocas, as the natives of Rio de Janeiro are called, are famed for the sambas which they sing and dance each year at the annual Carnival, as well as for their sharp and subtle sense of humor. Each day in the small cafés along the Avenida Rio Branco, on the Largo da Carioca, or along the small narrow streets, where people sit to sip a penny cup of coffee, new stories and new jokes pass around the tables. Much of the talk in these cafés is about futebol, as they call soccer, or about politics. The Carioca does not discuss, he argues intensely, the standing of his team, a recent trade of a professional player from one team to another, or the stand of his political party in the coming election, but his views are tempered with a rare sense of the ridiculous. So many stories made the rounds of the cafés during the regime of Getulio Vargas that the President is said to have made a large collection of those about himself. The Carioca pokes fun at the more energetic Paulista. "The Paulista is too busy making money to sit down long enough to drink his coffee," he says. Rio de Janeiro is a beautiful city and its people are warm, gay, and lighthearted in contrast to the bustling Paulista.

Rio de Janeiro is not merely an international resort or a tourist mecca; it is a busy modern city. It is the administrative capital of Brazil and the seat of numerous federal agencies and ministries. It is an important commercial, financial, and industrial center. Most companies with business interests in Brazil have offices in Rio de Janeiro. There are textile mills, cigar and cigarette factories, breweries, pharmaceutical laboratories, and many other industries in or near the city. Its port is a close rival to Santos in the flow of goods and in port facilities. Rio de Janeiro is also the hub of a rich mineral and agricultural area made up of the State of Rio de Janeiro, northern Minas Gerais, and a portion of Espírito Santo. All means of transportation focus on the city. In the Paraíba Valley to the west, oranges are produced for domestic and foreign markets and con-

47 Preston James, op. cit., p. 432.
sizable rice and coffee is grown. Sugar is produced in the vicinity of Campos, and a large portion of Minas Gerais and the neighboring portion of the State of Rio de Janeiro produce beef and dairy products. The northern part of Minas Gerais and western Espírito Santo are an important mining area.

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais in the seventeenth century and of diamonds in the eighteenth century attracted an influx of settlers from the northeast sugar plantations, from São Paulo, as well as from Portugal itself. Rio de Janeiro, as the exporting center, was assured of becoming an important city. The colonial town of Ouro Preto, one of the early mining centers of Minas Gerais, became a political stronghold, for a time outranking Rio de Janeiro. During the gold boom, Minas Gerais was the richest part of Brazil. The fine churches and palatial homes built here in colonial times are only rivaled in the cities of the northeast coast.

The cycle of gold in Minas Gerais lasted about one century (1700–1800), although a few mines still produce enough gold to make it profitable to work them. The famous mine of Morro Velho, for example, which has followed a vein of gold 8,000 feet into the earth is nowadays operated by a British-Canadian company. There are also rich deposits of nickel, manganese, chrome, bauxite, quartz crystal, mica, diamonds and numerous semiprecious stones. Near the headwaters of the Rio Doce at Itabira is found one of the world’s richest supplies of iron ore (see p. 264). About 250 miles from the source of iron ore and near limestone deposits of Minas Gerais, at Volta Redonda in the State of Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian government has built a plant for large-scale production of iron and steel products, with the help of a loan from the Export-Import Bank of the United States. Volta Redonda is being built to produce more than 300,000 tons of steel annually. A new city has been built around this huge plant with a hospital, a health center, schools, shops, a hotel, and houses for workers, technicians, and executives. Volta Redonda, on the railway to São Paulo, about 100 miles from Rio de Janeiro, falls within the Rio de Janeiro area of attraction. Since Rio de Janeiro is the capital of Brazil much of the wealth of the country is concentrated there and heavy industry now being stimulated by the Federal government naturally tends to be placed in the Rio de Janeiro zone.

**THE FAR WEST.—**The states of Goiás and Mato Grosso, located
in the heart of South America and west of the industrial middle states, are today much like the "Far West" of the United States in the eighteenth century. The area is sparsely inhabited. In 1940, there were only 1,267,134 people in a total area of 2,138,181 square miles, and most of them are clustered along the few railways which penetrate the region. Great expanses are almost completely uninhabited. The territory between the Xingu and Tapajoz Rivers in Mato Grosso is only partially explored; the few tribes of Indians here are among the few remaining untouched savages in the world. Several tribes, such as the Chavantes and the Kayapó, still make war on Brazilians.

The lawlessness and violence usually associated with frontier society are found in this "Far West." There are well-known bad men, with several killings to their credit, living unmolested by law. In many small towns of Goiás and Mato Grosso citizens go about armed. Self-styled leaders, such as a ranchowner or a trader, often take it upon themselves to gather together a posse to capture a murderer and he is seldom turned over alive to the legal authorities. The "law of escape" is the excuse for executions. Here and there, throughout the region, diamonds or gold are found in the river beds and, when a new garimpo (placer mine) is discovered, a boom town springs up, attracting prospectors, placer miners, merchants, prostitutes, gamblers, and others. Registro, on the Araguaya river, was just such a rowdy boom town several years ago. Within a year after diamonds were discovered near by in the river bed, the population doubled. Prices were inflated. Murders were frequent. The small town boasted bars, bawdy houses, and gambling establishments. Stories spread of fabulous finds bringing wealth over night to a poor miner and of poor miners being cheated by unscrupulous traders. When news came that richer finds were being made downriver at Marabá, large numbers of miners and their hangers-on moved there. As frequently happened in the United States, in the Brazilian "Far West" the prospector and the explorer are often followed by the cattle rancher and finally by the farmer.

Much of the "Far West" is good farming and grazing land. Southern Goiás is a high plateau which rises to over 4,000 feet above sea level and gradually drops off to the north in the direction of the Amazon. The Goiás plateau is connected to São Paulo by a
railway, but the service over the single-track line is so slow and the backlog of freight so great that it takes weeks to make the run between São Paulo and Anápolis in Goiás. There are a few motor roads beyond the end of the railway and trucks furnish the only means of rapid transportation into the hinterland. Gasoline is so scarce that a considerable amount of freight still moves by oxcart and by pack animal. Despite lack of transportation, the Goiás plateau frontier is experiencing a rapid expansion. It is a region of campo cerrado, plains with scrub vegetation, and is still basically a zone of grazing. Recently, the native herds have been improved by crossing with the Indian Brahman cattle, or Zebú as they are called in Brazil, which seems to give them an added resistance to heat and to disease. The plateau is rich in minerals; there are known deposits of quartz crystal, mica, nickel, chrome, gold, and diamonds. The oxidized nickel-cobalt ore deposits on the Tocantins River at São José are among the richest known in the world, but, like other mineral reserves of this area, their exploitation depends upon the development of transportation. A motor road has been built from Anápolis to the Tocantins River and it is hoped that soon the ore will be transported overland to the industrial regions on the coast.

The soil of a large portion of this plateau is terra roxa, the same fertile red soil found in the State of São Paulo and in the northern Paraná. The lack of transportation again hinders large-scale agriculture, but in recent years plantation owners from São Paulo have been clearing and planting in Goiás with assurance that in the near future motor roads and railways will connect this area with the markets on the coast. The Brazilian government has established a large agricultural colony of small farmers just north of Anápolis and in 1946, despite transportation difficulties, the colony is said to have marketed 160,000 bags of rice (about 140 pounds per bag) in São Paulo. The wealth of the zone is attracting numerous settlers each year; according to recent reports (Time, April 7, 1947), almost 50,000 people pass annually through Anápolis into the frontier beyond. In the future, the Goiás plateau will certainly be one of the richest agricultural and grazing areas of the country and, if Brazilian industry ever breaks away from the coast, it would seem to be a potential zone for industrial growth.

West of the Goiás plateau lie the great plains of Mato Grosso.
There are great extensions of pure grass plains (campo limpo) and patches of plains covered with scattered thickets (campo cerrado). Near the Rio Paraguay the plains degenerate into swamp lands; to the north, in the State of Mato Grosso, they fade into the thick jungle of the Amazon Valley. The open grass plains country of southern Mato Grosso has received a large number of settlers during the last fifteen to twenty years. A railroad has recently been completed to connect São Paulo with Corumbá on the Bolivian frontier, via the Mato Grosso plains, and within a short time, it will extend to La Paz in Bolivia, stretching from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific. When this is done, Brazil will have access to the Bolivian oil fields around Santa Cruz.

The growth of the city of Campo Grande, now the most important trade center of the region, indicates the rapid development of southern Mato Grosso. In 1910, Campo Grande had only 1,500 inhabitants and now more than 50,000 people live in the county (municipio) of Campo Grande. The new settlers are agriculturalists, but the basic economic activity of the zone is grazing. Ranches are still enormous and cattle run semi-wild over unfenced plains. Together with northern Paraná and the Goiás plateau, the zone offers excellent possibilities for agricultural settlement.

In recent years, the federal government of Brazil has sponsored a policy called "The March to the West" to attract Brazilians from the coast to the undeveloped interior. In 1943, a special agency called the Foundation of Central Brazil was established for penetration and eventual settlement of this vast "Far West." An expedition is now working its way year by year across the almost unexplored area between the Araguaya and the Xingú Rivers. From a base on the upper Araguaya they are pushing a line of communications to Santarem on the Amazon River. The country is to be surveyed from the point of view of permanent settlement and the Foundation has plans for transportation and communications with the coast. Agricultural colonies, new industries, and even cities are in the Foundation's blueprints. With modern technological equipment, this wilderness should not prove too difficult to bring under control and, if Brazil opens up immigration to Europeans, the manpower would seem to be forthcoming. But until these plans are

48 Benjamin Hunnicut, Brazil Looks Forward, p. 43.
actually realized, only the coastal areas of Brazil are being effectively occupied, leaving the great interior, like a hollow core, empty and deserted.

The National Culture

Despite the marked differences which these various regions reveal, a framework of basic cultural uniformity characterizes Brazil as a nation and as a distinct culture area of the Western Hemisphere. According to Gilberto Freyre, this “healthy minimum of cultural basic uniformity” is composed predominantly but not exclusively of Portuguese, therefore of European, culture patterns and values.49 Since Brazil as a political unit was a creation of the Portuguese, the traditional patterns of government, administration, business enterprise, law, and education are derived from Portugal. Although Amerind influences are strong in one region of the country, African influences in another, and recent northern European influences in still another, it was the Portuguese who were the governors, and in a broad sense, the teachers of Brazil during the period of formation of the national culture. Portuguese settlers formed an important component of the Brazilian people from the Amazon Valley in the north to the pampa in the extreme south. The Portuguese, in a sense, are the common denominator of all Brazil.

Because so many of its basic patterns and values derive from Portugal with its Iberian Latin culture, Brazilian national culture shares many common features with all so-called Latin cultures and especially with those of the Western Hemisphere. Recently Dr. John Gillin of the University of North Carolina, in a most stimulating article entitled “Modern Latin American Culture,” 50 described some of the patterns and values which characterize the regions of America which were former Spanish colonies and which distinguish them from Anglo-American culture. The Latin American cultures, according to Dr. Gillin, are Roman Catholic in religion and their Catholicism is Iberian in its emphasis on the cult of the Saints, public fiestas, monastic orders and religious brotherhoods (confradias, hermandades, and so on).

Philosophically, Latin American cultures are humanistic rather

49 Brazil, an Interpretation, p. 75.
50 Social Forces, XXV, No. 3 (March, 1947), 243-48.
than puritanical; they emphasize logic and dialectics over empiricism and pragmatics. The power of argumentation is more important that the actual objective manipulation of natural forces and objects. In education, theory is stressed above the details of a process, and one learns by memory and repetition of the same subject year after year rather than by experimental learning by doing. In Latin America, the family is an exceptionally strong and solid unit. Officially the male is dominant and women are passive and retiring. There is an exaggerated double standard of sexual morality. A young man is expected to have premarital sex experience; but should it be known that a girl has made one false step, her chances of marriage are slight. There is a wide extension of kinship terms—second and third cousins are considered “cousins” —and through numerous godparents (the compadre system) social solidarity is achieved with non-relatives. Latin Americans place kinship and institutionalized relations over personal friendship and business ties. The patterns of law and legal procedure follow Roman law as developed by the Code Napoleon rather than the Anglo-American patterns which we know. Latin American society is characterized by great socio-economic class differences derived from slavery or colonial feudalism. Towns are built on a “plaza plan” in contrast to our “mainstreet plan.” Houses are generally placed flush on the street with no front yard. These and many other culture complexes and elements are common to all Latin American cultures and, in a general sense, to Brazil.

Yet, the national culture of Brazil is clearly distinguishable from that of other Latin American countries such as the Spanish-Indian culture of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, and as the European-Spanish culture of Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. It differs from these not only in specific formal customs and culture patterns but especially in the singularly Brazilian interpretation and orientation which common features are given. The result is a different way of life and a different way of looking at the world. It is a fundamental mistake, if one is to deal with the countries to the south of us on anything more than a superficial level, to include Brazil with the Spanish-American countries as one large group. Attempts to describe Latin America as a unit have all used the expression “except for Brazil” with remarkable frequency.
The features which set Brazilian culture off from other local Latin American cultures result from the differences in ecology, differences in the aboriginal cultures encountered in the area, differences in the Portuguese variety of Iberian culture, and differences in the internal historical development of Brazil. The aboriginal culture of the Indians of the territory which is now Brazil was especially well adapted to the semi-tropical and tropical environment. They were few in number in comparison to the great masses of American Indians on the west coast of South America. Unlike the Indians of the West Indies, they were not decimated in the first thirty to forty years of conquest, and the Portuguese newcomers learned a great deal from them. They had an influence on Brazilian national culture out of keeping with their small numbers. Although Portuguese and Spanish civilizations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were similar in their main outlines, the Iberian peninsula is known to have been an area of great cultural and racial diversity. The Portuguese were even less conscious of racial differences than the Spaniards; and they were less warlike and had less orthodox religious fervor than the Spanish conquistadors.

Brazil was the only Portuguese colony in America and, as such, it was isolated from the other American colonies not only by language but by the strict mercantile policy of Portugal, which went to extreme lengths to debar foreign influence. Even today there is perhaps more cultural communication between Rio de Janeiro and New York and Paris than between Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. While the Spanish-American countries of the Western Hemisphere continued to look to Spain as the center of cultural influence (and still do to some extent), Brazil turned to France and to all Europe, as soon as it was politically free of the mother country. Portugal in the nineteenth century was a minor European nation and was looked down on, rather than up to, by Brazil. The fact that the country received more Negro slaves than any other in the Western Hemisphere accounts for the African influences which have given a special tone to Brazilian culture. Brazil was first an Empire before it was a Republic and the class structure of the native Empire with its native nobility, the so-called “Barons of the Empire,” was unique in America.

Moreover, Brazil is the only country in the Western Hemisphere
in which the people speak Portuguese. Brazilian Portuguese is as different from that spoken in Portugal as American English is from that of England. Many local expressions have been developed and many terms, foreign to the mother tongue, have been borrowed from native languages (Amerind and African), as well as from other European languages. Although there are minor differences in dialect and variations in expression from one region to another, Brazilian Portuguese has such a different intonation and vocabulary from the language of Portugal that there is never any doubt which language is being spoken. With this primary difference in language go a multitude of subtle cultural differences reflected by language, such as modes of address, concepts of beauty, and expression of attitudes. A traditional expression of endearment “minha nêga” (literally, “my Negress”) used sometimes by a white man to his white wife reflects the peculiar Brazilian attitude toward people of a darker hue and memories of warm personal relations with Negroes. The modern Brazilian manner of expressing superabundance é mato (literally “it is forest”) can only be understood in terms of the lush forest growths in Brazil. The richness of popular expression is a direct reflection of the varied and rich culture of its people. A visitor from Lisbon has about the same chance of understanding what is said in a Rio de Janeiro café as an Oxford don in an American fraternity house.

Although race mixture is a common phenomena in most Latin American countries, it does not occur to the same extent as in Brazil. Although Brazilians are not without a certain race prejudice, as is shown by the claim of some Brazilian whites that they feel a revulsion from the cati inga do preto (smell of the Negro), in general, one finds here less emphasis on color as a symbol of superiority or inferiority than elsewhere. Even the caste system of colonial times, with its numerous slaves and its plantation aristocracy, seems to have been tempered by this lack of racial antagonism. During the Empire, men of slave ancestry and low birth rose to high positions in the aristocracy and the monarchical system (see p. 217). There were mulatto Barons and Viscounts, and the Crown Princess herself is said to have made a point of dancing with André Rebouças, a noted engineer and a dark mulatto, when she noticed that a lady

had refused to dance with him, presumably because of his color.52

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

Foods and food habits also differ from those of the surrounding Latin American cultures. Although each of the various regions of Brazil is famous for special dishes, such as the Afro-Brazilian dishes of Bahia and churrasco (a barbecue) of Rio Grande do Sul, over most of the entire country farinha (manioc flour), black beans, rice, dried beef (charque), and coffee are the basis of most meals. Goiabada (Guava paste) and Marmelada (quince paste) with a piece of cheese are desserts known in every part of Brazil. Except in the mate-drinking area of south Brazil, nothing is more typically Brazilian than the small cups of black coffee, the cafésinho, served several times a day in homes and offices. Spain and Spanish-American

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52 Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil, p. 170.
countries are famous for their late dinners. In Brazil, breakfast is coffee and milk with a piece of bread or manioc cake (beiju), lunch is traditionally at 10:30 to 11 A.M. and dinner at about 5 P.M., followed by a light supper before retiring. In Brazilian cities, these traditional hours for meals have been modified by the necessities of modern commercial and industrial life, to conform to the meal hours of Paris or New York.

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

Brazilian folklore with its complex of bichos—such as quibungo, of African origin, a horrid creature half human and half animal which swallows children through a hole in its back, Sacipererê, a little Negro with one leg who pursues travelers, and pé de garrafa, the man with a sharpened leg who lures men into the forest—is a fusion of Amerind, African, and Iberian folklore elements. It is now a truly Brazilian folklore, no longer similar to any of the ingredients. Although Brazilian domestic architecture resembles in a general way that of other Latin American countries, for the "patio" is substituted a backyard-like quintal and the internal arrangement of

53 Gilberto Freyre, Brazil, an Interpretation, p. 57.
the Brazilian house with its small room for visitors and its emphasis on the dining room, which serves the family for intimate living, is somewhat different from the typical Spanish-American dwelling. In northern Brazil, people traditionally sleep in hammocks, and even in the south the Brazilian type of hammock is a common fixture in any house. These, and many other cultural traits, too numerous to describe here, are distinctive aspects of Brazilian culture.

Finally, there seem to be a series of distinctively Brazilian personality traits, if we may accept the impressions of travelers and of students. All people who know Brazil and Brazilians agree that different behavior may be expected from Brazilians than from other Latins. Brazilians are said to be more overt and more voluble than the comparatively taciturn Argentinian; they are less proud and less worried about losing face than the Spanish-American. To the Argentinians, Brazilians are not dignified, so they call them "monkeys." Even Brazilians agree that there is something profoundly Brazilian about the personality of José Carioca, the sly, friendly, and talkative parrot created by Walter Disney. Yet, many writers, both native and foreign, mention a certain sadness, a softness, and a melancholy about the Brazilian. "In a radiant land lives a sad people" is the opening line of Paulo Prado’s famous interpretative work on Brazil.54 This is another side of the Brazilian personality. This same author describes the excess of sensuality and the great love for luxury of the Brazilians, and Gilberto Freyre mentions a "gentleman-complex," that is, an inclination for white-collar work and the professions and a distaste for physical labor, as a personality trait of Brazilians inherited from colonial feudalism.55 With these traits goes a desire "to get rich quick" and a love of gambling. The economic history of the country is made up of a series of speculative booms, and almost all Brazilians gamble in some form—either in the jogo do bicho (a sort of numbers racket), in the federal or state lotteries, or until recently in the luxurious casinos.

Brazilians give a uniquely Brazilian twist to institutions and concepts which they share with the Western world. The Brazilian monarchial system, Brazilian democracy, and Brazilian dictatorship were unlike similar forms of government as they existed in Eu-

55 Brazil, an Interpretation, pp. 62–63.
rope. Even the recent dictatorship, despite its aping of European patterns, never became a harsh system with strict control over the people. Jokes about the dictator, complaints and discussions of the lack of freedom of expression, and rumors of growing opposition were discussed openly in cafés and salons. When the dictator was finally overthrown, it was a typical bloodless Brazilian revolution. As one student of colonial art remarked: "In Brazil, even Christ hangs comfortably on the cross."

**Brazilian Potentialities**

From a study of Brazil itself, it is probably impossible to predict with any assurance what will be its future development. Many important factors depend not only on Brazil but upon the world at large. What natural resources will be crucial for success in the future, as coal and petroleum have been in the recent past? What raw materials will the world need which are now found in Brazil or which may be grown in its vast undeveloped agricultural areas? Will new tropical products be discovered that will make it worthwhile for Brazilians, and for the rest of the world, to inhabit and develop the great Amazon basin? The answers to such questions depend upon the development of Western technology and industry and upon the future direction of international politics. Will the world allow Brazil to make use of its vast resources? Some of the factors that seem to make for the success of a region and for a rising standard of living for its people are known. In terms of these, Brazil has certain advantages and disadvantages; it is potentially a rich and powerful nation, if some of its many problems are solved.

What are these natural advantages? What are some of Brazil's major problems? How can these be solved? On the credit side of the ledger is the wealth of mineral resources which as yet has hardly been touched. Although the richest zone of minerals is in the mountain ranges of the State of Minas Gerais, already mentioned (see p. 253), other valuable reserves of minerals are found throughout the country. Brazil has approximately 13 billion tons of iron deposits which is calculated as somewhat more than one-fifth of the total known deposits of iron ore in the world. Brazilian reserves of manganese are estimated at 30 million tons. Nickel-cobalt deposits are
found in the States of Goiás and Minas Gerais. Chrome is found in Bahia and in Minas Gerais. There are three main fields of tungsten ore, one in the extreme south (in the State of Rio Grande do Sul) and two in the northeast in the States of Paraíba and Rio Grande do Norte. The resources of bauxite, from which aluminum is made, are said to be over 50 million tons; there are eighty known bauxite producing locations in Brazil. Magnesite, the source of metal magnesium used for airplane manufacture as well as for medical supplies, is found in Bahia and Ceará. Zirconium, important in the manufacture of flare signals and blasting caps, is found in several localities and Brazil is the greatest producer of this mineral in the world. Other minerals of which Brazil has important reserves are mica, quartz crystal, various semi-precious stones (such as tourmalines, amethysts and aquamarines), diamonds, tantalite, columbite, and cassiterite (tin ore). Without some of these Brazilian metals, the United States would not have been able to carry on its great industrial campaign during World War II. Yet, Brazil might easily produce several times the amount of ore produced at present. Some of the most precious of these minerals must be moved from the mining areas on mule back, and mining techniques are extremely primitive. The lack of adequate supplies of coal for smelting is also a real drawback to making use of these minerals in local industry.56

The lack of sufficient supplies of coal and petroleum, which modern industry depends upon primarily for its energy supply, is a serious handicap to Brazil. There are several known deposits in the south, but this coal contains so much ash that it is not highly effective for fuel. Brazil produces only 800,000 tons of domestic coal each year and imports nearly 1,500,000 tons. With the recent development of industry, especially of steel, the need for coal is greater than ever before. The steel mills at Volta Redonda (see p. 253) alone will call for about 500,000 tons of coal per year and at least some of it will have to be high-grade coal from abroad. Even with effective expansion of production in the mines of southern Brazil and corresponding improvements of transportation, it is doubtful if Brazil

56 See Morris L. Cooke, Brazil on the March (New York, 1947), especially Chapter V. I have drawn on this report of a North American Mission on Brazil’s industrial problems and potentials for this section of the article. Statistics have also been derived from the annual bulletin of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
can supply anything near its own needs in coal; the reserves are limited and the needs of industry grow with leaps and bounds. The lack of petroleum is even more acute. Until recently, no crude petroleum was produced. At present, the limited production of the oil field near Salvador in the State of Bahia (about 970,000 gallons up to September during 1942) is insignificant compared with the necessities of the nation (694,092 tons imported in 1940). The Parana basin in southern and western Brazil as well as a great part of the Amazon Basin are considered potential oil-producing areas, but oil has not yet been discovered in either region in commercial amounts. For the time being, therefore, Brazil must expand its facilities for the transportation and storage of petroleum and coal which it must import.

Because of these shortages, it is all the more important that Brazil develop its great potentialities of water power. South of the arid coast of Natal, most of the rivers flow into the sea off the Atlantic highlands, which rise sharply from the coast. These rivers are potential producers of electric power. The industrial regions of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, therefore, have considerable electric power near at hand. Back from the coast, other river systems such as the Parana with several falls including the great Iguassu falls, offer vast sources of potential hydroelectric power. On the Sao Francisco River which empties into the Atlantic in northeastern Brazil are the little known waterfalls of Paulo Affonso, only about 250 miles from the growing industrial center of Recife. The electric power potential of these falls alone are estimated at almost one million horsepower. With the help of a North American technical mission, the Brazilian federal government has developed a plan for the Sao Francisco Basin similar to the project carried out by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Not only would the control of the Sao Francisco River furnish unlimited hydroelectric power, but the region, now alternately arid and flooded, is a potential agricultural and industrial area. The potentiality of Brazil's hydraulic energy has been estimated at about 19,000,000 horsepower by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which would place it among the nations of the world with the greatest potentialities. By developing this latent source of energy, railroads and factories might be powered by elec-
tricity, and the lack of coal and petroleum might be overcome to some extent.

Brazil is potentially one of the world’s greatest food producers. Although great areas of the country are semi-arid desert, swamps, or dense tropical forest, it has been estimated that about 80 percent of the total area is potentially productive under present methods of agriculture and stock raising. Great unexploited areas of the southern states of Paraná and Santa Catarina, southern Mato Grosso, and of Goiás offer first-class possibilities for agriculture and pasture. Even the relatively highly populated states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro still offer potential areas for agriculture. Yet, Brazil does not produce enough food to feed its population. There are shortages of basic foodstuffs in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo as well as in the other urban centers along the coast. Even in rural areas, malnutrition from faulty diet and low agricultural production is the main cause for the lack of energy and the low resistance to disease. A recent study of nutrition problems written by a well-known Brazilian scientist, Dr. Josué de Castro, is aptly entitled *A Geografia da Fome* (The Geography of Hunger).  

The causes of this state of affairs indicate the remedy. The widespread and wasteful system of “fire agriculture” inherited from the Indians, the division of the land into great *latifundios* which produce one commercial crop for export, and the lack of transportation facilities to send food from where it is produced to where it is most needed—these seem to be the principle causes for Brazil’s low agricultural production. According to a Brazilian senator speaking recently before the constitutional assembly in Rio de Janeiro, only about one-fourth of the national territory is held as rural property—the rest is unexploited and uninhabited lands. According to this same senator, the area under cultivation consisted in 1940 of only 6.5 percent of the area held as rural property, or only 1.5 percent of the entire area of Brazil. More than half of the total area under cultivation was given over to coffee and cotton, that is to say, to export and not food crops. The history of Brazilian agriculture is one of a series of one-crop monopolies and of large estates

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producing for export. The relatively few small farmers using antiquated methods and tools are hardly able to produce enough food for their own consumption. According to the census of 1920, only 15 percent of all Brazilian farms used plows. Because there is usually no way for the small farmer, or the commercial farmer for that matter, to get his products to market, there is little incentive to produce a surplus.

Transportation is one of Brazil’s most urgent problems. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there were only 242,995 motor vehicles in the entire country in 1940, as compared with the millions in the United States. Brazil had only 160,460 miles of motor roads and 21,283 miles of railroads, as compared to more than 3 million miles of motor roads and 227,283 miles of railroads in the United States. Furthermore, the railways of Brazil do not all have the same gauge, thus freight must be unloaded and loaded again if it is routed over different railroads. Motor roads and the extension and electrification of railways are primary necessities for the development of Brazil. With adequate transportation facilities, the agricultural products now available might be distributed where they are most needed, and farmers would be stimulated to produce food for the distant markets of urban Brazil. Modern methods of agriculture are already taught in several agricultural schools and these need only be introduced to the farmer. There is already a tendency for large estates to be divided into small farms, and the federal government has established several extensive agricultural colonies of small farmers in various parts of the country. Land for agricultural expansion in this vast country is plentiful; Brazil, despite its present agricultural plight, might well become an important breadbasket for the world.

Unless the people of a region have the technological equipment to make use of them, natural resources contribute little or nothing to the standard of living. The world has seen many nations with technical know-how outstrip others with much richer storehouses of natural resources. Brazil has numerous excellent technicians and there are several up to date engineering schools, medical schools, agricultural colleges, and scientific institutions, yet the lack of technicians and trained personnel is one of the main obstacles to developing the country. There are only 12 engineering schools, and these
have only 5,000 graduates. There are schools of agronomy which have high standards, as the *Escola Nacional de Agronomia* near Rio de Janeiro and the one at Piracicaba in São Paulo, and there are a few trade schools and agricultural schools on a practical level. The number of graduates, however, is insignificant. For lack of teachers and accommodations the entering classes at most of the schools—even at the National School of Chemistry in Rio de Janeiro—are limited to thirty or forty students. Usually there are three or four applicants for each opening in a recognized technical school. Industry suffers from the lack of primary education of the common workman and from the lack of skilled hands. To overcome its percentage of illiteracy, Brazil must develop educational facilities on several different levels. First, until the masses are literate, it will remain difficult to communicate modern concepts of hygiene, of agriculture, of industry, and of social life in general. Primary education therefore should be made available first. More trade schools must be established to provide skilled labor and more schools of agronomy are needed to train not only agricultural specialists but also practical farmers. Higher education must be opened up on a broader basis. Brazilian educators are already aware of the seriousness and urgency of the educational problem; future progress depends heavily upon whether or not these educators are heard by the people and their government.

One eternal problem, namely *a falta de braços* (the lack of people), would not seem difficult to solve. The amazing fertility of the Brazilians has already been described (see p. 220). With the introduction of modern methods of hygiene, the shocking infant mortality and the exorbitant death rates would be reduced and the population would increase. In addition, millions of Europeans are anxious to emigrate. The Brazilian government has recently announced plans for European immigration but no definite action has been taken. Such regions as Santa Catarina and Paraná, Goiás, and southern Mato Grosso might well receive hundreds of thousands of immigrants. With such rich areas available for settlement, there is no reason for Brazil to take up the difficult problem of settling Europeans in the Amazon tropics. Future studies might discover reasons and methods for settling millions of people in the Amazon basin, but until that time, these southern areas have greater priority.
One of the most difficult aspects of the problem has been to find immigrants willing to live in rural areas. Most uprooted Europeans prefer to settle in the coastal cities, but the need is for agriculturalists and skilled workmen rather than urban tradesmen. With millions of people in Europe ready to emigrate, an aggressive policy on the part of the Brazilian government would bring people to a land where they are needed.

These are some of the principal strengths and weaknesses of Brazil. Brazil is rich in area and in natural resources. With its people of diverse origins and of great racial tolerance, it has the basis for a great social democracy. Modern Western civilization with its emphasis on technology is available to Brazil for the borrowing. Potentially, Brazil has most of the necessary equipment to make it one of the great nations of the world. For the time being, however, "Brazil is rich and Brazilians are poor," as the people sigh with their rather fatalistic sense of humor. Brazil must learn to make use of its natural wealth by developing its human potentialities unless it is to remain forever a land of false promises.

**SUGGESTED READINGS**


