

Citizenship by a thread: the black associativism in Rio de Janeiro (1888-1930)

Cidadania por um fio: o associativismo negro no Rio de Janeiro (1888-1930)

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RESUMO

O artigo procura investigar um tema pouco explorado na historiografia brasileira: o associativismo negro no Rio de Janeiro no contexto da Primeira República. A partir de um amplo levantamento em fontes jornalísticas, foi possível reconstituir, ainda que em breves apontamentos, a trajetória de várias agremiações fundadas por negros e dedicadas às lutas e mobilizações pelos direitos – civis, políticos e sociais – desse segmento populacional.

Palavras-chave: negro; *raça*; cidadania.

ABSTRACT

The article investigates a relatively unexplored in Brazilian historiography: the black associations in Rio de Janeiro in the context of the First Republic. From a broad survey of journalistic sources, it was possible to reconstruct, albeit in brief notes, the trajectory of several associations founded by blacks and dedicated to the struggles and mobilizations for rights – civil, political and social – of this population segment.

Keywords: black; race; citizenship.

In 1909, Lima Barreto launched his career as a writer with the publication of the novel *Recordações do escrivo Isaiás Caminha*. The narrative revolved around Isaiás, a *mulato* from the interior of Brazil, who since the time of school had stood out because of his intelligence and potential. He dreamed of becoming a doctor. Through the intermediation of his uncle Valentim, he got himself a recommendation letter and, with the incentive of some meager savings from his mother, he travelled to Rio de Janeiro in pursuit of his dream. He was supposed to look for Deputy Castro, who would find him a job. Arriving in Rio, he took lodgings in Hotel Jenikalé where he met Ivã Gregoróvitch Rostóloff, a journalist from *O Globo*. After meeting Deputy Castro, he realized that the latter was a demagogue. What a deception.

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Without money or any prospect of getting a job, he received a summons to go to the police station about a theft in the hotel he was staying in. There he heard the police chief call him *mulatinho*. Feeling humiliated he was driven to tears. He left the hotel and went to live in a board house. He began to look for employment, but quickly realized that due to his color it would be very difficult to get on in life. He wandered through the streets of Rio in great need and had to sell his possession to eat, until he reencountered Rostóloff who, on hearing his drama was moved and found a job for him in the pressroom of *O Globo*. There he found an environment of mediocrity, of incompetent and unprepared journalists, but who enjoyed great prestige, while he, intelligent and educated, suffered in a subordinate position. By this time his dream of becoming a doctor was long gone and he was getting used to this as life went on, apart from the daily troubles related to his color. He was promoted to reporter by Ricardo Loberant, director of the newspaper. He gained money and protection. After the initial euphoria, he became strongly melancholic. Feeling frustrated for not having been able to redeem his humble background with a university degree, he decided to abandon everything and return to his hometown and rebuild his life. Married and with the experienced of having had two children, who had died, he wrote his memoirs – *Recordações do escrívão Isaías Caminha* (Barreto, 1956c).

The problem of ‘color prejudice’ runs through the novel. Without resentment, Lima Barreto alluded to difficulties which the Isaías faced to be recognized as intelligent and respected as a citizen. In a letter he wrote to an intellectual colleague, he confessed that he intended to show that “a boy in the conditions of Isaías, with all his abilities, could fail, not because of his intrinsic qualities, but, beaten, crushed, compressed by prejudice” (Barreto, 1956a, p.238). This approach caused discomfort in some literary critics. Veiga Miranda, for example, in an article published in São Paulo about *Recordações do escrívão Isaías Caminha*, reproved what he saw an exaggeration on the part of the author in dealing with “prejudice of color”: “We are very far from the United State. It can even be said that a bit of *mulatice* (mixed blood) could even favorably influence an individual’s career.” Lima Barreto replied in a letter dated 29 October 1917:

In relation to prejudice of color ... you say that it does not exist amongst us. There was always a petty quarrel that would become prejudice when Sr. Rio Branco attempted to make Brazil elegant. This is not proof, I know well; however, while I might not have legal evidence, I do have much to conclude with. There in

São Paulo or in Campinas are there societies of men of color? They must have emerged due to some impulse in the environment because in the rest of Brazil, there are none. (Barreto, 1956b, p.24)

Lima Barreto was a well-informed Afro-Brazilian and, despite not being an activist in defense of racial causes, he knew of the existence of “societies of men of color” in São Paulo and Campinas. Certainly he was referring to various clubs, charities, civic centers, and literary associations created by blacks during the First Republic. But was he right when he stated that these societies were solely from the Afro-Paulista experience? In Rio de Janeiro, his native state, did nothing similar emerge? For decades Brazilian historians and social scientists have generally tended to agree with the writer of *Vila Quilombo*, in relation to the non-recognition of these forms of racial mobilization in Rio de Janeiro. This has some academic implications. Black associationalism in São Paulo has been the subject of an ever increasing amount of research. Focusing on the wide-ranging network of clubs, newspapers, educational groups, civic centers, literary associations, and charities, this research has ethnographed and unveiled the multiple sense and meanings of black associationalism in the land of the *bandeirantes*.¹ In contrast, the same cannot be said for the neighboring state. Little is known of these modalities of agency and sociability among blacks in Rio de Janeiro² and some have even postulated that they, due to their historic and cultural peculiarities, developed few of or simply did not know those forms of associationalism. Are these dichotomous assertions which separate the historic experience of the black diaspora in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in an essentialist manner backed up by any sources or evidence?

Before we turn to the facts, it is worth noting that this article is part of the current tendency of historiographical production concerned with the forms of political and cultural production in the First Republic. What is not at stake is deleting a series of experiences of the mobilization and organization of collective actors around questions of interest to them. Although it is unknown, notably due to lack of study, there was a fertile and complex movement led by workers, women, blacks, middle and working class sectors in the field of political participation, which achieved various formats. Instead of deletion, the article invests in a set of connections and proactive actions covering differentiated actors and social groups, “which demanded policies from public authorities, proposing and implementing a series of initiatives and their forms of associationalism” (Gomes; Abreu, 2009, p.4). Here associationalism is a dynamic notion involving a contradictory and conflictive process which combine

resistance, assimilation, and the (re)appropriation of collective actions and organizational forms for the defense of specific interests of groups. Evidentially, the integral reconstitution of the past is a 'utopia,' as Jacques Le Goff has well pointed out. However, "what is more tempting than to revive what is left by traditional history in the silence of shadows?" (Le Goff, 1989, pp.232-233).

MEN OF COLOR, UNITE!

At the beginning of 1888, José do Patrocínio propelled a movement which culminated in the founding of the League of Men of Color (*Sociedade Liga dos Homens de Cor*).³ What we know about this is what appeared in the press. In April of that year, the association reported, through the intermediation of *Gazeta de Notícias*, that it was based in 292 Rua de São Pedro in Rio de Janeiro city center. Its purpose was to "intellectually and morally develop the black and crossed race, restoring to it in the Brazilian communion the autonomy stolen from it by slavery."⁴ At first, its office opened from 6 pm to 8 pm, Monday to Saturday, and on Sundays from 5 pm onwards. Exceptionally, it opened in the morning between 9 and 12. Governed by bylaws registered in a notary office – a copy of which was given to all members – the League of Men of Color held talks about "the general interests of society," every Sunday at 7 pm, social meetings, assemblies, tributes to allies seen as worthy, and evidentially, actions in favor of "men of color." Its board consisted of Antonio Luiz do Espírito Santo Castro (its first president), José do Patrocínio, Geraldo José Alexandre das Mercês, Assindino Serveliano José Gomes, Agostinho Alves and Honorato de Santa Rosa, amongst others.⁵

The *Brazilianist* Rebecca Bergstresser has shown that the association participated in racial debates which took place in the effervescent context of the collapse of the slave-holding regime; however, she does describe its level of involvement in the abolitionist campaign (Bergstresser, 1973, pp.177-188). What we know is that the week before 13 May 1888 – the date of the end of captivity – and the two weeks afterwards, the League of Men of Color was on a state of alert, summoning their members to meet in a general assembly to "discuss urgent business" and the "ready solution." Perhaps the 'urgent business' consisted of the new and pulsating moment of the national scenario, in the redefinition of the members, and the situation of the liberated slaves. How to represent them? How to give them agency in the exercise of citizenship and guarantee their expanded rights in the new order? In "honor of the abolition of the servile element," the League met on 14 May and its board sent a

letter to the “editor in chief” of *Diário de Notícias*, asking him to “open a subscription in his office, open to the public, aimed at a statue of liberty.”⁶ One of the “ready solutions” devised was the creation of a teaching unit on its premises. August 1889 saw the opening of “primary classes, functioning on working days from 7 pm to 9 pm,” for members and their relatives “of the male sex.” Classes in Portuguese, arithmetic, history and geography were given.⁷ Due to divergences of ideas, José do Patrocínio began to meet opposition within the League of Men of Color and ended up leaving it.⁸ Without the participation of one of its principal leaders, the association did not delay entering into a crisis, and despite keeping the “night classes” for a while, it very probably closed down in 1890.

José do Patrocínio was an elusive character. Gifted with a spirit of leadership and part of a network of alliances and negotiations, he was the pivot of a series of conflicts and controversies. Active in various areas, some simultaneously, he developed a racial rhetoric which evoked former slaves, freedmen, and “men of color” and got involved in clashes over issues such as Abolition, the Monarchy, and the Republic.⁹ In the middle of 1888, when the League of Men of Color was still being formed, his name came to be associated with the formation of the Black Guard of the Redeemer (*Guarda Negra da Redemptora*). Although not the founder, José do Patrocínio was one of the supporters, not to mention the “honorary president,”¹⁰ of the black association which gained visibility in national public opinion at the end of the nineteenth century. In the Fluminense press, for example, there are dozens of citations, notes, and reports about it. According to *Cidade do Rio* – a newspaper owned by Patrocínio and run by him –, the Black Guard of the Redeemer was created by the “freed blacks Higino, Manoel Antonio, Jason, Aprígio, Gaspar and Teócrito,” when they met in the house of Emílio Rouéde, an “indefatigable abolitionist of all tyrannies,” on the night of 9 July 1888. Their purpose was to dedicate themselves “body and soul and in all lands in defense of the reign” of Princess Isabel, for having made them “citizens.” It was thus a gesture of gratitude of a group of “freedmen” to the “exalted lady.” At the end of the meeting, a draft was approved containing six points: 1 “An association is hereby created with the purpose of providing material resistance to any revolutionary movement hostile to the institution which has just liberated the country;” 2 “Only those freedman can participate as active members who commit themselves to obey the orders of a board elected by an absolute majority in a vote to be held at an opportune moment;” 3 “Only those who consider the memorable act of 13 May an event worthy of general admiration and not the reason to declare

war on the humanitarian princess who implemented it, can be full members;” 4 “Ask the Abolitionist Confederation for its support, so that this society can have an impact throughout the Empire;” 5 “Ask the press which shares this feeling for their valuable help;” 6 “And finally. Advise by all possible means the freed slaves from the interior to only work on the plantations of those who have not sworn to wage war against the Third Reign.”¹¹ In summary, the new association, which beckoned to the path of institutionalization, had admission criteria, internal elections, a board, a program of actions, and perspectives of expanding all over the country, would developed a policy of alliances (extending from the “press” to the “freed slaves of the interior”) and would fight for the Third Reign.

In June 1887, following the illness and journey of the Emperor Pedro II for the treatment of his health in Europe, his daughter Princess Isabel assumed for the third time the regency of the Empire, and from then onwards speculations began about the continuity of the monarchy in Brazil in a possible Third Reign. Her father’s illness got worse and Isabel sought to build a path to the throne for herself through a policy of approximation with pragmatic and moderate abolitionism. Following the signing of the *Lei Áurea* – a measure which assured considerable popular support for the Monarchy – she believed that she had guaranteed the Third Reign for herself (Daibert Jr., 2007). However, the republican movement became a dangerous enemy, which threatened to prevent her dream from becoming real. It was then that the Black Guard of the Redeemer came into play. According to Emilio Rouéde, the association “organized itself to resist and not to attack.” Former slave owners, not accepting Abolition without compensation for their “property,” transformed themselves overnight into republicans, creating a “fund” aimed at financing the “revolution” and decided to “wage war in all the territories of the Third Reign, thereby satisfying their feeling of hatred to the Monarchy.”

If the former slave owners had not appealed to revolution, declaring war outside the legal orbit on the future reign of the Holy Woman who sacrificed her throne [for] the liberation of Brazil, the freedmen would not have congregated to answer the *cheers* for the Republic given by their old masters, the republicans of today, with *cheers* for the Monarchy; and if the neo-republicans had not sworn to sacrifice lives and money for the Republic, which promised to end the *despotism* and the *tyranny* of the reigning dynasty, the new citizens would not have sworn in turn that they would have preferred one thousand times to die, defending the one

who freed them, than to die in the iron chains of slavery tied to the feet of horses on the roads of the Paraíba do Sul River.¹²

The Black Guard of the Redeemer emerged in a context of tensions, conflicts, and polarizations among the various segments disputing the complex game of political power. Among these were the ‘former slave owners,’ opposed to abolition without compensation and who came launch virulent criticism against the Empire. There were also the republicans, whose propositions gained space in the public sphere and increasingly threatened the project of the Third Reign of Princess Isabel. Finally, there were the monarchists, whose ideas of royalty were shared by many “blacks”¹³ and who created roots in the popular imagination of the capital, and the “freed slaves,” with their visions, expectations and aspirations. Protecting the Monarchy, especially the figure of Isabel, from the attacks of the “former slave owners” and republicans, did not signify only a gesture of gratitude. In the view of the “freed slaves” who came together in the Black Guard, defending the Princess and her projects of the Third Reign meant, in the final instance, defending Abolition itself.¹⁴ The association grew over time. After five months of existence, more than three hundred had enlisted. In a not very reliable estimate, it is said that at its apogee, it recruited between 1500 and 1600 adepts (Buarque, 1964, p.83). Its basic activities consisted of assemblies, civic meetings, parades, and participations in official events. At the end of 1888, it gained notoriety in Fluminense chronicles. Converted into an institutional force on the political chessboard, it was even called a ‘party’ since it fought to “restore to the man of color the rights of intervening in public affairs that were stolen from him.”¹⁵ On the streets its specter began to haunt any civic festival, public act, or political propaganda.

There emerged a belief that the Black Guard was not a spontaneous mobilization of “freed slaves” but rather a horde of “rioters,” “vagabonds” and “*capoeiras*” paid by the government, through João Alfredo (President of the Council of Ministers and head of the conservative cabinet), to impede the republican movement through terror. While it is true that the Black Guard carried out some attacks on republican meetings, also using violence,¹⁶ nevertheless, it is not proven that its members can be summarized as “agitators,” manipulated by the whites in a “cunning” and “reactionary” plan (Ricci, 1990, pp.109-111). José do Patrocínio argued more than once that the association was “composed of freed slaves” – they were “the 13 May.”¹⁷ Men who “came from the backlands,” “came from slavery,” who, by waging informed struggles for notions of race, liberty, and citizenship, made choices – and

conscious choices, joining an association as legitimate as any other. In the opinion of Carlos Eugênio Soares, the Black Guard was the first institution which “used the terms *black* in the positive and political sense of the word, and self-denominated” – something which should be seen by current scholars as a diacritical sign of a “new political, racial, and wide-ranging language, which was suddenly silenced” (Soares, 2008, pp.50-51). This, thus, did not involve anachronically labelling this group of monarchist “freed slaves”¹⁸ as alienated or reactionaries, but rather seeking to understand them in their own terms. As Flávio Gomes highlighted, the Black Guard “had various meaning for various characters and agents.” The version that “won – at least provisionally – was the historic memory of ideas of ‘manipulation’ and ‘gratitude,’ and not that of the entanglement of fights, disputes, projects and expectations” (Gomes, 1991). In the final months of 1889, close to the proclamation of the Republic, the Black Guard disappeared from the news and apparently the streets of the city.

For many former slaves, shielding the Monarchy, and most notably Princess Isabel, signified at the limit, guaranteeing liberty. It was not by chance that on 13 May 1888, a group of freed slaves founded in the capital a beneficent association justly denominated “D. Isabel, the Redeemer, in order to perpetuate Law 3.354 [*Lei Áurea*], which abolished slavery,” and supported the needy. Under the supposed protection of “HRH the Imperial Regent,” the association established various categories of members who could receive a pension of between 10\$ and 20\$000. “Having such a grandiose purpose,” the *O Apostolo* evaluated, D. Isabel, the Redeemer, “would not be considered with indifference.” An omen which would be confirmed with time. Freed slaves flocked to the new association.¹⁹ After existing for a month, around 2083 members had been admitted on 27 June – this is an exaggerated estimate, but it serves as an indicator about the acceptance of the proposal. The association resolved to “present a show in its benefit,” in other words it was decided to stage the “celebrated abolitionist drama *Cabana do Pai Thomaz*” in the Recreio Dramático theater – “on 29 July, birthday of Her Highness the Imperial Princess” – in order to raise funds to pay for the cost of its structuring.²⁰ It was during this phase that the general assembly was held to discuss the bylaws project. After three months of discussion, the bylaws were approved, a document in which the general framework of the association was defined – its name, nature, structure, constitution, ideals, and purposes.

Provisionally, the secretariat of *A. B. D. Isabel a Redemptora*, as it was known in the original Portuguese, was given a room in the building of the Congregation of Portuguese Artists on 70 Rua do Regente, in the center of Rio

de Janeiro. It opened daily from 4 pm to 6 pm, and meetings of the Administrative Council were held on the first and third Sunday of each month, always at mid-day. The association offered, or perhaps facilitated, access to some goods and services. As *Gazeta de Notícias* stated, the doctor João Antonio de Oliveira Maggioli provided medical care for the “members” of Isabel, the Redeemer. For this they had to obtain “in the office the relevant form to be seen.”²¹ In the moment when epidemics, such as tuberculosis, yellow fever, smallpox, and cholera created concern in the capital, the pharmacist, Cornélio dos Santos Tavares, “located at Rua do Conde d’Eu, offered the board of the Beneficent Association D. Isabel the Redeemer, of which he was a founding member, the precise medicines, so that members could be protected from the raging epidemic.”²² When the association consolidated its political and administrative structure, it changed address, moving to 185 Rua São Joaquim. A place for meeting point, sociability, and to change experiences, the permanent office opened a new phase. It was then that the association expanded its activities through assemblies (ordinary and extraordinary), social meetings, festivities, and commemorations, not to mention the tributes paid to Princess Isabel. According to *Cidade do Rio*, on 29 July 1889 a procession was held in Paço Imperial to mark the birthday of “Her Highness.” Various groups went to greet her, including *A. B. D. Isabel a Redemptora*.²³

“Her Highness” was revered for the services she had done for the Brazilian nation in general, and for blacks in particular. Being a signatory of the *Lei Áurea*, she capitalized for herself the image of being praiseworthy, ‘saint’ and redeemer (Daibert Jr., 2004, pp.209-221). In the association’s view, Princess Isabel was responsible for the victory of the captives and for the incorporation of the different groups in the heart of the nation. Under her protecting mantle (and in communion), whites, blacks, and Indians were welcomed. 13 May 1888 had signified the redemption of the “race stigmatized by slavery,” guaranteeing the conquest of a fundamental right of citizenship: formal liberty. For the first time all Brazilians were considered equal before the law, in relation to their condition of liberty. It represented a landmark in the history of the nation, which could never be forgotten. Every year *A. B. D. Isabel a Redemptora* “worthily” commemorated the date of the “liberation” of the slaves, investing in solemn sessions, homages to the abolitionists, ritual celebrations of “Her Highness,” speeches from orators and at the end, dances. The loyalty of the members to Princess Isabel was also due to a particular vision of the monarchical regime. According to Eduardo Silva, many blacks, influenced by African traditions, felt themselves to be subjects of a hereditary monarchy based on

divine right, seeing the Emperor Pedro II, the Empress, and the Princess as sacred beings, in other words as the ‘gods’ of the Brazilian nation, who were to be treated with reverence and distinction.²⁴ The cult of the royal family among the “colored population” increased as a consequence of the abolition of slavery.²⁵

In 1893, the *A. B. D. Isabel a Redemptora* appeared at a new address: a spacious house at 242 Rua do Hospício. Paradoxically, from then on its activities no longer had an impact. Lacking its previous importance, it nonetheless had the strength to last for more than a decade. The final report about it appeared in *Jornal do Brasil*, on 19 May 1902: “the day before yesterday at nine in the evening in the vast ballroom of the *Associação Beneficente D. Isabel, a Redemptora*, a solemn session was held to commemorate the 14th anniversary of its foundation.” Presided by Pedro da Silva Monteiro, it was opened after the “brilliant *ouverture* played by Estudantina União, which graciously gave luster to the act.” Various speeches were given, with the official one being by Mario Vianna. After the session there was an “animated” dance, which ran until the early hours.²⁶

Sociedade Beneficente Estrela da Redenção was another institution of “men of color” which was born in the capital during the turbulent year of 1888. Nevertheless, the first note compiled about it – and published in *Gazeta de Notícias* – is from the following year.²⁷ Created by Marcolino Augusto de Azevedo, Lucrécio do Nascimento, Jorge Tibério Mariano, Francisco Xavier Valentim and Manuel Júlio Guimarães, amongst others, *Estrela da Redenção* was built step-by-step, creating the rules of organization and functioning, adopting their diacritic symbols – standards for example –, establishing the rights and obligations of the members, their profile, the rules for the admission and leaving of members, etc. With rented premises on 97 Rua Visconde de Itaúna, it had a board, held civic sessions and regular assemblies, and as much as possible, carrying out activities with the *Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos* (Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Black Men). From the point of view of its activities, the association was notable for trying to assist the freed slaves and to celebrate the memory of the abolitionists and especially of Princess Isabel. To order not to go on too long, it is sufficient to cite a report published in the periodical *O Brazil* in 1891:

Some men of color, meeting in the *Sociedade Beneficente Estrela da Redenção*, wanting to celebrate the birthday of the Most Serene Princess Isabel, ordered a *Te-Deum laudamus* to be celebrated in the church of St Joaquim, today, 2 August,

at 2 pm. Preaching for the intentions of this lady will be the Rev. Monsignor Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito. The undersigning commission hereby invites the respectable public of this capital to this act of religion and tribute and the same time of gratitude, which the freed slaves pay to the exiled lady, who will always be the Redeemer of the captives. Rio de Janeiro, 29 July 1891. Commission: Marcolino da Costa Cirne, Lucrecio do Nascimento, Jorge Tiberio Mariano.²⁸

Estrella da Redenção never acquired much public projection. Not very large and without future prospects, the association gradually lost its support base. The last report about it is from 1893.²⁹ While for some blacks, the Monarchy – especially under the command of Princess Isabel – was the only form of government which allowed the “rehabilitation” of the “race stigmatized by slavery,” for others the best alternative was the Republic. Focusing on the frontiers of slavery and liberty was not enough; it was also necessary to construct a new institutional structure which would flatten the “*Ancien Regime*.” While “liberty would kill absolutism, democracy would extinguish its privileges” (Mello, 2011, p.126). On 6 June 1889, *Cidade do Rio* reported “that in the capital the Republican Club of Men of Color has just been founded,” at the initiative of the citizens Deocleciano Martyr and José de Souza Coelho. In the meeting held in the latter’s house, “the foundations of the new society were laid,” which had the purpose of “disseminating republican ideas against the institutions in power.” Counting on the presence of “55 citizens of color,” the meeting ended with various congratulations speeches, “afterwards there was a profuse *lunch*, during which there were some enthusiastic toasts. The toast of honor was made by citizen Deocleciano Martyr, saluting the Brazilian Federal Republic.”³⁰ The shouts of the republicans of color in Rio de Janeiro was echoed in the neighboring state. In its edition of 2 August 1889, *A Patria*, an “organ of men of color” from São Paulo, railed against the monarchy and made a profession of faith in the republican system of government, the only one capable of guaranteeing the rights of citizens in conditions of equality, “fighting all the prejudices which exist against the colored race,” encouraging them to “seek in education, work, and family the strengthening of their rights.” It was in this context that the group linked to the newspaper *A Patria* rejected the proposal of the Black Guard and at the same time offered solidarity to the formation of the Republican Club of Men of Color: “Yes, *Fluminenses*, your idea was sublime, your aims are grandiose!” Only with the Republic would “men of color,” enslaved in the past, have peace for the rest of their lives,

“under the dominion of democracy, where the government of the people by the people rules, in the thus truly free Patria.”³¹

Espousing the republican campaign, which gained increasing numbers of adepts and sympathisers from various social and ethnic groups from all over Brazil (Bergstresser, 1973, pp.165-166), the Republican Club of Men of Color sponsored receptions, conferences, and assemblies, and participated in propaganda and agitation activities. Its main leader – Anacleto de Freitas (with the nickname “black youth”) – articulated ideas of liberty, race, and citizenship, believing that the Republic would eliminate “castes” and “color” distinctions. Adopting the currency of “liberty, equality, and fraternity” in their program, the association involved itself in the commemorative festivities of the centenary of the French Revolution of 14 July 1889. At 11 in the morning there was a march which led by a band went through various streets in the center of Rio de Janeiro, saluting the press and the French consulate. After the march, there was a “formal talk” in the building of the Brazilian Congress. A large number of citizens turned up. Lopes Trovão opened the session, giving a speech celebrating the “grandiose date.” Quintino Bocaiuva spoke afterwards, giving a “contagious” speech. Other orators took to the podium, including Anacleto de Freitas, in the name of the Republican Club of Men of Color. Everything went normally until at 2.30 pm the event ended and some people left the building shouting “long live the republic.” Then a group which was on the street, perhaps linked to the Black Guard, reacted with “cheers for the monarchy and *punches* for the republicans.” Spirits were exalted and the atmosphere was warlike. The police intervened and managed to disperse the adversaries, who went in different directions. However, when Lopes Trovão and a “large number” of students headed towards Rua do Ouvidor, they ran into “poor people, armed with clubs, who again erupted with *cheers* for the monarchy and *punches* for the republicans.” Reaching the streets of Uruguaiana and Gonçalves Dias, a generalized conflict broke out – with clubs, stones, and ever revolver shots – resulting in various casualties. Among them Pedro Justo de Souza, Brazilian, 24 years of age, single, employed in the confectionary shop on Rua Estácio de Sá and living at 72 Largo do Catumbi. Pedro told the police that he was part of the “Black Guard, and that he was coming with some of his companions along Rua do Ouvidor and cheering the monarchy, when he was attacked by students and clerks who fired some revolver shots against them, and in this act he received the wound he has.”³²

This and other related episodes suggest how the “men of color” participated in the heated political debates in the capital, sometimes united,

sometimes apart, sometimes on opposite sides. They were not a monolithic block, but a fluid arena, plural and multifaceted, calibrated by different political and cultural experiences, perspectives of citizenship and narratives of equality. Rather than a rhetorical game, their convictions were defended *forcefully* – or with the blow of a club –, which sometimes resulted in exchanges of barbs, fights, aggressions, and bodily injuries. At that time the republican campaign was winning the streets, squares, cafés, the press, and the parliament.³³ Newspapers, civil associations, party groups, political leaders, intellectuals, and activists energetically condemned the monarchical system. As the campaign expanded and the tensions, uncertainties, and politico-ideological disputes increased, the republicans of color – a little known aspect of the Brazilian republican movement – raised their banners. On 3 July 1889, *O Paiz* published a document from the Republican Club of Men of Color, in which they called on their “fellow men of color” to participate fully in the elections which lay ahead:

The directorate of the Republican Club of Men of Color hereby appeals to the electorate of republican men of color to vote for candidates of the party who were elected in a prior scrutiny. We must not retreat from this government, which in the Chamber of Deputies says that the movement has to be exterminated, a movement which is almost a national aspiration today; we have to show we are men for the struggle, whether through the ballot box, through words, or even through force! We need to repel this calumny, because we have been called speculators, spiteful, and in short threatened by this aulic government. We have to prove to this *copper* government that we do not fear threats, we are not speculators, and we want to good of our country! We need to stand firm against this rampant thuggery, who will appear on the day of the elections to threaten and frighten us so that we do not vote; on this day we all have to be there, whether voters or not, to repel these notorious disturbers of the public order; we have to show this government that there is still in this great Brazilian land men who die for a cause! Our party will take no serious impulse while it does not enter into action. On this day we must be decided on everything and we will not fall back before the blade and the club of the *capoeira*, because our patriotic slogan will be win or die! Therefore to your posts! To the ballots! Forward patriots and we will win our holy and just cause!!!³⁴

The republicans of color were called on to appear at the ballot on 6 July, to support their “fellow republicans” in the primary election which would

indicate the names of the candidates for the senate elections marked for 4 August. They were not to be intimidated by the threats of the monarchist government. Rather, to the contrary, they were to enforce their ideals, even if it were necessary to face “the bade and the club of the capoeira” and to “die for the cause.” However, republicans of color could not always publically demonstrate. On 24 September, Deocleciano Martyr, one of the founders of the Republican Club of Men of Color, sought out the *Diário do Commercio* to denounce that when he had tried to hold a meeting in Largo de São Francisco de Paula, in the center of Rio de Janeiro, he had received an anonymous letter, containing threats to his life, “if the announced resolution is put into effect. Sr. Deocleciano told us that he attributed these letters to the police, who while not forbidding him from holding the announced meeting, were setting a trap.”³⁵

After a long journey – trodden by tortuous paths and permeated by ambivalences –, the republic was established in Brazil on 15 November 1889 by means of a military coup which overthrew Pedro II.³⁶ We still do not know how the Republican Club of Men of Color interpreted the “fall of the [monarchist] Bastille” and reacted to the new form of government. Possibly their members renewed their expectations and hope in the advent of a democratic order, with liberty, equality (in face of the law), and popular participation.³⁷ The association continued trying to enlist the “colored population” for a determined period. On 7 December 1889, a *Gazeta da Tarde* published the following note: “The citizen Anacleto de Freitas invites all the men of color to appear tomorrow at four in the afternoon at Largo de Santa Rita, in order to discuss their welfare.”³⁸ In 1890, the Republican Club of Men of Color intervened, or tried to intervene in questions linked to the national agenda, supporting Quintino Bocaiuva, a historic republican in the Ministry of Foreign Relations and advocating measures which would express the will of the “people,” in their “true and genuine meaning.”³⁹ We have little information about the club for 1891 and 1892. Perhaps it was gradually de-structured. This did not prevent Deocleciano Martyr from accompanying the “*magna*” session in honor of Tiradentes – the principal republican “hero”⁴⁰ – in the room of honor in the “municipal intendency” on 21 April 1892. Sampaio Ferraz presided the session. Various political leaders spoke, including Deocleciano Martyr himself. According to *Gazeta da Tarde*, “[attendance] at the event was enormous, Marshal Floriano Peixoto and members of the ministry [of his government] appeared. When Marshal Floriano Peixoto left he was saluted by all present, while the national anthem was played by the two musical bands.”⁴¹ The Republican Club of Men of Color entered into a reflux and from what it seems,

it was inactive for more than a year until in August 1893, Anacleto de Freitas carried out work attracting members, and a month later reorganized the entity, becoming its president. When 15 November arrived – date of the third anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic –, the Republican Club of Men of Color prepared a pompous ceremony and resolved to offer its “worthy” president a “gold propelling pencil.”⁴² Despite the efforts of Anacleto de Freitas, the association did not survive the downturns of time and disappeared from the Fluminense press.

In this panorama, registers of other associations of “Men of Color” can be found. On 27 July 1888, *Gazeta da Tarde* announced the formation of the *Grêmio Literário Treze de Maio* (13 May Literary Club), a “club to discuss science and letters.”⁴³ On 15 May 1889, *Cidade do Rio* published an extract from the founding charter of *Caixa Beneficente José do Patrocínio* (José do Patrocínio Charitable Association), based until “decided otherwise,” in the offices of the newspaper *Cidade do Rio*, at 79 Rua do Ouvidor. José do Patrocínio, the abolitionist leader, “was proclaimed honorary president and perpetual protector,” while his son, José do Patrocínio Filho, was named “beneficent member” by a unanimity of votes.⁴⁴ In the first decades of the twentieth century new dilemmas and impasses challenged the affirmation of citizenship. While Abolition guaranteed the judicial equality of Brazilians and the Republic assured the constitutional prerogatives, in both spheres the democratic mechanisms needed to be improved. “Not only the demand for civil rights,” Hebe Mattos has argued, “but also calls for the expansion of political rights and new social rights had been present in the public sphere of the young republic since the beginning” (Mattos, 2012, p.118).⁴⁵ It is in this context that associationalism continued to be seen by blacks as an important space for the construction of identities and the struggle for rights, *empowerment* and equality. On 16 April 1903, *Jornal do Brasil* published the following note: “Tomorrow: the Brazilian Confederation of Men of Color, founding assembly, at 7, 164 Rua do Lavradio.”⁴⁶ We have no further information about this association in relation to its structure, organization, and area of activity. What the press revealed is that it had a board of directors, whose secretary was called Antonio Silvério de Oliveira, it changed address once, moving to 173 Rua da Saúde, in the center of Rio de Janeiro, and used to reward its “confederates” with donations in monthly draws.⁴⁷ On 29 April 1909, *Gazeta de Notícias* announced that Professor Aristides Mendo would “shortly,” give in one of the capital’s theaters, “a talk about the organization of an Association of Men of Color, with branches all over the country.” A week later, *O Paiz* published a similar note: Professor

Aristides Mendo “would give a talk in one of our theaters to create an Association of Men of Color, a society he intended to organize in Rio de Janeiro, with branches in all the population centers of the world.”⁴⁸ Was the ambitious idea of Professor Aristides Mendo successful? And if it was, did the Association of Men of Color have a national, or even international, impact? The fact is we know nothing about the trajectory of this association.

At the beginning of 1909, the lawyer and politician Monteiro Lopes launched his candidacy for deputy in the First District of the Federal Capital. In the elections of 30 January he was victorious at the ballot boxes, but due to his color his mandate was questioned. This had a wide impact and the “Men of Color” from various parts of the country mobilized in solidarity with Monteiro Lopes. Telegrams and letters were sent to the responsible authorities, legal action taken, public acts convened, and meetings held with state political leaders to ask for support for the recognition of the Afro-Brazilian politician’s right to take his seat. The racial mobilization had an effect and on 1 May he was finally seated as a federal deputy. In a surprising manner Monteiro Lopes became an icon of the blacks, in other words a symbol of the struggle for equality, rights, and citizenship. However, his mandate was short, since the Afro-Brazilian politician died on 13 December 1910.⁴⁹ Ten days afterwards his “friends and admirers” meet at the offices of the Workers Federation to discuss the best way of paying tribute to the “missed deputy.” In the middle of inflamed speeches, the “numerous assembly” decided to create the Monteiro Lopes Civic Center with the deliberate purpose of giving “political and moral continuity” to the work of their “deceased patron”; to stimulate, “maintain and strengthen friendship between the associations of the Capital and the states”; “open a free course for the poor”; “hold talks on the days of civic festivities and to annually hold tributes to José do Patrocínio, Monteiro Lopes and other illustrious Brazilians.”⁵⁰ A “central board” was established and Honório Menelik – a “clerk in the National Laboratory of Analysis and lawyer in the Courthouse” – was chosen to preside the group. Also approved were “general regulations.” After three months of existence the Monteiro Lopes Civic Center had “approximately 600 members,” according to the grandiloquent estimate of Honório Menelik.⁵¹ Its offices were established in a house at 145 Rua do Hospício, in the center of Rio de Janeiro, though in March 1911 it was transferred to a new address: 2B Beco do Rosário.⁵² During this phase the groups was the subject of an internal dispute and suffered public criticism. Some “Men of Color,” claiming to be “friends of the missed deputy Monteiro Lopes,” held a meeting in the offices of the Stevedore Workers Union to protest against the

“exploitation” practiced by those who had founded the “Monteiro Lopes Civic Center, and thus abused the credulity of the unwary.”⁵³ From what it seems this protest did not cause an impact, since the group continued to carry out its activities. It started classes for “night courses,” opened a library, held talks, commemorated the 13 May, with the “official orator” being Evaristo de Moraes. It even hired a lawyer to defend the “blacks Maria da Silva and Clemência da Silva”, sisters who had a case taken against them by the “judge of the 14th district, subject to the penalties of art. 303 of the Penal Code.”⁵⁴ The final record in the press about the Monteiro Lopes Civic Center is from January 1912.⁵⁵ It is very probable that the entity survived longer, but there is nothing which allows us think about longevity.

On 12 May 1921, *A Noite* reported that the Association of Men of Color had prepared a special program to commemorate the ending of slavery in Brazil. There was a mass in the Church of *Nossa Senhora do Rosário e São Benedito*, visits to the tombs of abolitionists, the opening of the “social pavilion” of the association on 445 Rua 1º de Março, in the center of Rio de Janeiro, while at night activities ended with a solemn session at 53 Visconde do Rio Branco.⁵⁶ The Association of Men of Color (A.H.C. – *Associação dos Homens de Cor*) was a further group with a clear racial connotation and unknown in Brazilian historiography. Gathering (and crosschecking) various journalistic sources about it, it was possible to put together some fragmented information. A.H.C. used to organize festivities, excursion, educational activities, talks, conferences, tributes, the saying of masses, and public acts. Furthermore, it commemorated the civic dates – 7 September (Brazilian independence day) 15 November (day of the proclamation of the Republic) – and principally those related to black history – 28 September (day of the approval of the *Ventre Livre* Law in 1871) and 13 May (day of the promulgation of *Lei Áurea* in 1888). “The day after tomorrow,” *O Paiz* announced, “a large solemnity will be held to commemorate the freeing of the slaves by the Association of Men of Color.” There would be a civic ceremony, speeches, tribute to the abolitionist leaders, and to finish a dance for members and guests.⁵⁷ However, the association stood out in terms of its expectation to participate in national political life. It allied to politicians of various types, engaging in electoral campaigns, supported President Artur Bernardes (1922-1926) and was received by his successor, Washington Luís (1926-1930). As reported in *Gazeta de Notícias* on 23 November 1926: “The President of Republic was sought out yesterday by the Association of Men of Color. His Excellency received them loyally, showing them once again that he made no issue of color [in] politics. Incidentally, the

blacks also had their notable Washington, Booker Washington.”⁵⁸ We do not know what was the agenda of the meeting between A.H.C. and the president of the Republic – it was actually probably the first time that a president of Brazil met with representatives of a black organization –, certainly it was part of a wider project by the group to build space in society, expanding its network of relations and alliances, negotiating with the public authorities and influencing the destiny of the nation, taking into account the social, political and cultural development of the “Men of Color.” For no apparent reason, A.H.C. disappeared from the Fluminense press in 1928.

A year later, *Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio* (13 May Patriotic Center) was created, based on 41 Rua Sacadura Cabral. Based on what was announced by *A Noite*, we know that on 13 May 1929, the second board of the association assumed their positions, consisting of the following: President, Irenio Ribeiro da Costa; Vice-President, Reynaldo Pereira; 1st Secretary, Rimus Prazeres; 2nd Secretary, Procópio Abedé; Treasurer, Miguel Manhães Barreto; Legal Representative, Semião Prazeres, and Official Orator, João Pereira. The ceremony of taking office was “solemn” and was watched by a “numerous audience,” including representatives of the Municipal Council, notably the *intendente* Philadelpho Pereira de Almeida, worker associations, and the press. Various orators spoke. At the end, “there were dances which went on till late at night.”⁵⁹ According to *O Paiz*, *Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio* consisted in one more “association of workers” in Rio de Janeiro. Its statutes listed “various useful objectives for members” and determined that “the date when the *Lei Áurea* was signed would be annually commemorated.” Among its priorities were the fight against illiteracy. For this, it was planned to found at its social office a school for “minors and adults of both sexes,” aiming “to assist above all the needy population who live on the perimeter of the docklands.”⁶⁰ However, *Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio* did not have the resources. Irenio Ribeiro – the principal leader of the association – led a campaign to attract donations among the “businesses and industries” of the capital. The campaign was successful and the school opened in an ostentatious event, with the right to a band, official orators, and lectures about the “humanitarian purposes of the initiative.”⁶¹ Reports of the inauguration had repercussions and crossed frontiers. In São Paulo, *O Clarim da Alvorada* – a black periodical – informed its readers that *Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio*, which had emerged “thanks to the efforts of a group of Men of Color,” was already providing “great services to the country and to the race.” One of the “useful departments of this Carioca group is D. Gabriela Bensazoni Lage School, which has refined teaching staff

and a great number of students.”⁶² The note in *O Clarim da Alvorada* was important because it revealed that *Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio*, as well as being an “association of workers,” was an expression of black associationalism in Rio de Janeiro. Like the other similar groups, *Centro Patriótico* had a “pavilion” and kept alive the memory of the *Ventre Livre* Law (on 28 September) and more especially the *Lei Áurea* (on 13 May).⁶³ Its life, however, was short. From what it seems it did not last three years.

MOVING BEYOND AFRO-PAULISTA ASSOCIATIONALISM

Much research has been done on black associationalism in the state of São Paulo during the First Republic. In Rio de Janeiro this question has not appeared on the agenda of historians. What is the reason for this? It is difficult to give a secure and definitive answer for this, though it is worth trying to understand this *absence*. Lima Barreto was not the only one to believe that “societies of men of color” of the Paulista type did not emerge in Rio de Janeiro, or even in the rest of Brazil. Respected social scientists, although producing particular narratives, shared to an extent the impression of the writer of “Vila Quilombo”. In 1939, Arthur Ramos published *The Negro in Brazil* in the United States, which in 1956 was translated and published in Brazil as *O negro na civilização brasileira*. The doctor and anthropologist from Alagoas argued in this book that the black had become part of social and family life in Brazil after the abolition of slavery. Blacks and whites collaborated in the common work of building “our nationality.” Political rights were equal, though there still existed demands of an economic, social, and cultural nature, which had diverse aspects, depending on the regions of the country. According to Ramos, the “impregnation of the black” occurred in the coastal zone which extended from Rio de Janeiro to the Northeast, in such a way that there the color line was attenuated, “almost non-existent” and the “problem of the black” was the same “problem of poor classes, with a low cultural level.” In the states of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul, the black felt like an oppressed minority.” According to Ramos, it is principally in São Paulo, an industrialized state, where the color line assumed more intense aspects. The black was not well received in the “white community” and although there was no separation in the legal sphere, the “prejudice of color” had established itself in public opinion. It was this reason that in São Paulo, blacks had “enlisted in associations” aimed at the “affirmation of their social and political rights in equal conditions with whites.” What did not have a “significance in other

states” flourished in São Paulo as a “logical consequence of the color prejudices forming there.” Arthur Ramos’ explanation can be summarized as follows: it was in the South and in the state of São Paulo above all, – in which blacks were a minority and were not accepted by whites – where organizations in favor of rights for blacks emerged after the ending of slavery. In Rio de Janeiro – as well as in Espírito Santo and the entire Northeast – blacks were not a minority and were relatively assimilated in the social life of the state (Ramos, 1971, pp.190-191). As they did not suffer a specific problem, there was no need to create organizations aimed at specific demands.

Ramos’ explanation served as the foundation for subsequent research, including US scholars (see Frazier, 1942, p.294; Morse, 1953), and was complemented by the arguments of Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto in his 1952 book *O negro no Rio de Janeiro*. “To study black associations in Rio de Janeiro” – the Bahian sociologist argued –, “we must initially make a distinct between two types of institution: those we call a) *traditional* and those we call b) *the new type*.” Throughout the phase between the end of the abolitionist movements and the third decade of the twentieth century, the associational life of blacks in Rio de Janeiro occurred within the traditional framework, “without great alterations in function or structure.” According to Costa Pinto, in this period the associational spirit of “Men of Color” was almost exclusively revealed in the religious field, especially “Afro-Brazilian religions.” Alongside these religious associations, notably *Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e de São Benedito dos Homens Pretos* and *macumba*, the blacks of Rio de Janeiro had associated in “recreational groups, such as *congadas*, *ranchos*, samba schools, or in sports, such as *Capoeira de Angola*.” The *new type* of black associations were born after the 1930 Revolution and their history was linked to the structural changes of Brazilian society. According to Costa Pinto, they translated the “living and contemporary history of aspirations, struggles, problems, of feeling, thinking, and acting as *Brazilians*, socially, culturally, and nationally *Brazilians*, *ethnically blacks*.” In this phase, of notable importance were the *Teatro Experimental do Negro* (TEN), created in 1944, the Union of Men of Color (Ugacê) and, on a lesser scale, the Cultural Union of Men of Color. While in the first phase, black associations in Rio de Janeiro had assumed recreational or religious forms, highlighting the contribution of the *African* to aesthetics, to music, to choreography, to mysticism, in short to the *culture* of Brazilian *folk*, in the second phase the associations assumed a nationalist nature, though one with demands, like a *pressure group*.⁶⁴

Arthur Ramos and Costa Pinto's explanations were accepted and adopted by historians and social scientists without being problematized or nuanced for decades.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, recent decades have demonstrated new facets and dimensions of the black experience in Rio de Janeiro in the context of the First Republic.⁶⁶ Neither was the "color line" there practically inexistent – as Ramos thought –, nor did the black associations which emerged before 1930 only have ludic and religious connotations – as Pinto postulated. How to describe the League of Men of Color, the Black Guard, the *Associação Beneficente D. Isabel, a Redemptora*; *Sociedade Estrela da Redenção*, the Republican Club of Men of Color, the Brazilian Confederation of Men of Color, the Monteiro Lopes Civic Center, the Association of Men of Color? Not to mention the *Grêmio Literário Treze de Maio*, *Caixa Beneficente José do Patrocínio*, the Association of Men of Color, and *Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio*. In common, these distinct groupings constructed projects through which the people who felt themselves parts of the same group and mutually identified themselves, forged fluid and contingent solidarities, (re)invented traditions which alimanted social practices, established dialogues between themselves and with the agencies of the state and civil society, faced different historical circumstances, without, however, failing to proclaim the socio-political and interests and civil rights of 'men of color' in the public sphere.

Therefore, it is needless to say that Arthur Ramos e Costa Pinto were wrong. In Rio de Janeiro there flourished a black associationalism with racial foundations in various aspects similar to the Paulista one during the First Republic, in such a way that there the freed slaves and their descendants created groups, both of a recreational and religious character, as well as a political and social one. Rhetoric of racial equality was articulated in the wake of collective actions of mutual aid, in platforms in the field of rights and citizenship, in negotiations for social, political, and cultural demands, for interventions in the formal structure of power, in short in the ambit of dreams and expectations of social inclusion, recognition, and full participation in national life. In addition to the *ranchos*, *jongos*, *maltas*, brotherhoods, *macumbas*, the black Cariocas developed, if not embraced, other modes of agency and sociability. In relation to the conclusion of this article, all that is left is to recognize the prerogative of E. P. Thompson that "historical knowledge is, due to its nature, provisional and incomplete (but not for this reason untrue), selective (but not for this reason untrue), limited and defined by the questions put to the evidence (and the concepts which inform these questions)." Each researcher can ask new questions of the historic evidence, or "can uncover new levels

of evidence. In this way, “history” (when examined as a product of historic investigation) is modified, and should be modified, with the concerns of each generation.” (Thompson, 1981, pp.49-51).

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NOTES

¹ See BUTLER, 1992 and 1998; PINTO, 1993; ANDREWS, 1998; GOMES, 2005; SEIGEL, 2009, pp.179-205.

² For studies about the formation and the dynamics of how the various voluntary associations function in Rio de Janeiro in this period, without, however, listing those founded by blacks, see CONNIF, 1975; FONSECA, 2008; BATALHA, 2004 and 2009.

³ Cf. “Dia a dia”, *Gazeta da Tarde*, 10 jan. 1889, p.1.

⁴ “S. Liga dos Homens de Cor”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 22 abr. 1888, p.4; “Publicações”. *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 24 abr. 1888, p.2. This is how *The Rio News* reported the formation of the League of Men of Color: “A society to be known as the League of Colored Men has been formed here, the purpose of which is to improve morally and intellectually the black and mixed population. Good luck to it!” “Local notes”. *The Rio News*, Rio de Janeiro, 5 maio 1888, p.4.

⁵ “S. Liga dos Homens de Cor”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 6 maio 1888, p.4; “Liga dos Homens de Cor”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 20 maio 1888, p.3, e “S. Liga dos Homens de Cor”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 27 out. 1888, p.3.

⁶ “Monumento”. *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 15 maio 1888, p.2.

⁷ “Liga dos Homens de Cor”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 3 ago. 1889, p.4.

⁸ “Antonio Luiz do Espírito Santo Castro”. *Carbonário*, Rio de Janeiro, 15 maio 1889, pp.2-3.

⁹ In relation to the social trajectory of José do Patrocínio and the memorialistic construction around him, see ORICO, 1931; MAGALHÃES JÚNIOR, 1972; SILVA, 2006.

¹⁰ *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 30 nov. 1888, p.1.

¹¹ “Crônica de ontem”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 10 jul. 1888, p.2.

¹² “Guarda Negra”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 5 jan. 1889, p.1. See also “Os libertos”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 26 abr. 1889, p.1, and “Guarda Negra”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 30 dez. 1888, p.2.

¹³ José do Patrocínio was even ironic about the levels of adhesion of blacks to the forms of government disputed at that time: “For the hundreds of blacks who proclaimed Sr. Silva Jardim [a republican leader considered a radical] the greater liberator of their race, there are hundreds of thousands, the almost unanimity of these black Brazilians, who are ready to give their lives to save the crown of Isabel the Redeemer, who was the cradle where their first free children rested; and was finally the sacred font in which they were baptized in the religion of liberty, equality and fraternity.” “A intriga”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 16 jan. 1889, p.1.

¹⁴ About the Black Guard, see TROCHIM, 1988; GOMES, 1991; SOARES, 1999; MIRANDA, 2006; MATTOS, 2009; MACHADO, 2013.

¹⁵ “Guarda Negra”. *O Mequetrefe*, Rio de Janeiro, set. 1888, p.7; “A intriga”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 16 jan. 1889, p.1; “Guarda Negra”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 3 jan. 1889, p.3.

¹⁶ On 30 December 1888, for example, there was a confrontation between the activists of the Black Guard of the Redeemer and Fluminense republicans. A group of three hundred people, some of whom were ‘capeoiras,’ invaded with ‘stones’ and ‘blades’ the building of *Sociedade Francesa de Ginástica* in Largo do Rocio, in order to end a republican conference presided by Silva Jardim. There was general panic. Fighting broke out, there were gun shots and general tumult. The police had to intervene and the result was various injuries on both sides. “Graves conflitos”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 31 dez. 1888, p.1.

¹⁷ “A Guarda Negra”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 31 out. 1888, p.1; “Resposta à Guarda Cívica”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 4 fev. 1889, p.2; “A Guarda Negra”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 20 jul. 1889, p.1.

¹⁸ In an article in *Gazeta de Notícias*, Clarindo de Almeida, the “General Leader” of the Black Guard even assumed that the organization was “monarchist”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 26 fev. 1889, p.2.

¹⁹ “Associação Beneficente”. *O Apostolo*, Rio de Janeiro, 17 jun. 1888, p.3.

²⁰ *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 27 jun. 1888, p.1.

²¹ *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 3 jun. 1888, p.3.

²² *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 12 fev. 1889, p.2.

²³ “Cortejo”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 29 jul. 1889, p.3.

²⁴ SILVA, 1997, p.133. It was not by chance that *Vida Nova União da Nação Cabinda* (the Union of New Life of the Cabinda Nation) – a society formed in 1888 by “a large number of Africans from the Cabinda nation” – earnestly manifested the monarchist imagination. On the occasion of the arrival of D. Pedro II in Brazil after medical treatment, its members were “incorporated” in São Cristóvão to greet “H.R.H. the Emperor for the reestablishment of his health and his prosperous return to his homeland.” He was offered a “beautiful branch of artificial flowers” and given a “well written memorial,” in the law of the abolition of captivity was praised: “*Oxalá!* Let us hope... if it were not for this inexhaustible law of death, it would be our long-lasting existence; and strong as the lions of the forests in our

lands we are the perpetual guards of your throne and around it we will be as valiant as our sons were on the field of honor in defense of the patria.” *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 19 set. 1888, p.2; *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 23 set. 1888, p.3; *Il Brasile, Rivista Mensile*, Rio de Janeiro, n.10, 15 out. 1888, p.879; *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 12 abr. 1889, p.3. In relation to the monarchist conception of blacks in this period, see SCHWARCZ, 1998, pp.14-15.

²⁵ In relation to the popularity of the Monarchy among the “population of color” in the Empire, see FREYRE, 1956, pp.39-48; CHALHOUB, 1990, p.179; CARVALHO, 1987, pp.29-31.

²⁶ “13 de Maio”. *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 14 maio 1902, p.1.

²⁷ *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 19 fev. 1889, p.2.

²⁸ “Festa de gratidão”. *O Brazil*, Rio de Janeiro, 2 ago. 1891, p.3.

²⁹ “S. B. Estrela da Redempção”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 3 jan. 1893, p.4.

³⁰ *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 6 jun. 1889, p.2. There is no evidence that Deodéciano Martyr was black. His initiative of collaborating in the foundation of the Republican Club of Men of Color could be possibly due to his Jacobin convictions, which preached the regimentation and popular participation, including of former slaves, in the republican movement. The historian Suely Robles de Queiroz commented that Deodéciano Martyr, from Rio Grande do Sul, “had a long experience of political struggle. He participated at the end of the Empire in various abolitionist associations and anti-monarchist clubs, amongst which were the Lopes Trovão Republican Center and the Brazilian Republican Circle, for example. During the Navy Revolt he played an active part in the organization of various patriotic battalions, going with one of them to Paraná, where he assisted the war effort ... He founded *A Luta*, *O Clarim*, and *O Povo*, newspapers which lasted very little time, and collaborated in various others with a nationalist orientation, such as *O Tempo* and *Correio do Povo*, in Rio de Janeiro.” At the end of the Floriano Peixoto administration, in September 1894, he began to publish *O Jacobino*, which he called a “nativist, news, political, and workers organ, dedicated to the interests and defense of Brazilians and consecrated to the cause of the Republic.” Among the various slogans which surrounded the periodical, most notable was “Everything for the Patria and the Republic.” QUEIROZ, 1986, pp.86-87.

³¹ “Corte”. *A Patria. Orgam dos Homens de Cor*, São Paulo, 2 ago. 1889, p.2.

³² “14 de Julho”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 15 jul. 1889, p.1; “14 de Julho”. *Gazeta da Tarde*, Rio de Janeiro, 15 jul. 1889, p.2.

³³ In relation to ascension of republican debates and the crisis of the Empire, see MATTOS, 1989; MELLO, 2007; HOLANDA, 2005.

³⁴ “Ao eleitorado republicano dos homens de cor”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 3 jul. 1889, p.3.

³⁵ *Diário do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, 25 set. 1889, p.2.

³⁶ In relation to the foundation of the Republic, see, amongst others, MORAES, 1936; CARVALHO, 1990; CASTRO, 2000; LEMOS, 2009.

³⁷ In relation to the various conceptions and perspectives of the Republic and citizenship in the period, see CARVALHO, 1987 and 1998; BRESCIANI, 1993; MELLO, 2011.

³⁸ “Homens de Cor”. *Gazeta da Tarde*, Rio de Janeiro, 7 dez. 1889, p.3.

³⁹ “Quintino Bocayuva”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 10 mar. 1890, p.1.

⁴⁰ In relation to the invention of Tiradentes as the Republican hero, see CARVALHO, 1990.

⁴¹ “Centenário de Tiradentes”. *Gazeta da Tarde*, Rio de Janeiro, 22 abr. 1892, p.2.

⁴² *O Tempo*, Rio de Janeiro, 18 nov. 1893, p.2.

⁴³ *Gazeta da Tarde*, Rio de Janeiro, 25 jul. 1888, p.1.

⁴⁴ *Cidade do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, 15 maio 1899, p.1.

⁴⁵ For new research about the struggle for rights in Rio de Janeiro during the First Republic, see FONSECA, 2008; RIBEIRO, 2009; PEREIRA, 2013.

⁴⁶ “Associações”. *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 16 abr. 1903, p.3.

⁴⁷ “Confederação Brasileira dos Homens de Cor”. *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1 dez. 1903, p.3; “Confederação Brasileira dos Homens de Cor”. *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 9 mar. 1904, p.4.

⁴⁸ *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 29 abr. 1909, p.1; *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 6 maio 1909, p.6.

⁴⁹ About Monteiro Lopes, see DANTAS, 2010; DOMINGUES, 2013.

⁵⁰ “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 24 dez. 1910, p.7; “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 24 dez. 1910, p.2; “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *O Século*, Rio de Janeiro, 27 dez. 1910, p.3.

⁵¹ “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 18 mar. 1911, p.8.

⁵² “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *O Século*, Rio de Janeiro, 14 mar. 1911, p.3; “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 21 fev. 1911, p.12.

⁵³ “Dr. Monteiro Lopes”. *Correio da Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, 4 abr. 1911, p.4.

⁵⁴ “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 23 fev. 1911, p.11; “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 12 mar. 1911, p.14; “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 11 abr. 1911, p.12; “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *Correio da Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, 2 maio 1911, p.8; “13 de Maio”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 13 maio 1911, p.3. “Foro”. *O Século*, Rio de Janeiro, 6 jul. 1911, p.2; “Centro Cívico Monteiro Lopes”. *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 27 jun. 1911, p.10.

⁵⁵ “Conferências”. *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 7 jan. 1912, p.12; “Aniversário”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 20 jan. 1912, p.4.

⁵⁶ “Na Associação dos Homens de Cor”. *A Noite*, Rio de Janeiro, 12 maio 1921, p.2.

⁵⁷ “Diversões”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 11 maio 1928, p.10. Ver também “Associações”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 11 maio 1928, p.3.

⁵⁸ “Papagaios”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 23 nov. 1926, p.1.

⁵⁹ “Centro Patriótico 13 de Maio”. *A Noite*, Rio de Janeiro, 17 abr. 1929, p.7.

⁶⁰ “Centro Patriótico 13 de Maio”. *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 17 maio 1929, p.9; “Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio”. *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 15 maio 1929, p.10. In relation to educational policies aimed at the poor and black population of Rio de Janeiro in this period, see DÁVILA, 2006.

⁶¹ “Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio”. *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 17 maio 1929, p.5; “Inaugurações”. *Diário da Noite*, Rio de Janeiro, 20 jan. 1930, p.4; “Sua inauguração no dia do padroeiro da cidade”. *Crítica*, Rio de Janeiro, 18 jan. 1930, p.3.

⁶² *O Clarim d’Alvorada*, São Paulo, 13 abr. 1930, p.3.

⁶³ “Centro Patriótico 13 de Maio”. *Diário da Noite*, Rio de Janeiro, 13 maio 1930, p.2; *Gazeta de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 13 maio 1930, p.2; “O próximo festival do Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio”. *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 2 set. 1930, p.11; “O grandioso festival do Centro Patriótico Treze de Maio”. *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 17 set. 1930, p.11; “Em benefício da escola Gabriela Bensazoni Lage”. *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 18 set. 1930, p.10; “Em benefício da escola Gabriela Bensazoni Lage”. *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 20 set. 1930, p.10; “Em benefício da escola Gabriela Bensazoni Lage”. *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 23 set. 1930, p.11; “Em benefício da escola Gabriela Bensazoni Lage”. *Diário de Notícias*, Rio de Janeiro, 27 set. 1930, p.10.

⁶⁴ PINTO, 1998, p.218-219, 231-232, 242, 246. Costa Pinto’s book was part of the UNESCO project, a cycle of research about racial relations in Brazil sponsored by this international agency at the beginning of the 1950s, which had a significant impact on the field of social sciences in Brazil.

⁶⁵ The assertions of Arthur Ramos and Costa Pinto were appropriated, to a greater or lesser extent, by various authors. To save space, it is sufficient to mention what Joel Rufino dos Santos wrote about the subject: “Until 1930, black organizations [in Rio de Janeiro] were almost exclusively ludic or religious. Their product constituted what is conventionally called the ‘culture of festivity,’ a set of ludic behavior and manifestations” (SANTOS, 1988, p.47). In recent research, the *Brazilianist* Paulina Alberto asserts that the blacks of Rio de Janeiro engendered specific racial identities in the post-abolition context. In virtue of this, few developed or simply did not create forms of associationalism equivalent to the blacks of São Paulo. ALBERTO, 2011, pp.84-87, 159, 161.

⁶⁶ See NASCIMENTO, 2007; RIBEIRO, 1995; MÜLLER, 2008; ARANTES, 2010; ABREU, 2010; CRUZ, 2010; DANTAS, 2010; DOMINGUES, 2013.