

mostly just before Carnival, when Rio's music industry kicked into high gear.

He soon discovered that the recording was only half the battle. Once the recording was made, composers were expected to join forces with the singers in promoting it in any way possible—making the rounds of the radio stations, asking producers to play the record, or, better yet, inviting the singer for a live performance. It meant visiting the local nightclubs and requesting the tune from the house band. And at Carnival, it meant hiring a group of musicians to parade through the streets, playing the composition over and over and hoping a crowd would follow along. When undertaken by a street-smart operator such as Geraldo Pereira, all these activities could come under the heading of *malandragem*, depending as they did on charm and *jogo da cintura*—literally, play of the waist, and figuratively, subtle maneuvering. But taken together they proved harder and more time-consuming than real work. Pereira quit his job at the Schools Department in order to dedicate all his time to this exhausting routine. He did so uneasily, however: his samba was not making him wealthy by any stretch, and its precipitous changes in fortune were the very opposite of the civil servant's secure monotony.

EARLY WORKS

Pereira's first hit was a 1940 collaboration with Wilson Batista on a samba entitled "Acertei no Milhar" (I Hit the Lottery), recorded by Moreira da Silva. Batista was several years older than Pereira and had been a significant composer since the early 1930s. His portraits of crafty *malandros* and hard-luck characters from the lower rungs of Rio society had a deep influence on Pereira's own work. "Acertei no Milhar" portrayed one such character—a working-class stiff named Vargulino who dreams that he has won the lottery and can indulge all his yearnings for wealth and leisure, only to awaken with a start to the dull routine of his daily job. Moreira da Silva later stated that this samba was Batista's alone and that the older composer had merely added Pereira's name at the behest of the singer himself, who knew that Pereira would dedicate considerable energy to promoting the samba if his name were attached.

This explanation is plausible—the samba is more typical of Batista's work than Pereira's. While the composers shared similar subject matter (with Batista leaning more toward working-class characters and Pereira more toward the *favela*), Batista more commonly used clever twists such as the "surprise" ending of "Acertei no Milhar." More indicative was their use of language: Batista relied on narrative and rarely used slang,

while Pereira used images and dialogue and reveled in slang. "Acertei no Milhar" is a first-person narrative and contains almost no slang. What Pereira probably gave the composition is the unusual name of Vargulino's wife, Erelvina, which happened to be the name of one of Pereira's nieces. And the way in which that name is invoked as the samba's first word—an abrupt, rising four-note melody—is typical of Pereira's striking opening statements.

Over the next four years, Pereira wrote a number of semi-successful sambas, but nothing that would establish him as one of the most talented composers of the city. That recognition came in 1944 with his enormous hit, "Falsa Baiana" (False Baiana). Like the *malandro*, the *baiana*, or woman from the northeastern state of Bahia, was a cultural icon in Brazil. *Baianas* represented African tradition in cuisine, music, and attire—the latter a flowing white lace dress with numerous beads and amulets. The iconic *baiana* was seen as the carrier of African rhythm who, by migrating to Rio, had enabled the creation of samba. There was some truth to this image; samba had originated in the 1910s in house parties hosted by old *baianas*. But the link between *baianas* and samba had outgrown any historical foundation and had become part of national lore. (Indeed, by regulations approved by Getúlio Vargas, every samba school in the official Carnival parade had to feature a wing of *baianas*.)

Pereira's samba compares the false *baiana*, who merely puts on the costume for Carnival, to the real one, who has samba in her every movement. When the false *baiana* enters the samba circle she just stands there. No one claps, no one sings, and the samba dies. In contrast, when the real *baiana* enters, she swivels her hips and leaves her onlookers with their mouths watering, saying, "Hail, Bahia!" The melody skips along the rhythm like a stone skipping over rolling waves. Ciro Monteiro's recording brought the *baiana* to life perfectly, making the samba one of the biggest hits of the year and, eventually, a standard of the genre.

If Pereira had never written another samba of note, "Falsa Baiana" would have been enough to establish him as a significant composer. As it happened, he wrote several more of similar grade, rounding out a body of work that, while small in comparison with that of Batista, for example, is nonetheless captivating. Months after Monteiro recorded "Falsa Baiana," the Anjos do Inferno, or Hell's Angels, recorded Pereira's "Sem Compromisso" (Without Commitment). (The Anjos do Inferno were a mild-mannered, clean-cut vocal quartet and had nothing to do with motorcycles.) In "Sem Compromisso," the scene is one of Rio's *gafférias*, or dancehalls. Ranging from working-class dives to posh salons, they constituted one of the city's principal forms of leisure. They featured live bands (decked out in tuxedos, brass instruments gleaming, in the fancy

joints) playing the popular music of the moment and were often graced by star singers who stopped in to plug their tunes. The *gafieiras* were one of the few venues where a respectable young couple could grab hold of each other without condemnation. The speaker in "Sem Compromisso" is a young man hoping to take advantage of this situation. His girlfriend, however, keeps dancing with another man (although she swears it is "without commitment"). The speaker threatens and cajoles, but his girlfriend dances away.

As in "Falsa Baiana," the melodic line bobs and weaves in the basic samba beat, creating a rhythmic tension that seems to pull the lyrics along irresistibly. In the words of Roberto Paiva, "only the mute cannot sing 'Sem Compromisso.'" ⁷⁴ These two 1944 compositions helped to inaugurate a strain known as "samba teleco-teco," an onomatopoeic term referring to the syncopation of the vocal line and the underlying rhythm. The emphases in Pereira's melodies sometimes fall on the strong beat, sometimes on a weak one, and not infrequently on a weak beat and then held through the strong one. The effect of these rhythmic tensions is similar to that of a polarized electromagnetic track that pulls along a train, with the distinction that before the listener can get accustomed to the polarities in Pereira's melodies, he sprinkles his lyrics with clusters of plosive and sibilant consonants that echo the sounds of samba percussion. Indeed, the percussive nature of Pereira's lyrics makes the vocal line itself an adequate substitute for varied instrumentation, a quality that João Gilberto emphasized in his stripped-down bossa nova recordings of Pereira's work twenty years later. In Gilberto's voice and guitar rendition of "Sem Compromisso," the lyrics take the place of tambourine and hand drums.

This syncopated style was one of Pereira's hallmarks. The other was his incisive vision of *favela* life. His most compelling early expression in this vein was the samba "Golpe Errado" (Unfair Blow), which Ciro Monteiro recorded in 1945. The lyrics to "Golpe Errado" begin with a brief, quasi-cinematic description of a *malandro* strolling with his girlfriend ("Here he comes in his starched, white suit . . ."), and then note that his real woman is off working as a maid in a white man's house. The narrator notes that this woman—not necessarily his wife, but at least his domestic partner—will even bring him his supper later, and observes that his callous exploitation of her is an "unfair blow." All this is expressed in seven brief lines. The first three are sprinkled with references to color, referring to the *malandro's* white suit, his brown girlfriend, his black woman, and, finally, her white employer. This quick survey of the spectrum shows us the *malandro's* style but also suggests that in this case, at least, this style merely perpetuates Brazil's phenotypical hierarchy. The

following four lines then pass judgment on the *malandro*—this is an unfair blow. A second verse adds further incriminating evidence, describing the *malandro* leaving for the samba jam just as his woman returns from work.

The moral judgment of the refrain is unusual in Pereira's work; he ordinarily limited himself to dispassionate reporting on the lives of his characters. The explicit condemnation of "Golpe Errado" seems to stem not so much from the *malandro's* mistreatment of his woman—not at all unusual in Pereira's work—but from the fact that this particular mistreatment forces the woman to go work as a maid to support his lifestyle and his adulterous affairs. The true *malandro*, the samba implies, should be self-sufficient. The perfect economy of the lyrics opens up these interpretational possibilities rather than prescribing them strictly—another characteristic of Pereira's work.

A MALANDRO IN SEARCH OF HIMSELF

"Golpe Errado" might have been a self-portrait but for the fact that Pereira's wife did not bring him supper. While still in his teens, Pereira had become a ladykiller in Mangueira. In 1938, just as he began to break into the world of samba, one of his seductions reaped the inevitable consequences. The young woman's father learned of the affair and came after Pereira demanding that he "repair her honor" by marrying her. Pereira's brother Mané had built his reputation on settling such disputes in Santo Antonio, and he forced his younger brother to go through with the marriage. By all accounts, Pereira did not even bother to return with his wife from City Hall. He never lived with her, limiting himself to occasional visits—one of which apparently produced a son—and providing no financial assistance. The marriage had no noticeable effect on his habits of seduction.

Pereira was only too eager to leave behind his wife and Santo Antonio. He began renting a series of rooms in working-class, often squalid neighborhoods in the city, hoping to remain close to the dancehalls, the recording studios, and the radio stations. When money ran out, he retreated up the hill to friends and family. Only with the success of "Falsa Baiana" did he make the residential transition from *morro* to *cidade*. Even then, his financial problems were far from over. In 1946, despite the fact that he had several hits to his name, he returned to civil service, finding a job as a truck driver hauling trash for the city. At least, that was the job description, and Pereira registered for a license to make the job legal. He never slowed down his constant circulation in samba circles,

however, making it impossible for him to show up for any regular work. According to his girlfriend at the time, he struck a deal with a local politician, swinging votes for the politician in Mangueira in return for a no-show job in the Sanitation Department. According to Moreira da Silva, ever so often Pereira gave a free show to bureaucrats in the department to maintain his cushy deal. Such arrangements were far from unusual in the government ranks. The job paid poorly, but it guaranteed Pereira a pension he would not survive to collect and health benefits that could not save his life.⁵

In the *gafiteiras* that he attended both to plug his music and to cruise for conquests, he cultivated the image of a *malandro valentão*—a tough guy, *que topa qualquer parada*, ready for any scuffle. Out of the spotlight he was less courageous, or more sensible, backing out of fights when he could, limiting the blows when he could not. According to one fellow composer who had had a stormy relationship with Pereira, “he always wanted to fight embracing,” grabbing his opponent in a boxer’s clinch. He found it easier, apparently, to fight with Isabel Mendes da Silva, his on-and-off girlfriend throughout much of the 1940s. The two cultivated a pattern of abuse and reconciliation, each spending the night in jail at least once for domestic violence.⁶

Mendes da Silva interpreted Pereira’s violence as the consequence of racial anxiety stemming from Pereira’s fear that the color of his skin was holding him back. In her words, “he really wanted to get rich, but he had a complex . . . he had some kind of shame because of his color.” Other observers came to similar conclusions, reporting that “he had a persecution anxiety, and he thought color was the problem.”⁷ Such psychological interpretations would be debatable even with far richer knowledge of Pereira’s personality. Coming as they do secondhand and at a great chronological remove, they cannot be considered reliable as a character assessment. But they do point to the fact that Pereira, unlike virtually any composer of his generation, was willing to address racial inequality explicitly. The black women in his sambas go work for white families, and that is an unfair blow. While this observation hardly seems radical by any current standard, it was unusually frank in a context in which references to racial inequality were deeply discouraged.

If Pereira did believe that the color of his skin limited his material success, he was certainly correct. By the late 1940s, there were a few isolated black singers beginning to hit the big time, but they were an anomaly. (Indeed, the nickname of one of them—Blackout, or Blecaute, as it was usually spelled—suggests just how uncommon it was to see a black face in the glossy magazines that chronicled the world of radio stars.) As a composer who hoped to cross over to success as a singer, Pereira faced imposing odds.

LATE WORKS

Whether or not Pereira himself had a persecution complex, many of his sambas portray characters experiencing disillusionment, betrayal, or persecution. In most cases, these misfortunes are purely romantic—the woman goes off with another man—and thus differ little from the themes explored by any number of contemporary *sambistas*. In a few cases, however—and most of these are among Pereira’s best works—the calamities described speak more directly to the dilemmas of *favela* dwellers and *sambistas*. While this portrayal is often satiric, it helps to reveal a side of Rio that the daily newspapers completely ignored. Pereira’s 1947 samba “Pisei num Despacho” (I Stepped on an Offering), for example, is told in the voice of a *sambista* who has, as the title suggests, trod on an Afro-Brazilian spiritual offering. These offerings—perhaps a candle, some flowers, and one or two objects of significance to the supplicant or to the spirit being invoked—are frequently placed at the corners of crossroads, which are sacred spaces in all Afro-Brazilian sects. As a result of his pedestrian insensitivity, the speaker in “Pisei num Despacho” loses his ability to dance and to compose sambas. He goes to the *gafiteira* but has no luck with the ladies. His only cure will be to journey to the distant suburbs to visit a *pai de santo*—an enlightened elder capable of reading the spirits’ will and appeasing them.

The depiction of Afro-Brazilian spirituality in the samba is neither exotic and mysterious nor mocking and simplistic. The speaker’s dilemma is comical, but his resort to a *pai de santo* is entirely reasonable. As listeners in the *favelas* and the working-class neighborhoods would know, the suburb mentioned in the samba—Caxias—was indeed home to several esteemed *terreiros*, or spiritual centers. Pereira gave his work the specificity of local detail that would make it resonate with listeners—primarily poor and working-class Afro-Brazilians—who had themselves journeyed to such *terreiros*. (Ironically, a few years later, Pereira’s former girlfriend Isabel Mendes da Silva would give up her hard-drinking life in the city to become the leader of a spiritual sect in the suburbs.)

The following year, Pereira had what was perhaps his most lucrative hit, “Que Samba Bom” (What Great Samba). The composition is unusual in Pereira’s work in that it is unabashedly enthusiastic and positive, relating neither deception nor disillusionment. It describes a hot samba jam, with plenty of booze and women to spare, where even fools are “*se arrumando*,” or taking care of themselves. The melody is also simpler and more direct than Pereira’s syncopated marvels. In the recording by Blecaute, “Que Samba Bom” became one of the year’s top-selling records.

Despite its success, Pereira soon returned to a more complex approach. His “Ministério da Economia” of 1951 satirizes the proposed

creation by Getúlio Vargas—newly returned to office as the elected president—of a Ministry of the Economy to guard against inflation. The lyrics take the form of an open letter to the president, praising him for a step that will doubtless lift *favelados* out of poverty. In contrast to the nationalistic sambas that characterized the late Estado Novo, however, the praise of government here is clearly tongue-in-cheek: "Sir President . . . Now everything will be cheap/ Now the poor will be able to eat . . . I won't have to eat cat anymore." The closing line repeats this sentiment; the cats on the hill will laugh with pleasure, knowing they will now be safe from the *favela's* stew pots.

Eating cats was by no means common in Mangueira. Pereira, rather, makes use of an exaggerated image of extreme poverty to give his samba a more sarcastic bite. The real power of the lyrics, however, comes from the speaker's exultation that now he will be able to call home his "*negra bacana*," or righteous black woman, from her job as a maid in a rich woman's apartment in Copacabana. It is unclear whether the speaker is intended as another *malandro*, who takes advantage of his woman's hard work to fund his own idleness, or a more typical *favelado* worker himself. The sly tone of the lyrics shows that he is no stranger to *malandragem* and thus may give some weight to the first interpretation. Regardless, what is perfectly clear is that the overarching economic structure has forced the black woman into menial service in the home of a wealthy white woman. In its sarcasm, the samba suggests that Vargas's economic overtures toward the poor would do nothing to change this basic, de-meaning truth—an allegation that turned out to be completely correct.

Pereira followed "Ministério" with two sambas that show *favelados* attempting unsuccessfully to mitigate this inequality through *malandragem*. In both "Polícia no Morro" (Police on the Hill, 1951) and "Cabrita Malsucedida" (Unfortunate Goat Stew, 1953), a *malandro* named Bento steals a goat from a *dotator*, an elite gentleman. In "Polícia no Morro," Bento uses the goatskin to make a drum, and in "Cabrita Malsucedida," as the title suggests, he intends to make goat stew. In both cases, the police climb the hill in search of the goat. In "Polícia no Morro," they shut down the samba and prevent the school from parading. In "Cabrita," they break up the party and arrest everyone in sight. The hapless narrator of that samba only gets out of jail when his wife's employer goes to the police station and pulls some strings. The pessimistic implication is that the *favelados* are ultimately at the mercy of the authorities and the elites. Only the ruling classes can manipulate the workings of justice, and the best that the *favelados* can hope for out of interaction with the *cidade* is a good patron.

In "Escurinha," a 1952 samba, Pereira suggests that complete separation might be a better course. *Escurinha* literally means "little dark girl."

To a reader from the United States, this term comes across as inevitably racist. In the Brazil of 1952, this was not so. The myth of racial democracy—the idea that Brazilians lived in prejudice-free racial harmony—had prevented diminutive race-based terms from taking on any apparent deprecatory meaning. Thus, when the "*negro*" or black man of "Escurinha" pleads with the title figure, he does so in a tone of affectionate intimacy. He urges her to leave her work as a maid and return to the *favela*. Instead of promising her a palace, he promises to share his *barraco*, rigorously and honestly listing its appointments: four earthen walls, a zinc roof, a floor of wooden slats. More important, he claims that as director of the samba school, he will make her its queen. He offers, in other words, no material luxuries, but rather a cultural glory within a small, closed community. This life is a long way from racial democracy.

"Escurinha" also marked the height of Pereira's use of percussive sounds in his lyrics. Its opening lines, written (and sung) in rough Portuguese typical of the *favelas*, sound like a rhythm section working at full strength: "Escurinha/ tu tem que ser minha/ de qualquer maneira/ te dou meu boteço/te dou meu barraco. . . ." (Escurinha, you must be mine, in any way, I'll give you my bar, I'll give you my shack. . . .) The director of the samba school, fittingly, speaks in pure samba.

DECLINE

Pereira's success as a composer brought him no peace. On the contrary, the experience of frequently hearing his sambas on the radio without getting rich made him bitter and suspicious. On many occasions, he accused the composers' association charged with distributing royalties of fraud and corruption, to little avail. He found no great fortune as a singer. He had rhythm and style, but in comparison with masters of the genre such as Moreira da Silva, his voice was thin. He recorded many of his own compositions, but they tended to sound much better in versions by other singers. Although he sang frequently as a guest on various radio programs, no station ever hired him as a regular performer.

Pereira allegedly had his tonsils removed at least partly because he believed they were interfering with his singing. He responded poorly to the operation and bled profusely for days. In the early 1950s his health began to decline rapidly. He ate little and drank constantly; and the more he drank, the more he looked to fight. In the words of one colleague, "Geraldo, when he drank, asked for consent to be irritating, and then he abused that consent . . . when drunk, he was obsessively truculent."⁸ As the mid-1950s approached, he was drinking almost all the time, from the start of his day at around 11 AM to its finish, when the *gafieiros* closed at

around 4 AM. Toward the end of his life he supposedly drank cheap cognac by the liter, hoping that it would cure impotence.

At the same time, he never gave up his ambition to keep learning, to keep improving his skills. He made several attempts in this period to learn to write music, believing that it would bring him greater respect among his colleagues. Distracted by drink and his constant round of Rio's nightspots, he never followed through. He gained a reputation as unreliable when he broke contracts with singers and with other composers. In 1954 he signed on for a prestigious long-running gig in São Paulo, but he could not bear to be away from the *goffeiras* and the girls of Rio on the weekends. He missed so many shows that his co-stars eventually gave up on him.

In 1954, Pereira wrote "Escrinho," his final composition of note, a samba that reads like autobiography. The *escurinho* of the title "used to be a good little black man," but since he got out of jail he cannot stop brawling. He threw over the *baianna's* tray of delicacies and went up to the *fuvelas* looking for a fight. Worst of all, he found it. He disrupted the samba on the hill, bringing it to an end. For a *malandro*, there could be no worse sin.

In early May 1955, shortly after his thirty-seventh birthday, Pereira had a barroom disagreement with Satã, or Satan, a famed *malandro* of Lapa. Satã, as everyone knew, was homosexual and liked to cross-dress. Later, he became known as Madame Satã (whose biography is featured in Chapter 14). Satã had lived, drunk, and fought in the streets of Lapa since Pereira was just a boy, in the early 1930s. Then, that downtown neighborhood was a buzzing hive of cafés, cabarets, and brothels frequented by locals and travelers of all classes. By the early 1950s it was decidedly down at the heel. The cabarets had shut down, the cafés had lost most of their customers, and most of the brothels had been pushed farther away from middle-class neighborhoods. A few of the old bars remained, and it was in one of these that Pereira and Satã had their notorious encounter. Both its causes and course are mysterious. Pereira may have mocked Satã for his sexual proclivities, or he may have merely told Satã to be quiet. He may have thrown the first punch, or taken it. What everyone agrees on is that Pereira provoked the fight and that Satã knocked him out (although witnesses differ as to whether this happened in the bar or on the sidewalk out front).⁹

Satã later claimed that medical negligence—a delayed ambulance, careless doctors—caused Pereira's death. More likely, Pereira's health was so ruined that he could not recover from even minor trauma. He died of internal bleeding several days later in the Public Servants' Hospital. He was admitted there not because of his public service as *sambista*,

much less *malandro*, but rather because of the job he rarely showed up for, that of truck driver for the Department of Sanitation.

NOTES

1. For basic biographical details see Alice Duarte Silva de Campos et al., *Um Certo Geraldo Pereira* (Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE, 1983).
2. On ambiguity in "Na Subida do Morro," see Claudia Matos, *Acertei no Milhar: Malandragem e samba no tempo de Getúlio* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982), 195–97; on the general importance of verbal skills to the *malandro*, see pp. 85–86.
3. Nestor de Holanda, *Memórias do Café Nice* (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1969).
4. Roberto Paiva, as cited in Campos et al., *Um Certo Geraldo Pereira*, 143.
5. Campos et al., *Um Certo Geraldo Pereira*, 103. Moreira da Silva also held a civil service sinecure as an ambulance driver. By his own reckoning, at least he went to work more often than Pereira. Author's interview with Moreira da Silva, 1997.
6. Campos et al., *Um Certo Geraldo Pereira*, 77, 88, 91–92, 103, 106.
7. Isabel Mendes da Silva and Luiz da França, as quoted in Campos et al., *Um Certo Geraldo Pereira*, 27, 103.
8. Fernando Pimenta, as quoted in Campos et al., *Um Certo Geraldo Pereira*, 24.
9. For various versions of the fight between Pereira and Satã see Luis Fernando Vieira et al., *Um Escurinho Diretinho*, 58; and Campos et al., *Um Certo Geraldo Pereira*, 132–36.

SUGGESTED READINGS

There are two full-length biographies of Geraldo Pereira: *Um Certo Geraldo Pereira*, by Alice Duarte Silva de Campos, Dulcinea Nunes Gomes, Francisco Duarte Silva, and Nelson (Sargento) Matos (Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE, 1983); and *Um Escurinho Diretinho*, by Luis Fernando Vieira, Luís Pimentel, and Suetônio Valença (Rio de Janeiro: Relumo Dumará, 1998). Claudia Matos offers a fascinating analysis of the representations of *malandragem* in Pereira's work in *Acertei no Milhar: Malandragem e samba no tempo de Getúlio* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982).

There are several excellent works in English on the general history of samba. For the roots of the genre, see Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001). For the rise of samba as the dominant national genre, see John Chasteen's translation of Hermano Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). For samba's importance in everyday Brazilian life, see Alma Guillermoprieto, *Samba* (New York: Vintage, 1990). For a more general survey of Brazilian music, see Christopher McGowan and Ricardo Pessanha, *The Brazilian Sound* (Philadelphia: Temple

Domingos da Guia

A Mestizo Hero on and off the Soccer Field*

LEONARDO AFFONSO DE MIRANDA PEREIRA

Historian Leonardo Affonso de Miranda Pereira tells us a story of triumph and tragedy as lived by one of Brazil's first international soccer stars of African descent. *Domingos da Guia* was one of the most prominent members of the first generation of professional nonwhite athletes who broke through the color barriers that limited the acceptance of brown and black players on Brazil's most prominent club teams as well as on its international teams. For the first time in 1938, Brazil sent a national team to Europe that included black and brown players. These men were to defend their country's honor on the soccer fields of France, a nation that most Brazilians considered the epitome of culture, taste, and civilization. At the time, sports competitions had become a venue for demonstrations of national superiority. Adolf Hitler attempted to capitalize on this concept when Berlin hosted the Olympic Games in 1936. Germany and the United States were awash at this time in racist and nationalist ferment ranging from the black-shirted ideologues of the Nazi Party to the white-sheeted members of the Ku Klux Klan. Nations contested ideas of racial and national superiority through sports in a period of tense international relations that ultimately erupted into the violence of World War II. Brazilian sports journalists and intellectuals depicted Domingos da Guia as the perfect representative of the nationalist myth of racial democracy in the 1930s because of his mixed racial heritage. However, like composer Geraldo Pereira (see Chapter 7), Domingos's life and his words belie the very idea of Brazil's racial democracy that he was said to represent.

Soccer has long been one of Brazil's greatest sources of pride. The national team has the best record of any in the world, and it is the only team to have won the coveted World Cup soccer championship five times. This recognition, however, did little to remove important barriers to the ability of Afro-Brazilians to fully participate and compete in the areas of commerce, education, and government. Entertainment and sports provided one of the few avenues to fame and fortune that opened up for nonwhite Brazilians in the 1920s and 1930s. But, as Professor Pereira's biography of Domingos shows, these advances were often fleeting.

*Translated by Peter M. Beattie.

University Press, 1998). My own forthcoming book analyzes popular music and the formation of a national popular culture in Brazil between 1930 and 1954. *Hello, Brazil: Popular Music and the Making of Modern Brazil* is tentatively scheduled for publication by Duke University Press in 2004.

Leonardo Affonso de Miranda Pereira has a Ph.D. in history but teaches Brazilian literature in the Department of Literary Theory at the Universidade de Campinas, in the state of São Paulo. His research interests focus on cultural history. He authored a study of *Carnival*, *O carnaval das letras* (1994), and more recently a study of urban protest, *As barricadas da saúde: Vacina e protesto popular no Rio de Janeiro da Primeira República* (2002). Professor Pereira's biography of Domingos da Guia springs from the research for his book on the Brazilian obsession with soccer, *Footballmania: Uma história social do futebol no Rio de Janeiro (1902-1938)* (2000).

The 1938 World Cup soccer tournament held in France marked a significant moment in the history of Brazilian soccer. Even though the sport had been played in Brazil since the late 1800s, many believed that for the first time Brazil's very best players represented the nation in an international tournament. In previous competitions numerous social, racial, and regional restrictions made it difficult to form a national soccer team of Brazil's best athletes, but the team sent to Paris in 1938 mixed players from different regions, social classes, and ethnic origins. The complexions, accents, physiognomies, and backgrounds of this team came much closer to representing the diverse composition of Brazil's population, and these attributes augmented the enthusiasm of its fans who came to see the players as legitimate representatives of their nation. The 1938 team incorporated athletes who, despite their well-known skill, would not have been invited to be part of Brazil's national delegation in years past. Such was the case of Domingos da Guia, a starting fullback, who was known by his contemporaries as the "Divino Mestre" (divine master).

At twenty-seven, Domingos was at the top of his career in 1938. According to journalists and spectators, he had first distinguished himself as an "excellent fullback" during Rio's Metropolitan League championships, when he defended his team Bangu in 1931. Bangu derived its name from a working-class suburb of western Rio de Janeiro where new industries had attracted manual laborers of various races and ethnicities. Sports columnists praised Domingos's spectacular, "often magisterial" moves as a precursor of a new style of play for defensemen. More than a mere "defender," he was, according to the coach who recruited him for a position on an all-star team representing the city of Rio in 1931, "a player who worked with his brain," who did not depend solely on his superior physical strength and speed. With a confidence never before seen on the soccer fields of Rio, the national select team eventually invited him to join them and he quickly won a starting position. The Brazilian and the

international press acclaimed Domingos for his prowess on the field, and he soon became a true legend of Brazilian sports.

Beyond his undeniable soccer skills, another factor appeared to guarantee Domingos special attention: his capacity to combine traits understood as innate in individuals of African origin with others attributed to whites and Europeans. His dark skin and African features clearly distinguished him from the players who had been selected to represent Brazil internationally in the past. Those teams had been formed exclusively by white players, who came from the better educated, so-called good families of Brazil's wealthiest cities: Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Domingos was not the only black player who broke through this racial barrier in the 1930s, a decade of strident militarist nationalism, domestic instability, and diplomatic tensions. Soccer's professionalization and the competition it inspired made it more acceptable to include Brazilians of African descent who possessed obviously superior talent on the national team. In short, the desire to seek recognition from other nations by winning international soccer matches began to overcome the urge of Brazilian coaches and authorities to represent their nation internationally as essentially white. Domingos, however, seemed to surprise mostly white journalists who heaped praise on the intelligence and elegance of his play.

For journalists and fans, Domingos brought together the deceptive agility and rhythmic strength naturally attributed to African-descended soccer players with a European risk-averse, no-nonsense, team-oriented playing style and refined technique. Some observers of the era suggested that Domingos was the perfect embodiment of an "authentically" Brazilian soccer style. This was what the already renowned Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre saw in Domingos. Freyre, who had earned a master's degree in anthropology from Columbia University, returned to his native Brazil and became an intellectual sensation when he published *The Masters and the Slaves* in 1933. In this influential book, Freyre attacked the racial theories of social Darwinism that since the end of the nineteenth century had dominated debates over Brazil's national identity and destiny. Social Darwinists generally praised what we now know are fictitious ideas of "racial purity" and argued that race mixture had a detrimental effect that combined the worst attributes of both races. Since Brazil had been characterized by a long history of race mixture, these theories troubled Brazilian intellectuals who feared that their racial heterogeneity would prevent them from ultimately becoming a modern and unified nation that they generally associated with "whiteness." Ashamed of Brazil's mostly nonwhite population that social Darwinists associated with barbarism and backwardness, most Brazilian intellectuals advocated

whitening the population by encouraging European immigration. In the unabashedly imperialist world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries where races were often depicted as if they were single organisms in a struggle for survival with other races, Europeans saw their success in subjugating other peoples as proof of their innate racial superiority. It was little wonder that the Brazilian government became careful to send abroad only white diplomats, navy officers, and other delegations (such as soccer players) to represent Brazil to Europeans as a "white" national race.

In contradistinction to social Darwinism, Freyre tried to demonstrate the advantages of Brazil's heritage of racial diversity and race mixture over the centuries. He praised the contributions of Africans and their descendants in the development of a uniquely Brazilian culture that mixed European (mostly Portuguese), African, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, indigenous, Moorish, and Jewish traditions and genes. He used his scholarly authority to attribute positive connotations to racial and ethnic heritages that had long been seen as traits that foredoomed Brazil's national destiny. Freyre, like many other Latin American intellectuals of his day, embraced Brazil's tradition of race mixture as a positive national trait that made its culture creative and unique.

It is thus understandable why Freyre became one of the first to applaud the presence of soccer players of African descent on the Brazilian national team. In a newspaper interview, Freyre affirmed that the national team's triumphs were the fruits of the "courage that we have finally had to send to Europe a team that is strongly Afro-Brazilian," where the white players mixed with the "big black men who are really Brazilian, and the mulattos, even more Brazilian." For Freyre this racial mixture and interplay shaped the essence of a uniquely "Brazilian soccer style" that would be characterized by "something between dance and *capoeira*." Brazil's national team players would distinguish themselves from the European athletes "by an agglomeration of traits of surprise, of skill, of astuteness, of agility, and at the same time of individual brilliance and spontaneity." For Freyre, the Brazilian players thus had a special quality guaranteed by the harmonious integration of different ethnic groups that had shaped Brazil's unique national history and character.

This Brazilian team also received the unreserved support of President Getúlio Vargas during the World Cup tournament of 1938. Vargas had borrowed many of Freyre's interpretations of Brazil's unique racial heritage to support his political platform. Vargas had maintained his grip on power, surviving several attempted coups and revolts against his government, in part by mastering the art of popular appeal. In 1937, with the support of his military, the indirectly elected President Vargas closed

Congress and all political parties to implement a new regime that he called the *Estrado Novo* (New State). He claimed that the reform was needed to maintain Brazil's national unity at a time of international turmoil and domestic conflict between factions that supported fascism, socialism, or liberal democracy as alternative paths for the nation's future. Vargas appropriated some of Freyre's nationalist theories of Brazil's unique traditions of racial and class harmony to give legitimacy to his dictatorship that closed down meaningful political debates and disputes. Soccer players such as Domingos da Guia served President Vargas well as an ideal in his propaganda and political project because they embodied the idea espoused by Freyre of Brazil's unique heritage of "racial democracy," or the idea that racism was not a prominent characteristic of Brazilian society.

These factors help to explain why Freyre depicted Domingos da Guia as a prime example of his thesis of racial democracy that in the 1930s became a stock part of sports journalism in Rio de Janeiro. Freyre made this association explicit in a 1947 preface he wrote for the sports journalist Mário Filho's book, *O negro no futebol brasileiro* (The black man in Brazilian soccer). The sociologist Freyre associated Apollonian (referring to Apollo, the Greek god of the sun and public probity, justice, physical strength, and decorum) traits with Europeans while he attributed Dionysian (the Greek god of wine, mirth, and humor) traits to the African tradition. For Freyre, the national team's style was "a little bit of samba, a pinch of boyish Bahian pranksterism, and even a little *capoeira*.... With these components Brazilian soccer moved away from the original well-ordered British style to become a dance full of irrational surprises and Dionysian variations" that gave substance to a new style whose forms the legend of Domingos da Guia would forever shape.

Before he reached this summit of nationalist adulation, however, the young Domingos Antonio da Guia had to travel a long and difficult road that he described in an interview for posterity at Rio's Museum of Image and Sound in 1967. This author also interviewed Domingos twice thirty-one years later, when his advanced age led to some lapses in his memory. Domingo's childhood was similar to that of many other poor children. Born on November 19, 1911, in the industrial borough of Bangu, about an hour's train ride from Rio's downtown, he had eight siblings and was the youngest of four brothers. Like almost all of Bangu's residents, his father worked in a textile factory owned by the Campanhia Progresso Industrial do Brasil, which had transformed a predominately rural area into an industrial zone by the early 1900s. For most boys raised in Bangu at that time, their highest realistic ambition for the future was a factory job.

The textile factory provided primary schooling for the children of its employees. Domingos finished eight years of school, but, like most Brazilians of his class, he never went on to secondary education. Many boys in Bangu lacked educational, career, and leisure options, and they found inexpensive release and diversion in spirited games of soccer, the preferred sport of all classes in Rio de Janeiro by 1900. This passion for soccer deepened when Rio hosted a South American championship tournament in 1919 that the Brazilian team won. In Bangu, the interest in soccer was evident early. The factory sponsored a team to represent the borough in 1904. Bangu's team proudly took the name of its neighborhood, and for a time it was the only team in Rio's top league whose players came almost entirely from the working class. In the 1920s, Rio's most prominent teams hailed from wealthy neighborhoods near the city's center. Aristocratic sports clubs catered to prosperous and mostly white Brazilians, and they barred Rio's mostly darker-skinned working-class men from joining their teams. Bangu's success inspired the formation of other working-class teams in the borough and other parts of the city. By the time Domingos began to take his first kicks, soccer had already become a working-class obsession capable of causing young students such as Domingos to cut classes for a game.

More than a simple diversion, the game already seemed to Domingos a concrete alternative path to a better life for himself and his family. Until the 1930s, soccer remained an amateur sport and league officials prohibited direct payments to players. Domingos's three older brothers played for Bangu teams, and he witnessed firsthand the advantages offered to worker-athletes: sometimes players won cash bonuses, and companies rewarded prized worker-athletes with cushy, higher-paying jobs. Contemporaries labeled these practices that ran counter to the spirit of amateur sporting ethics "brown professionalism" (a reference to the race of many of the working-class players). "Brown professionalism" began to transform the city's sporting scene by promoting the increasing incorporation of the working-class suburban teams into the most competitive first-division league dominated by the more venerable white soccer clubs. Young soccer players and their promoters transformed a leisure activity into a new, if narrow and unstable, avenue of social mobility that tended to reinforce the devotion of poor fans to their neighborhood teams, players, and soccer itself.

As Domingos himself recalled in 1967, "my interest in soccer at first came from necessity." Domingos had already worked as an adolescent drudge at a number of low-paying manual labor jobs. Like other young men, he knew that "soccer players had greater chances for financial success." Confident in his sporting abilities, he endeavored to use soccer as a vehicle for raising his income.

As a teenager, Domingos knew that until he played on the more prominent teams, his athletic success would be limited. To practice and gain experience, he banded together with a group of young boys from his neighborhood to form a new team called Julius Caesar, which played in a field near the local church. Because the boys lacked the means to buy shoes and jerseys, they borrowed equipment from more established neighborhood teams. One neighborhood team, Esperança, was especially helpful to Julius Caesar. Some of Domingos's older brothers played for Esperança, a team in Rio's second-division league (roughly equivalent to American baseball's minor leagues). Esperança's players, in turn, depended on used equipment provided by the borough's sole first-division team, Bangu, the only club that promised a higher standard of living for its players.

Only in 1929 at age eighteen did Domingos's years of practice finally pay off; he became a second-string player for Bangu. Even though he rode the bench and played in only four games in his first season, by making the team Domingos won a job at the textile factory. In 1930, Domingos got a break: a starting fullback for Bangu suffered a serious injury. His brother, Luiz Antonio, who had been a starting fullback for Bangu years earlier, was now a club coach who had the responsibility for naming substitutes. Those who followed the club closely suggested Domingos, who had been playing well on the club's second team. Luiz Antonio, however, was reluctant at first because he thought his younger brother was "too thin, too weak" for a defense position usually reserved for more burly players. In the end, Luiz Antonio gave in, and Domingos started in his first game in a key match against one of Rio's perennial powerhouse teams, Flamengo. According to Domingos, "That was my start, and I was happy. We won by a margin of 3 to 1, and I never left Bangu's starting team thereafter."

More than prestige, Domingos's promotion to the first team earned him a substantial pay raise. By starting for Bangu in Rio's citywide championship, Guilherme da Silveira, the owner of the textile factory that sponsored Bangu, began to pay Domingos bonuses for his play in amounts that varied between 500 and 1,000 reis per game. Beyond these bonuses, he received a monthly salary from the factory. Until this point, Domingos had played for teams where the players "paid to play," but Bangu "gave him a small salary." "I worked in the factory office or I worked at this or that and I played for Bangu," Domingos recalled. His narrative reveals how club owners indirectly paid amateur players in the system of "brown professionalism." At a time when a factory worker had to work hard to gain just enough to sustain his household, Domingos now earned an income that was much higher than most common laborers. Despite the barriers that he had to overcome because of his race and class, Domingos

Even though Vasco da Gama did not have the prestige and tradition of Rio's most aristocratic and venerable teams such as Fluminense, Flamengo, and Botafogo, it managed to become one of Brazil's elite soccer teams at the beginning of the 1920s. Rio's large Portuguese immigrant community, which dominated retail commerce in the city, founded and financed Vasco, a team that began defeating the city's premier teams because it began to contract black working-class players whom other, more exclusive clubs barred. The success of this strategy was such that this up-and-coming club won its first citywide championship in 1923. Thus, it is fitting and perhaps natural that Vasco was one of the first major teams interested in signing Domingos.

His new contract gave Domingos wealth he had not known as a player for Bangu. "It meant brand-new socks, shoes, knee pads, and shin guards," recalled Domingos. While these acquisitions seem rather modest, for Domingos, "it was paradise." More than brand-new equipment and uniforms, Domingos began to earn substantially more than he had for Bangu without having to put in hours at the factory. For transferring to Vasco he was paid 5:00\$000 with a monthly salary of 500\$000 reis, a veritable fortune for a working-class man during the Great Depression. In a vain attempt to contain the progressive professionalization of soccer in Brazil, the league put in place new rules that worked to contain the social ascension of renowned athletes such as Domingos. One new rule prohibited players who had switched clubs from taking part in the annual citywide tournament; it obliged Domingos to play on Vasco's second team, which vied for a championship in a much less prestigious tournament. Even though professionalism was still technically illegal in Brazilian soccer, Domingos already had in soccer a well-paid profession with a salary and prestige beyond the reach of a factory worker.

Domingos's social and professional climb was only at its beginning in 1932 when he was once again called on to be a starting player for Brazil's national team in a battle for the Rio Branco Cup, this time in Montevideo. With the help of Domingos, Brazil triumphed by a margin of 2 to 1 over Uruguay. Brazil's press acclaimed the victory as "a notable achievement" and a worthy motive of "just pride" for the Brazilian people. For his formidable performance, Domingos garnered his highest accolades. The Uruguayans themselves declared Domingos the "best full-back on the entire continent." The Montevidean newsmen described him as a "fortress" that secured Brazil's defense. When he returned to Rio with his teammates, Brazilian fans carried Domingos on their shoulders in triumph and thousands thronged Rio's principal streets to honor the national team. The press described the spontaneous welcome accorded the players as the "most moving and impressive reception ever given to a national sports team." From being players only reluctantly

beat the odds and became one of the few players who succeeded in making his living by playing soccer.

As a professional player, Domingos's ascent was meteoric. His great play for Bangu won him renown that led to his nomination to a citywide all-star team in 1931. This annual tournament pitted players from Brazil's second largest city at the time, São Paulo, against those from the nation's largest city and capital, Rio de Janeiro. That same year he formed part of Brazil's national team that took on neighboring Uruguay for the Rio Branco Cup. His superior play earned him a starting position, making him the only black player on Brazil's national team. Against Uruguay, Domingos's skill and pluck won over Brazil's fans. One cheering fan yelled out, "I am going to have that *crioulo* [roughly equivalent to 'nigger'] plated in gold." The comment reveals the deep-seated contradictions that underlay the popular celebration of Domingos's athletic brilliance and racial attitudes. Brazil defeated Uruguay by a score of 2 to 1. Domingos emerged as one of the best players on the field and was "praised by all."

Soon after this triumph, other wealthier white soccer clubs became interested in acquiring Domingos. The need to attract fans to pay for tickets to attend the games required victories. Some of Rio's more traditional teams began to slowly integrate players from the working classes to improve their records. Domingos and other players with dark skin from humble backgrounds profited from a wider process of professionalization that transformed soccer into an industry capable of generating vast financial resources and inspiring passionate loyalties from fans in increasingly impersonal urban environments. These players' athletic gifts allowed them to surmount the racial prejudice that had limited the careers of those who came before them.

In January 1932 rumors began to spread that Domingos would be transferred to América (one of the most popular and successful of Rio's teams in the 1930s). Like Leônidas da Silva, another black athlete invited to play for América, Domingos signed a request to be registered as a club member of América. Nevertheless, Domingos desisted from joining the club. To justify his position, he alleged to the press that he had not joined América because he did not want to offend his brothers, part of the Bangu team's faithful. Years later, in 1998, he admitted that "Bangu was not a first caliber club. . . . It was not a Fluminense, a Vasco, a Botafogo, nor an América. It did not have that kind of money." As it seemed clear to most of the sports journalists of the period, Domingos's desire to move to another club was fueled primarily by a desire to increase his income and fame. In confirmation of these suspicions, Domingos signed with another club, Vasco da Gama (a team named for the famed Portuguese navigator), and Bangu cancelled his membership with the accusation that he sought to join other clubs.

accepted on the national team, players of African descent such as Domingos had become national heroes with international athletic reputations.

It did not take long, however, for this international prestige to change Domingos's life. In 1933, Nacional (a principal Uruguayan team) offered Domingos an even more financially lucrative contract. Uruguay, unlike Brazil, had already instituted a professional soccer league. The deal included a monthly salary of 1,500\$000 with a bonus of 43,000\$000 reis just for signing. The contract's value was more than eight times what Domingos earned with Vasco. He hesitated for about a month before signing the contract because he was not happy about the idea of leaving Brazil. He later observed, perhaps revealing the growing nationalism of the period, that "no one leaves his birthplace happily" and that he did not look with approval "on those who left to make their living in foreign lands." In the end, Domingos thought that he could not pass up this golden opportunity to improve the lives of his family and himself. Before leaving for Uruguay, he left with his brother-in-law money to buy a new house for his parents as well as a piece of land for himself in Bangü. It was, in truth, the beginning of a new life.

For the next three years, Domingos accepted new contracts, each involving ever larger sums of money, and transferred from team to team. His success in Uruguay was crowned by leading his team to a national championship, but his confessed desire was to return to play in Brazil, which he did after Brazil instituted its own professional soccer league in 1933. Bangü, the pioneer of "brown professionalism," won Rio's citywide tournament in 1933, and this victory may have inspired the directors of Vasco to hire more players of African descent. In 1934 they offered Domingos a large sum to return to Rio to play for them. His return did not disappoint fans because Vasco would win the city's tournament the following year. In 1935 a new offer from abroad, this time from Boca Juniors (later the team of Diego Maradona) of Buenos Aires, Argentina, won Domingos a contract worth more than four times the amount paid to him by Nacional two years earlier. Domingos proved he was worth the investment by leading Boca Juniors to a national championship in 1935. He was the only player of his era who could lay claim to be part of a national championship team in three different countries, a feat that confirmed his prowess on the field and made him Brazil's first truly international soccer star.

Soon enough, yet another Brazilian team resolved to invest the capital necessary to bring Domingos back to Brazil. Rio's traditional teams began to turn their backs on their aristocratic snobbery in order to increase revenues. Flamengo would be the first to build a strong team around a number of nonwhite players. Its goal was to popularize the

team to increase the number of club members and fans who would pay to watch Flamengo play. In 1935 the club's leadership began to hire black players such as Domingos's brothers, Otto and Ladislau. In 1936 they also contracted another brother of Domingos, Médico, and other more prominent black players such as Fausto and Leônidas. Soon thereafter, Flamengo, "with great sacrifice," according to Domingos himself, managed to lure him away from Boca Juniors and back to his native Rio. This recruitment strategy made Flamengo's team look different from most other principal teams in Rio, who had remained reluctant to hire so many dark-skinned professionals.

Leaving behind the series of contract negotiations and transfers that had gained him renown, Domingos would stay with Flamengo until 1943. Now he played for one of Brazil's most traditional powerhouse teams whose popularity grew during the 1930s. As Domingos put it, his years with Flamengo were the apogee of his career. With his fame consolidated and his comparatively high salary, Domingos became a major stadium draw for Flamengo. His spectacular play was even applauded by the opposing team's fans. Domingos had achieved a degree of respect and appreciation from club members and fans who a few years ago had turned up their noses at the prospect of hiring a black working-class player.

It was in this context that the national soccer federation began to make preparations to recruit a select team for Brazil's participation in the World Cup tournament of 1938. Domingos and his Flamengo teammate, Leônidas da Silva, were already national stars who had proven their mettle in international competitions. Their reputations fueled the confident expectations of Brazilian fans for the nation's first world soccer championship. For the first time, the press gave the national team's selection process extensive coverage, and many journalists played up the idea that this team would be selected without regard to the social and racial prejudices that had colored nominations in the past. Popular sports journalist Mário Filho, who had purchased the newspaper *Journal das Sports* in 1936, had been a leading promoter of innovations in the coverage of soccer and other sporting events in Brazil since 1930. His journalistic commentary clearly supported the transformations in Brazilian soccer that permitted black players such as Leônidas and Domingos to represent Brazil. Mário Filho sponsored unprecedented coverage of the 1938 World Cup and was an influential propagandist of this international sporting event that inspired nationalist passions. The results of the work of Mário Filho and other radio and print journalists were seen in the streets of Brazil where the intensity of support for the national team bristled. Mário Filho would remember years later, "Every Brazilian was overwhelmed by the most intense passion." With the help of the press, not to

mention President Vargas and intellectuals such as Gilberto Freyre, the Brazilian public felt pride and an intense connection to their national soccer team. These were the glory days of Domingos and his teammates.

July 5, 1938, was the date of Brazil's opening game against Poland. Just before the game, Mário Filho telephoned the Brazilian delegation in Paris to conduct an exclusive pre-game interview with the players that he ran in his paper the next day to mark the opening of the World Cup competition. When asked about the game against Poland, Domingos promised to give "his all for the victory," and he hoped to play the "best game" of his life. Brazil went on to defeat Poland in a high-scoring nail-biter by 6 to 5. Domingos had indeed played his best despite running a fever of 102 degrees. Mário Filho confirmed that Domingos was "one of the great players in the match and that he had lived up to his fame."

In its other games, the Brazilian team, captained by Domingos and Leônidas, made a lasting impression on Europe. Foreign players, journalists, and fans noted the mixture of races in the composition of Brazil's team but even so, they described Domingos as "one of the most phenomenal players of the tournament." In the semifinal match, Italy defeated Brazil 2 to 1. The winning goal came off of a play in which Domingos had a decisive role when he aggressively tackled an Italian forward in the goal area. This foul led the referee to make a disputed call that gave Italy a penalty kick that they converted into a goal. As Domingos said in 1967, he had made this mistake "because he did not know the rules of soccer."

The adverse result, however, did not dampen the enthusiasm of Brazilians for their national team idols. They attributed the loss to a mistake by the referee, who had marked a penalty kick when the ball was already out of play. Brazilian fans continued to demonstrate an unshaken faith in the superiority of Brazil's soccer prowess. Even though they did not win the World Cup, the Brazilian press insisted on calling the team "the kings of soccer" because they "were better than all the other teams in the championship." Mário Filho joined the chorus, calling the team members "kings without a crown . . . the crack players of Brazil" had given "the European players a soccer lesson." Brazilians were no longer apprentices of the European sport; they were now masters of the game. The so-called true world champions were praised not only by the press as national heroes but also by government ministers. President Vargas's minister of education, Gustavo Campanema, sent the national team a telegram after their defeat, in which he declared them to be "an affirmation of the admirable strength of Brazil, whose many future glorious sports victories were assured."

By personifying a new nationalist image for Brazil and the political project led by President Getúlio Vargas, Domingos, Leônidas, and the

other players on the national team, despite their defeat, consolidated their prestige. Taking the field "with the Brazilian soul," in Mário Filho's expression, they proved themselves worthy of the verses of Gilka Machado, then considered "the greatest poetess of Brazil":

Leônidas and Domingos
Fix on the foreigner's retina
The miraculous reality
Of what the Brazilian man is.

Making these two Brazilian soccer players of African descent into glorious symbols of a "new people," the poetess distilled the sentiments of a movement that made them into true representations of the nation's soul. It is not surprising that Domingos once again received a hero's welcome when he and the Brazilian team returned home. With his fame renewed by his World Cup play, Domingos's likeness was used in advertisements for the Vencedora (victorious) brand of clothes, and he endorsed a number of goods ranging from common household products to department stores. From Flamengo, he received a substantial raise with a new contract that paid 50:000\$000 for the signing bonus alone. He became an example for the next generation of young working-class black players who gravitated to Flamengo, such as the future star Zizinho, who had idealized Domingos as a youth. Awash in praise and adoration, it seems only natural that Domingos would assert that he was "very happy with his soccer career."

The intense press coverage he received, however, was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it reinforced the national prestige of black players such as Domingos, but on the other, it camouflaged the contradictory processes that had made his successful professional career possible. Even though his success had been facilitated by a nationalist movement led by artists, intellectuals, and even sports journalists who portrayed the contribution of Brazilians of African descent in a new positive light, Domingos himself seemed to detect that much of this rhetoric rang hollow. He did not exactly see himself as a symbol of Brazil's "racial democracy" or accept the idea that one's race did not prevent the social ascent of talented individuals of color. He was aware of the role of sports journalists such as Mário Filho in creating his legend as a soccer star of African descent, and he frequently thanked the press for its generous praise. Still, he did not forget the many difficulties and insults that he had confronted during his career because of his race.

He well remembered the case of his oldest brother, Luiz Antonio, who in the 1920s became known as an exceptional fullback. According to Domingos, "In Bangu, they say that Luiz Antonio was better than me." Despite his brother's talent, however, his race prevented him from

winning the renown and the remuneration that Domingos would achieve only a few years later. Even though Luiz Antonio was widely recognized as one of the best players in Brazil, not one of the wealthy traditional teams even attempted to sign him, and league authorities and politicians vetoed his nomination to the national select team in the 1920s because he was Afro-Brazilian. Even at the height of his career, Domingos witnessed many examples of the difficulties that talented players of color continued to confront. Few managed to parlay their soccer talents into the public acclaim and financial security that Domingos and Leônidas had secured. Fausto, one of Domingos's teammates on Vasco da Gama and later on Flamengo, had undeniable talent that earned him a contract with a Spanish team early in his career. After his career came to an abrupt end, Fausto soon thereafter died penniless and alone at a very young age in 1939. For Domingos, Fausto's life story and those of other celebrated Afro-Brazilians demonstrated that "blacks have never been accepted in this country."

Racial prejudice in Brazil led Domingos to play down in public his own African ancestry. He realized that Brazilian racism struck hardest against the "really black, black player." To deflect this harsh racism, Domingos declared that he was a "mulatto," and he distinguished himself and his experience from darker skinned players such as his own teammate, Leônidas da Silva. As Domingos put it in a 1995 interview, "he [Leônidas] had a real disadvantage . . . [because] he was black, black, black as tar, . . . [even] with his money he remained that *crioulinho* (little nigger). Not me, I am mulatto, so I was treated differently when I arrived at a social gathering . . . [Folks would say] Domingos is black? What do you mean, black? At parties I would socialize freely with [lighter skinned people] and feel at ease conversing because I was not white but black." Domingos hurriedly answered his own rhetorical question: "Well, no, I am not white, but I am not black either!" He then clarified his own confusing circumlocution: "I am the darkest member of my family because of the sun" that beat down on him during his years of playing soccer in Brazil. But he emphasized again that he was "not black or a nigger."

During his career, Domingos remained conscious of the need to shield himself from the worst forms of social and racial discrimination to which he sometimes fell victim even in his moments of glory. As he admitted soon after affirming the advantages of being mulatto in Brazil, "I did not attempt to mix with the wealthy set because I had the disadvantage of being a person of color: I am not black but I am not white either . . . I recognized that [in some social spaces] especially in the wealthy parts of the city only a white person could enter. I said to myself, I cannot go in there. My hair is bad [a racist expression used by Brazilians to belittle the

curly hair characteristic of people of African descent]." To distance himself from "blacks," Domingos took care to shape his public image. In his first appearances with Bangu, he wore a cap to hide the curls that he recognized as a trait strongly associated with "blackness." As he remembered, "I began to wash my hair often and then to comb it down straight." Until he returned to play with Flamengo in 1936, Domingos's cap had been his inseparable companion and a trademark of his public image. He carefully monitored his behavior and image even at the height of his career to avoid a direct association with "blackness." Domingos's actions demonstrate the very limited nature of Brazil's "racial democracy" that he himself had come to symbolize. Individuals of color who wanted to be accepted had to know their place in the social hierarchy, even if they were soccer stars, or else face humiliating social censure. Even though he criticized racial prejudice, Domingos also exhibited his own disdain for "blacks" and a fear of being treated like one.

Once his international reputation had been secured after the 1938 World Cup, Domingos felt comfortable enough to leave his cap at home and to display his woolly hair publicly. From that time on, Domingos lost his interest in playing for Brazil's national team, according to Mário Filho, who observed that he stopped playing with the same enthusiasm to deliberately avoid being tapped for the national team. Still, he continued to help Flamengo win championships and maintained his prestige. Domingos's long stint with Flamengo provided a period of stability in his life during which he played some of his best games. He led Flamengo to back-to-back state championships in 1942 and 1943.

In 1944, Domingos left Flamengo to accept a profitable new contract from the city of São Paulo's most popular team, Corinthians. He played there for four years, and his inspired play for Corinthians earned him one last invitation to play for Brazil's national select team against Uruguay for the Rio Branco Cup in 1947. At age thirty-six, Domingos began the final phase of his soccer career. His skill and experience could no longer fully compensate for his declining physical vigor. In 1948 he decided to return to play for Bangu, the team that had helped him to launch his professional career. Domingos stated that Bangu "is where my spirit is more tranquil." Brazil's greatest fullback played his last season of soccer with Bangu in 1949, when he decided it was time to leave professional sports for good.

Despite his years of lucrative contracts and endorsements, Domingos left soccer without a stable retirement nest egg. "I earned a lot of money," Domingos lamented, "but I did not know how to invest my earnings. One time, someone advised me to invest in some houses in Copacabana. It was at that time still a relatively thinly populated Rio borough. Instead, I invested in a subdivision in Bangu." In the mid-1900s, Copacabana

would become one of the most densely populated and wealthy boroughs of Rio where real estate values soared, whereas Bangu remained a working-class suburb where property values did not rise so rapidly. Besides his misguided investments, Domingos claimed that he had wasted a lot of money on "women and drink." As he saw it, "I did not know how to save money, but I did know how to live it up."

From the start, his fame seemed sufficient to secure a financially stable future. Even though he had not invested his earnings from soccer wisely, he had his name, which was still capable of earning him a good income. In 1950 he won a contract to endorse soft drinks, and he then turned his hand to a career as a coach for Olaria, a second-division team that represented yet another of Rio's working-class suburbs.

In a game where heroes succeed one another rapidly, Domingos's name soon became less well known. This process was accelerated by the success of Brazil's national team in the 1950 World Cup held in Rio, where Brazil's team only stumbled in the final game in a heart-breaking loss to Uruguay. In 1955, Mário Filho notes in his memoir that "no one spoke anymore of [Domingos] da Guia." He noted that Domingos then lived in São Paulo where he was the owner of a humble luncheonette. A few months later the journalist reported that Domingos was living "in misery" with financial difficulties unimaginable for someone of such renown. He observed, "With the end of his soccer career, came the end of everything for Domingos." The journalist's statement implied a recognition of the contradictions in the myth of racial harmony that he himself had helped to create around the image of the great black fullback. Away from soccer, Domingos was merely a middle-aged black man who had only a primary education and little work experience in the world of business. His soccer career had not prevented him from facing the severe limitations that his race and class imposed on his future.

Fortunately for Domingos, his miserable situation did not last long. Guilherme da Silveira, the owner of the textile factory where Domingos and his brothers and father worked, soon arranged a job for him. As Domingos's son later recalled, "My father was very lucky that Silveira liked him so much." By virtue of his old boss's patronage, Domingos found work as a modest public employee, a job that he maintained for the rest of his life, even after he no longer could work. Two of his sons followed in their father's footsteps to earn a living from professional soccer. Ademir da Guia had a soccer career nearly as brilliant as his father's.

In the last years of his life, Domingos lived with his sons in the middle-class borough of Meier in Rio. At this late point in his long life of eighty-six years, he mused in a somewhat confused stream of consciousness, "The only reason I did not become arrogant and vain was because I came from such a sad state of poverty. We were born in Bangu, my family did

not own a house, we did not have anything. We had a house made of wood, you slept in fear, there was no fence, there was nothing. . . . My good fortune was that God gave me the talent to play soccer." A great soccer player, whom politicians, intellectuals, and journalists had once praised as the embodiment of the Brazilian nation's unique genius, had discovered that outside the sports stadium, limits imposed by his race and his class origins belied the myth of racial harmony and tolerance. His self-made celebrity and fortune had been short-lived, but with the help of his family and an old patron, Domingos had managed to escape the more difficult life of a Bangu factory worker.

The story of Domingos and of the nation he reputedly represented failed to live up to the ideal of racial democracy or the idea that Brazil was uniquely free of racial tensions and discrimination. Nevertheless, the former fullback still expressed great pride in his achievements and his sport. In front of a television set that broadcast a game between two women's national teams, he ended his last interview by declaring his gratitude to soccer. Even if they did not provide him and others with a means of completely overcoming racial and class inequalities and prejudices, he took pride in the role he had played in shaping the history of soccer and Brazil, a nation he had proudly defended on the soccer field. Both had given him the means to change his own destiny. Nodding at the television set, he stated, "As a child I was already watching this game. I knew how to play, I mean to say, my entire life was bound up with sports. . . . I began watching and I ended up playing. Then I was happy."

SUGGESTED READINGS

There are important studies of Brazilian soccer and society published in Portuguese: Mário Filho Rodrigues, *O negro no futebol brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Forno, 1994); Waldemyr Caldas, *O pontapé inicial: Memória de futebol brasileiro* (São Paulo: IBRASA, 1990); Leonardo Affonso de Miranda Pereira, *Footballmania: Uma história social do futebol no Rio de Janeiro (1902-1938)* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2000); J. C. Meihy and J. S. Witter, eds., *Futebol e cultura: Uma coletânea de estudos* (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo, 1982); Anatol Rosenfeld, *Negro, macumba e futebol* (São Paulo: Edusp, 1993); and Mário de Moraes, ed., *Futebol e arte: Depoimentos e Domingos da Guia, Zizinho, e Pelé* (Rio de Janeiro: Museu da Imagem e do Som Rio de Janeiro, 2002).

On Brazilian soccer in English, see Tony Mason, *Passion of the People: Football in South America* (New York: Verso Books, 1995); Robert M. Levine, "Sport and Society: The Case of Brazilian Futebol," *Latin-Brazilian Review* 17:2 (1980): 233-51; Janet Lever, *Soccer Madness: Brazil's Obsession for the World's Most Popular Sport* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1995);

José Sérgio Leite Lopes, "Class, Ethnicity, and Color in the Making of Brazilian Football," *Daedalus* 129:2 (2000): 239-70; idem, "Football and the Working Class in Brazil: Colour and Class in the Making of National Identity," Working Paper, Manchester International Centre for Labour Studies, University of Manchester, no. 15 (May 1996); and Alex Bellos, *Futebol: The Brazilian Way of Life* (North Pomfret, VT: Bloomsbury, 2002).

Norma Fraga

Race, Class, Education, and the Estado Novo

JERRY DÁVILA

The music and sports industries began to offer a small number of talented but mostly poorly educated nonwhites such as Geraldo Pereira and Domingos da Guia new possibilities for social mobility and celebrity in the 1930s. Studies by social scientists, however, have shown that level of education is the variable that best predicts future income. Of course, income is only one way of measuring relative success (a subjective concept, especially for poorly paid academics) within a given social system. In any case, unlike a career, a reputation, physical vigor, or belongings, education is a possession that cannot be easily lost or taken away. A good education tends to lend more stability to an individual's position as well as the patina of polish and respectability often associated with superior social and class status. On average, a better-educated person is more able to deal with the adversities and injustices that nature, society, or fate presents them over the course of a lifetime. In the ideal, public educational systems should serve as gateways to achievement and social mobility for all citizens. But in practice, educational institutions often act as barriers to maintain the status quo.

Jerry Dávila's recounting of Norma Fraga's life as a student of African descent during Brazil's Estado Novo (1937-1945) reveals how the public education system worked to the disadvantage of most nonwhites. New standards for teacher certification and higher pay led to both a "whitening" and a feminization of the teacher corps in Rio's growing network of elementary schools during the Vargas years. The system also tended to reflect stubborn ideas of racial hierarchy among an overwhelmingly white teacher population. Thus, white students were more likely to be tracked for achievement and promotion, while black and brown students were more likely to be held to low standards or held back altogether. Most of the artifacts of the system and the curriculum itself preserved stereotypes of primitive, inferior African culture and assumed that the need to "whiten" those of African descent through education was a matter of national salvation. These practices flew in the face of the nationalist rhetoric of racial democracy that most leaders of the Estado Novo embraced. As Professor Dávila shows, Dona Norma was one of the few persons of color who managed to overcome barriers that kept most nonwhites out of the higher educational

Carolina Maria de Jesus

From Ragpicker to Best-Selling Author and Back Again

ROBERT M. LEVINE

Carolina Maria de Jesus's life story demonstrates the hardships confronted by even some of the most talented descendants of slaves in Brazil, but, more than just racial prejudice, her humble origins subjected her to compounded bigotry. Born a poor illegitimate black girl in a small town in mountainous Minas Gerais, *Carolina* also suffered the discrimination commonly experienced by women, the poor, bastards, and rustics both before and after she migrated to the burgeoning industrial urban center of São Paulo as a young woman. While she felt close to and admired her grandfather, whose father had been a slave, she found intolerance even within her own family, where lighter-skinned relatives shunned her and her mother because of their dark skin. Despite these strikes against her, *Carolina* parlayed her meager education, personal dignity, and harsh past into temporary celebrity when her diary about her life in a São Paulo slum became an international best-seller in the early 1960s. Her grit, independence, and lack of deference, however, ultimately alienated many of the middle- and upper-class white Brazilians who had initially supported her. Like all of us, *Carolina* had contradictory views that made some advocates for the poor who lavished praise on her work uncomfortable. While she railed against the prejudice of whites and browns, she also at times disparaged blacks and poor migrants from the Northeast as lazy and irresponsible. After briefly climbing into the ranks of Brazil's middle class through her book sales, *Carolina* slipped back into a precarious lower-class lifestyle before she died in relative obscurity in the late 1970s.

Carolina's voice gave rare insight into the lives of those millions of rural Brazilians who migrated to the cities in the twentieth century. São Paulo, Brazil's largest urban center and its industrial and financial heart, remains dotted with makeshift slums. After *Carolina's* day, crime rings that made their money from narcotics trafficking maintained order and paid for local improvements with drug profits. The police only entered these neighborhoods in large numbers to make arrests. Even though the favelas were less threatening in *Carolina's* day, crime, deadly disputes between neighbors, and squalid conditions were common. Still, some of São Paulo's most powerful politicians came to know the outspoken *Carolina* during their campaign swings through the shantytowns. Although many ordinary

workers lived in the slums, favela dwellers were stereotyped as vagrants, criminals, and prostitutes.

As a nineteen-year-old exchange student in Mendoza, Argentina, Robert M. Levine read in the newspaper that a black Brazilian writer, Carolina Maria de Jesus, would be appearing at a bookstore to autograph the Spanish edition of her newly published diary about slum life in São Paulo. When Levine mentioned it to some Argentine friends, they replied that no macaco ("monkey," insulting Argentine slang for blacks as well as their Brazilian neighbors) could have written a book, an argument that many educated Brazilians believed as well. Levine never managed to visit the bookstore, but he used the English translation of Carolina's diary when he started teaching in 1966 and continued to do so until his death on April 1, 2003. In addition, an oral history project initiated by Levine in collaboration with José Carlos Sebe Bom Meiby and Juliano Snyer led to the publication of nine books on Carolina, including *The Life and Death of Carolina Maria de Jesus* (1995). Royalties from their books and documentaries made about Carolina go to her grandchildren. In 1981 the University of Miami recruited Bob to develop one of the most successful Ph.D. programs in Latin American history in the United States.

From 1989 until the beginning of 2003, Levine directed the Center for Latin American Studies in Miami. He published more than two dozen books on subjects ranging from Brazilian social and political history to Cuban history and the use of historical photographs as documents. He was one of the most productive and generous historians of Brazil, and his legacy lives on in his colleges, students, and publications.

Carolina Maria de Jesus, the great-grandchild of Brazilian slaves, was born in 1915 in poverty to an unmarried mother in Sacramento, a lethargic rural town in the dairy state of Minas Gerais.¹ A harsh childhood burdened by poverty and discrimination marked her for life, but it also gave her the motivation to struggle to improve herself. She had become literate largely on her own after attending for a scant two years a private school paid for by a benefactress, the wife of a local landowner. As a young girl, she developed a passion for reading. She shocked her mother by reading aloud the labels in shop windows and the names on storefronts. Her peers mocked her and claimed that a black girl enamored of reading must be a creature of the devil. By then she had developed a feisty personality; and rather than groveling in shame, as she claimed her mother did, she soldiered on, unperturbed.

When her mother died, Carolina, by then a young woman, migrated to the industrializing city of São Paulo in search of work. She became determined to write down her feelings and to tell her story. Starting in 1955, she began to keep a diary in notebooks fashioned from scraps of

paper she found while foraging for her living in garbage. Her diary entries, written with a powerfully personal narrative force, reflected a mixture of hope and ruefulness. She captured moments of poignancy in a touching manner: once, when she ran out of things to eat, her daughter Vera asked Carolina to sell her to her godmother, Dona Julita, "because she has delicious food." Whether or not all diaries are subconsciously written for others, Carolina's handwritten fragments conveyed a richly felt sense of her personal life. She was, as feminist scholars say, "constructing a self."

Carolina's initial success resulted in large part from fortuitous timing. Brazil had reached a crest of national optimism over economic development and populist reform in the late 1950s. Economic development, however, had left many Brazilians behind as rural migrants, such as Carolina, crowded into unhealthy urban slums. Many people saw hope in Carolina's rags-to-riches story. To them, she embodied the possibility that with help, *favela* residents could rise out of poverty and transform themselves. Carolina's personal honesty and her unwillingness to fall into despair contributed to the popular view of most slum dwellers as "poor but honest."

During the 1950s, Carolina, who had always dreamed of being a writer despite her two meager years of schooling, tried to find publishers while working as a maid for wealthy *pauлиста* families. She sent a short poem to a newspaper, which was printed, but publishers rejected other submissions of stories, plays, poems, and novels. Interviewed on Brazilian television after the success of her diary made her a celebrity, she said on camera, "If I weren't so happy I would cry. When I first gave my manuscript to Brazilian editors they laughed at this poor Negro woman with calloused hands who wore rags and only had two years of schooling. They told me I should write on toilet paper." She concluded the interview by saying: "Today I had lunch in a wonderful restaurant and a photographer took my picture. I told him: 'Write under the photo that Carolina who used to eat from trashcans now eats in restaurants. That she has come back into the human race and out of the garbage dump.'"

In April 1958, São Paulo newspaper reporter Audálio Dantas discovered that Carolina had written a diary about her hard life; he managed to edit it and published some of the entries in his paper. In August 1960, Dantas had the edited diary printed under the title *Quarto de despejo* (literally, Garbage room, but translated into English as *Child of the Dark*). It became the best-selling book in Brazilian history and brought its author worldwide fame.

Child of the Dark would not likely have been published at all if Carolina's diaries had been discovered before 1958 or after 1961. President Juscelino Kubitschek's successor in office in 1960 was the mercurial

Jânio Quadros. He resigned abruptly in 1961 and fled the country when his government became paralyzed in the midst of economic stagnation and political polarization. His successor, João Goulart, advocated leftist reforms that further polarized Brazilian politics and heightened ideological rhetoric in the tense Cold War climate that pervaded Latin America after the 1959 Cuban Revolution. In this climate, Carolina's diary would have been dismissed as being too naive. The right-wing military dictatorship that seized power in 1964 by overthrowing Goulart was little interested in social reforms. It initiated an era of Chicago School economic development that greatly increased the disparity between rich and poor and left many Brazilians feeling helpless and angry.

Brazilian society had become more divided than ever between an affluent world of mostly whites and a marginalized world of poor blacks and persons of mixed racial ancestry. Women fared much less well than men in this world. Until 1988, Brazil's civil laws discriminated against women. For instance, before a battered wife could press charges against her husband, he had to give his written permission. Carolina, a poor black woman, possessed an iron will and a strong sense of what she wanted. She was aware of the legacies of racism, gender prejudice, and political neglect of the poor, but she dealt with these burdens only as they directly affected her.

Carolina thought herself rich when Dantas opened a bank account for her in the amount of 858 U.S. dollars. The fact that she had to cash bills for 1,000 cruzeiros (\$4.88) to make change amazed her and her children. She earned the equivalent of 20,000 or 30,000 dollars (in 1996 value) and a few thousand more from American and French royalties, for her an undreamed-of fortune. On her earnings she was able to afford a maid. When she wanted to withdraw money from her bank account, she had to take the bus downtown and wait for Dantas, who then walked with her to the bank to sign for her. Her wealth disappeared quickly, however; she was besieged by requests for money, and she doled it out generously. She paid for an unsuccessful samba record featuring her voice, and she likely subsidized the poorly received editions of her later books.

Carolina Maria de Jesus died in 1977 not in utter poverty but in austere circumstances, a strange fate for the author who had sold more books than any other Brazilian. As a poor black woman, she faced unceasing prejudice. Given Carolina's unprecedented recognition worldwide for her insights about the lives of the social underclass, it is difficult to understand why so few women rose to her defense when attacks began after the first, flush days of her fame. Female Brazilian journalists generally treated her as harshly, or more harshly, than did their male counterparts. If Carolina had been a man, she likely would not have ended up in the *favela*. Most upper-class families preferred live-in maids, and

they routinely fired their female servants if they became pregnant. They did not want the child living in their home and their employee distracted with child care. The disdain directed at Carolina after her publishing success was perhaps a predictable response to an unconstrained, outspoken black female.

When Carolina died in 1977 she was a recluse. Her diary remained out of print for nearly two decades until it was reissued in a limited edition. *Casa de alvenaria* (Brick house) remained out of print and ignored. The generation who became adults in the early 1990s—born during the military dictatorship with its antipathy to social questions—had no way of knowing who she was when older scholars and intellectuals revived the debate over her significance following the “discovery” of her surviving children and the controversy over whether or not she merited recognition.

In all, she produced three autobiographical volumes. One of them, *Bitita's Diary*, about her early years (Bitita was her nickname), was published in France after her death and in Brazil only years later. Her autobiographical writing reflected her bitterness, although she fought against despair, often ending the description of a harrowing day with something that had made her happy—the sunset, or the lights of the city at night. She wrote of death and of watching restaurant employees spill acid on garbage so that the poor could not rummage for food. She wrote about excrement, drunkenness, sons who beat their parents, prostitution, undernourishment, and hopelessness. “Black is our life,” she said, “everything is black around us.” She wrote about race, about how she had always been discriminated against, about how she disliked idle people, about how she disliked most of her fellow blacks, whom she considered lazy. No revolutionary, she believed that if people worked hard, within the system, they could aspire to a better life.

On November 27, 1960, she returned to Brazil from Argentina for the publication of *Casa de alvenaria* in Rio de Janeiro. When her Argentine editor visited her a week later in São Paulo, she asked him for 20,000 cruzeiros to buy a suit for her son João. On December 12 she flew to Montevideo. As in Buenos Aires she was received warmly and asked hard but respectful questions about society and about her opinions and philosophy. She confessed that she had never expected her writings to be published, that she wrote to forget the bitterness of her life. She was struck by how clean the streets were; there were no beggars, and the Uruguayans dressed well and showed that they were cultured. She was taken to visit a neighborhood of *camargiles*, a kind of slum, where she noted that the government was constructing permanent housing, with running water and bathrooms, to replace the shanties. There was a government school in the slum, although many men and youths were

without work. She advised the poor Uruguayans who came to see her to plant gardens and raise chickens.

In Montevideo, when she left the slum, Carolina was taken to visit the president of Uruguay, Victor Haedo, in his palace, where he embraced her and presided over a luncheon of Brazilian *feijoadá* (bean-stew). The next day, he and Carolina rode in a motorcade down the streets of the capital to the airport, where they flew to Salto to dedicate a monument. The archbishop was present as well as the governor and the chief of the president's military staff. She spent much of the day with Haedo. The reception given to Carolina less than a year removed from a São Paulo slum was stunning, although it was only sparsely reported back home in Brazil. Her reception in Argentina and Chile was similar. On January 16, 1961, she addressed a filled lecture hall at an international conference attended by Nobel Prize winners, Columbia University professor Frank Tannenbaum, and the Mexican and Cuban writers Carlos Fuentes and Alejo Carpentier.

In the United States and Canada, Western Europe, Japan, Cuba, and the Soviet-bloc nations, critics hailed Carolina as a heroine, a lone voice expressing the cry for help from the underprivileged classes. But fortune's pendulum swung back as soon as she returned from her second publicity trip to Chile, the last of her tours. The flood of requests for interviews and radio and television appearances stopped, although journalists continued to consider her fair game and dropped in, if now sporadically, at any time. Her royalties diminished abruptly. Although *Child of the Dark* became an international sensation, translated into more than a dozen languages, her publisher never anticipated the degree of its success and therefore sold the rights to foreign literary agents, who then assumed the bulk of the royalties. She would receive some meager payments from publishers in the United States, Holland, and France, but not a single royalty check from any other country. There were a few payments for movie rights, but except for a documentary made in Germany and another by TV Globo, little came of the projects to film her life story. Her last two books, issued while she was alive, *Pedaços de fome* (Pieces of hunger) and *Provérbios* (Proverbs), were commercial failures.

Brazilian intellectuals on the left rejected Carolina because she was not, in the words of one, a "typical proletarian." Her beliefs and attitudes did not fit the image of the heroic poor whom leftists imagined inhabited Brazil's fetid slums. She was not a revolutionary; her quest was personal, to fend for and protect her family. Nor did conservatives recognize her, even though she advocated a deeply felt work ethic, did not drink, and in later years gave statements to the press that seemed to support the military dictatorship. Her political views, in fact, were very much like

those of O. J. Simpson in the United States, who declined to support the Olympics boycott by African Americans in 1968 for the same reason that Carolina gave for her lack of political activism: "you can't change the world until you change yourself." Some Brazilians considered her, according to one university professor, a *palhaço* (clown).

The social reformism that had been prominent in 1960 when her diary was published had been replaced by a polarization of attitudes by the time of her death. At one end of the political spectrum stood right-wing backers of the military, who favored economic development over social change, and at the other end, a small group of leftists, mostly driven underground, who ignored Carolina because she was not revolutionary enough for them. The 1977 obituary published in Rio de Janeiro's *Journal do Brasil* illustrates this ambivalence:

Carolina Maria de Jesus, the author of *Quarto de despejo*, died yesterday . . . as poor as she had been when she began to write the diary which would turn into the major best-seller in Brazil of all time. . . . In 1961 her book royalties allowed Carolina to purchase a brick house, a symbol—as she often pointed out—of her personal victory over hunger and misery. But her second book failed to attain the popularity of the first, and she began to quarrel with her friends and supporters, including the journalist Audálio Dantas, who had discovered her scavenging for paper on which to write her diary, and who had acted as her agent. Little by little, Carolina dissipated the resources that her book had brought her. She purchased everything in sight: she visited the famous, frequented the salons of the rich—but in time she began to irritate her hosts. . . . Her inability to adjust to success cost her dearly. . . . Forced to sell her brick house for nonpayment of debts, she relocated her family to a rural shack along the Parelheiros road. There she raised chickens and pigs and lived in poverty, refusing, however, to become a burden on her now grown children. It was in this place that she was found yesterday, dead of an attack of acute asthma. When her body was discovered, the mayor of nearby Embú-Guaçu offered a valedictory. She was buried in the cemetery at Vila Cipó, a polluted industrial suburb near Parelheiros, the place to which she had escaped in search of fresh air and seclusion.

Some educated Brazilians disliked Carolina because they considered her a traitor to their idealized image of the working class. Instead of wearing modest clothes, Carolina wobbled in stylish high-heeled shoes, and she talked back to wealthier and better-educated Brazilians who expected deference from a poor black woman. She also clashed with their stereotypes about race. Although she expressed pride in being black, she preferred romantic relationships with white men; each of her children had been fathered by a white man from a different country. In the 1960s, a decade in which black pride became an international movement, Carolina's preference for white lovers came to be seen as out of step to

many leftist and black Brazilian activists. Although she wrote that she thanked God for making her a Brazilian, she also castigated her fellow countrymen for their shortcomings.

In many ways, Carolina explored the nuances of Brazilian life as if she were a foreign traveler because her status as an outcast made her almost an alien among her own people. Like Alexis de Tocqueville, the French visitor to the United States in the 1830s, Carolina brilliantly described social contradictions and singular secrets.² She casually described little things about daily life that most people did not see or write about because they were considered taboo, trivial, or in bad taste. In *Bitita's Diary*, she meets a woman named Nair who is so depressed at being black that she does not go to "dances for blacks," a cogent reference to the segregated lives of blacks and whites in her country and especially in São Paulo. Carolina quietly hoped for racial harmony, but her observations of Nair and other everyday realities unmasked the national myth of racial democracy—that Brazil was uniquely blessed among nations because of its heritage of racial harmony and cooperation. When she saw whites and blacks together, she commented on how good this made her feel, just as she was glad when she visited her black friend Ivete and found that she lived in a house that was comfortable and well furnished. Her comments about her disappointment in the lack of traditional May Day commemorations (an international holiday celebrating workers) in 1961 reveals sympathy with working-class concerns. Her observations about a black youth who lost the use of his hand in an industrial accident, but for whom President Getúlio Vargas's new labor legislation did nothing, divulged much about the legacy of this popular political figure. (Vargas committed suicide before he was to be ousted as president in 1954, but he left nostalgic memories among the poor for his populist rhetoric on behalf of ordinary Brazilians.)

No one in Brazil spoke out against the cruel insinuations that journalists made about Carolina's person. Nor did most Brazilian scholars believe that the conditions that Carolina had exposed merited greater national debate. No one acknowledged that it was perfectly understandable for a former slum dweller to have difficulty in adjusting to a world that reviled people like her. By emphasizing her brusqueness, eccentricities, and faux pas the media deflected attention from her social critique of society's many injustices.

Throughout her life, Carolina was weighed down by the scorn heaped upon her by society. Even though she shielded herself and her children from the squalid aspects of slum life, these conditions took their toll. By the time she was liberated from the *favela* by a stroke of fate, it was too late. She was exhausted, too beaten down to learn middle-class manners,

to censor her thoughts, to remove the layers of suffering from her psyche, or to prescribe solutions for society's ills.

Hostility to her blackness also plagued Carolina. Most educated Brazilians accepted the myth of Brazilian racial democracy despite the obvious evidence of racism surrounding them, especially discrimination against people of very dark skin. Carolina's writings describe racist incidents constantly, almost matter-of-factly, long before other Brazilians acknowledged racial prejudice. Foreigners less influenced by this racial mythology often recognized race prejudice when they visited Brazil. For example, Hollywood film director Orson Welles, invited in 1941 to participate in a birthday celebration broadcast for dictator Getúlio Vargas, was told that he could not bring a black friend with him into the studio. Welles's attempts to film *It's All True*, an anthology with segments about Carnival and the plight of northeastern raft fishermen, was criticized in a secret letter from his Brazilian production manager to the police complaining about Welles's "insistence on emphasizing the unsavory Negro element and mixture of the races."



In 1996, Vera Eunice de Jesus Lima, Carolina's daughter, revealed that she possessed thirty-seven of her mother's handwritten notebooks. Some had been copied by Carolina from the originals, in some cases with changes. Most of the more than 4,500 pages had been written after Carolina moved to Parelheiros, then on the outskirts of São Paulo. There she fell back into poverty but recouped enough economic stability to send her children to school.

Her unedited diary entries offer two kinds of insight into Carolina Maria de Jesus. First, they show her to be more complex than the two-dimensional woman depicted by Dantas. He knew that Carolina's lack of tact would irritate readers who expected lower-class celebrities to know their place; as a good journalist, moreover, he also knew the importance of simple, straightforward writing and aimed, through deletions in her text, to simplify her message. The problem is that Dantas's editing muted her personality, which was more feisty and angry than readers of her published diaries encountered. Readers of her diaries wondered why Carolina seemed so docile. In truth, she was angry and frustrated much of the time. She had a much deeper insight into how Brazilian society functioned, and she was willing to name names. She may not have always been accurate—she was entirely dependent on her own resources—but her perceptions were tenaciously held. Her experience shows us that indigents were capable of engaging the system that trapped them, and

that if that system produced individuals whom society considered loose cannons, there were many reasons for it.

The second contribution of her unedited writing is the welter of new information it offers about Carolina's life and, by extension, the lives of the poor, especially in the entries that continued after her two diaries were published. We also have additional detail about the periods covered by the entries. This information is especially valuable for the insight it offers into Carolina's new role as a consequence of her celebrity. Brazilian society was not accustomed to indigent black single mothers talking to reporters, or being interviewed on television, or writing about their lives. We should not be surprised at how she reacted. The woeful circumstances of her early life had steeled her to rejection and had given her a tough coat of psychological armor. Carolina was always an outsider, yet unlike many outsiders, she craved acceptance and fame; she wanted to be recognized as a writer, to achieve upward mobility.

Not surprisingly, her observations sometimes confused her readers; some found her contradictory; others, elusive and inconsistent. Not only was she a self-taught writer, but she was also tormented by hunger and by the frequent crises that afflicted slum dwellers. When the rainy season came to São Paulo, her shack, along with the others in her riverfront slum, was flooded, and her family had to find other housing. They might have to live in doorways or under bridges until the waters subsided. Once she was hospitalized after a woman in the slum stabbed her. Her routine frequently was disrupted by the need to protect her children from threatened violence, or by her inability to find enough junk in garbage to sell and then buy food. She had to spend hours each day in line at the *favela's* single spigot to draw water. With these hardships, she underwent mercurial mood shifts from despair to joy to hope to dejection. At the height of her fame, her writing style became reflective. She never shed her depression, however, although she had an astonishing ability to rise to the occasion when she had to fend for her children and keep her family afloat.

Her diary entries reveal a homespun philosophy that demands honesty in relationships between men and women. Carolina, whether she knew it or not, was a practicing feminist in a society that was overwhelmingly dominated by males. She refused offers of marriage because she knew that the men would not respect her and would treat her as their servant. "I have loved," she wrote, but "I have never been in love." She defied the Catholic Church's insistence on marriage as the basis for having children and raising them, and she insisted on choosing her own sexual partners. Even living amid garbage and sometimes covered with sores, she found herself sexually attractive to white men from higher social classes, yet she never betrayed her independence to exploit this advantage, even for the benefit of her children.

She decried the suffering of undernourished and illiterate children and preached basic family values that she held as guiding principles both before and after she became famous. Mothers, she believed, were duty bound to observe their children, care for them and protect them from danger, and discipline them when they were in error. Other *favela* parents shrugged when their children stole or cursed or acted irresponsibly; Carolina thrashed hers when they misbehaved. In a society in which the poor for centuries had drowned their pain in *cachaça*, she refused alcohol and tried (ultimately in vain) to keep her sons from liquor as well.

She lashed out at sycophants, playboys, perverts, unfaithful husbands, drunks, layabouts, and people who refused to work and who lived on the dole. She excoriated politicians who cynically promised poor voters what they never intended to deliver. She demanded that society show responsibility in providing education, health care, and housing for the poor, but she showed no sympathy to those who called for radical reform. She criticized Brazil out of her love for her country. She never alienated herself from the law or from political authorities, some of whom she cultivated to obtain favors. She once convinced São Paulo's popular mayor, Adhemar de Barros, to pay for a hospital stay. Her verses took landowners and arrogant politicians to task. Her statements to the press gave her entry into the offices (but not the hearts) of local officials, publishers, the media, and some members of the elite. Despite her generally favorable disposition toward the have-nots in society, she knew that people perceived her as a dirty black woman to be scorned.

As soon as her diaries were serialized by Dantas's newspaper before the first edition was published, she guided not only Dantas through her *favela* but also other newspapermen and photographers. Even after her celebrity had faded, she served as a conduit into the slums for filmmakers, journalists, and politicians. When the Finnish writer Eva Västari came to her house, Carolina turned over her children's bedroom to the visitor. Eva paid her nothing but did buy some food for her host; Carolina acted as her personal escort. These visits must have been difficult for Carolina because reporters often criticized her clothing and the way she kept house. Once, Eva accused Carolina's children of stealing money from her purse. Although Carolina defended her children tooth and nail, she pulled her son José Carlos aside and told him that if he was guilty she would feed him poison.

The unedited diary entries provide invaluable details about the changing composition of the *favelas* in São Paulo as migrants from Brazil's North and Northeast poured into the slums of the industrialized cities of the South. Blunt and opinionated, Carolina looked down on these migrants, in part because she herself was from the interior of Minas Gerais—a place of higher status than the Northeast—but mostly because

the hapless migrants seemed to her to have given up. They lacked her burning work ethic and her sense of civic duty. Carolina's frequent calls from a pay phone to the radio patrol—the Brazilian equivalent of dialing 911—and to the police document her determination to rid the *favelas* of troublemakers and law breakers. Foreigners—namely, Portuguese but also some Japanese—were also changing the character of the slum population. Carolina was astonished by a Japanese woman who claimed that children were “worse than the devil,” and in her diaries she berated the woman for “engaging her mouth before engaging her brain.” On the other hand, she admired Japanese men, whom she considered hardworking, eager to better themselves, and not disdainful like the northeasters.

She wrote about calling the police to stop fights in the *favela*, about her conversations in the street, about her appeals for medical assistance. All were aimed at dispelling what she considered the elite's contempt for those forced to live in slums and shantytowns. This goal is significant given that Carolina wrote during a period of peak interest in Brazil in social reform, when public sentiment (and real estate speculation) focused on *favela* removal as a leading solution for the expanding urban center. After she became a celebrity, she was always aware of the tenuousness of her fame, and she flailed away at social ills as if she knew that she had little time left before she would fade from public attention.

Carolina reveled in the prominence that came to her in 1960 and was susceptible to notice and flattery, especially from men of higher social status. She was receptive to journalists and other promoters of her talents, and she often confided in them, a trust which they often betrayed. She was quick to report instances of hypocritical behavior or attitudes that she saw as demeaning or derogatory toward the poor, especially blacks. She recorded her horror at hearing a socially prominent Argentine claim that the rich were the descendants of Abel and the poor the descendants of Cain. Once, she tried to learn to drive a car. Perhaps this goal was part of her yearning for middle-class status; perhaps she thought that being seen behind the wheel of an automobile would bring her respect. Instead, it had the opposite effect: when she steered the driving school's automobile down her street, her neighbors, who had been hostile to her from the first day she moved in, stared at her as if, in her words, she came from another planet.

Her assumed role as spokeswoman for the downtrodden empowered her to maintain her stoicism and not let insults get her down. She sat quietly outside the offices of would-be publishers to speak with people whom she knew were inside, although their secretaries had assured her that they had not returned from lunch. It irked her that her desire to purchase a new house in the countryside and pay the installments from

the rent of her present house was repudiated by her sponsors and publishers. Still, she persisted, resisting affronts to her social status, her skin color, and her gender. She refused to be defeated by people who inwardly snubbed her while they outwardly accorded her her due. She shocked and charmed, cajoled and flirted. At the height of her popularity as a public figure she threatened to cancel her publicity trip to Argentina and Chile if her sponsors did not guarantee that in her absence they would buy food for her children, who stayed behind in São Paulo. She knew that despite the clamor about her diary, no one really cared about her. She was and always would be a loner, the sole responsible person in her life and the lives of her children while they were still young.



Carolina wrote almost every night after she put her children to bed. She began most of her diary entries in the same way, telling when she woke up in the morning and what chores she set out to do, and then following the day's activities hour by hour. Some of her entries, however, were brief; others went on for pages. For the published versions of *Quarto de despejo* and *Casa de abenaria*, Audálio Dantas shortened most of the entries and cut out enormous sections that he considered repetitious or otherwise unnecessary. He deleted details of her morning wakeup, her daily routine, her repetitive comments about neighbors, repaying loans, or paying off bills to local merchants. For some reason, Dantas switched around dates, adding sections to entries from other days and taking small liberties with the diaries to enhance their readability. He did not, however, write a single word that was not hers. He edited by selective cutting, not by adding or by making changes.

As a result, the first diary, *Quarto de despejo*, ran only 181 pages with fairly large type and wide margins. More than two-thirds of the entries written by Carolina for the period of the published diary were deleted. Yet this is not to say that *Quarto* suffered because of its length; its simple brevity, in fact, contributed to its power as a social document and testimony. But the edited *Quarto* as well as the edited *Casa de abenaria* projected an image of their author that shortchanged her personality, simplifying it and robbing it of the contradictory elements that made Carolina more human than the packaged diaries suggested.

The Carolina Maria de Jesus of the edited diaries, then, comes through as a desperately poor, black single mother and shantytown dweller who is observant, aware of her surroundings, dutiful toward her children, and judgmental toward *favela* neighbors of whom she disapproved. The unedited diaries, however, show her in a far less restrictive way. The questions that fly off the pages of her published diaries—why she was

perceived as unjust prices and fare increases; she reacted to measures taken by São Paulo's corrupt populist mayor, Adhemar de Barros, to police the streets as well as trains and buses. She demanded accountability for public figures, particularly in those actions that affected the poor. In so doing, she was advocating active political citizenship for people denied voices by a system that gave them the vote but then paternalistically doled out to them empty rewards—for example, the playground equipment donated to Carolina's *favela* on the eve of the 1958 mayoral election, an act that, ironically, made it possible for Dantas to meet Carolina and bring to light her diaries. These diaries show us that even *favelados* wanted to be informed, wanted to be consulted, wanted explanations for urban renewal, fare increases, the unavailability of hospital beds in emergency wards. An outspoken nobody, she risked arrest for her militancy. How sad it was that after she was discovered, she was showcased as a sideshow freak—an illegitimate black scavenger who dreamed about Heaven—while her courage was ignored and her prescriptions for needed social change were brushed aside.

While *Quarto de despejo* offered details, Dantas balanced Carolina's criticisms carefully with passages of idealism and hope. Taken as a whole, Carolina's written output swings the balance to the darker side. Her unedited words provide invaluable new evidence about the way poor people related to their world and how they coped with it.

As a nontraditional author whose untutored works lacked polish and who spoke about matters considered banal by most intellectuals, Carolina's writings have been excluded from the Brazilian literary canon. Irving Stern's 400-page *Dictionary of Brazilian Literature* devotes only two lines to her. Carolina has never been included in a standard anthology. Only a single Brazilian critic, Marisa Lajolo, publicly acknowledged in 1995 when she published the Brazilian version of *The Life and Death of Carolina Maria de Jesus* was published, that her story contained a valuable lesson. Carolina had died, Lajolo noted, in 1977, the same year that José Louzeiro's novel on the evils of street life was published.³ Louzeiro's book inspired Hector Babenco to make his stunning film, *Pixote, the Law of the Weakest* (1981), whose principal real-life child actor, Fernando Ramos da Silva, was assassinated by the São Paulo police in 1987 as the blight of urban poverty and violence depicted by Carolina Maria de Jesus in 1960 continued.

Brazilian critics have continued to berate Carolina and to denigrate her significance. In November 1993, following the publication of the new Atica edition of her diary, literary scholar Wilson Martins wrote in his syndicated column, which appeared in more than forty newspapers across Brazil, a savage and ignorant dismissal of *Quarto de despejo* as a "literary mystification" and a fake. He attacked the book's "precious" language. He commented on Carolina's "casual lovers," as if her personal

always so docile, so single-minded, so patient—emerge more clear-cut. Instead of being resigned, her personality flares up unpredictably and then subsides. Sometimes she seems manically agitated; at other times she lapses into depression. She not only records her observations but also offers them in great detail, believing the common stereotype that marginalized victims of society did not have complex explanations for their plight. She is astute and politically savvy in her criticisms, so much so that Dantas thought that he had to sanitize them lest her militant tone compromise her promoters and those who sympathized with her.

Carolina's two published diaries appeared in 1960 and 1961, at the height of national and local political reformism in Brazil. But this was reformism held in check—not the leftism of militants, but a measured set of demands that stopped well short of calling for structural social change. By packaging Carolina as a simple woman whose complaints seemed poetic in their innocence, Dantas managed to create diaries that neither threatened readers nor motivated them to demand political reform. What she really said in her diaries would not have ingratiated her with the authorities in São Paulo. Had Dantas's cuts not been made, it is likely that the editors at Francisco Alves would not have risked publishing them.

Few people understood the thickness of the protective shell that Carolina had been forced to construct around herself in response to decades of fierce adversity. Audálio Dantas did not remain her patron for long. Carolina, he insisted, would not accept the relationship he needed to impose on her as her agent. She never asked to be defended or cared for—she was too independent for that. Dantas explained that he could not deal with what he considered Carolina's petulance and irascibility. His opinion is consistent with that of other journalists and intellectuals who gave up on her. Perhaps it is understandable that her diary continued to sell well outside of Brazil, where readers wanted to find in her words an expression of rage against poverty and suffering that Brazilians grew tired of because they considered her attitudes simplistic and self-serving. She was the product of a society that tolerated the most glaring maldistribution of income in the world, yet she did not lend her voice to calls for massive social change. She simply wanted to escape from poverty with her children and to become a famous writer.

Carolina's diary entries, on the other hand, record a wealth of new detail that opens our eyes to the realities of poverty in underdeveloped societies. The exactness of her charges shatters our preconceptions about how marginalized people relate to the system that overwhelms them. Dantas's editing retains some of the shocking revelations, but on the whole it obscures the extent to which *favelados* such as Carolina struggled to engage the system. Carolina recorded people's reactions to what they

behavior canceled her right to be respected for her achievement. Dantas's outraged reply was published only six weeks later in the same newspaper, buried on an inside page. This author wrote to Martins in Curitiba, respectfully explaining that there was hard written evidence to prove that Dantas had not put words in her mouth, and mailed him a prepublication copy of the manuscript of *The Life and Death of Carolina Maria de Jesus*. Although Martins perfunctorily acknowledged receipt of the letter and manuscript, he did not change his mind. In a subsequent review of the Brazilian version of the study about Carolina published in Rio de Janeiro in April 1995, he repeated the charge that Carolina's diary was a "literary mystification" and called foreign academics who assign it for classroom reading "naïve" and "ingenuous."

For some Brazilian intellectuals it remains easier to dismiss the legitimacy of Carolina's message than to confront the harsh realities of desperate urban poverty and the sexism, racism, and class prejudice that her life story and writings reveal. After Carolina's death, *favelas* have become dominated by well-armed gangs who thrive on the drug trade in cocaine, which swept urban centers in the economically sluggish decade of the 1980s when the military loosened its grip on repressive government power. Recently, jailed drug kingpins have demonstrated their ability to conduct their affairs via cell phone: ordering terrorist attacks and assassinations, and forcing merchants to close their businesses to demonstrate their power to state authorities and a frightened public. It would seem that the luxury of ignoring the many problems of urban slums that Carolina laid bare is one that politicians, scholars, and an informed public can no longer afford.

NOTES

1. Some of the text for this essay first appeared in Robert M. Levine and José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, *The Life and Death of Carolina Maria de Jesus* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, *Cinderela Negra: A Saga de Carolina Maria de Jesus* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 1994); Robert M. Levine and Melvin S. Arrington Jr., *I'm Going to Have a Little House* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Robert M. Levine, ed., *Bittia's Diary* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998); José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy and Robert M. Levine, eds., *Meu Estranho Diário* (São Paulo: Editora Xama, 1997); and Robert M. Levine and José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, *The Unedited Diaries of Carolina Maria de Jesus* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999).
2. See George Wilson Pierson, *Taquerville in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
3. Marisa Lajolo, Preface to Meihy, *Cinderela Negra*, i-ii.

SUGGESTED READINGS

On life in Brazil's *favelas* or slums see, for example, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (Berkeley, 1992); and Janice E. Perlman, *Rio's Favelados and the Myths of Marginality* (Berkeley, 1973). For more views from Brazilian women of various backgrounds see *Brazilian Women Speak: Contemporary Life Stories*, interviews edited and translated by Daphne Patai (New Brunswick, 1988); on poor women and respectability see Sueann Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early Twentieth Century Brazil* (Durham, 2000); and on race and racism in twentieth-century Brazil see George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison, 1991). For an overview of populist politics and society in the era of Getúlio Vargas see Robert M. Levine, *Father of the Poor? Vargas and His Era* (Cambridge, 1998).