II

RACE AS A SOCIOLOGICAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

I. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE BRAZILIAN POPULATION

At first sight, it seems that race could be considered as the capital element of the biological aspect of society. Race is a very common and vague term, freely used in human affairs, but with no precise meaning at all. It stands probably for zoological comparisons, but its chief virtue is to be a powerful appeal to feelings and passion; its value, therefore, is pseudo-scientific.

The only proof that race exists is that we find, nearly everywhere, racial problems, race questions, racial minorities, and so on. It is especially the revision of the European political map in the nineteenth century on the lines of nationality politics and in the twentieth century by the ethnic realities of the Treaties of 1919-1920, that has impressed on our minds the concept of race.

Some people are satisfied with races as major divisions of mankind: black, yellow, brown, white. Others have in view a nation or a country. Some mystics believe in a hypothetical "pure race," that has existed according to a subjective ideal of which they are possibly the prototype. An isolated group with uniform and stable physical aspects is sometimes called a "race." It happens also that race is mistaken for language; for instance, we hear that South America has populations of the Latin race.¹

¹For the lack of clarity in the use of the term "race" see Franz Boas; Anthropology and Modern Life (London: George Allen & Unwin, new rev. ed., 1932).
Race as a Sociological Question

“A race,” according to Krober,1 “is a subdivision of a species and corresponds to a breed in domestic animals. Popularly, the word is used in a different sense, namely, that of a population having any traits in common, be they hereditary or non-hereditary, biological or social.”

When the term race is omitted, the term blood is used, though still more confusing, for there is no continuum of actual blood between parent and offspring. The relationship that the word stands for is a biological error, though it be, as Huxley and Haddon said, “a venerable misconception.” Another biological fallacy is stock as the true national type readily distinguishable from any other alien blood. All these and still other terms are devoid of standards of reference and are purely impressionistic.

I am quoting frequently from the remarkable little book of 1935, written by Haddon, Huxley, and Carr-Saunders, called We Europeans. “In considering the characters of different nationalities,” they say, “it will generally be found that the distinctive qualities upon which stress is laid are cultural rather than physical, and when physical they are often influenced by climatic and cultural conditions.” Of course, expression, gesture, speech, as well as dress and behavior, are results of cultural factors: imitation, education, fashion. I feel, therefore, justified in considering race essentially as a sociological question. “Race is a unity,” says Gumplovicz,2 “created in the course of history by social development and is precisely a unity which finds its point of departure in intellectual factors, such as language, religion, morals, law, culture; and thereafter attains the more powerful physical factor, the unity of blood, which binds all together in a true bond.”

Lectures on Brazilian Affairs

In fact, what is popularly meant by races is what could be named hypothetical primary sub-species, or simply ethnic groups, or racial types. If we consider animal evolution, the zoological comparison is misleading, for in the animal case, genetics shows that after a certain degree of differentiation the animal becomes incapable of fertile crossing, whereas the man still goes on producing new types of a great diversity and not only an average between the two original ingredients. That constant branching of human evolution is one of the reasons for the difficulty of classification.

Besides, the differences in social environment override the differences in genetic equipment, as Huxley and Haddon observe. “The nation,” they say, “is not anything permanent or inherent in human nature. The idea of blood tie has been used to strengthen national sentiment.” It is interesting under such light to examine how little of the biological is in the well-known race prejudice, and how important though not readily admitted is the cultural factor. “The biological reasoning,” say the authors I am quoting, “is a cloak to fling over obscure, perhaps unconscious feelings.” Of course, as in everything human, we need rationalization, and thus we are led to dislocate the real antagonism. So do the Germans when they persecute the Jew on false grounds of mysticism; the Russians are more frank when expelling the kulaks, just because they obstruct the communist economic plan.

As to ourselves in America, we are not afraid of disharmonic results of the crosses with immigrants; yet the quotas and other restrictions are protections as soon as we feel that by immigrant mass invasion our social systems might be unable to stand the strain. “There is a limit to the amount

1*We Europeans*, by J. S. Huxley and A. C. Haddon; with a chapter on Europe Overseas, by A. M. Carr-Saunders (London: Jonathan Cape, 1915).
Race as a Sociological Question

of foreign stock which can be taken up by a nation in a given time,” say the authors of *We Europeans*.¹

So race mixture seems to be, after all, just a question of culture, of nationality, of class or economic status. Most of the so-called race problems are, sociologically, questions of culture contacts. Racialism has therefore great dangers to face, for as an ideal it “contains unrealities and impossibilities which may destroy essential realities and thwart true possibilities.”²

The present population of Brazil consists of three elements of different ethnic origins: the White, the Negro, and the Indian; they are four elements if we make a distinction between the Colonial Portuguese of the past and the present European immigrant. But, as far as racial characteristics are concerned, it is a very simplified classification of human elements.

In fact, the Portuguese factor which has been evidently predominant, is responsible for the Latin culture by which we share European civilization. But what was, after all, the Portuguese colonizer of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Surely not a “pure race.” He was the biological product of at least ten primitive sub-species, namely, the Iberians and the Phoenicians, Greeks and Carthaginians in a later period; then the Romans, and we know how scarce was the Latin element in their legions; the Barbarian invaders: Suevi, Vandals, Huns, and Visigoths; finally the Mohammedan Moors, African Arab conquerors, from the south. For race mixture the Iberian peninsula had certainly been a privileged ground.

It is essential to note that in such a composite ethnic type the Portuguese colonizer had, besides the melting-pot condi-

tions of western Iberia, a different historical formation from that of the Spanish-speaking occupants of the Peninsula. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Portugal was already a nationality, strong and unified, that had grown in a lonely corner of the Iberian world, facing the sea to the west, the infidel Moors in the south, and, eastwards, having to fight against all the Spains, Castile, León, and to a certain extent, Navarre and Aragon. In contrast with a Spain divided and merely federated, Portugal, united by language, temperament, political necessity, and seafaring vocation, achieved its European mission one century before Spain—Aljubarrota, 1385; Granada, 1492. That political precocity determined Portugal’s mission in Asia, Africa, and America, and it explains the deep differences between the Portuguese and the Spaniard.

Whereas the Castilian is brave, knightly, gallant, and courteous, disinterested in money, boastful, excitable, and emotional, the Lusitanian is stubborn, thrifty, law-abiding, perhaps melancholic and submissive, but with a decidedly marked self-control. He was to be, by geographical and historical destiny, the explorer of the ocean, the lawyer of traditional monarchy, the commercial agent for Overseas.

It was this human element that had to face the native in South America. On Brazilian lands, the Indian was the second element of our race mixture. He was not so well organized, politically, as his western neighbors in the Andean Empires, but he had a culture of his own, his experience of the country, his languages, and practical knowledge of many things. It is said that three thousand words of our language are from Indian origin; they comprehend topographical features, animals, plants, certain products, and even symbols. The influence of the Tupian “lingua geral” is traceable not only in our vocabulary but also in our syntax and prosody.
We have eliminated the mute "e" of the Portuguese, and the tendency is to support every consonant with a vowel and to suppress complicated articulation and finals.

The Indian had a decisive influence on the diet of the newcomers: the mandioca has become the national dish in Brazil. He taught them how to cultivate some of the agricultural products, how to fish and to hunt some of the native animals.

It is difficult to estimate how numerous the natives were, but forming diverse nations, they could raise armies of ten, fifteen, and even twenty thousand warriors; they lived in villages or tabas of one hundred to three hundred groups in a single region. That they were reputed by European historians to be lazy and ungovernable may be easily explained by their communistic life and their views of moral and social values.

"Brazil of the First Century is euro-indigenous: in the home as on the field, in peace as in war, in town as in the country. Scarce and isolated, the Portuguese were mastered by the native customs, at meals, at work, at war, at rest. It all came to him in his immigrant bachelor cabin with the cabocla woman. Little by little an intermediate civilization was created, temporary but original, compounded of European survivals and Tupi tribal influences—it was the culture of the mamelucos of the paulista highland and of the conqueror-breeders that penetrated the North East."'

The third element of the ethnic mixture was the negro, brought from Africa from 1550 to 1850, that is to say, for precisely three centuries, though not always with the same intensity. Our foremost economic historian, Roberto Simonson, estimates that three and a half million Africans were landed in Brazil. They came from diverse negro nations of the Black Continent, where the Portuguese got them very

1Pedro Calmon: *História do Brasil*, p. 331.
easily, as they were amazingly prone to sell one another—not only enemies captured in war, but also friends and relatives.

Groups may be distinguished by their African origins: the Bantus, including Angolas, Congos, and Benguellas, who settled predominantly in the North of Brazil—Pernambuco and Maranhão—and, later on, in the South, Rio and São Paulo, where the highland climate did not prove favorable to them. The two other groups, the Guineas and the Sudanese, settled especially in Bahia, the capital of the Colony and principal slave market. Not less than six languages were represented by these African immigrants.

In the seventeenth century the influence of the negro factor begins to outweigh that of the native. First of all, the vocabulary has been deeply influenced by African words referring to everyday life. A student of mine, Carlos Cantão, has constructed regional maps of Brazil showing all the topographic local names of African extraction. In addition to bringing to light these interesting linguistic facts, they show the range of penetration of the negro element to the extent of covering not less than one-third of the country.

"Thus," says Pedro Calmon, "another planless type of civilization is sketched at random, with the heavy importation of negroes. That type has just one common feature with the previous luso-native type: the manorial (senhorial) form of latifundium exploitation. Therefrom results social classification, the monopoly of handwork by the slave, the assumption of nobility by the white man, just for being white, and the division of the inhabitants in castes, the fidalgos and the negroes."

Fifty years ago, the intellectual elite of the country seemed for the first time to be interested in the ethnological questions of race differences. Biologists and medical men, anthropolo-
Race as a Sociological Question

gists, and even literary critics like Sylvio Romero and José Verissimo joined in the discussion. The most prominent of these scholars was Nina Rodrigues, who accumulated a great amount of information and precious data on negro culture. His works, written in 1900, were published thirty years later, after his death. Dr. Baptista de Lacerda, formerly Director of the National Museum of Rio, attended the First Universal Race Congress, held in London in July 1911, and became well known for his paper on the “Half-Breeds” of Brazil. Dr. Rodrigues Peixoto studied the anthropology of our Indians. Dr. Moura Brasil specialized in indigenous diseases of the sight.

With the revival of sociological studies in Brazil, a new school of anthropologists, under the leading influence of Arthur Ramos, has started lately an encyclopaedia of publications on the negro. The first Afro-Brazilian Congress was promoted by Gilberto Freyre and held in Recife, in 1934; two years later a second congress of the same kind was held in Bahia.

Roquette-Pinto, Heloísa Torres, and Estevão Pinto have studied in many publications the past and present of the Brazilian Indian. And so had Theodoro Sampaio and von Ibering, both dead unfortunately. Today our prominent sociologist, Oliveira Vianna, is trying to draw from these accumulated riches a practical conclusion and a general view of our melting-pot conditions.

The so-called race question has not yet been studied in Brazil with the thoroughness and scientific accuracy it has received in the United States, but there is no doubt that recent and very rapid progress has been made in our research work on the subject. The new interest in native, negro, or immigrant stocks is not restricted to scientific treatment, for it is easy to trace its very remarkable influence on pure litera-
Lectures on Brazilian Affairs

Since 1920, many novels have been written on regional social environments: Afranio Peixoto, Monteiro Lobato, Paulo Setubal, José Lins do Rego, José Americo, and dozens of others are also popular with Brazilian readers.

II. INDIGENOUS CULTURES IN SOUTH AMERICA

At the University of Virginia a suggestive lecture was delivered some ten years ago by Professor Rudiger Bilden, then research worker on Latin American Affairs. He rightly criticized the view commonly held that the twenty republics of Latin America are fundamentally alike in traditions, psychology, and character and that there is very slight difference between a Peruvian and an Argentine. "Attention," he said, "centers on common denominators of the Latin American countries rather than on vital differences between them. Judgment is based on Latin origin and background . . ."

By stressing factors of European origin, we obscure the diversified, though submerged, forms that are still vital and that explain the individuality of the different countries. As we have seen for Brazil, non-European elements of varied cultural characteristics have entered in considerable proportions. Whatever might have been the superiority of the primitive cultures in contact, none has kept intact its social features. South America has hybrid cultures still in evolution varying according to distinct geographical and historical circumstances. "The extreme may be said to occur," says Bilden, "when a conquered majority surges gradually to the surface and subtly permeates and transmutes the superimposed culture of the minority with its own color and motives, a process which necessarily requires centuries, but is inevitable."

"Race Relations in Latin America with Special Reference to the Development of Indigenous Culture," address by Rudiger Bilden at Round Table on Latin American Relations, Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, July 1, 1931.
Three factors are to be taken into consideration in Latin America, as the white man's part: Peninsular colonization, European immigration, and the standardizing influence of modern civilization. These factors have been established or modified by local forces and environment, therefore uniformity is more apparent than real. Professor Bilden distinguished four groups of indigenous culture:

1. First, the La Plata Republics (Argentina and Uruguay), and Chile. The elements of opposition and differentiation were from the beginning weaker and less vital. Indigenous tribes were numerically and culturally insignificant; no negro element was introduced in great numbers. On the other hand, climate was most favorable to European settlers.

As a result of these conditions, treatment of the Indians was almost identical with the North American way of dealing with them: segregation and elimination, with perhaps more absorption by the Spaniards than by the English. In consequence, in the La Plata countries, conformity to European standards has been most pronounced and with the accelerated flow of immigrants the evolutionary change has been intensified. "Yet," says Bilden, "they are not and will not be as one-sidedly Spanish as North America is English. Most likely, the secondary European element, the Italian, will make far greater cultural contributions than the corresponding element in the United States, the Teutonic, was permitted to make." In Brazil, by the way, a similar circumstance should be mentioned, namely, the contribution of the Italian element in the southern part of the country, chiefly in São Paulo.

The La Plata group claims therefore to be the Latin counterpart of Anglo-Saxon America. With a similar economic background, a parallel political experience, and like population problems, it is easy to understand why the Argentine is
more inclined to follow European trends and to oppose almost systematically American suggestions that might interfere with her European mission in America, as Latin leader of the New World.

2. The second group is formed by the ethnic complexes of the Cordilleran States of the West, including Mexico, in North America, where racial antagonism prevails rather than intermixture. It results from restricting exploitation of mineral wealth, from speculation, and from conflict with rather highly developed native civilizations. No systematic agriculture was the base of Spanish and Indian cooperation; subjection was aimed at rather than elimination or absorption. In fact, the Spaniards created a social superstructure beneath which alien currents still flow today.

"Because of the essential stratification of society along racial lines and cultural juxtaposition and friction, the atmosphere in all the countries in question is actually or potentially explosive." It seems, in conclusion, that the values of European origin have been subject to transmutation under the influence of a more energetic native culture.

3. A third group includes Paraguay, where conditions similar to those of Haiti and the Dominican Republic are found by the author I have been quoting. The European element is just a veneer; the native substance is a rather incongruous culture mixture. Native conditions and standards are prevalent. Professor Clarence Jones of Clark University says that approximately 92 per cent of the total population consists of mestiço and Indian. "Guarani," said Trade Commissioner Schurz in 1920, "remains the common language of the people. The more progressive part of the population is trying to discourage its use, and it is prohibited in the schools, but in spite of prohibition it persists as the language of ordinary intercourse."
4. Very different from the preceding groups is the fourth one that, in contrast, could be called Portuguese America. As such, it cannot be considered merely as one of the twenty republics, but has to be compared as a whole to Spanish America and to English America. One-half of the population of the South American Continent belongs to Portuguese America, and nearly one-half of its territory.

On such a large extent of land, from equatorial to tropical and temperate zones, it is no wonder that a great diversity of environment made the cultural forces more diversified than anywhere else in the New World. "Moreover," says Bilden, "the European element never occupied an actual and undisputed position of dominance. However rigid its economic and political control over the other ethnic elements may have been, socially and culturally it was forced by the geographic milieu and the exigencies of its colonizing policy to compete on an approximately equal basis. The result of an unusually favorable balance and wholesome interaction of forces can be summarized as the intermixture of three radically different ethnic types, White, Indian, and Negro, and the creation of all the necessary conditions for the evolution of a hybrid, composite culture indigenous and unique to Brazil. In so far as the latter has crystallized already it is of a richly varied, yet essentially consistent pattern. The original elements in the compound mixture are frequently not distinguishable any more, except by the trained eye. Yet it should be emphasized that the process of evolution is by no means complete."

Bilden insists on the regional diversification and points to the "harmonious meeting of diversified forces." He is quite right, to my mind, for our different regions are to such an extent complementary in cultural features and achievement that an almost perfect integration seems to result from it.
Lectures on Brazilian Affairs

When our cohesion, as a nationality, appears loose to the foreign observer, it is because of its great elasticity: many highly trained students of Brazilian social or political conditions have been misled by these appearances.

Tropical plantation agriculture on large estates, with patriarchal traditions of feudal aspect and severe limitation of manpower, worked socially both for enslavement and for intermixture as the inevitable economic policy of Portuguese America. Hybrid society, from the start, it tends to become still more so with time and progress. It is said that the Portuguese has always had a proclivity to miscegenation; the mixture with African elements was started in Portugal, well before the discovery of Brazil. It led to the equalization of races, to the absence of racial antagonism, to the suppression of slavery, gradually and peacefully.

“IT has made possible,” concludes Bilden, “the peaceful development of a rich and distinctive country, the only country of European origin, in fact, where three fundamental ethnic divisions of mankind mingle on anything like equal terms and participate in the making of an individualistic indigenous culture.”

Instead of the urban population that includes about twenty towns of one hundred thousand inhabitants and over, and represents about one-tenth of it, say, between four and five million, let us consider the rural population of nearly forty million inhabitants of the interior zones of the country. Under the ethnic point of view, the towns are cosmopolite centers of great interest, but do not reflect so purely the different types of Brazilian society.

No rigid frames for a classification of our ethnic and economic types of population have yet been devised, but several authors have attempted some logical interpretations. J. F.
Race as a Sociological Question 231

Normano, in his book of 1935 on Brazil, has studied the leading economic types: the bandeirante, the sertanejo, the fazendeiro, the paulista, and the foreigner. They are a few well-chosen types, in which the economic features, of course, are more emphasized than the ethnical traits. It is curious how foreigners, though they do not always understand us, may sometimes see us better than we see ourselves. That is true of Normano. His book has been translated into Portuguese. I quote from the original American edition.

The penetration into and exodus from the sertão has created a series of picturesque economic types, and has given birth to future economic leaders of the country.

The history of those types is a process of concretion. The bandeirante is a nomad, his world has no geographical limits, he crosses rivers, deserts, and mountains, he is not handicapped by political borders, he bears his whole world with himself—omnia mea mecum porto. . . .

The fazendeiro is no longer a nomad, he is tied up with his fazenda. We cannot apply to his estate modern European or North American terms: his fazenda recalls, rather, a feudal principality. His world is the fazenda; he is conservative and stable; he is a reaction against the nomadic character of his ancestor. . . .

The paulista’s world is the city; he is a cog of the urban mechanism; he has no personal ties with his milieu, but impersonally he is tied up with the country’s economy; he is touched by the undulations of the world’s economic being. He is mobile, but he is not nomadic. . . .

These three types appear in Brazilian economic history in a genealogical relationship. The fazendeiro is the bandeirante’s son, and the paulista—his grandson. The fazendeiro often has a bandeirante as the founder of the family and is proud of it; the modern paulista often belongs to the family of a fazendeiro. . . . it is a typological genealogy, and not an historical chronology. . . .

And parallel to this evolution of types, the sertanejo remains unchanged, passive and conservative, slightly influenced by the time.

Only one of the human elements of Brazilian economy does not have roots in the national history, in the Brazilian soil. This is the foreigner, the recent European immigrant.

He often acclimates himself to the extent of becoming a fazendeiro, or

Lectures on Brazilian Affairs

paulista de facto, or a small farmer, shop-owner, entrepreneur or laborer. His rootlessness brings ferment in the development of the country.¹

The sertanejo type, that is to say, the dweller of the sertão, or interior rural zones, is the social result of at least three powerful factors of differentiation: the physical environment, the economic system under which he works, and the historical circumstances that condition the political sphere in which he lives.

“In fact,” said Oliveira Vianna, one of our contemporary sociologists, “there are no fixed social environments. It is in that sense that regional differentiations ought to be considered.”

An acceptable division, though far from complete, would be to distinguish, first the Northern Populations (Amazonia and Northeast), the Central Populations (Minas, Rio, and Bahia), the Southern Populations (São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul). The classification by states is, of course, very artificial, but there is still something historical and traditional in it that helps in many details.

1. The Brazilian northerner is the caboclo, the crossbreed of Portuguese and Indian without negro blood. He is the result of laws enacted under King Joseph granting privileges to white and native mixture. “The marriage with an Indian girl,” says Bertino Miranda, “spelled always preference for public function and nobility.”

Amazonia is peopled with two caboclo elements, the native and the adventitious. This latter element is the paroára immigrant who settled on the Amazon River system, flying from his native home, the Northeast and especially the State of Ceará, driven by aridity and drought. Both of these elements explored the equatorial forests and gathered India rubber.

¹Ibid., pp. 57-58.
Race as a Sociological Question

The Northeastern caboclo is the cowboy, the cattle breeder of a shrub region, called catinga, in the semi-arid zone. It is the part of Brazil that received the first colonial settlers on its tropical coast. Life in the interior is hard; though more healthy than the equatorial forest, its climate is trying, food is scarce, and the natural obstacles to culture are still great.

2. In the East-Central part of Brazil, Bahia is, under several aspects, a zone of transition. The São Francisco part still belongs to the Northeastern topography and climatic province. The sertanejo type is the jagunco, small farmer or cattle breeder, sometimes an outlaw like Antonio Conselheiro whose resistance to military expeditions in Canudos is described by Cunninghame Graham in *A Brazilian Mystic*.

Towards the south of that part of the country, opens the mountain district of Bahia, Minas, and Rio de Janeiro. A different climate, different resources, the proximity of the political centers, and administrative action have moulded a different type. Economic, social, and political importance have shifted to these populations of the central section. The matuto, that is, the backwoodsman, is the typical mixture of three elements, white, negro, and Amerindian. The influx of immigrant blood is scarcely noticeable; it is rather an infiltration.

3. The southern populations of Brazil, in São Paulo, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, and South of Matto Grosso are already a different ethnic complex. The temperate climate of the highland—where forest alternates with prairie—mineral resources, and navigable rivers have prepared a Land of Promise for humanity willing to work in peace and freedom.

European history in Southern Brazil is a little shorter than in Northern Brazil; but, within the last century, five million
immigrants have entered the melting-pot of its million square kilometers without submerging the American element and without holding in check the Portuguese cultural pre-eminence.

In Southern Brazil, two interesting types may be studied as representatives of a race in evolution, the paulista and the gaucho. The South is a laboratory of civilization towards which economic and social leadership is now shifting. Under the pressure of industrialism and scientific farming, a population larger than the Argentine nation is evolving a new type of white man.

III. THE WHITE MAN SOUTH OF THE TROPICS

São Paulo is a state of about 7½ million inhabitants. This federal unit has received, within the last century, 2½ million immigrants of which the Italian contribution is nearly 40 per cent, the Spanish 16 per cent, and the Portuguese 15 per cent. Germans and Austrians, lately Japanese, have entered the state; the Brazilian contribution, from other states, is about 10 per cent, with a substantial increase in recent years.

The average density of population in the state is 30 inhabitants per square kilometer, almost the density of Michigan, which is 33, and just above that of West Virginia, namely, 28. A relatively high percentage of immigrant population is found in towns; thus Italians constitute over 10 per cent of the inhabitants of the State Capital, but only 6 per cent of the inland districts. A still greater disproportion is shown by the Portuguese element, which is 5.6 per cent of the Capital and 1.9 per cent of the rural districts.

The numerical importance of São Paulo in the Federation is rapidly growing; in the seventies it was well under 10 per cent of the total Brazilian population, in 1900 it was 15 per cent, while today it is about 17 per cent.
Race as a Sociological Question

As far as assimilation is concerned, the marriage statistics are of significance. We find a contrast between the data of 1895 and those of 1927 in the paulista towns, as exhibited in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1927</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paulistas with Paulistas</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paulistas with Foreigners</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners with Foreigners</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Today 56 per cent of children attending school were born of paulista parents.

As to the color composition of the population in São Paulo, the Army Medical Service (Lobo da Silva) Statistics show a proportion of 82 per cent of whites, 6 per cent of negroes, and 12 per cent of mestiqos.

The distribution of the diverse elements of population—native paulistas, negroes, mulattoes, Brazilian immigrants, and foreign immigrants—varies over the territory of 250,000 square kilometers according to the type of economic exploitation. It would be interesting to follow Alfredo Ellis Junior in his studies of the paulista populations, and explain the diversity of land-distribution in coffee plantations, in cattle breeding, in commercial and industrial centers, and in the thinly populated coastal zone.

Professor Preston James in several geographical papers has reported his personal observations on the economic development of São Paulo, and lately on the “changing patterns of population” in that same Brazilian unit. He thinks that the attachment to the land is still unsatisfactory, and that there is still the problem of the “hollow frontier,” aside from “relict landscapes, shorn of forest cover, with worn-out and eroded soil.”

1Alfredo Ellis, Jr.: População Paulistas.
But let us go back to melting-pot conditions in São Paulo. Besides the historical conditions of colonization in the past and the actual circumstances of immigration, besides the climatic factors and the present economy of the state, a great deal of explanatory material comes to us from demographic statistics, showing how the white man is rapidly gaining ground.

Comparing death-rate and birth-rate of whites, mulattoes, and negroes in the following districts we find (in 100 births and 100 deaths):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Mulatto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital:</td>
<td>94.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Births</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santos:</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Births</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guaratinguetá:</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Births</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alfredo Ellis, who gives these statistics, concludes, "It is in the Capital and in Santos chiefly that the blacks are undergoing a more rapid process of extinction. The struggle for life overpowers them as it becomes harder and more competitive. They are mostly hired workers in fazendas, earning a daily wage. They work alone, leaving their wives at home or rambling about. Not so the foreigners..."

2. The Case of Rio Grande. The southern states of Brazil: Paraná, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul have about five million inhabitants; the influx of European blood has also been very considerable. The density of population in Rio Grande is about 12 per square kilometer, with 34 in the old colonial zone on the hills, and 6 in the frontier plains of the west.

The white man in Rio Grande is the result of three human currents that have reached its territory since the eighteenth
Race as a Sociological Question

century: the military colonization by paulista elements in order to keep territorial continuity with the Colonia do Sacramento in the River Plate, the Azorian colonization, systematically adopted by Portugal to people the plains and shores of the southern frontier province, and the European colonial contribution of Germans and Italians, in the nineteenth century. There are great analogies in this ethnic formation with the La Plata Republics, as described in their cultural relations by Rudiger Bilden. The contact with the Spanish groups has also deeply influenced the indigenous culture of Rio Grande.

The color proportions are more or less the same as in São Paulo, though the immigrant inflow has not been so strong. The "coefficient of homogeneity," as Bloom Wessel calls it, that is to say of marriage within the same ethnic group, is still greater in Rio Grande than in São Paulo. The birth rate that was, we are told, extremely high among primitive Azorian settlers, is today more favorable to immigrants than to gauchos. The fact is that the native is the gallant warlike cattle breeder of the Pampas, whereas the foreign colonist is the small farmer, who settles in the northern mountains of Rio Grande to till the soil.

The highest percentage of whites, however, is recorded in Santa Catharina: 85 per cent whites, 11 per cent mulattoes, 4 per cent negroes.

IV. THE NEGRO QUESTION

The interesting fact about the "race problem" in Brazil is that there is no race problem in that country. Professor Rudiger Bilden studied the case in Brazil and wrote about it in The Nation in 1929.¹

Lectures on Brazilian Affairs

After enumerating the fundamental types of mankind that live in peace, side by side, he says, "Legal barriers between these groups are of course wholly absent. Social discrimination is slight and based on individual preference and class. . . . The predominantly white upper class, largely descendant from the old slave-holding aristocracy and hence imbued to a certain extent with the tradition and psychology of the latter, refuses in the majority to mix by marriage with persons obviously of colored origin, although a certain percentage has done so in the past and still does, primarily for the same reasons that urge members of the oldest English and German nobility to marry Jewish heiresses. This animus works far more against the negro than against the Indian, because the stigma of servitude rests chiefly on the former."

In Brazil there is no class prejudice to speak of, so literal overlapping is tolerated when it corresponds to real social service. Yet the whites have dominated for centuries and still do: they are the upper classes where mixture is an exception, though a half-caste is not an outcast. So intermarriage is more frequent in a lower social state. The darker the skin, the lower the class, as a rule.

"The Negroid element," says Bilden, "is handicapped, moreover, by the fact that the abolition of slavery, while constructive, was not constructive to the point of freeing it from its dismal and insidious heritage." This turns out to be an advantage to the white immigrant, since he can more easily improve his status and economic position when in competitive work with the negro.

The colored man's situation in Brazil may perhaps better be understood if we recall the chief social consequences of Abolition, in 1888.

1. It was a decisive encouragement to immigration by which the influx of white stock secured a definite and ever-increasing superiority to the southern states.
2. Economically, as well as socially, and perhaps politically also, the substitution of free hired labor for slave labor transferred to the paulista districts the pre-eminence in coffee production, since the necessity of paying wages made it no longer profitable to raise coffee in worn-out zones.

3. It broke down the old social structure of two classes: the restricted elite and its large proletarian base, both living on agriculture. The free play of demand and supply substituted for the artificial competition of non-hired work the real competition of free and hired labor. An intermediate class was thus allowed to rise, as a small bourgeoisie, developing its resources and improving its status and standard of living. The consequence was the formation of a new market for new industries that needed protection, tariffs, development: in fact, a new economy for a new society.

4. Although abolition had been gradual, the last decisive step was sudden. It took the coffee landowners by surprise and upset completely their economic life. This caused a political upheaval and led to the disruption of the Imperial regime. The coffee-picking season was at hand and the negroes left the fazendas to congregate in towns; many landowners were thus ruined and withdrew their support from the Monarchy. The same thing happened in Texas in 1865 when General Gordon Granger proclaimed the freedom of the slaves on the eve of a cotton-picking season. The changed institutional conditions consolidated the moral position of the enfranchised black man but did not help him very much in a practical way.

5. Abolition spelled ruin for many planters; slaves left the estates and crowded into towns. A proletarian urban class was thus formed for industry, transportation, and commerce, but city life, especially in the south, did not prove favorable to negro development. Untrained, unskilled, uneducated,
he was frequently the victim of disease or vice; the first
 generation of free negroes paid for social experience.

6. Deprived of slave labor, patriarchal life in fazendas had
to be given up. No more lazy youngsters, idle girls, family
privileges. Economic readjustment was necessary in nearly
every family. Paternal authority declined though pre-war
conditions preserved a few vestiges that soon disappeared.

7. Abolition did not bring civil war or class hatred, but a
very low educational pattern did not prepare the negroes for
modern life: by nature or by heredity, they stayed in per-
petual minority: lazy, improvident, illiterate, and poor, but
respectful and submissive. Well-treated by the good-natured
whites, the Brazilian negro has still a low degree of morality
in sexual relations. No one seems to care whether his
marriage is within the law or not. Hospitals, asylums, dis-
pensaries register a high percentage of colored people as
patients. Selection often spells elimination for the negro.

8. Abolition has further altered the status of the black
man by restricting his activities as a rural worker and shift-
ing him to domestic attendance, as household servant,
waiter, or messenger, seldom as a skilled worker. But he
has no consciousness of class.

In the history of labor in Brazil, the negro has been dis-
appearing little by little ever since his part as pioneer in
tropical agriculture came to an end. Abolition thus definitely
marked the close of an economic and social era of Brazilian
society.

The sociological aspect of the race question in Brazil today
appears evident: race antagonism is a class prejudice, a
phenomenon of status, of categories of thought. We depend
upon our categories, especially for our knowledge of human
beings. Every person we meet finds a place in our minds in
some defined category: friend, relation, neighbor, stranger,
Race as a Sociological Question

etc. He falls automatically into it, and we are very little conscious of it. Our "opinions" are justifications and apologies for slight deviations from views orthodox in society. "Opinions are individual, but the attitudes upon which they are based are collective."¹ In 1928, Professor Robert Park wrote:²

First of all we ordinarily confuse racial prejudice with racial antagonism. There is probably less racial prejudice in America than elsewhere, but there is more racial conflict and more racial antagonism. There is more conflict because there is more change, more progress. The Negro is rising in America, and the measure of the antagonism he encounters is, in some very real sense, the measure of his progress. The fact seems to be that racial prejudices do not always and everywhere express themselves in racial animosities. Animosities arise in conflict, and racial animosities are an incident of the struggles in which racial classes are formed. When, however, conflict ceases; when some sort of accommodation of the contending is achieved, animosities subside. In that case the sentiments change. They are no longer hostile, or are only potentially so.

That seems to explain our case clearly enough. There is probably no less race prejudice in Brazil than anywhere else; but as the enfranchised negro has not risen to substantial culture and his multiplication is not economically encouraged, as President Theodore Roosevelt wrote in 1922, there is no antagonism, no animosity.

In sociology, prejudice is, after all, just a slight, almost unconscious resistance of our minds to any change in the social order. Americans permit any man individually to rise and thrive, but when a whole class is trying to upset social organization, the prejudice takes the form of animosity. It is, as Robert Park says, just an expression of conservatism.

²Ibid., p. 13.